

Durham E-Theses

*The politico-religious usage of the queen's chapel,
1623-1688*

David John Peter Baldwin

How to cite:

Baldwin, David John Peter (1999) The politico-religious usage of the queen's chapel, 1623-1688. Masters thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a <https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/4798/> is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

Title: " The Politico-Religious Usage of the Queen's Chapel, 1623-1688.

Author: David Baldwin, 1999 submission for the Degree of M.Litt.

Abstract:-

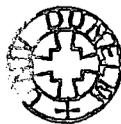
After setting its foundation within the context of prevailing domestic and international religious and political developments, the chief occupants of the Queen's Chapel under Henrietta Maria are revealed to be Oratorians. Their efforts and those of others associated with the Queen's Chapel, such as Benedictines, Franciscans and Jesuits, are associated with different perspectives on ways to advance/restore Roman Catholicism, through conversions, the advocacy of religious liberty, the suspension of Penal Laws, or re-Unification with the Church of England. International structures of authority influencing these orders as they operated at the Queen's Chapel are explored, ranging from internal structures of the catholic Church to foreign Embassies and secular diplomacy.

Deploying primary research undertaken across Europe, this thesis argues that the revival of the Queen's Chapel at the Restoration was more than a technicality in a Treaty; rather it reflected Charles II's Catholicity, and ought to be seen in the context of other such manifestations typified by Bellings's Missions, the Secret Treaty of Dover, Acts of Indulgence and other actions. The choice, practice and actions of Benedictines, Jesuits, Arabadoes, and Queen's Chapel attachments to the Chapel then take on a new significance.

The Chapel is examined as a platform for calculated politico-religious sallies by book and sermon in preparation for, and defence of actions both of Charles II and his brother in favour of Catholicism. Chaplaincies and Devotions are examined, including the important ministry of Saint Claude de La Colombière, whose legacy can be identified in the subsequent actions of James II. The study analyses the Chapel's architecture, music, and liturgy, as expressions of its politico-religious usage. The continuance of the Dowager Queen's Chapel following the "Old Pretender" hiatus and James II's exile in 1688 challenges the universality of "the Glorious Revolution", revealing thereby the international heritage of the Queen's Chapel.

**The Politico-Religious Usage of the Queen's Chapel,
1623-1688.**

A thesis submitted for the
Degree of Master of Letters
in the
Department of Theology
at the
University of Durham
in September 1999
by
David John Peter Baldwin.



23 MAY 2000

Table of Contents

	pages
Preliminaries	3-4
	5
	6-7
Introduction	8-15
Chapter 1	16-21
Chapter 2	22-34
Chapter 3	35-37
Chapter 4	38-49
Chapter 5	50-54
Chapter 6	55-66
Chapter 7	67-72
Chapter 8	73-94
Chapter 9	95-101
Chapter 10	102-106
Chapter 11	107-114
Chapter 12	115-123
Chapter 13	124-128
Chapter 14	129-136
Chapter 15	137-139
Chapter 16	140-143
Chapter 17	144-159
Chapter 18	160-166
Chapter 19	167-168
Chapter 20	169-172
Appendix I.	173-183
Appendix II.	184-185
Appendix III	186
Bibliography.	187-228

List of illustrations.	
	pages
Frontispiece. The interior of the Queen's Chapel, St. James's Palace, 1998.	7-8
Queen's Chapel Consecration Cross as painted by Gondomar or his son in 1623.	9-10
The Royal Closet displaying the Braganzan arms and Tangier palms atop Inigo Jones's chimney-piece. also Stalbert's Court Catholic cabal at Greenwich, circa 1632.	13-14
Cardinal Allen. Oil painting in Ushaw College, Durham.	14-15
Gondomar as engraved in Scott's <i>Vox Populi</i> , 1624.	15-16
The Proposed Spanish Marriage, anonymously engraved.	16-17
The Spanish Armada, 1588, contemporary oil painting, English School. Near the centre of the painting habited and tonsured Benedictines are shown jumping over the side. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. (BHC 0262)	17-18
Gondomar at the signing of the initial ratification of the Spanish marriage proposal, 20th July 1623 in a stylised Chapel Royal at Whitehall, just before laying the foundation stone of the Queen's Chapel by an unknown German. Note the Catholic side chapel shown therein.	18-19
Exterior of the Queen's Chapel in 1998.	20-21
Contemporary engraving of the marriage of Prince Charles and Henrietta Maria of France.	21-22
The Royal Closet which Catherine of Braganza knew in the Capela Rainha Santa Isabel. Photo by courtesy of Jose Gregorio Faria, Portuguese Ambassador to the Court of St. James.	30-31
View towards the altar in the Capela Rainha Isabel, Palacio D. Denis, Estremoz. Photo by courtesy of Jose Gregorio Faria, Portuguese Ambassador to the Court of St. James.	31-32
Gondomar as illustrated on the title page of <i>Middleton's Game at Chaess</i> , London, 1625.	35-36
Jean Puget Le Serre, Illustrations from <i>Histoire de L'Entree de la reyne du Roy dans la Grande-Bretagne</i> , London, 1639. Arrival of Mary de Medici in October 1638 at St. James's Palace, amongst her baggage being Montaignu Wood images for the Queen's Chapel. Formerly in the J.E. Gardner Collection, now in Folger Shakespeare Library Washington.	59-60
Hydrographic Description of France by Jean Guérard, 1627. Cartes et Plans, Service Hydrographique No.12. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.	61-62
Fr. Charles de Condren, Oratorian Superior 1629-1641.	63-64
Altar of Repose in the Pope's Chapel, London, 1638, i.e. the Chapel of Papal Agent George Con. Found by Gordon Albion at the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Rome.	64-65
Henrietta Maria's departure for Bridlington with arms for the King accompanied by her Capuchin chaplain. The embarkation from Scheveningen on 29th January/ 13th February 1643. It symbolises the threat posed to England should France wish to invoke the Treaty obligation to maintain the Queen's Chapel as a legally sound pretext for intervention.	71-72
Donha Luiza Guzman, also reproduced from a Portuguese engraving.	74-75
A ship of the Jesuit Province of Brazil engaged in the Atlantic trade, 1663.	83-84
Entry in the Marriage Register showing the Marriage of Catherine of Braganza to Charles II in 1662. From the Archive of the Cathedral Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Portsmouth.	84-85
Woodcut of St. James's Palace, c.1650, by Peter Stent. From Alexander, Peter Stent London Printseller circa 1642-1665.	86-87
The Benedictine Lay Brother, Thomas Pickering - The Knave from a pack of cards entitled "The pretended Popish Plot of 1678". Playing Cards Pack, 237. Guildhall Library, London.	88-89
Bishop John Cosin's proposed changes to the 1619 Prayer Book suggested in 1661.	95-96
Battle of Lowestoft, 1665, oil painting by Hendrick van Minderhout (1632-1696). From the National Maritime Museum.	98-99
Emblem, Signet Ring and Signet Seal of Charles II from various collections.	111-112
Declaration of the Articles of the Treaty by Charles II 4/14 June 1670 in French with King Charles II's signature on the Secret Treaty of Dover, 1670, by which he promised to profess his Catholicism publicly. Clifford papers, British Library. Add. Ms. 65,138/fol.115.	115-116
Instructions for Dr. George Leyburn as proposed Envoy to the Pope, written in Clifford's hand. From Clifford Papers. British Library Add. Ms. 65,138 /fols 132-136v.	118-119

Environs of St. James's Palace. Fairthorne and Newcourt Survey, 1643-47. Guildhall Library, London. EC2.	123-124
An engraved portrait of Saint Claude de la Colombière, Jesuit Chaplain to the Duchess of York from 1676 to 1678.	131-132
Johannes Kip's engraving of the interior of the Queen's Chapel in 1687.	144-145
Sketch of the Queen's Chapel, St James's Palace, by Francois Gasselín, circa 1687-88.	145-146
Devotional painting and traditional 17th century Portuguese tiles in the Capela Rainha Santa Isabel, Palacio D. Denis, Estremoz, Portugal. Photo by courtesy of Jose Gregorio Faria, Portuguese Ambassador to the Court of St. James.	147-148
Plan of the Capela Rainha Santa Isabel, Palacio D. Denis, Estremoz, Portugal. By courtesy of Jose Gregorio Faria, Portuguese Ambassador to the Court of St. James.	147-148
Sacra Famiglia by Benedetto Gennari, painted for the Queen's Chapel in 1682. Now in the Birmingham City Art Gallery.	148-149
Freeman's engraving after Sir Peter Lely of a portrait of Catherine of Braganza as a shepherdess. The original is at Euston Hall, Suffolk.	149-150
Roman Catholic Altar Plate from Holyrood House, circa 1686-87, as exhibited in Edinburgh.	149-150
The seventeenth century Queen's Chapel Roman Catholic Sacramental Plate. H.M. Chapel Royal Archive. Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen.	149-150
Title Page of The Compleat Office of the Holy Week, Matthew Turner, London, 1687	150-151
Dedication to Mary of Modena in The Compleat Office of the Holy Week, Matthew Turner, London, 1687,	150-151
Short PRAYERS For the USE of all Good CATHOLICS IN THE HEARING OF THE HOLY MASS, Henry Hills, Printer to his most Excellent Majesty, His Household and Chappell, London, 1688.	151-152
Frontispiece from the above work showing a High Altar and Baldichino engraved by F.H Van Hove, prefacing short prayers to be said during the Holy Mass.	151-152
The 1660-61 liveries of the children of the Chapel Royal, identical to those of the Queen's Chapel, in 1790.	153-154
"Birth of the Old Pretender", 10th June, 1688.	160-161
The birthplace of the Prince of Wales (Old Pretender), 10th June, 1688. "...A map or Survey engraven of St. James's Palace, and the convent there, Describing the place wherein it is supposed the true mother was delivered: with the particular doors and passages through which the child was conveyed to the Queen's Bedchamber", Simon Burgess, London, 1688.	161-162
Queen Mary and the Prince of Wales leaving Whitehall steps on 19th December 1688. From Romeyne de Hooghe. Illustrations of the flight of James II and Mary to France, 1689.	165-166
Part of the composition of "Crux Fidelis" or "Cross most faithful" by Dom João IV.	184-185

© Author's statement of copyright interests.

This research and text submitted for the Degree of Master of Letters is the author's personal work, and has not otherwise been examined for a degree at the University of Durham or elsewhere.

Full copyright interest in the text of this thesis is retained by the author. No part or quotation from it should be copied, reproduced, electronically or digitally stored, circulated, or published without the prior written consent of the author. Information derived from it should acknowledge both the author and such access as is offered hereafter by the Librarian of the University Library, Durham.

The illustrative material herein has been provided only for the purpose of compliance with Durham University's Degree regulations. Itself reproduced from photographic material in the author's care, from the Archive of H.M. Chapel Royal, or from the Royal Collection or other source specified herein, it may not be reproduced, filmed or electronically scanned without the prior written permission of both the Serjeant of the Vestry of H.M. Chapel Royal and the Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures, or the Surveyor of the Queen's Works of Art and the Royal Librarian; or with the prior institutional or personal written permission of the owner of the painting, drawing or image specified herein.

Acknowledgements.

Acknowledgement is due in the first place within this realm to Her Majesty The Queen, The Dean and Sub-Dean of Her Majesty's Chapels Royal (The Rt Rev. and Rt Hon. Richard Chartres, and the Rev. Willie Booth) for gracious permission and encouragement to undertake research in the archives of the Chapel Royal; to H.R.H The Prince of Wales and Dr. Manon Williams for information regarding the Jesuit Library at Hereford Cathedral; regarding paintings in the Royal Collection, The Surveyor Emeritus and The Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures (Sir Oliver Millar and Christopher Lloyd); and Lady de Bellaigue, Royal Archives, Windsor Castle; and the present serving Portuguese Ambassador to the Court of St James's (José Gregório Faria) over the Capela Rainha Santa Isabel, Portugal.

Beyond the realm the author gratefully acknowledges the following scholarly assistance regarding 17th century manuscripts which I consulted in Rome bearing upon the Queen's Chapel from:

The Revd. Douglas Brown, then Chaplain, The Anglican Centre, Rome; Monsignor Charles Burns, Librarian, Vatican Secret Archives; HMA Andrew Palmer, British Ambassador to the Holy See; Frank Docherty, Deputy Head of Mission, British Embassy, Holy See; Fr. Tom McCoog, Librarian of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, Farm Street, London, and Dr. Christine Schunk; in France, the late Sister Louise Marie of the Convent of the Visitation, Paray le Monial; and Michael Hutchings.

Regarding the McCarty and Colombière associations with the Queen's Chapel:

Dr.H.Neville Davies, School of English, University of Birmingham, on burials at the Queen's Chapel: Mrs Rita Vail of Virginia, USA, and George Tucker, Historian of the Virginia Pilot, in reply to inquiries on priests possibly sent by Colombière to Virginia for training.

Regarding the Court Benedictines and Franciscans in the seventeenth century:

Geoffrey Scott OSB, Douai Abbey; and Friar Thomas More Mann, Capuchin Provincial Archivist: Regarding the Jesuits: Professor Luc Duerloo, Economische Hogeschool, Saint-Aloysius.

Regarding Charles II's attendance at Mass in 1658 and the subsequent detail within the Clarendon and Thurloe State Papers held at the Bodleian Library, Steven Tomlinson, Bodley's Assistant Librarian.

Regarding musicians associated with the Queen's Chapel:

The Rev. Hugh Mead, Chaplain St. Paul's School, especially for help on Innocenzo Fede's employment in the Papal Choir 1667, by James II in London in 1686, by Christina of Sweden in exile in 1687, and by Mary of Modena at St Germain-en-Laye following flight in 1688: Dr Edward T. Corp, University of Paris, on the complement of the choir of the Queen's Chapel under Charles II and James II, and their decision to follow Queen Mary of Modena to St.Germain-en-Laye in 1688. Also the possible Queen's Chapel Arabado origin of the 'Adeste Fideles'.

Regarding inspection of the Queen's Chapel Venetian Window ironwork to establish characteristics of Water Hammer apparatus employed to make it: Richard Quinnell, Blacksmith. Regarding Roman Catholic sacramental plate at St. Germain in a 1703 Inventory of James III: Dr Charles Noble, Curator Chatsworth House, Dr. Rosalind Marshall and Dr. George Dalglish, National Museum of Scotland. Also for help in finding certain of the rarer woodcuts of Peter Stent: E.J. Priestley.

For consulting the 17th Century Royal Household Data-Base project: Professor Robert Bucholz, Loyola University Chicago, who is to incorporate within that project the tables of the Chapel's personnel in this thesis. For consulting over James II's chapels, Dr. Andrew Barclay of the History of Parliament Trust. Also the staff of the House of Lords Record Office, the Public Record Office, the British Library and the National Museum of Scotland; and finally, but not least, within Durham University, the Rt Rev. Mgr. Richard Atherton, OBE, President of Ushaw College for extending me access to the Lisbon Room and Big Library Collections; Beth Rainey and Ian Doyle at the Palace Green and Cosin Libraries; and Dr Alan Ford my supervisor within the University's Theology Department.

Preliminaries - Chronological and footnoting conventions.

Civil calendar dates.

The dates relating to primary sources retain, except where stated to the contrary, the style entered on the documents themselves. Attempts to define it otherwise lead to problems as the Papal Agent, George Con, found when taking ship from Dieppe to Rye while travelling to present his credentials to the Court at Windsor: He set off on St. Anne's day to cross the Channel (26th July, 1636 N.S.) and disembarked the next day to find himself ten days younger. See Albion, Gordon, Charles I and the Court of Rome, Burns & Cates, London, 1935, p.159.

Narrative text uses the New Style dates except where it is necessary to know the precise equivalence to describe an event at which parties using both systems were present; for example, in defining what English ships in the Gunfleet Sound did on seeing the Dutch fleet, the text refers to the English Fleet's resuming a hopeless pursuit towards Torbay on 16/26th November 1688.

In general those countries of Catholic European origin soon adopted the New Style dating as required by Pope Gregory XIII's Papal Bull of 24th February 1582 which also required countries to adopt a year starting from 1st January. As a result in the seventeenth century these ran ten days behind the Old Style Calendar retained by England and a number of other Protestant countries. In England up to 1752 the year was deemed to begin not on 1st January but rather on 25th March, whereas Scotland had adopted 1st January as the start of the Calendar year from 1600. In consequence Charles II was crowned at Scone in Scotland on 1st January 1651. His regnal years, however, run from his father's execution in London on 30th January 1649 N.S, but that was still 1648 to his English contemporaries. So as to define the year precisely, marriages recorded at the Queen's Chapel, St James's from 1662 bear twinned years for the months between January and March. For more guidance, country by country, about the adoption of New Style dating, see: Cheney, C.R., Handbook of British Dates for Students of English History, Royal Historical Society, London, 1979. In 1689 Parliament, amid much controversy in the Lords, determined that for all legal purposes James II's reign ended on 11th December 1688 when he first attempted to flee, discarding the Great Seal.

Maritime dates.

In the seventeenth century mariners recorded the events of the twenty-four hour day from midday to midday, since the day was defined by reference to the Sun. Each of the twenty-four hour periods was assigned a date twelve hours in advance of the ordinary calendar date. Not until an Admiralty Order of October 1805, following Trafalgar, were the log-books of naval ships required to begin at midnight. This has not, for example, been appreciated by historians commenting upon the date born by the Certificate recording the marriage of the Catholic Catherine of Braganza to King Charles II, entered in the Register of the Cathedral Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and which exhibits the date of the "two and twentieth" day of May 1662 rather than the 21st May. Historians who have commented upon it, including the Cathedral's own "Guide's Guide", (i.e. Crooks, P and D, The Guides' Guide to the Cathedral Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Portsmouth, Portsmouth Cathedral Council, 1996, pp.125-129) have regarded the entry as an error, or a religious subterfuge. But this ceremony took place in the Governor's Lodging, adjacent to the garrison's Domus Dei church, overlooking the quayside where the Register entries were made. In maritime law the Governor's Residence had the status of a ship, rendering the entry correct and denuding it of mystery.

Chronologically organised ecclesiastical registers.

In the course of day by day duties the Catholic priests attached to the Queen's Chapel and Somerset House had to keep a chronological record of christenings, marriages and deaths. But it seems that some the registers which they were required to keep under Tridentine decretals of 1563 overlapped, and so do not follow a strict chronological order. Although 1644/5 Parliamentary ordinances required that in recording baptisms a record be made of parent's names, and that in the case of funerals a record of the date of death be inserted, no such register survives from before 1662. After 1688 they were continued as if those of the Portuguese Embassy. See J.C.M. Weale, (ed.) Register of the Catholic Chapels Royal and the Portuguese Embassy Chapel, 1662-1829, Vol. 1 Marriages. Catholic Records Society, London, 1941. The Dutch Chapel Royal Register in the Public Record Office (RG4 4574) marks William of Orange's presence at St. James's Palace from 18th December 1688.

Catholic Religious Orders.

Profession within the Catholic Orders involved not only the taking of vows but a permanent change of name. Entrance to Seminaries prior to this often took place as early as sixteen, with the consequence that novices they were sometimes known as boys. Thus all reference by contemporaries is thereafter correctly made to their professed names, not to their baptismal names. In very few instances was it considered appropriate to use the baptismal name again. Such action is necessarily rare because to accept Holy orders was also to accept that the Regular would not inherit family possessions or estates or have heirs of the body. In exceptional circumstances, such as when named in private Acts of Parliament, it might be possible to discover their original baptismal names of professed Regulars. But even in the Private Act 29/30 Car. II. cap.17 regulating the Touchet family inheritance in England and Ireland, a form of words is well chosen to avoid providing direct equivalence with the professed name of the banished member, hiding his full identity behind the euphemism of "serving beyond the seas".

On taking up their professed names within Holy Orders it was the proper practice to append a suffix to show their professed status. These abbreviations shown below are listed alongside the date when the Papacy approved their Rule or Canonised the Order. They are as follows:

- O.D.F.M. Alcantarines or Discalced Franciscans, 1541-1556, called Arabadoes after 1556.
After the 1669 Canonisation this became the Order of St. Peter of Alcantara.
- O. Carm. Carmelite Friar.
- O.D.C. Order of Discalced Carmelites.
- O.S.F.C. Order of Capuchin Friars since 1528 (recognising their link with the Franciscans).
- O.S.B. Order of St Benedict (Benedictines -including Cassinese).
Order of Minims (started in 1435 by St. Francis de Paola) for Scottish Minims.
- O.S.A. Augustinian (or Austin Friar).
- O.S.D. Dominican Friar.
- O.P. Ordinis Praedicatorum (Order of Preachers Dominican) or Dominicans.
- O.J.C. Oratorian (Fathers of the Oratorie de Jesus Christ after St. Philip Neri)
- O.S.F. Franciscan Friars from 1209
- O.F.M. Order of Friars Minor Observant (Franciscan - sometimes known as Minorites)
- O.F.M Conv. Order of Friars Minor Conventual (Franciscans)
- O.S.A. Order of St. Augustine and therefore an Augustinian Canon.
- C.R.S. Order of Clerical Regulars of Somaschi (from 1568).
Theatine Order (starts in Rome 1524 - Bp.Russell closes its Portuguese College)
- S.J. Jesuit (Society of Jesus) from 1540.
Order of the Visitation, Paray- Le-Monial.

For more such details see Powicke, Sir F. Maurice and Fryde E.B. Handbook of British Chronology, Second Edition, Royal Historical Society, 1961 p.xix and the New Catholic Encyclopedia, 15 vols., edited at the Catholic University of America, Palatinate/Heraty, New York, 1969-79. Also see E. Manganot (ed) Dictionnaire de Théologies Catholiques, Paris, 1911 (in 14 volumes).

Definition of unusual terms regularly used in Catholic administrative parlance or within the religious orders in the seventeenth century.

Superieur General. Title of the Head of a Regular Order and of the Visitor of the Oratorian Order.

Visitor. Administrative inspector or corrector being a senior representative, usually, of the Jesuits.

Vicar General. An Archbishop or Bishop's deputy in administering an ecclesiastical order or cause.

Father General or General. Administrator in charge of a Regular Catholic Order or Jesuit Province.

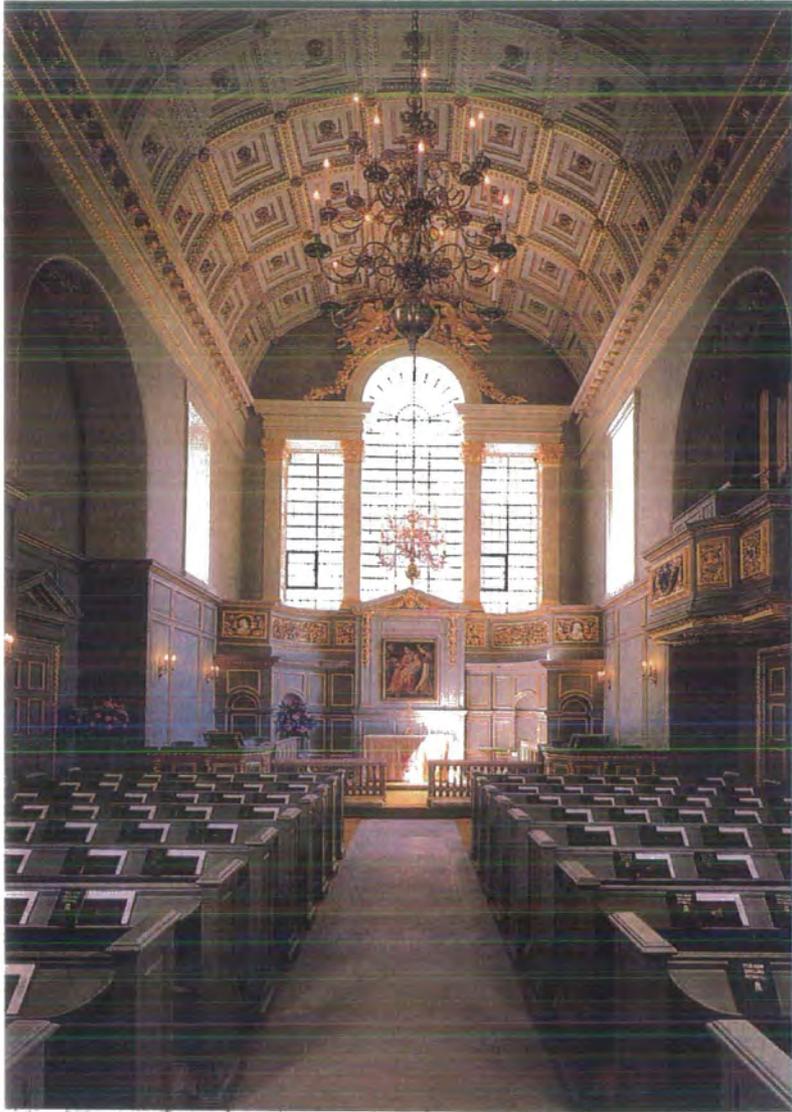
The Queen's Chapel was at once two things. It was the establishment of people comprising the ecclesiastical household (priests, regulars, seculars, choir and vestry) appointed to serve the Catholic Queen Consorts of the Stuart Kings, and it was also a physical structure in the form of a Chapel, located at St. James's Palace whose construction was started in 1623 and which still bears the name.

Some non-Catholic conventions.

Reference to military chaplains like the author of John Whittle's "Exact Diary for the years 1688 and 1689" now in the Bodleian Library would properly require reference to The Rev. John Whittle, C.F.

Reference to the English sovereign's s hereditary title conferred by Papal donation on Henry VIII as "Fidei Defensor" or F.D. (Defender of the Faith) is excluded along with other formal diplomatic titles.

Thomas Birch's works The Court and Times of Charles I, Henry Colburn, London, 1848, published as a pair in Vols. I & II, are designated C I or C II respectively in this thesis for convenience.



Interior of the Queen's Chapel, St. James's Palace, 1999.
Archive of Her Majesty's Chapel Royal

INTRODUCTION.

Historiographic coverage of the Queen's Chapel's politico-religious context.

This thesis presents the findings of research conducted overseas and within these shores into the politico-religious usage of the Queen's Chapel in the years 1623 to 1688. Its value lies in a sequence of findings and fresh insights that reflect the Chapel's position at the heart of the Stuart Court. These are derived largely from primary manuscript and contemporary printed sources, particularly those collections available in London, Durham, Oxford and Rome, but also from considering secondary sources alongside the primary artefactual evidence in the Chapel itself, its fixtures and fittings, as well as its books and its sacramental plate. In particular, manuscript evidence found in the Vatican Archivio Segreto and in the Jesuit Curia Archive in Rome, and at Ushaw College, Durham has to be related afresh to the existing historiography.

R. Malcolm Smuts provided in 1996 a useful published introduction to the value of the existing historiography in this area - one which also shows exactly the unexplored interdisciplinary scope for a thesis of this type.¹ He described how, since the 1970s, historians "began to restore a wider European context to English and British history. Simon Adams², Conrad Russell³ and Kevin Sharpe⁴ emphasised the importance of issues growing out of the Thirty Years War in shaping domestic politics, while the research of Nicholas Tyacke⁵ encouraged a more careful consideration of the relationships of English and European theologies. Revisionism did not, however, entirely overcome the traditional insularity of Stuart historiography."⁶

¹R. M. Smuts, (ed.) The Stuart Court and Europe, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996. See here Smuts's introduction, pp.1-19; Smut's "Art and Material Culture in Early Stuart England", at pp.86-113; Caroline Hibbard's "The Theatre of Dynasty", pp.156-176; and Geoffrey Parker's article as cited below, pp.274-282.

²Adams, S., "Foreign policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624," in Sharpe, K., (ed) Faction and Parliament: Essays in Early Stuart History, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1978.

Adams, S, & Rodriguez Salgado, M, England, Spain and the Gran Armada, J. Donald, Edinburgh, 1991.

³Russell, C., Parliaments and English Politics in the 1620s, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1979.

Russell, C., The Causes of the English Civil War, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990.

Russell, C. (ed), The Origins of the English Civil War, Macmillan, London, 1973.

⁴Sharpe, K., The Personal Rule of Charles I, Yale University Press, London, 1992.

Sharpe, K., Archbishop Laud, History Today, XXXII, 1983, pp.26-30.

⁵Tyacke, N., "Arminianism in England in Religion and Politics, 1604-1640," D.Phil. Oxford University, 1968.

Tyacke, N., Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism 1590-1640, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987.

⁶Smuts, op. cit. p.5

As for the most illuminating way forward Smuts suggested:

"One way of seeking to obtain a broader and more integrated view of the Stuart period is through closer examination of environments and institutions marginalised by the old-Parliament centred historiography in which the connectedness of culture to politics, and of British to European history can be traced in specific terms. Chief among these is the royal court."⁷

Smuts's purpose in providing such a point of focus was not to multiply studies of particular Stuart Palaces, but "to stimulate further research and discussion on a much wider scale."⁸ He envisaged a series of research studies, such as this one, studying the Stuart Court as a place where

"...the operation of formal authority often became entangled with personal relationships and rivalries among densely linked local elites. Caroline Hibbard⁹ and Nancy Maguire¹⁰ show the same thing sometimes happened on an international plane. Court intrigues were not always confined within the palace gates or even within the British Isles; they drew in both British provincial magnates and factions at other European courts. Every now and then, the subject of a foreign king became a central player in Whitehall's politics. Gondomar's career under James I is the best known example..."¹¹

It was a direct result of the vision and diplomatic effort of Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar, 1567-1626, that the Queen's Chapel was conceived in 1623 on the shifting sands of international politics. The Chapel formed an integral part of a draft treaty intended to re-unite England and Spain, through marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta.¹² In his enthusiasm Gondomar paid for and laid its foundation stone,¹³ having his action engraved to inform a much wider circle.

⁷Ibid., p.7.

⁸Ibid. p.8.

⁹Hibbard, C., "Early Stuart Catholicism: revisions and re-Revisions", in Journal of Modern History, 52, 1980 pp.28-34.

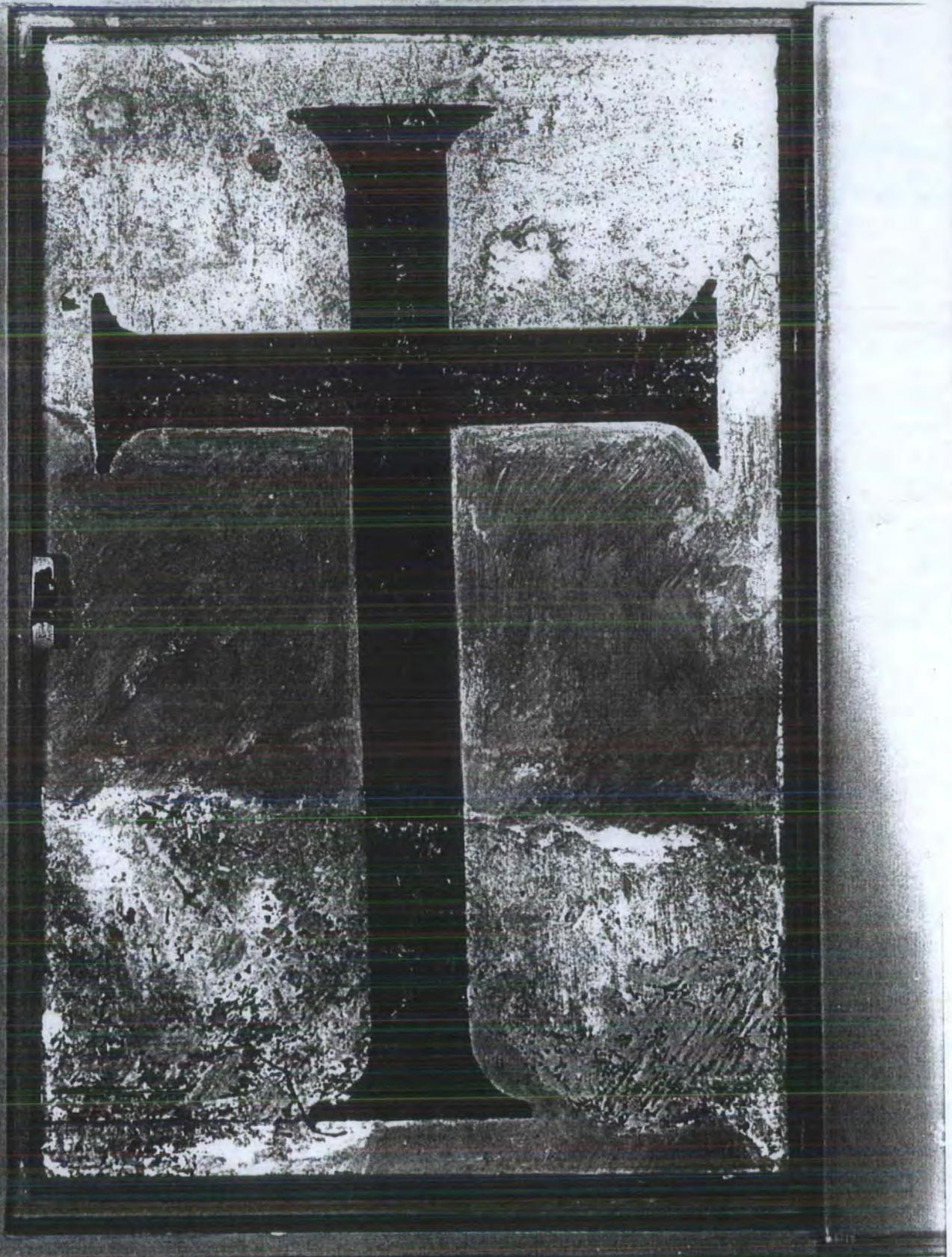
Hibbard, C., Charles I and the Popish Plot, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1983.

¹⁰Maguire, N. K., The Duchess of Portsmouth: English royal consort and French politician, 1670-1685, in Smuts, op. cit., pp.247-273.

¹¹Smuts, op.cit. p.10.

¹²For contrasting English and Spanish views see: Mrs Everett Green's introductions to The Calendars of State Papers (Domestic), Vols IX (1858) and the Addenda in vols XI (1859) and XII (1872), and Gardiner, S.R., Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage 1617-1623, Hurst & Blackett, London, 1869, 2 Vols; and Sanchez-Canton, F.J., Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar , 1567-1626, Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, 1937. Sarmiento's ambassadorial letters, 1617-1626, are readily available in microfilm at Palace Green Library, Durham, within the 112 volumes of the Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1842-96. Between 1936 and 1945 Antonia Ballesteros Beretta , edited Correspondencia oficial de...Franciso Javier, Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar, Volumes III, (1944) and IV, (1945) covering the years 1618-1626, transcripts most useful to this thesis. See too Garrett Mattingly's Renaissance Diplomacy, Peregrine Books, 1965 and his remarks on Gondomar at pp.224, and 244-255.

¹³Archivo General, Simancas, Inglaterra, Estado.2592, April 29/May 9th, 1623 Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar to Philip III.



Consecration Cross as painted by Gondomar on the foundation stones of the Queen's Chapel, on 16th/30th May 1623. A letter dated May 16th 1623 says;

"On May 16th 1623 was the first foundation stone laid of the new Chapel at St. James's for the Lady Mary of Spain in the afternoon. The Spanish ambassador made a cross on the first stone, laid it in mortar, made a prayer in French, that God would dispose of that foundation to his glory, and the good of his Church, and the universal good of all Christians and gave £80 to the workmen; his son laid the second stone and also gave them £80." Birch CII, p.394.

Photograph from H.M. Chapel Royal Archive.

Royal reactions were far from what Gondomar had expected.¹⁴ In 1623 the Habsburg Court in Madrid unexpectedly rejected his initiative, despite Prince Charles's extended personal presence there. So it was French diplomats who actually secured the opportunity through the marriage of Henrietta Maria. The clauses about the Queen's Chapel shaped a bond between the Stuart and Bourbon royal families that lasted through the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV until 1715. Here Smuts saw the value of Court centered studies, for he wrote "Any deep study of court politics must attempt to reconstruct the total environment in which Kings and Courtiers acted, examining their fears, aspirations and mental horizons, their sense of the nature and purposes of political life and the personal inter-reactions shaping their view of the world. The moment we do this it becomes clear that the court was an international cockpit for contests over office and patronage, but an international centre of landed culture and society;"¹⁵

From 1626 onwards the operation of the Queen's Chapel, with its Catholic liturgy, its staff concerned about their order's ancient property rights, and rather distinctively French complement, was to provide a bone of contention for England's politically vociferous Puritan and Calvinist minorities. It soon developed a musical tradition akin to that which Henrietta Maria knew in Paris, alongside a form of Catholic preaching and quasi-monastic observance that was distinctly different from that of the ancient Chapel Royal which operated within the Church of England. While treaty obligations ensured that the Queen's Chapel was well protected from its critics, it became bound up intimately in the Stuart family's problems of a political, military and religious nature. Constrained by treaty terms, the Queen's Chapel confronted some of the peculiar problems inherent in its own governance, antagonising many in Parliament over its relationship to Rome and France in the years from 1626 to 1667.

The repercussions of the Queen's Chapel's re-foundation and its privileged diplomatic status, confirmed by the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1661, were to stimulate recurrent political concern about Catholic observances up to and beyond 1688. Although not based on treaty obligations, King James II provided for his second wife, Mary of Modena, a Queen's Chapel that was evidently modelled on Queen Catherine of Braganza's Chapel. Smuts has remarked on the need to understand the close conjunction of diplomatic, religious and political forces which set the climate of the period, especially in the Stuart Court. These dynamics feature in the Queen's Chapel at St. James's and the successive chapels at Denmark House and Somerset House.¹⁶ The latter was finished under the supervision of Inigo Jones and opened on 8th

¹⁴ Lest these initiatives provoke a Protestant backlash in London, James I concurrently authorised considerable expenditure on work by Inigo Jones and John de Critz on the Chapel Royal at Greenwich Palace. Baldwin, David, The Chapel Royal, Ancient and Modern, Duckworth, London 1990, pp.98-100.

¹⁵ Smuts, op. cit. p.9.

¹⁶ Some architectural details of these chapels are known. See Harris, J. and Higott, G., Inigo Jones - Complete Architectural Drawings, Royal Academy of Arts/ Philip Wilson, London, 1990, pp.193-4, 198-203.

December 1635¹⁷ for use by Henrietta Maria. This continually changing context in turn will not be understood without reference to the secular orders successively serving these chapels and other Roman Catholic congregations in London. The case for extending coverage in this thesis to span the Catholic missions that formally served at the Queen's Chapel and at Somerset House from 1623 to beyond 1688 is all the more important because there are few theses on this area of research, with the notable exceptions of Heather Wolfe's Cambridge PhD., "The Life and Letters of Elizabeth Lady Falkland", (d.1639), examined in 1998, and Andrew Barclay's, "The impact of James II on the Royal Household" a Cambridge PhD awarded in 1994. Within Barclay's thesis there is a chapter on the Roman Catholic Chapels, and one specifically on the King's Chapel in Whitehall. But these two theses cover only tangential parts of the subject, i.e. the 1630s and James II's Household in the last three years of Queen's Chapel's existence respectively. Thus they cover few of the formative diplomatic, military and religious contexts for the Queen's Chapel.

Other contexts that need consideration include the organisational inadequacies of the English Catholic hierarchy which become evident early in the seventeenth century when it was headed by three archpriests, the last of whom, William Harrison, held office from 1615 to 1621. The need for change had become apparent even before it was effected in 1623, probably in anticipation of the creation of a Spanish type of Queen's Chapel. It led to the re-allocation of responsibilities for Catholic governance in the context of the Appellant Dispute. In 1623 Pope Paul V appointed as Vicar Apostolic in England and Wales, William Bishop, Bishop of Chalcedon. He died within a year of his appointment, but not before he had organised the Catholic missions in England and Wales into districts and appointed a Chapter. His successor, Richard Smith, who formally held the office until 1655, was forced into exile in 1631 as the unprotected target for resentment at the introduction of the Queen's Chapel.¹⁸ The concurrent problem of the status and purpose of Papal Agents and Bishops appointed to Charles I's Court and their relationship to the Queen's Chapel required examination of the Agent's manuscripts and diaries in the Vatican's Archivio Segreto, and is used here to illustrate the Church of England's response to the initiatives of those Papal Agents in the 1630s.

Discussion of how the terms of the Anglo-Portuguese Marriage Treaty of 1661 were formulated and took effect has been patchy in quality except for the thorough work of Keith Feiling. Supplementing Feiling's transcripts, and others by Edgar Prestage, are Charles Boxer's recent calendars.¹⁹ Even so, all those

¹⁷ John Harris is in error to suggest the Wynne construction finished in 1630 was superintended by Jones. Edward Chaney, "Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel, by Francois Dieussart", *Apollo*, August 1996, pp.49-50 gives the correct date for Jones's chapel as 8th December 1635 based upon a letter from George Leyburn to Bishop Richard Smith of 9th December, 1635 (Westminster Cathedral Archives A series, XXVIII, item 54, pp.195-196.

¹⁸Papers Relating to Dr Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon, and his Jurisdiction 1625-33, in *Catholic Record Society Miscellanea*, XII, London, 1921.

¹⁹Boxer, C. R., *Descriptive List of the State Papers, Portugal, 1661-1780, in the Public Record Office, London, published by the Academia de Ciencias de Lisboa on the occasion of its bicentenary in 1979 collaboration with the British*

published works omit the evidence of the work of Bishop Russell of Portalegre to be seen in the Lisbon Room at Ushaw College on the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1661 which re-established a Queen's Chapel. Russell knew that by 1661 the Braganzas needed a strategic alliance to counter Dutch, Spanish and even English threats to their important Oriental sources of income and powers, but they also needed to secure the wealth and support of Jesuits and other Regular Orders to be secure in the process.

Both the Stuarts and Braganzas realised that commercial advantages might be forthcoming if the military overstretch of the Portuguese in the Orient could be curtailed, and if the non-commercial, dynastic and religious terms were also right. So although the Portuguese were willing to cede prime trading territory at Bombay to secure the marriage and provide a dowry for Catherine, they knew that about 40% of the Braganzan royal incomes were secured further down the same coast from Goa's Oriental trade. Yet Luiza, the Portuguese Regent, following João IV's analysis of 1648, had envisaged surrendering this too rather than have the marriage negotiations fail.²⁰

The prominent display of three sets of the Braganzan arms in the publicly accessible Queen's Chapel provide the best symbolic evidence that it was the dynastic and religious considerations, not trade, which were then considered paramount by Charles II and by Catherine's forceful mother, Luisa. Manuscript evidence found in the Vatican Archivio Segreto, in the Archives of the Jesuit Curia in Rome and in the Bodleian Library is brought to bear on the related matter of Charles II's disputed Catholicity for it offers a potent explanation for his favour towards the Queen's Chapel and for his support of the Catholic side in other political issues. The results supplement Dutch and English scholarly inquiry into William of Orange's growing realisation that Charles was dissimulating over his supposed Protestantism.²¹

Data derived from the records of the Order of the Visitation at Paray-le-Monial in France shows how effectively Claude de la Colombière had used his time at the Queen's Chapel in the 1670s in ministering to the Duke and Duchess of York. Colombière persuaded them both that the death of their children in infancy

Academy and the Public Record Office, Lisbon, 1979-1983. Volume I, 1661-1723; noting Volume II, 1725 to 1765 was published in 1983, while Volume III is still in progress. Series covers SP/89/5-89/50.

²⁰PRO. SP89/5 discussed below. After eight years on the Portuguese throne, João IV rationalised his strategic position following the Treaties of Westphalia and Munster in 1648 saying of his Dutch and Spanish enemies; *"tell me by what means the kingdom can be defended against two so powerful enemies. It being exhausted of personnel and capital...this predicament means withdrawing revenue from custom houses, of which the greatest part must come from India. How then will it be possible to reinforce India hereafter, just as it has not been reinforced to any considerable extent in past years?"* For more of this strategic analysis see: Aldren, Dauril, The Making of an Enterprise, the Society of Jesus in Portugal and Beyond, 1540-1750, Stanford University Press, 1996, p.187.

²¹Jones, James R., "William and the English" in 1688, The Seaborne Alliance and the Diplomatic Revolution, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, 1989 p.29, note 2. "William told not only Gilbert Burnet but also Sir William Temple that he realised Charles was totally false in his pretence of being a Protestant" ..See [Bishop] Burnet, G., History of His own Time, University Press, Oxford, (ed. Rev. T. Stackhouse) 1723-34, Vol. I, p.502. Later editions listed in the bibliography contain biographical data on Burnet's partisan career.

was a sign from the Almighty of his displeasure at failure to restore Catholicism in its pre-Reformation glory. Colombière's proselytising role extended far across Charles's realms, even to the sending of ordinands to Virginia - a feature which flies in the face of the received historiography which portrays an 'other-worldly' priest who worked within St. James's Palace and kept out of politics. Colombière's influence during his time at the Queen's Chapel up to 1678 obviously informs James's correspondence of 1687-88 with his daughter, Mary of Orange, "about the principal reason of my conversion".²² James dispatched to her in the Hague in February 1688 one of the Queen's Chapel's Jesuits, Fr. Morgan, and a work of Catholic theology "Reflections on the Differences of Religion".²³

Against an even longer-term perspective Colombière's preaching and admiration of the ancient order of the Church of Rome advocated quasi-political activity which presented a challenge to an eminent Benedictine serving at the Queen's Chapel a decade later, one Philip Ellis OSB. Realising that to pursue the Benedictine's claim via the "Buckley Succession"²⁴ to their Order's pre-Reformation lands was impractical politically, Ellis used the Queen's Chapel in 1686 to abrogate that Benedictine claim.

Official invitations issued to Europe's royal families later in June 1688 to attend the font at the Queen's Chapel for the christening of the infant James Francis Edward Stuart on 15th October 1688 gave rise to some awkward results. They introduced at once an era of Jacobite ambition; they induced among the German princes a studied neutrality as they declined the invitations to attend the Queen's Chapel;²⁵ and more significantly provoked Admiral William Herbert and his famous seven coded Parliamentary co-signatories to ask William of Orange to intervene militarily. This intervention was foreshadowed in a pamphlet first published in the Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Magdeburg, and Hamburg that July, but copied in London and York in late 1688 as William's threatened invasion became a reality.²⁶

²²PRO. SP8/3. James II wrote to Mary of Orange, from Whitehall on 4th November 1687 explaining the timing of his announcement in 1672 and some of the reasoning behind his decision. This was published by Bowen, M., The Third Mary Stuart (Mary of York, Orange and England being a character study with memoirs and letters of Queen Mary II of England, 1662-1694), Bodley head, London, 1929, pp.291-301. See Bowen's comment at pp.114 & 122.

²³Mary's correspondence shows that this was concerted through the agency of an Irishman, James White, who by then enjoyed the courtesy title as the Marquis D' Abbeville in reward for earlier acts of espionage for Spain.

²⁴"The Buckley Succession" and thus the Benedictine claim made to pre-Reformation Benedictine lands rest on an encounter in 1603 when the Cassinese Benedictines who landed at Yarmouth met Sigebert Buckley, "a venerable piece of antiquity", at the house of Francis Woodhouse at Caston in Norfolk just after his release from Framlingham Castle in Suffolk. He had been clothed as a Benedictine novice by Feckenham before the Evesham Monastery was suppressed by Henry VIII. Subsequently appointed to the Marian Benedictine community at Westminster Abbey, Buckley lived on after its suppression to meet the 1603 mission. Buckley "aggregated" the lands and seals vested in him as a Benedictine survivor of the pre-Reformation abbey and a Marian monastery, to the new mission on 21st November 1607, as was witnessed by Thomas Preston and confirmed before a Papal notary.

²⁵Royal correspondence over those invitations in the possession of the Viscount Preston at Netherby Hall was transcribed in the 7th Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, HMSO, London, 1879, p.426.

²⁶BL. 8132.h.8 Rev. Burnet, Gilbert [supposedly the translator for William, Prince of Orange of],



The Inigo Jones Chimney Piece in the Royal Closet of the Queen's Chapel, surmounted by the combined arms of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza and decorated with Portuguese palms.

The painting below the arms, by Adrian Stalpent, shows a Catholic cabal circe 1630 comprising Inigo Jones, Endymion Porter, the Earl of Pembroke, and Henrietta Maria accompanying King Charles I climbing Greenwich Hill to overlook construction of the Queen's House, another Royal commission on which Inigo Jones was then active.

H.M.Chapel Royal.

King James II's own words on the birth of James Francis Edward Stuart on June 10th 1688 show it was not unexpected: "May I say that by a particular Providence, scarce any Prince was born where there were so many persons present. I have taken this time to have the matter heard and examined here expecting that the Prince of Orange with the first easterly wind will invade the Kingdom."²⁷ Thinking thereafter of dynastic interest rather than military challenge, James tried to dispatch his infant son via Portsmouth to France on 2nd December 1688. His Naval Commander in Chief, Lord Dartmouth, refused to help, writing to James that "sending away the Prince of Wales without the consent of the nation [was] at no time advisable"...and would both cause "subjects to throw off their bounded allegiance" and give "France always a temptation always to molest, invade, nay hazard the conquest of England."²⁸ That anticipated French response did follow with troop landings and a sea battle at Bantry Bay fought in support of James II's Irish campaign of 1689 to 1691. By 1690 the Queen's Chapel was a building openly housing James's banner captured at the Battle of the Boyne and other spoils of William's military victories in Ireland, taken there in formal procession on the orders of Queen Mary.

By 31st December 1688 William had both won his campaign and put the Queen's Chapel to new and highly political uses before giving permission for its use by an émigré Dutch and French Huguenot congregation. During 1689 a conveniently bared Queen's Chapel was to be surveyed and put to use as a Dutch garrison chapel while the Friary alongside was let to non-clerical tenants.²⁹ That such use was made of the Queen's Chapel is barely surprising, for major political and military events, including civil war, had overshadowed the operation of the Queen's Chapel from 1623 to 1688. Meanwhile the famous Elizabethan Catholics who had once preached violent resistance such as Robert Parsons [Persons] and Cardinal Allen had become identified with a Catholic position of enforced conversion bolstered by Spanish attempts to secure the outcome by invasion.³⁰ Yet their violent bluntness contrasts starkly with the diplomatic subtleties and the case for extra-territoriality as advanced at the Queen's Chapel up to 1688.

"A Declaration of the Reasons Inducing him to Appear in Armes in the Kingdom of England for the Preserving of the Protestant religion and for Restoring the Lawes and Liberties of England, Scotland and Ireland." James did not see a copy until 1st November. Later copies were printed on William's campaign press. Schwoerer, L. B., Declaration of Rights, 1689, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1981.

²⁷ Dalrymple, Sir John, Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, 1681-1692, (Vol. 2 of 2) London, 1771, p.153. This Scottish Judge and Baron of the Exchequer, made use of his family's records of legal service under William III.

²⁸ Powley, E. B., The Naval Side of King William's War, Curwen Press, London, 1972, p.24.

²⁹ Baldwin, D., op. cit., 1990, pp.134-134, 145.

³⁰ How Cardinal William Allen (1532-1584) and then Robert Persons (1546-1610) agitated for the re-introduction of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, or a successful invasion ahead of Re-Unification, is described by Carrafiello, M. L., "Robert Parsons' Climate of Resistance and the Gunpowder Plot", The Seventeenth Century, Vol III, No.2, pp.115-134. Edward, F., Robert Persons - The Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit, 1546-1610, Institute of Jesuit Sources, St.Louis, Missouri, 1995, pp.25-47.



Cardinal Allen (1532-1594), founder of the English College, Douai.
Oil painting at Ushaw College, Durham.

Geoffrey Parker's essay "The world beyond Whitehall: British historiography and European Archives,"³¹ notes that although four invasion attempts met with limited success - the Spaniards at Kinsale in 1601-2, the Dutch on the Medway in 1667, the Dutch again in 1688, and James in 1690 - he cautions; "let us not forget those other failed attempts - most notably by Spain and France in 1627-8 and by France again in 1692. These operations took place on a grand scale: William III, for example, descended on England in 1688 with no fewer than 463 ships and 40,000 men. " ³²

This era of fear of a Catholic invasion was only concluded with the defeat of Spanish troops at the Battle of Glensheil in 1719. It had been sustained through embarkation of successive Spanish Armadas with the intent of invasion since 1588³³ and had also involved Spanish landings at Kinsale in 1601.³⁴ In 1613 James I's Privy Council had ordered men to muster and beacons to be ready in case of a Spanish invasion. ³⁵ Increasing this concern between 1619 and 1623 were pamphlets and sermons by Rev. Thomas Scott attesting to the dangers of the Spanish marriage, while sermons on the subject given in the Chapel Royal by the Rev. John Hacket ³⁶ and by the Bishop of London at St Paul's Cathedral ³⁷ had helped make Gondomar's plans for a Queen's Chapel less than popular in London from the outset.

Baldwin, D.J.P, "Regular and Secular Orders and Confraternities attached to the Queen's Chapel, St. James's Palace, 1623-1688". Paper delivered to the Society of Court Studies International Conference on Chapels Royal, 1997 at the Society of Antiquaries. Typscript available from the Archives of H.M.Chapel Royal.

³¹in R. M., Smuts. op. cit., pp.274-282.

³²Ibid., p.281.

³³ For analyses of threats posed by the Armada's capacity to support invasion of England and Ireland see: Wernham, R.B., Before the Armada: The growth of English Foreign Policy, 1485-1588, Knopf, New York, 1966; After the Armada, Elizabethan England and the struggle for Western Europe, 1588-1595, Oxford University Press, 1984; and Rodriguez Salgado, M, (ed.), Armada, 1588-1988, Penguin, London, 1988, pp.12-183, 206-285.

³⁴A map of the disposition of Spanish forces at Kinsale drawn in 1601 is in the Cecil Papers at Hatfield House.

³⁵ Gardiner, S.R. op. cit., Vol.I, p.7.

³⁶ August 5 1623, Sermon given on the Anniversary of the Gowry Assassination attempt before the King by John Hacket, B.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge and Chaplain in Ordinary to the King and later Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. His text was from Psalm 41.9 Hacket applied the text to English converts to Rome, those "discontented Runnagates who fall off from our Church to the glorious superstition of the Papacy" among whom he counted ordained clergy who "have broken the Covenant" and attacked their mother church. John Hacket was made Chaplain to the King on the recommendation of his patron, Lord Keeper, John Williams, in the spring of 1623. For the wider context of these sermons see: McCullogh, Peter E., Sermons at Court. Politics and religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998.

³⁷PRO. SP14/113/33. Sir Francis Nethersole to Sir Dudley Carleton from Whitehall 21 March 1620 reports the rumour among Catholics that the Bishop of London, John King was to preach before King James on the subject of the Spanish Marriage and sea trade. Among the inflammatory pamphlets on it circulating since 1618, was Rev. Thomas Scott's "Vox Populi or Newes From Spayne which may serve to forewarne both England, and the United Provinces, how far to trust Spanish Pretences" cited in SP 14/118/103. Thomas Scott, B.D. was Rector of St Clement's, Ipswich, and Chaplain to the King. His sermon given at the Chapel Royal in 1616 used the text: Matthew 10:17 "Beware of men", expounding "a generall precept of Christian pollicie", namely, to beware wicked wolves who masquerade as God's sheep. Scott warned against ambitious place-seekers, and conforming Catholics who "do acknowledge England to be their country, but will haue Rome to be the...rule of their religion". See too SP 14/116/61; a sermon at the Chapel Royal on 4th August 1620 about the prospect of many Jesuits coming, and that Gondomar was close to James I and lodged at Hampton Court.



Gondomar as presented in Crispin Van De Passe's engraved title page of the second part of The Rev. Thomas Scot's, Vox Populi, published in 1624.

Chapter 1.

THE FOUNDATION AND INITIAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE QUEEN'S CHAPEL.

The birth of the Queen's Chapel - a Chapel at St. James's Palace specifically designed for Catholic worship - lay in the courtship attempts of Prince Charles. Some historians have canvassed the idea of a Spanish marriage as the long-term objective of James I himself, seeing its advocates at the English Court in such figures as Cottingham, Somerset and Lake. On the face of it, Anglo-Spanish hostilities had formally ceased when " in the second yeare of His Majestes raigne and in the monethe of August, came an Embassador out of Spaine to take the Kinges Othe for the manitenance of the League between them... in the Chappel [Royal]...half a pace before the Communion Table... a Lattin Bible of the Vulgar translacon the other parte of the Othe, the Bible being held by the Dean of the Chappell in a Coape all the while the Other was readie."³⁸

Here the primary documentation is explicit. It was not King James who pursued the goal of a Spanish Match; it was a Spanish initiative contained in the instructions issued to the Count of Villa Mediana, Spanish Ambassador in England, proposing a marriage between Prince Henry and the eldest daughter of the King of Spain, the Infanta Anna.³⁹ This opportunity was lost through James's prevarication.

Going straight to the point behind his policy options, the refusal of Parliament to pass James I's supply vote in 1614 landed him with a debt of £680,000. The Spanish marriage option would bring him £600,000, whereas the French would bring only £200,000. The Spanish option entailed all sorts of religious conditions, over which James dragged his feet. He even appeared less than enthusiastic over Prince Charles's attempts at courting the Spanish Infanta in Spain.⁴⁰ King James wrote on the back of the 1615 Articles proposing a Spanish marriage, to the effect he wished to abandon all further negotiations. Gardiner argues that "the internal probability is very great that they were the result of shock occasioned by the first reading of the Articles". This involved the upbringing of the royal children as Roman Catholics, the suspension of the Penal Laws, and a public Roman Catholic Chapel together with the freedom of the Catholic priests appointed to it to wear their habits in the street. Gondomar, Spanish Ambassador, had meanwhile worked hard to secure provision for a Catholic place of worship for the intended bride-to-be as a condition of such a marriage.

³⁸Chapel Royal Ms, The Old Cheque Book , F69 B, August 1604.

³⁹ Archivo General, Simancas, Inglaterra, Estado 841, Francisco de Jesus, 1 Sept. 2/12th 1604. .

⁴⁰ Gardiner, S.R. Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage, p.30.



*Indriaca est virgo Regum Decus Sima MARIA.
Delicia superum CAROLVS. Omnis timor:
Sed vera col. phabe, sic CAROLVS atq; MARIA.
Cua polo. ista solo. Indriaca unita parat.*

The proposed Spanish marriage, anonymously engraved in 1623.

hard to secure provision for a Catholic place of worship for the intended bride-to-be as a condition of such a marriage.

In this diplomatic insistence on provision for the Infanta lay the birth of the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace - a project begun with the signing of diplomatic terms for a Spanish match in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall Palace shown in a contemporary print of this ceremony. Thereupon Gondomar himself laid the foundation stone at St James's Palace in 1623. His broad vision of its place is revealed in figures he supplied to Philip III of Spain concerning the religious convictions of the population in England. By Gondomar's reckoning there were:

300,000 Recusants

600,000 Catholics who go to Church

900,000 Atheists

600,000 Puritans

1,200,000 Other Protestants

Total = 3,600,000

Gondomar's figures serve to expose the great quandary faced by all the Stuart Kings.⁴¹ On these figures, the granting of complete religious liberty would result in dominance by the Protestants/Puritans, whereas the option of remitting penalties specifically against Roman Catholics by Royal Authority would benefit Roman Catholics alone. This was a no-win situation for Spain and her aspirations unless the English nation could somehow be brought round to Roman Catholicism by the favourable actions of a converted King and Council. Gondomar thought that the conversion of the nation was possible if the King's conversion and that of his Council could be brought about gradually. In this plan the Queen's Chapel was obviously of significant importance, especially if positioned within a royal Palace.

A letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton dated May 3rd 1623 explains the expectation:

"The Spanish Ambassador hath been at St. James's and Denmark House, to fit and appoint her lodgings, with many alterations; specially there must be a new Chapel built in either place; for which order is taken with the Surveyor, Inigo Jones, to have them done out of hand, and yet with great state and costliness. The Savoy chapel likewise shall be converted to the use of her Household, and the government or mastership of that place given to Padre Maestro, that went hence to Rome, or to any other that shall be, as it were, bishop and superintendent over her priests and chaplains" .⁴²

⁴¹ Archivo General, Simancas, Inglaterra, Estado.2592, April 29/May 9th, 1623. Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, Count of Gondomar to Philip III.

⁴² Birch, T., The Court and Times of Charles I, Henry Colburn, London, 1848, Volume II, p.313. Vol.I., p.394. Hereinafter Birch CI.



The Spanish Armada, 1588, contemporary oil painting, English School.

Near the centre of the painting habited and tonsured Benedictines are shown jumping over the side and swimming from a sinking ship, while elsewhere, near the bottom of the painting, beyond the detail of this reproduction, a Jesuit is addressing the entire crew of a galleass from her quarter-deck. Then religious Orders were present on a grand scale, for in July 1588 The Admiral of the Spanish Armada, Medina Sidonia, assured King Philip of Spain from La Corunna that, in accordance with his wishes, the Clergy in the fleet had confessed and administered the Sacraments to more than 800 men. Preaching aboard ship visible as a politico-religious genre of missionary ministry and illustration persisted through the seventeenth century, as the Vasconcellos's title page, reproduced below, illustrating Jesuit presence in the genre shows.

National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. (BHC 0262)

Spanish Seculars, Benedictines and Jesuits would have been the natural choice to serve the "Spanish" Queen's Chapel on either or both of its proposed sites, as the embarkation of men in these orders in the Armada of 1588 would suggest. ⁴³ The form that these Regulars would have taken for a model was the description of the Spanish Chapel Royal entitled: "Relatione delle cose di magg. considerat, ne di di tutta la Corte di Spagna fatta nell'anno 1611". This unpublished manuscript of 95 pages written in 1611 has only just come to light. It was written by Girolano Soranzo, Librarian of the Marciana from 1601, and Venetian Ambassador to the Court of Philip III from 1608-11. It describes the form of services held in the Spanish Chapel Royal, themselves based to no little extent upon Philip II's experience of Mary Tudor's Chapel Royal. The same document details the military threat by showing the disposition and number of warships and the readiness of armies deployed in all the the Spanish Crown's possessions. ⁴⁴

Ironically, many features of the Spanish Chapel Royal in 1623 were based upon what Philip II had experienced of his wife Mary Tudor's Chapel Royal in 1553/4. There was a large complement: 20 serving chaplains, 2 Chapel Masters, 33 adult singers, boy singers for plain chant and later a choir school for them, a number of musicians and instrumentalists from 1569 including sackbutts and shawms. There was a musicians' tribune, and from 1584 there were motets and organ music as part of the Mass. The Chapel was small, measuring 19 by 7 metres, and ceased to have a role at all on 24 Feast Days in the year which were celebrated elsewhere than the Alcazar. There was a Tribune over one end of the Chapel for the Monarch. The famous musicians of the respective Chapels Royal, Philippe de Monte and William Byrd, even corresponded. The dispatch of the Spanish Armada of 1588, though, put an end to adopting or adapting any significant Spanish Chapel Royal culture until the potential afforded by hopes for the Spanish match.

Successful conclusion to the Spanish initiative surrounding the foundation of the Queen's Chapel therefore would have permitted the introduction of Spanish Catholic music - such as that of the quintessential composer of the Marian motet represented by his setting of Ave Virgo Sanctissima, Francisco Guerrero. By his death in 1599 Guerrero had written and published 18 masses and over 150 motets and liturgical compositions, including fine alternatim settings of the Magnificat and Psalms. Not only were these known throughout Europe and the New World, but he was the formative influence upon the young Tomás de la Victoria, whose works were to dominate Catholic seventeenth century liturgical music.

⁴³The oil painting 'The English and Spanish Fleets Engaged, 1588', English School, post 1588, National Maritime Museum, (BHC 0262) shows several Benedictine monks, tonsured and in habits, abandoning sinking ships, and a Jesuit priest delivering a rousing address aboard a galleass. Note the similarity of this form with the Portuguese Jesuit "Nau de provincia" of 1662 used on the titlepage of Simão de Vasconcellos's work illustrated below.

⁴⁴ "Relatione delle cose di magg. considerat, ne di di tutta la Corte di Spagna fatta nell'anno 1611". This unpublished manuscript of 95 pages has only just come to light. It was written by Girolano Soranzo, Librarian of the Marciana from 1601, and Venetian Ambassador to the Court of Philip III from 1608-11: now in the hands of Richard Hatchwell of Chippenham, Wiltshire. .



This German engraving is of the ratification of the proposed marriage treaty between prince Charles and the Spanish infanta at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, on 20 July 1623. Part of the agreement required that a Chapel be built for the Roman Catholic worship of the infanta. Construction of the Queen's Chapel at St James's Palace was accordingly begun – in fact a month before the ratification pictured above – although nothing came of that proposed marriage. **British Museum Prints and Drawings Room.**

BM Prints Collection Reference: English History 1623, 1870-11-12-212, top left detail.

Thus we find that a potential counter-part to the Queen's Chapel in London turns out, via Madrid, to be largely based upon the Chapel Royal which was situated just fifty yards away in St. James's Palace. The Chapel Royal at St. James's Palace had hosted many of these practices under the catholic Queen Mary Tudor, but which since 1559 had become instead a potent manifestation of the supremacy of the Church of England, claiming its own valid orders in the face of the imminent return of legal Catholicism at Court, represented by the terms of the Spanish match.

That the usage and ceremonial of the Spanish Chapel Royal as described evidently continued along the same lines into the period of this study, is clear from the hitherto unknown manuscript of 1611, devoting five pages to its activities under Philip III.⁴⁵

The original outline draft of a Spanish marriage contract of 1623, written in Latin, had been signed in conjunction with a series of secret articles drawn up in Madrid. These had involved Charles and the English delegation in lengthy and diplomatically fruitless complications. Having left England hopefully in February 1623 Charles Prince of Wales and his delegation returned in October 1623 frustrated by the seemingly insurmountable religious difficulties imposed by the Spanish negotiation.

One major problem they encountered which would give rise to a recurrent echo down the next fifty five years was that they had required James I to ensure "suspension and the abrogation of all laws made against the Roman Catholics shall within three years infallibly take effect, and sooner, if it be possible..." They also required that: "Furthermore I, Prince of Wales, oblige myself upon my faith to the Catholic King that, as often as the most illustrious Lady Infanta shall require that I should give ear to divines or other whom her Highness shall be pleased to employ in matters of the Roman Catholic religion, I will hearken to them willingly without all difficulty, and laying aside all excuse".⁴⁶

The diplomatic initiative to propose an Anglo-Spanish marriage in the mid-1620s as taken by Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar, (hereinafter simply described as Gondomar) and James fell foul of the professional military appraisals of both sides, and of courtiers anxious to take a more warlike course. Thus a Spanish military and naval threat dominated Charles I's naval policy.⁴⁷ The threat was most pressing just after the failure of the Spanish marriage, during 1626, but was still apparent during the earlier

⁴⁵Soranzo, Girolamo, "Relatione delle cose di magg. considerat. ne di tutta la Corte di Spagna fatta nell'anno 1611", property of Richard Hatchwell, Chippenham, Wiltshire.

⁴⁶ For the 1623 Spanish Treaty see: B.L. Add. Mss., 1,927, and Rushworth, J., Historical Collections, Vol.I., p.89. The Madrid Articles which were duly signed as an outline of agreement are quoted from the text provided by Gardiner, Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage, Vol. II, pp.382-3.

⁴⁷Quintrell, B., Charles I and his Navy, The Seventeenth Century, Vol III, No.2, pp.159-179.

marriage negotiations, as the Spanish Council of War had determined in 1617 to build 23 extra warships for the new "Armada del Mar Oceano", all ready for deployment by 1623. By 1627-8 Charles faced both a Dutch naval threat, and then the consequences of a badly planned and executed English raid on Cadiz. Philip IV's Council of War had formally determined to invade Ireland on 20th November 1626, and launched contingency planning for the invasion of England. The Genoese Ambassador was shown six precise new maps of England prepared for that purpose by the Conde-Duque Olivares, as he reported on 18th December 1627.⁴⁸ Such was the military and diplomatic price paid for a French marriage treaty of 1626 and a consequential French Queen's Chapel in London even before the disastrous English military forays under Mansfeld into Germany and those made at the Duke of Buckingham's instance on La Rochelle and at the Isle de Ré in 1627-29.

Thus war supervened before any further Anglo-Spanish Treaty was forthcoming. By then Gondomar had left England and the really influential prize of the English Marriage Treaty which he had envisaged as securing long term peace eluded the Spanish diplomats. The Anglo-Spanish treaty eventually signed in 1630 ended a state of war that had begun in 1626 and marked Charles's agreement to accept Spanish gold and silver for re-minting and payment of Spanish troops in the Netherlands. It took effect as the truce with Spain's Calvinist opponents came to an end. By 1639 Charles's warships were providing regular escorts for that Spanish gold in and out of Dunkirk in defiance of the Dutch. But the Dutch were as yet untrammelled in their attacks on Iberian shipping and forts all over the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Oceans, while Iberian bullion flows remained vulnerable to attack by Protestant corsairs of all nations.

These events proved that the real prize was the French marriage option which, in 1626, had won the day over the Spanish one. It shaped a long standing family alliance with the Habsburg's principal rival. French interest in the Queen's Chapel and preparedness to train its choristers survived an initial decline in family warmth, the outbreak of formal hostilities over an expedition to relieve the Protestants at la Rochelle in 1627, and even the Anglo-French Treaties of 1629, but not before those events had impacted on the staffing of the Queen's Chapel and the overseas supervision of the religious orders serving there.

The French were pleased to have diverted James from a marriage that might have brought them enemies. James had earlier envisaged that his daughter Elizabeth's marriage to Frederick, the Elector Palatine, might bring about a serious political, military and religious alliance against France. But by 1626 Charles's Marriage Treaty itself had seemed to resolve that anxiety, diverting James from a Spanish option and

⁴⁸ Archivo di Stato Genoa, Lettri Ministri Spagni, No 2434, 18th December 1627. The new fleet, the plans for invading Ireland and England, a Franco Spanish naval alliance of 1627, and the latter much distrusted naval alliance with England of 1637-41 are discussed by Elliot, J.H., The Count-Duke Olivares, Yale University Press, 1986, , pp.249-50, 326-330, 347, 68, 378,394, 400, 535-43, 573-576.



Exterior of the Queen's Chapel, 1999.

bottling up the religious consequences in the future use of one building, even defining who would form the Queen's domestic ecclesiastical retinue and 'occupy' the new Queen's Chapel in London.

To meet the agreed timetable in London as much as possible was adopted from the Anglo-Spanish understanding, and this necessitated rapid completion of the new building for Henrietta Maria to Inigo Jones's existing plans of 1623.⁴⁹ In his anxiety and hurry to secure his son's marriage, James was unprepared for a well-informed French response. But James I could not be seen to concede less to the French negotiators if he wanted such a marriage, so he was soon irretrievably committed to the replication of these terms in order to secure the betrothal of Princess Henrietta Maria in December 1625. Only weeks after Charles succeeded to the throne on 27th March 1625, the Anglo-French Treaty took full effect as he was married by proxy to Henrietta Maria, receiving his bride formally at Canterbury the following month.

By these means a potentially controversial wedding ceremonial was avoided but even as these steps were being taken Charles had been committed by Buckingham to a disastrous anti-Catholic war in concert with his brother in law, the Elector Palatinate. The inevitable defeat of his Danish allies in August that year and a disastrous naval adventure to Cadiz in October of the same year had stirred the anti-Catholic factions in England into frenzied action, making the special pro-Catholic terms of his marriage treaty and thereby the staffing of the Queen Chapel itself into a politico-religious issue of high profile.

⁴⁹ Harris and Higott, Inigo Jones - Complete Architectural Drawings., pp.16-17, 22, 178,182-183.



A contemporary engraving showing the marriage of Prince Charles and Henrietta Maria of France with the blessing symbolically being given by an angel.

Chapter 2.

HOT POLITICO-RELIGIOUS ISSUES AT THE QUEENS CHAPEL, 1623-1643

A. The Religious Orders appointed to the Queen's Chapel.

- Episcopal rivalry and the politico-religious reasons for their expulsion in 1626.

It cannot be argued that ditching the Spanish option and taking the French one resulted in any easier terms for Charles. The terms of Henrietta Maria's Marriage Treaty were similar to those devised by Gondomar and provided her with an English Catholic Chapel. They also made provision for the appointment of Regulars and Seculars to the Queen's Household. The sequence of events allowed the French diplomats to secure nothing less. From the instant of its foundation the Queen's Chapel was at once the vehicle, platform and target of politico-religious activities.

Its arrival challenged the domestic supremacy of the Church of England, for with it, albeit initially in the confines of a Palace, came the hierarchy of the Church of Rome, whose authority had been set at naught by Queen Elizabeth's Oath of 1558.⁵⁰ The arguments employed by Catholic Embassies to maintain their own Catholic Chapels, which came to be 'accepted' as an universal diplomatic requirement, could not be employed to justify the foundation of the Queen's Chapel. There were good reasons why the Queen's religious needs could not be accommodated by the existing French Embassy Chapel.

The arrival of the Roman Catholic hierarchy outside the 'accepted' norm of an Embassy Chapel necessarily brought with it questions of precedence of clergy between the Churches at Court and elsewhere. It immediately affected the first round of appointees to the Chapel under the Bishop of Mandes. A whole raft of questions arose for the King and Queen too as a consequence of the Chapel's international treaty status. Longer term problems created by its existence arose for different camps of Catholic and Protestant clergy and for many sectaries and other extremists here and abroad. Its existence could not simply be ignored, least of all by the Seculars and Regular Orders themselves who would jostle for appointment to it, and by those who claimed authority over that process.

There was no physical hiding of it as a building by 1626. The Queen's Chapel was a startlingly bold statement by Inigo Jones of Palladian classical architecture reminiscent of Rome, and stood, intentionally or otherwise, as an embodiment and public statement announcing the arrival/re-establishment of Catholicism at least in London at the heart of the Court, if not of the monarchy - in some eyes perhaps as a prelude to legal re-establishment of Catholicism throughout the Realm. Major politico-religious consequences ensued.

⁵⁰HM. Chapel Royal, Old Cheque Book Ms, f.16

It soon became clear that King Charles would not allow the concurrent re-introduction of a Roman Catholic Episcopal hierarchy which would inevitably occupy the newly completed Queen's Chapel. A Skrine manuscript of late 1626 records a visit from the King's Commissioner to the French Ambassador Extraordinary, Bassompierre, with the offer that the Queen is to have "one Bishop and twelve secular priests...all to be in French, and that the Chapel in the Palace of St. James's, which was begun for the Infanta of Spain, shall be completed for the use of the Queen and her suite".⁵¹

This poses a puzzle, not least because the date of this visit on Saturday 3rd November 1626 was just over six months later than the generally accepted opening date of the Chapel of 26th April 1626. This would therefore cast doubt upon the the actual state of the Queen's Chapel at the time when the King decided to expel the French on 26th June 1626; and it would support an argument that the King was not prepared to countenance the French Bishop having any scope to celebrate at the Queen's Chapel as the possibility of a finished building to be used by the Queen's chosen chaplains approached rapidly⁵² in the spring of 1626.

It is known that the young French Bishop of Mandes, initially chosen by the Queen, had already complained about the slowness of building construction and the part in it played by Inigo Jones, who would himself become one of the Chapel's secular establishment.⁵³ Nonetheless, the opening of the Queen's Chapel in April 1626 was seen by some as nothing less than the occasion for opening up the question of the authority of Roman Catholic Bishops in a Protestant country with a Protestant Church formally established with Parliamentary approval in 1558. There was also the further question of whether any allowance would be made for William Smith, then newly appointed as the Bishop of Chalcedon, and formally therefore the Vicar Apostolic of the Bishop of Rome. Resentment at Smith's role and responsibility, which enjoyed no diplomatic protection, forced him too into exile in 1631.

The first 'official' Regulars and Seculars appointed to serve at the Queen's Chapel comprised 29 priests, of whom 14 were Theatines and 15 Seculars, together with the young Bishop of Mandes. But only weeks after the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace was 'opened', according to one authority on 17th April 1626, Charles, displeased at "finding some Frenchmen, her servants, unreverently curvetting in her presence". had the whole French retinue expelled on 26th June.⁵⁴ This act created the opportunity for the Benedictines to become involved.

⁵¹Cited in Sheppard, E., *Memorials of St. James's Palace*, Longmans, London, 1894, Vol.II, pp.229-30.

⁵²In theory Catholic priests could be ordained in the Chapel. Later Bishops were to be installed in the Chapel.

⁵³PRO. E101/439/3. fol.77 shows Inigo Jones as a member in the Queen's Chapel establishment for 1634-5"

Inigo Jones's part is detailed in further in Appendix I to this thesis.

⁵⁴ Charles ordered Lord Conway to do this on 26th June. See Birch, T, *op. cit.*, p.119 (hereinafter Birch CI).

It seems that rather than conspicuously picking off only the Bishop, King Charles chose wholesale expulsion as the quicker and more effective answer. This course had the added political attraction of throwing out the physical evidence of Richelieu's influence in this country in the form of the Queen's ecclesiastical retinue.⁵⁵ It was a reaction which must have stung the Queen and the French Royal family in its ferocious use of his prerogative powers, and in its demonstration that the King of England had an interest in the affairs of the Queen's Chapel despite the diplomatic constraints that the French must have thought they had imposed. The French Bishop unsuccessfully pleaded his diplomatic status.

The scale of his expulsions in July and August 1626 is impressive: - "About 300, besides their attendants and children, who in all are said to be 1,100."⁵⁶ These expulsions have an intensely personal dimension too, made clear by Charles I in diplomatic instructions of 12 July 1626 for his envoy to the French King. They read as follows:

"Charles Rex.

It is not unknowne both to the French King and his mother what unkindness and distastes have fallen between my wife and me.....Shee taking notice that it was now time to make the officers for the revenue, one night when I was abed put a paper in my hand, telling me it was a list of those she desired to be of her retinue, I took it and said I would read it next morning. But withall told her that by agreement in France I had the naming of them, she said, there were both Inglis and French in the note. I replied, that those English I thought fit to serve her I would confirme, but for the French, It was impossible for them to serve her in that nature: - then she said all those in that paper had brevetts from her mother and herselfe, and that she could admitt no other; Then I said it was neither in her mother's power nor hers, to admit anie without my leave, and that if she stood upon that, whomsoever she recommended should not come in; then she badd me plainly to take my lands to myselfe, for if she had no power to put in whom she would in those places, she would have neither lands nor house of me.....I can no longer suffer those that I know to be the cause and fermenters of these humours about my wife any longer, which I must doe if it were but for one action they made my wife do, which is, to make her goe to Tiburn in devotion to pray, of which action can have no greater invective mad against it than the relation."⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Birch, T., The Court and Times of Charles I, p.121, footnote. The King issued the following instruction to Buckingham: "I command you to send all the French away tomorrow out of town, if you can, by fair means, driving them away like so many wild beasts, until you have shipped them, and so the devil go with them. Let me hear of no answer but of the performance of my command, for I rest your faithful, constant, loving friend C.R."

⁵⁶ Birch, CI, p.134. Letter to Joseph Mead, 4th August 1626.

⁵⁷ "W.M.Molyneux Manuscripts, Loseley House, Guildford", 7th Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, London, 1879, p. 676. Instructions issued at Wansteade. [Wansted]

B. CONTINENTAL CULTURAL INFLUENCES OVER THOSE FORMALLY ATTACHED TO THE QUEEN'S CHAPEL.

Following the expulsions of the huge French retinue in 1626 there was never again a Catholic retinue of anything like that size surrounding a Stuart consort. The Queen's Chapel operated thereafter as an important host for continental musicians with a much smaller complement both of priests and musicians and with very few secular "hangers on". It remained, however, a significant host to some gentlemen and boys trained in Continental musical traditions although their numbers were smaller than those attached to the Protestant Chapel Royal which had continued to perform religious compositions in Latin ever since 1554.⁵⁸ This is better appreciated from the quantitative information indicating that during Elizabeth's reign between half and two thirds of the men in "the King's Musick" were immigrants. In 1590 nineteen of the twenty nine musicians were aliens, mostly members of the Bassano, Lupo, Lanier, Comy and Galliardello families.⁵⁹

Under James and Charles I, although a larger proportion were of English origin, the descendants of the Bassanos, Ferraboscos and Laniers continued to predominate in service to the Protestant Chapel Royal.⁶⁰ Moreover they were provided with the finest English and continental instrument makers at Court, and the best imported Antwerp virginals, Cremona Violins and other instruments. Developments in instrumentation and composition emanated and were emulated across the Realm from the King's Court, and in particular the Chapel Royal. Walter Porter had studied under Monteverdi and Giovanni Coperario was sent abroad to study foreign innovations⁶¹. Although musicians serving both "the King's Musick" and the Chapel Royal cost about three thousand pounds a year under Elizabeth, this rose to seven thousand pounds under James and Charles I. Woodfill concludes that "Without the Chapel Royal and the King's Musick, Elizabeth James and Charles could not have satisfied as fully their taste for music and for the display of dignity and power; with their help they enjoyed courts in harmony with renaissance ideals".⁶²

In parallel, the Queen's Chapel hosted its own sizeable foreign contingent. Queen Anne, James I's Queen, had as a Catholic convert employed but four Frenchmen, Three of these, though, were subsequently absorbed into Henrietta Maria's Queen's Chapel to join the much expanded complement of Frenchmen including

⁵⁸See Appendices I and II to this thesis.

⁵⁹Lasocki, David and Prior, Roger, The Bassanos Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers in England 1531-1665, Ashgate, London, 1995.

⁶⁰Wilson, Michael I, Nicholas Lanier Master of the King's Musick, Ashgate, London, 1994. Wilson shows Lanier also to have been a great artist, connoisseur, collector and personal friend of both Rubens and Van Dyck.

⁶¹Woodfill, Walter L, Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I, Da Capo, New York, 1969, p.196.

⁶²Ibid. p.197.

Nicholas du Vall, later sworn into the King's Musick for lutes and voices.⁶³ That the Benedictine constitutions forbade the use of musical instruments during the Mass did not mean the Benedictine influence of music at the Queen's Chapel served to constrict their use, for it is clear from the 1631 inventory at St. Gregory's that chant was accompanied by a variety of instruments, including "a paire of virginals, and a chest of vialls, 2 bashons, a great instruement for the base, and a flew"⁶⁴. Use of such instrumental accompaniment in the Queen's Chapel may therefore be assumed.

However, Woodfill seriously underestimates the politico-religious symbolism which the Court Chapels, as respective focuses for the hopes and dominance of Church of England or Roman Catholic Church represented both in England and across Europe, writing "There was some political and diplomatic significance to the maintenance of the Chapel (Royal) and the King's Musick, but probably very little. They were conspicuous signs of wealth and therefore of power, and so may have contributed something, indirectly, toward the strengthening of England's position in European affairs", although conceding "in the internal political situation their significance may have been a little greater".⁶⁵ This conclusion results from looking at the Court Chapels for their musical grandeur only. In reality the music was there to support the liturgical beliefs of the King or Queen Consort 'publicly' presented in their Chapels for all across the Realm and abroad to understand. The dominance of French culture at the Queen's Chapel was undeniable.

Musical training for the Queen's Chapel at St James's was similarly treated as an extension of the French Court as appears from a list of officers of Henrietta Maria's Chapel under "Fees, pensions and wages of servants and officers" for 1634.⁶⁶ This mentions that Lewis Richards was paid as "Master of the Musick to the King of France" and that "Philip Burlamachy of London, Marchant, for monie by him paid to one Lewes Richard who breeds boyes for her Majesty's Musick in Paris in France, in consideracon of monies layd out by him for her Majesty being the same sume of £60as by her Majesty's warrant dated 20th May 1630".⁶⁷ Elsewhere in the same sequence of accounts he is named as "Master of Musick to the King of France" in receipt of an annual £100 pension each year until 1640. Either two other musicians in her Household at St. James's shared the same name in this set of accounts, or more likely one of the two was the same "Loys Richards, Master of Her Majesty's Musick" (later back in France by 3rd Dec 1644) paid £440 for training six boys choristers each paid £120 and all named in 1640. The combined influence of these men who endowed the Queen's Chapel with musical and devotional traditions did not cease in 1642.

⁶³ See the appendix for exact numbers, personal identities and dates.

⁶⁴ Lunn, *op.cit.*, p.181

⁶⁵ Woodfill, *op.cit.*, p.197.

⁶⁶ PRO. E.101/493/3 f.71: Mr. Quirhards (sic) Richards - "Master of the Musick to the King of France"

⁶⁷ PRO. SC6/Chas.I/1696 for 1630.

C. Confessional space, geographical location and the Court power structure.

Ducking some of the most fundamental theological issues involved in the Coronation ceremony and the monarchy's need for its own distinctive confessional space, and even the justification offered for Charles's expulsions of 1626, a pre-occupation with architecture and geography as indications of the Court power structure has dominated recent Court studies. The use of palace geography as an interpretative tool to reconstruct Court life was the brainchild of Hugh Murray Baillie, presented in a formative paper in 1967.⁶⁸ This concept has since been refined by such advocates as David Starkey.⁶⁹ Indeed a critique of a recent study of Philip II of Spain regarded this methodology as a necessary prerequisite to an acceptable interpretation of the life of Philip's Court. The critic states boldly that "Modern historians have shown how geography explains what rulers did, how their households and courts were organised, how the layout of their palaces reflected power structures, and how they used art and literature to express their ideas".⁷⁰

But, as a later addition by some hundred years to the buildings at St. James's Palace, the only available location for the Queen's Chapel was at its periphery, that history negating any assumption about the geographical centrality of the Chapel which might be rightly applied, for instance, to the Escorial's construction. Yet the geographical location of the Queen's Chapel did not reflect a correspondingly peripheral role at Court or in affairs of State or ignorance of contemporary Spanish and French practice. Indeed, if anything, its actual location put it nearer the Catholic Embassy and Papal Agency Chapels and their associated Catholic chaplains who were billeted anonymously in the vicinity. Neither does geography provide a helpful interpretation of its importance on the basis that the Queen's Chapel was not built at the 'headquarters' palace of Whitehall but rather at St. James's in what was even in 1626 a lesser palace and on the boundary of a Park. This study argues that the Queen's Chapel was not correspondingly insignificant as a feature of the Caroline Court. Indeed, its geographically peripheral position, looking beyond the confines of the Palace, co-incidentally reflects the different international sources of authority governing the Queen's Chapel which straddled the courts and monasteries of Europe rather than a single palace. Since other Court structures did not possess the international dimension of the Queen's Chapel, this thesis argues that it should be seen as an important and innovative element of the Court additional to the time-honoured Court structures of the English Kings. It amounted at once to an internationally protected Catholic foot in the door of a nominally Protestant Court, and to a diplomatically protected, almost private, confessional space.

⁶⁸Baillie, H.M., Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces, Society of Antiquaries, Oxford, 1967, pp.170-199. These advocates of explanation of power by geography fail, though, to appreciate that mere room terminology was not necessarily, and still is not, the yardstick of proximity to the monarch. In the French Court entitlement of proximity was based to no little extent upon time of day and the issue at hand. See too: History Today, Review of "Cromwell", March 1998.

⁶⁹ Starkey, D., (ed), A European Court in England, Collins and Brown, London, 1991, p.8-10,13, 20-22, 64-66.

⁷⁰Orme, Nicholas, Review of "Henry Kamen, Philip of Spain", Yale University Press, 1997, in Church Times, 24th October 1997, p.16.

The Queen's Chapel admitted the reality of an alternative Court structure to rival the established Church of England influence and enjoyed proximity to the monarchy's religious beliefs and the politics surrounding or emanating from them. Equally, the Queen's Chapel does not easily admit comparison with its European counter-parts. This is not least because of the peculiarity that it was provided for the worship of a Queen Consort and her Household, not for the Head of State. There was no personal embodiment of sacramental symbolism in the person of the King, attracting no such 'public' practices as were necessarily undertaken at the Spanish Royal Chapel of the Alcazar Palace in Madrid.⁷¹ There the person of the King was invested with the public property of the sacrament and became the interface between God and subject. This was acted out in liturgical ritual, for example, on Good Friday by the King's ordering the removal of the movable curtain surrounding his chair, known as the 'Cortina'. Just as the Host was carried and placed in the tabernacle, so the King was carried and placed in the Cortina. Such practices were carefully choreographed to show the Spanish King's political position justified his title as "Most Catholic Monarch". Stuart monarchs claimed no such interface between God and subject, except for the ceremonial of "Touching for the King's Evil", the liturgy of which survived in the Book of Common Prayer until Queen Anne's death. But to compare the detailed practice of the Spanish Chapel Royal offers little help with the political dimensions involved beyond the obvious liturgical or architectural comparisons which could be made as between the Catholic Queen's Chapel at St. James's, and the Escorial's Chapel. In spite of the Spanish Ambassador's guiding role in the initial construction of the building at St James's in 1623, the 'Spanish match' was abandoned by Prince Charles before the Queen's Chapel was occupied.

Howard Colvin has attempted to argue that the elevated geographical position of the Holyday Closets, elaborate galleries used as the royal pew and sometimes a miniature chapel within the various Chapels Royal, signalled such an interface between subject and God.⁷² For McCulloch, "Whitehall, Hampton Court, St. James's, Greenwich and Windsor shared the same plan, and, for the purposes of understanding the sermon's setting in them, can be described collectively" as necessary to a "proper understanding of the spatial dynamics between monarch, minister and court".⁷³

Because the Royal Closet was connected on the same level to the first-floor royal apartments and presence chamber, McCulloch argued that the Closet window simultaneously both advertised the princely presence and guarded it for "the sovereign was a kind of present absence, a hovering, presiding genius, removed but keenly felt because of that removal". Its operational rationale was that "from inside the Chapel Royal looking up to the Closet, preacher or courtiers would see the sovereign centred over the west end, not only

⁷¹Glass, Juliet, "The sixteenth century Spanish Chapel Royal: The Alcazar", A paper presented to the Society for Court Studies, 14th February 1997. See plan in Gerard, "De castillo a palacio", p.115.

⁷²Colvin, Howard, *History of the King's Works*. Vol. IV. 1485-1660. HMSO, London, 1982.

⁷³McCulloch, Peter E., *Sermons at Court. Politics and religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998. pp.12,13

framed in the window, but surrounded by the heraldic devices of the monarchy".⁷⁴ This meant that "iconographic schemes in the Chapel Royal emphasised dynastic as much as religious claims."⁷⁵ Cuddy, relying upon Pam Wright's statement that "the key to political power at court remained - as it always had been - access to the sovereign",⁷⁶ expands these thoughts further to see the Closet as a rare interface between the Sovereign and the 'outer layers' of the court, usually screened from the royal presence through daily hierarchical protocol. Cuddy concluded: "We must remember that the 'inner' layer, most strictly defined as the prince's privy apartments, looked into that outer layer in the form of the closet."⁷⁷

Translated into action this could be a two-way process, for McCulloch argues that the pulpit meant that "during a court sermon the preacher not only had to face the presence of the sovereign, but also stand alone in an elevated pulpit more on a level with the prince than anyone else in the Chapel."⁷⁸ Given this opportunity McCulloch argues that Lancelot Andrewes's choice of Psalm 118.22, "The Stone, which the Builders refused, the same stone is become...the Head of the Corner"; presented the architectural metaphor in a sermon delivered before James I at Easter in 1611. This was to show that James had survived numerous plots to accede to the English Throne and become the keystone of power over "the two estates, Civill and Ecclesiasticall, which make the maine Angle, in every Governement". Visually James sat in the Royal Closet as a living keystone literally 'raised up' over the estates of his realm. But the opportunity presented by the pulpit could be two-way. Edward Dering targeted Queen Elizabeth's closet with an onslaught, using the text "He chose David his servant also and tooke hym from the shepefoldes" (Psalm 78.70), to reveal that "hir Ministers be ignoraunt ...dum Dogs" who hid from her the spoiled benefices, corrupt patrons and unfit clergy riddling her Church. Dering brilliantly removed the Queen from her Closet and transported her to the sites of abuse, repeating at each venue the refrain that God had spoken to Ezekiel: "and yet you shall see more abominations than these". Dering had used the geography of the Chapel to show that preachers and not princes provided interface with God despite the form of the Coronation ceremony. It was an example not lost on Andrewes who later so effectively preached a sermon beginning: "I beseeche your Majestie to harken, I wyl speake nothing accordynge to man..."⁷⁹

In Scotland, though, James had already experienced the reverse, for the Scottish kirk made no provision for an elevated Closet; instead the King "seated himself in a very common chair that showed no ormanent whatever"⁸⁰ next to the pulpit which, by contrast, was from 1583 was "richly hung with cloth of gold".⁸¹

⁷⁴ Ibid, p.21.

⁷⁵ Ibid.p.22

⁷⁶Wright, Pam, "A Change in Direction: the Ramification of a Female Household, 1558-1603" in Starkey, D, English Court, p.159.

⁷⁷ Cuddy, Nicholas, "Revival of the Entourage" in Starkey, D, English Court, p.182

⁷⁸ McCulloch, Sermons, p.21.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Nicols, Progresses of...Queen Elizabeth, Vol.III, p.358.

McCulloch concludes that "Just as the English arrangement of elevated closet-over-chapel articulated the royal supremacy by placing the monarch literally above the nobles and clergy, the Scottish custom summed up the kirk's insistence that it was not subject to earthly princes"⁸² To impose royal supremacy and episcopacy upon Scotland, James ordered Andrewes, Dean of the Chapel Royal, to have an elevated Closet built at Holyroodhouse "for ther Majestis to louke downe to the Chapell throw".⁸³

However, James I would, without looking beyond his realms, have been familiar with the other problems associated with the status of four Collegiate churches in Edinburgh which were exempt by Papal Bull from archiepiscopal jurisdiction from St. Andrews, and instead were subject to the immediate jurisdiction of the Pope. One of these, the Chapel at Restalrig, granted collegiate status by Pope Innocent VII in 1487, had a Dean with eight prebendaries and two singing boys until its dissolution by Act of Parliament in 1592.⁸⁴ Although there is no evidence that a collegiate format along the lines of Restalrig was what James I understood he was permitting with the creation of the Queen's Chapel, this Scottish example of the Pope's authority within the religious affairs of his old Court must have sprung to mind and may have occasioned his moments of wavering.⁸⁵ Can James I's experience of such politico-religious architectural symbolism and interpretation, or even that of his latterly Catholic consort, Anne of Denmark, be extended to the architectural brief for the features of the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace, and if so, does it enlighten us about the command structures which governed its complement and usage ?

An authoritative part of the answer is provided by the recent measured photogrammetrical drawings done by Martin Astley Associates in 1996, which show the constructional sequence of the Queen's Chapel. Not only do they show Jones's mathematical and aesthetic mastery of the Palladian idiom acquired as a result of his study tours in Italy so often mentioned by architectural historians, they also show up the influence of James's thinking on the appropriately elevated status of the monarchy. These drawings revealing the form of double skinned brick construction can be compared with the variance in size of other Embassy Chapels in use in Stuart London. They do not show that the Queen's Chapel was provided by Inigo Jones in 1626⁸⁶ with a large, elaborate, and elevated Royal Closet at its west end in the style of the latest European Chapels Royal.

⁸¹ Von Wedel, Journey through England and Scotland, p.245.

⁸² McCulloch, Sermons, p.28

⁸³ Paton, Henry M Imrie, John, Dunbar, John G, (eds) Accounts of the Masters of the Works for Building and Repairing Royal Palaces and Castles, Edinburgh, 1982, Vol.II, p.441

⁸⁴ Restalrig Church (The King's Chapel. and St. Triduana's Aisle), A booklet to mark the 500th Anniversary of the King's Chapel, October 1977, Restalrig. unpaginated.

⁸⁵ The Catholic foundation of the Scots College in Rome, founded in 1646, came too late to be a formative influence upon the foundation of the Queen's Chapel.

⁸⁶ Inigo Jones's drawings show the details were designed for the Closet's chimneypiece prior to 1626. See Haris and Higott, Inigo Jones - Complete Architectural Drawings, p.



The Royal Closet which Catherine of Braganza knew in the Capela Rainha Santa Isabel.
Photograph by courtesy of Jose Gregorio Faria, Portuguese Ambassador to the Court of St. James's

This in turn was connected circuitously to the royal apartments. There was also an elevated permanent pulpit at the corner of the north transept, nearly at eye level with the Closet.

The dominant allusions of the Queen's Chapel were not the Scottish ones, but international ones. The architectural idiom was derived from classical Rome and devised to hint at the continuum of Papal authority in Rome. However, in Queen Henrietta Maria's time its Latin services and ceremonial must have sounded very French for there many musical affinities to French practice adopted after 1626.

After the Braganzan refurbishment the colourful arms of England and Portugal, together with a crucifix emblazoned in the great Venetian window above the High Altar, led the eye towards the arms repeated for all to see below the coffered ceiling in the Sanctuary, and also over the Chimneypiece in the Royal Closet. Using the same interpretative tools we can conclude that in the Queen's Chapel the design stressed the Queen's elevated status. However, by then there was a more intimate shared reality - namely its obvious similarity to the Portuguese Royal Chapel of St. Denis at Estremôz.⁸⁷ The similarity of the great Venetian window in each, of the raised pulpits, and even of the large balconies forming the respective Royal Closets, must have caused Catherine of Braganza and Bishop Russell to feel at home. Furthermore, the Barberini Arms were not in evidence as they had been in the Chapel of the Papal Agent in London in the 1630s, indicating that the Queen's Chapel was not as subject to Papal decree as it was to Catherine's wishes. This did not mean that Papal influence was excluded from the work of the Seculars and Regulars attached to the Queen's Chapel, or from the motivations of the Queen. Rather it showed whose sovereignty was paramount.

As with other Chapels Royal, preachers could and did use the pulpit of the Queen's Chapel to pursue politico-religious agendas, sometimes even in defiance of the Stuart King or his Queen Consort, as we shall see. But it was more important that in the Queen's Chapel the Queen Consort could exercise her conscience freely in support or defiance of political or religious developments at home and abroad. She could welcome priests and adopt confraternities reflecting her personal interests in the broader Catholic world.

Thus Henrietta Maria attempted practical if partisan religious action beyond the Chapel's immediate geographical confines, publicly welcoming her mother, Queen Marie de Medici, to St. James's Palace, and even encouraging discussion with King Charles of such endeavours as the re-unification of the churches attempted by the Oratorian Papal Agents in the 1630s. Using the internationally recognised *raison d'être* of the Queen's Chapel the Queen Consort did on occasion secure the release of certain Catholic priests from prison. Through Her Chapel's Almonry monies could be distributed to or through the members of the same religious orders as those attached to the Queen's Chapel. The benefits of that practice could even extend to

⁸⁷ Peres, Damiao, Historia de Portugal Edicao Monumental Comemorativa Do 8 Centenario Da Fundaco Da Nacionalidade, Vol. VI, Portucalense Editora, Barcelos, 1934, p.79.



View towards the Altar in the Capela Rainha Santa Isabel, Palacio D.Denis, Estremoz, Portugal.
Photograph by courtesy of Jose Gregorio Faria, Portuguese Ambassador to the Court of St.James's

any needy Catholics, or those ministering to Catholics outside the palace, as happened with the Jesuits Southworth and Morse during the Plague of 1636.

At Saint Germain-en-Laye there were similarly Royal Chapel establishments and Almonies. These Henrietta Maria would have known from childhood in the Chateau-Vieux de Saint Germain-en-Laye, but they were always distinct from the two lesser Oratories of the Chapelle de la Princess in the north-west Pavilion and another in the north-east Pavilion, all locations later used by James II in exile.⁸⁸ Likewise there were private oratories at the Alcazar and many more in Royal Palaces all over Catholic Europe provided for the use of Kings and Queens. But these only amounted to tiny rooms in large palaces set aside for prayer, as were similar oratories provided in the Stuart palaces in Whitehall and St. James's for the Queen Consorts and their chaplains.⁸⁹ Their provision was obviously of little or no constitutional significance if only because they were used in private - not in public.

Oratories, being distinctive for their private form, were always accorded less significance than the grander European Chapels Royal. This is consistently so throughout the period of this study. The Queen's Chapel and its establishment as devoted to the Queen, and the far less pretentious, but still grand Catholic chapel also furnished at Somerset House by Inigo Jones, cannot be compared with the Oratories. To compare Chapel with Oratory would not be comparing like with like, and would be misleading. The distinction was made clearly by King Charles I while the Queen's Chapel was under construction, in response to a complaint about the size of the Oratory assigned in the interim to the Queen:

"Tell them that if the Queen's closet is not thought large enough, they may use the great chamber; and if the great chamber is not large enough, they may make use of the garden; and if the garden will not suit their purpose, they may go to the Park, which is the fittest place of all".⁹⁰

Furthermore, thanks to the influence of Gondomar's original ideas, there was never any question of the French Queen of England being satisfied with regular access to a Catholic ambassadorial chapel in London, even as an interim measure, although many an Embassy Chapel enjoyed a status akin to the protected diplomatic status of the Queen's Chapel.

Since the Queen's Chapel was deliberately constructed for King Charles's French bride, comparison with the larger French Chapels Royal might seem a more fruitful approach. The difficulty here is that all rank came from the French King, and the French Queen was not in a position to introduce any innovation

⁸⁸ Corp, Edward, "The Jacobite Chapel Royal at Saint-Germain-en-Laye", *Recusant History*, Vol.23 No.4, Catholic Record Society, 1997.

⁸⁹ Survey of London.

⁹⁰ Harting, Johanna, *London Catholic Missions*, Sands, London, 1903, p.6. See also the plan provided in the Survey of London for the Oratory at Whitehall.

without his doing so on her behalf. By contrast the Queen's Chapel at St. James's could initiate new devotions, such as the Devotion of the Sacred Heart, because ultimately the English Queen Consort's control over her Chapel derived instead from an international Treaty.

The Capellas Minor and Major of the Archducal Court in Brussels offer little scope for useful comparison, except to show that there was a strong emphasis on the celebration of Spanish saints days giving an impression of what might have been expected at the Queen's Chapel, had there been a Spanish match in 1623.⁹¹ But as it happens, any question of international comparison of the locations of confessional space determining place in power structures at Court becomes irrelevant to this study in the case of the French Court too, not least because for a long time the Chapel was in the Petit-Bourbon outside the Palace altogether. The French King either went there or to the parish church of St. Germain-l'Auxerois even further away. In either cases the route was lined by troops. Louis XIV's preoccupation once there with such questions as who was to be allowed to sit in front of whom and whose hassocks were set straight and not obliquely,⁹² renders comparison with the Queen's Chapel absurd, as Pepys shows.⁹³

The model of the Papal Chapel in Rome, whose organisation and practices are described in detail by Richard Sherr, was neither copied nor considered comparable, not least because of the vast number of priests and cardinals who serviced it, enjoying the friendly benefaction of the Holy Father himself. Indeed, the Papal Chapel bears more comparison with the Protestant Chapel Royal of Charles I in this respect; the latter's complement included the Dean and Sub-Dean, 31 Gentlemen-in-Ordinary, and between 10 Children of the Chapel Royal and serviced by 49 Chaplains-in-Ordinary, and 37 Chaplains Extraordinary in 1641.⁹⁴ This far outnumbered the small number of clergy attached to the Queen's Chapel who, although somewhat cocooned by the palace walls, nevertheless operated within a hostile politico-religious climate.

So while it is clear that other European Chapels Royal could be compared with the regimented services and events so ably documented by Dr. Anthony Milton in his study of the early modern Stuart church, the King's Chapel Royal and the Court, it is also evident that the very different and freer life of the Queen's Chapel was never intended to replicate these European Chapels Royal with their regimented and straight-jacketed ceremonials solely designed to point up the divine authority of the Monarch.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Thomas, Werner, "The Spanish Netherlands: Elector Maximillian Emmanuel and the ceremonial of the Archducal Chapel", paper to the Society for court Studies, 13th February 1997.

⁹² Levron, J. *La Vie quotidienne a la cour de Versailles aux XVIII et XVIII siècles*, Paris, 1965, p.215.

⁹³ Samuel, Pepys, Diary entry of Christmas Eve 1667.

⁹⁴ D. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, 1990, pp.262-263 and Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, Vol. 3, 16215-1649, Andrew Ashbee, 1988, pp. 109-110.

⁹⁵ Milton, Anthony, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995.

The Queen's Chapel can, however, be usefully seen in the context of an entirely different group of chapels - missionary chapels. The Queen's Chapel was a well placed and protected staging post for the missionary zeal of the Queen Consorts themselves, and for the secular and regular Orders who were appointed to serve her Chapel, some of whom in reality came under the wing of European Catholic monarchs. With this realisation a whole host of important comparisons and influences fall into line, ranging from international efforts at conversion, to re-unification hopes, to internal rivalries between Orders and priests with their own various internal agendas. These practices and objectives, though, emanate less from the Courts of the European monarchs than from the crucible of missions and training colleges of religious Orders spread throughout Europe and the New World.

This is perhaps not surprising when efforts to bring about the dominance of Catholicism are understood as a mission against heresy for which cause its proponents were willing to undergo deprivations or even die. It is in this context, then, that the interested chief protagonists in various European Courts and their Monarchs come into play. So do, naturally, the Embassy Chapels in London which had a longer experience of justifying Catholicism, but which now found themselves in the uniquely important position of providing a secure communications network between the Queen's Chapel and the Papacy, as well as other European monarchs willing to promote the cause of Catholicism in England.

One great scholarly project of Douai College produced in 1582 was an new English document written to attract back Catholic congregations, - "The New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated faithfully into English, out of the authentical Latin". This was the first English translation of scripture officially approved for use by Catholics. It was followed in 1609-10 by the "Old Testament in two volumes Diligently conferred with the Hebrew, Greece, and other editions...By the English College of Dowdy [Douai]". But from 1611 onwards this ecclesiastical competition for recruits was transformed for the English Protestants by the better decalatory language of the King James Authorised version of the Bible. Concurrently, however, a new and more participatory form of observance for Catholic Regulars operating at Royal Courts became available through the Spanish Chapel Royal in 1611.⁹⁶ James I then faced the reality of his wife's Catholic chapel, and Charles I the actuality of a diplomatically protected Catholic Chapel at Court. Both also faced a broad spectrum of divines within the Church of England aware of the need to keep up with the Roman Catholic challenge. Protestant theology had justified a significant role for the state in religion and so for themselves. The Queen's Chapel was to provide the next big encouragement to the Catholic congregations of London.

⁹⁶ "Relatione delle cose di magg. considerat, ne di di tutta la Corte di Spagna fatta nell'anno 1611". This unpublished manuscript of 95 pages has only just come to light. It was written by Girolano Soranzo, Librarian of the Marciana from 1601, and Venetian Ambassador to the Court of Philip III from 1608-11: now in the hands of Richard Hatchwell of Chippenham, Wiltshire. It describes the form of services held in the Spanish Chapel Royal, themselves based to no little extent upon Philip II's experience of Mary Tudor's Chapel Royal. It also details the military threat by showing the disposition and number of warships and the armies deployed in all the Spanish Crown's possessions.

Chapter 3.

CATHOLIC ATTENDEES AND THE LIMITATIONS OF RECUSANCY RECORDS.

By Elizabeth I's death in 1603 over 450 priests trained at Douai had returned illegally to minister to Catholics resident in England. Nearly a quarter of them had been put to death after being caught and convicted for their pains. Their activities constituted, therefore, much of the Catholic 'climate' of conversion and ambition into which the Queen's Chapel was born in 1623. This was typified by such examples of conversion as Louys Van Hoolroeck of the protestant London-Dutch Church who according to a Confession of Guilt Register entry of 1621 "fourteen years ago, became a member of our Community by confession of the Faith, but has since been drawn off to popery, to which he adheres in spite of our having refuted his errors in many public and private conferencies".⁹⁷ By 1636 there were 178 Jesuit priests working in England and Wales, of whom some 35 worked in or about London. They were responsible for 49 conversions in 1635, rising to 110 in 1640. Benedictines had comparable success. The Cassinese Benedictine, Richard Hudleston, professed in 1613, for example, to have converted to Catholicism the Irish families of Waterton, Middleton, Trappes, and Thimbelby in Yorkshire, and the Preston, Anderton, Downes, Shirburne and Ingleby families in Lancashire.⁹⁸ Some idea of the growth of the Benedictine influence can be gauged from noting that several foundations involved in the Benedictine missions to London during the seventeenth century were created in the sixteen years leading up to 1623: St. Gregory's at Douai (1607), St. Laurence at Dieulard (1608), St. Benedict's at S. Malo and the community of chaplains at Chelles (1611), St. Edmund's at Paris (1615) and the nuns at Cambrai (1623).

Evidence from Baker's chronicle suggests that large numbers certainly attended Catholic services in central London. He wrote: "The papists also at this time (1637) suffered under a severe animadversion, it being observed that they made numerous resorts to private Conventicles at the houses of Forrein Ambassadors and especially to the old Chappell at Somerset House." ⁹⁹ Middleton's The Game at Chaess, written in London in 1625 to lampoon Gondomar, suggests there were 38,000 Catholics in the realm who waited to be sprung from the five mile restriction provided in the Recusancy Act of 1593.¹⁰⁰ John Bossy's study confirms there were probably only a tenth of the numbers Gondomar thought existed, rising perhaps to 60,000 by 1640.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ J.H. Hessels, (ed.) Register of the attestations or certificates of membership, confessions of guilt, certificates of marriages, betrothals, publications of banns etc. etc. preserved in the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars, London, 1568-1872, Frederick Muller and Co., Doelenstraat, Amsterdam, 1892, p.228, entry 3218.

⁹⁸ Lunn, *op. cit.*, p.159

⁹⁹ Baker's Chronicle of Charles I, p.502 quoted in Jenkins, Wilberforce, London Churches Before the Great Fire, SPCK, London, 1917, p.258.

¹⁰⁰ G.R. Elton, The Tudor Constitution, Cambridge University Press, 1965. cites the 1593 Act at pp.427-32. For the 1581 "Act to retain the Queen's subjects in their obedience" and the "Act Against Jesuits", see pp. 422-26.

¹⁰¹ J. Bossy, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850, Darton Longman Todd, London, 1975, p.188.



Conde Gondomar as illustrated in Middleton's Game at Chaess.

Diego Sarmiento d' Acuna, the Conde Gondomar, as illustrated on the title page of Thomas Middleton's *Game at Chaess*, London, 1625. He appears in guise of the Black Knight receiving a message from the Pope, *"the Fatte Bishop"*, and passing it on to the renegade Archbishop of Spalatro (Split) whose name was Marco Antonio de Dominis.

British Library, Dept. of Printed Books, C.34.,d.38.

However, exactly who came to attend at Court from what part of the country, and then attended which London Chapel, is much more difficult to determine. Formal registers surviving within Portuguese care do record births, deaths and marriages in the Queen's Chapel after 1662 but do not reveal the regular attendees. It is unlikely that by contrast the records of names would have been kept of who had been attending the chapel's daily or weekly services in 1630s, not least to protect them from possible retribution by the angry London mobs who attacked Catholics emerging from the Embassy chapels. Although the Recusancy Rolls at the PRO are extensive they were not designed to record where the recusants attended Roman Masses, only which recusants opted to stay away from Church of England communion services.¹⁰² For the purposes of identifying recusants who were living near enough to have attended the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace or Somerset House it is perhaps relevant that Drury Lane is in the Middlesex Rolls.¹⁰³ But these problems pale beside the major limitations in the form of the Queen's Chapel's own records which are compounded by shipwreck. In fact nearly all the Capuchin records from the 1630s were lost with the shipwreck in the English Channel of the ship in the early 1640s. The ill-fated ship was also carrying sacramental vessels and other belongings taken from Somerset House during Henrietta Maria's attempt to procure reinforcements for her husband's cause.¹⁰⁴

Despite these problems Heather Wolfe has established that Lady Falkland and her daughters who lived in Drury Lane were prominent converts to Catholicism. She noted the use which Lady Falkland put her house in 1626 "where her Ladyshippes dayly guesstes are 2 Priestes with other Romish Catholiques"¹⁰⁵ She was converted by the Benedictine priest Fr. Dunstan Pettinger, and her confessors and chaplains until her death in 1639 were Benedictine Fathers Cuthbert Fursden, Benedict Price, Placid Gascoigne and John Meutisse.¹⁰⁶ That these names during the period up to 1643 do not accord with those known to be attached to the Queen's Chapel is an indication of the effectiveness of their mission outside that protection.

Lunn adds the name of Leander Jones, more familiar in Court circles and to Laud, to those responsible for her conversion. Drury Lane was certainly a popular location for Jesuit priests lodged at Lord Montague's house in some degree of security from pursuivants. One of the Pursuivants, Southwell, complained in 1632 "they are regularly on top of their houses to go to one another, and so unto Blewse's house; and there is a privy way to convey them away through the stable into the fields".¹⁰⁷ Other nearby places frequented by

¹⁰² Church Wardens and Constables were to report annually to Quarter Sessions the absence of Catholic recusants from Church according to an Act of 3. James I, cap.4: "An Act for the better discovering and repressing of Popish Recusantes". For other intermittent instances of recorded recusancy see also Assize Records in PRO Class ASSSI 35, and King's Bench KB Series. .

¹⁰³ The tougher Recusancy Act of 1657 required recusants to swear an oath abjuring the Pope, or face presentment at Quarter Sessions, where the chapel they used might appear in some proceedings.

¹⁰⁴ Gamache,

¹⁰⁵ Wolfe, Heather, "Cambrai's Imprint on the Life of Lady Falkland" in EBC History Symposium, 1998, pp.67,68.

¹⁰⁶ Lunn p.176.

¹⁰⁷ SP 16 299/No.36.

Jesuit priests included the homes of the Dowager Countess of Buckingham, converted by John Fisher (alias Percy), and that of Lady Savage, the White Lion in King Street and the Red Cross in Chancery Lane.

John Gee's anti-popery pamphlet "The Foot out of the Snare" published in 1624 with its long list of "Romish priests and Jesuits now resident about the City of London" gives an idea of who might have been ministering to the recusant population. Nevertheless, some more specific observations have recently come to light such as those of the Sub-Curate of St. Margaret's Westminster in 1636, who complained of the Jesuit John Southwell (actually named Southworth) that; "this Southwell, under a pretence of distributing alms sent from some of the priests in Somerset House and other papists, doth take occasion to go into divers visited houses in... Kemp Yard in Westminster". He adds that the Jesuit Southwell persuaded one William Baldwin on the point of death to "change his religion" and die "Romish Catholic". Southwell then converted another present, William Styles, with the Sub-Curate then alleging that "Three of those poor people watched all night with William Styles immediately before he died and the next day went thither to Mass".¹⁰⁸

The Queen's Capuchin chaplain, Gamache, deliberately hides the names of individuals, but gives a good many instances of conversions as a result of attending the Capuchin services at Somerset House in the 1630s. Instances include "An English Countess, who had always been brought up in the Protestant religion, living very near our house, desirous to know what sort of people we were, came frequently to see us";¹⁰⁹ "Dr Vane, Almoner, otherwise chaplain, to his Majesty, one of the ablest and most eminent of his divines" converted at the time of Prince William of Nassau's visit to London,¹¹⁰ "two other young ministers, who were not yet married, came frequently to walk in our garden";¹¹¹ the "daughter of a Puritan father and a Catholic mother"; an "English Gentleman of the Protestant religion, who held honourable offices, and was a member of the King's Council in Ireland" who returned there and "practised secretly all the exercises of his religion, at the same time attending the King's Council as usual, retaining his offices, which he would have lost, and done a great wrong to his family if he had declared himself a Catholic".¹¹² This gentleman was subsequently buried in the churchyard of the Queen's Chapel, the Queen having "cheerfully assented".¹¹³ Gamache also remarks that "the multitude of converted Huguenots was so great, that the number of Catholics who came to the Queen's Chapel [Somerset House] was such, that they never entered or left it but in a crowd".¹¹⁴ These numbers were the occasion for intermittent prohibitions by Parliament which expressed concern at the activity in and among the Catholic Embassies and Regulars in London.

¹⁰⁸ Quoted in Anstruther, Godfrey, Saint John Southworth Priest and Martyr, Catholic Truth Society, London, 1981, pp.8-9. Here Anstruther writes of John (whom the sub-Curate of St, Margaret's misnames Southwell).

¹⁰⁹ Gamache, p.332.

¹¹⁰ Gamache, p.334.

¹¹¹ Gamache, p.336.

¹¹² Gamache p.340.

¹¹³ Gamache p.342..

¹¹⁴ Gamache p.343.

Chapter 4.

RELIGIOUS RIVALRIES SURROUNDING HENRIETTA MARIA'S CHAPEL.

A. Rivalries between and within Regular Orders and Seculars.

Even before the Queen's Chapel was conceived, rivalries between the Regular Orders who were subsequently to vie for places in its complement had in some cases already taken extreme forms. A day of riots in the Jesuit English Seminary at Valladolid in 1603 was occasioned by Benedictines breaking in and "putting the rule of St. Benedict into the hands of a number of them".¹¹⁵ The Rector was forced to lock the Jesuits in lest "they broke out and gave rise to a scandal among the people". But the result was that 25 discontented students joined the Benedictines in the space of one month "with minds and memories soured towards the Jesuits", a factor which was to produce bitter fruit in the years to come as the Benedictines shared the English mission from 1603.¹¹⁶

The Capuchins who were appointed to the Queen's Household served in a separate purpose-built Chapel at Somerset House. While much is known of Capuchin activities at Somerset House from 1630, these principally concern conversions, some of higher profile than those instances cited in the previous chapter, such as that of the Duchess of Lennox and the identity of their neighbouring patrons within the Court, such as the Duke of Arundel.¹¹⁷ Such was their initial success in a Kingdom where papal authority was unacceptable to about 90% of the populace that their performance became the cause of their downfall in 1643. This happened as they threatened to reach the threshold of real political influence at Court - a position that they had carefully cultivated for over a decade.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵Edwards, Francis, The Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit 1546-1610, Institute of Jesuit Sources, St.Louis, Missouri, p.293

¹¹⁶Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Gamache, Cyprien, Op.cit. For patrons associated with Somerset House's Roman Catholic Chapel see both: Chaney, Edward, Chaney, Edward, "Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel by Francois Dieussart, in Apollo, August 1996, pp.49-50, and Wolfe, Heather R, "Cambrai's two Imprints on the life of Lady Falkland", in the English Benedictine History Symposium, 1998, Vol 16, pp.67-90 and her PhD thesis cited above which identifies the Benedictines Dunstan Pettinger, who converted Lady Falkland in 1626 and Cuthbert Fursden, Benet Price, Placid Gascoigne and John Meutisse, her Confessors in Drury Lane.

¹¹⁸The Provincial Archives of the Capuchins in Dublin which contain transcripts of Nicholas Archbold's "The History of the Irish Capuchins" (the original MS of which is to be found in the Bibliotheque de Troyes as Cabinet des MSS., No.1103), his "Evangelicall Fruct of the Seraphicall Franciscan Order" (B.L. Harley MS 122, d.2, No.3888), Robert Connley's "Historia seu Annales missiones Hibernicae" (Cabinet des MSS., No.706, Bibliotheque de Troyes), and Fr. Bernardine O'Ferall's "Little Notes for the helpe of my memory", concerning the English mission (MA Archives de L'Aulie).

A goodly number of biographies of Fr. Joseph de Tremblay exist, amongst which are Parmentier, J., De Patris Josephi capucini Publica Vita qualis ex ejus cum Richelio commerciis appareat, Paris, 1877; Dedouvres, L., Le Père Joseph devant l'histoire, Angers, 1872; Vie du R.P. Joseph de Paris du Sr. de Hautebresche, Paris, 1889; Le Pere Joseph Polemiste, Paris, 1895, and "Le Père Joseph de Paris" in Etudes Franciscaines, XXXIII, Paris, 1921 from p.78. There

Playing a key role in directing the Capuchin mission at Somerset House from 1630 onwards was Fr. Joseph de Tremblay, mentioned in the Victoria and Albert Museum's Forster Ms as "Le R.P. Joseph de Paris, Predicateur Capucin", who directed this mission from France in conjunction with the Propaganda Fide. Fr. Joseph de Tremblay's actions in its support should be seen in the context of his work for other missions at the behest of Propaganda Fide, viz: 1624 Moroccan Mission and French and English missions to Quebec in 1632 and to Nigritia (Gulf of Benin) and southern India in 1634.¹¹⁹ Against this wider background, the Capuchin historian, Fr. Cuthbert, deplored their redeployment from the pure missionary field in favour of establishing instead French Capuchins at Somerset House as Court Chaplains to the Queen. Fr. Cuthbert voiced his frustration at the international politico-religious developments which "arrested the progress of the mission." Placing the onus firmly at the feet of Père Joseph de Tremblay, Fr. Cuthbert accused him of being "fired with a wider scheme" than "merely as a Royal Chaplaincy", for the Royal Chaplaincy was to be the start of "a mission for the conversion of England". To achieve this "England and Scotland were annexed to the world-wide mission field over which the Commissary of the French missions, in virtue of faculties granted by the Congregation of Propaganda, had direct authority independent of the Minister General of the Order." This, Fr. Cuthbert wrote, "retarded the development of the English Mission."

Rivalry between seminaries abroad and between the Regulars and Seculars vying for a place in the Queen's Chapel was to become a recurrent theme. Although the Theatines, for example, were the first Order to be appointed to the Queen's Chapel (as well as the first to be expelled by Charles) the Jesuit Bishop Dr. Richard Russell, who drafted the Anglo-Portuguese terms of the re-establishing of the Queen's Chapel in 1661, did not hesitate to use his authority to expel them from Lisbon. Russell himself had a strong affinity with the English College of Jesuits in Lisbon which had been founded from Douai in 1628.

There had been quick response to this Jesuit initiative in Parliament in 1628, manifest in their response to Dr. Harsnett, Bishop of Norwich.¹²⁰ However, the Jesuits did not aspire to run the Queen's Chapel along the lines of a Jesuit Seminary or of a College, thereby properly respecting the personage whom it was devised to serve. Regulars and Seculars were indeed appointed to it from the first, but it was to adopt nothing of the internal organization of Seminaries such as that at Valladolid with its zealous introverted intensity governed by strict constitution.

are also the anonymous *Le Veritable Père Joseph*, which was a reply in the opposite spirit to the panegyric "*Histoire de la Vie du R.P. Joseph de cleric du Tremblay*", by René Richard.

¹¹⁹Fr. Cuthbert OSFC, *The Capuchins - A Contribution to the History of the Counter Reformation*, Sheed and Ward, London, 1928, pp.338-339. Although the Capuchin mission to Great Britain and Ireland was decreed by Pope Paul V in 1608, it was not until 1615 that Francis Nugent sent the first significant number of missionaries. The Indian Capuchin mission up to 1638 is described in passing in W. Foster, *The founding of Fort St George, Madras*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1902.

¹²⁰Bl. Lansdowne Ms 93/57. Parliament's petition to the King for suppressing Jesuits, Recusants, 1628.

The continental Seminaries and Colleges did, nevertheless, as the later case of Oates shows, have a profound influence upon the Queen's Chapel in other ways. The English College at Douai was founded by Cardinal Allen in 1568 with the purpose of providing a centre abroad for exiled English Catholic scholars, where they could write books in defence of Catholicism and train as priests. Its politico-religious influence was threatening particularly while it participated in missions and in the scramble to find a continuous heritage and right of succession from the days of Marian Catholicism.

Meanwhile at the royal catholic chapel at Somerset House, but a short distance from the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace, its French Capuchins felt and recorded the necessity to deploy their theological learning and the latest texts in practical action. Thus Gamache recalled that from its opening on 8th December 1635 every Sunday and major Feast "a controversial lecture was held from one o'clock until two" followed by "various conferences, some of piety with catholics, others of religion with sectaries";¹²¹ and that Fr. Jean Louys of Arancy knew "from experience that it was necessary to speak the language of the country, in order to converse with the protestants...".¹²²

Gamache further tells us that "the Christian doctrine was publicly taught in French and English on three different days each week".¹²³ Such use of the Douai rather than the King James translations of the Bible would have provided the Biblical precedent and justification for, or objection to, what was happening at the Queen's Chapel from 1623 onwards. Meanwhile from 1636 there was a great drive by the Capuchins to attract and convert the Huguenots who attended their own chapel in the precincts of the Savoy Palace next door to Somerset House. This continued after the Restoration, according to Gamache who gives a detailed example of his converting a lady who spoke French whose inclination "led her to the Huguenot church in the Savoy, where the French meet and where the minister preaches in French" and which characterised the "nakedness of Huguenot places of worship".¹²⁴

In the heat of subsequent competition between the other regular Orders for converts in Court circles a new criterion emerged - the historicity of a claim of continuous ministry. Because the monastic Benedictine "Buckley Succession" mirrored and challenged the Church of England's parallel Parker succession, at the same time seemingly justifying their claim to the extra authority of direct Apostolic succession, other Catholic Orders evidently felt the need to find or fabricate similar claims to stop the Benedictines monopolising this particular justification for their new mission to England.

¹²¹ Gamache p.315.

¹²² Gamache p.321.

¹²³ Gamache p.315.

¹²⁴ Gamache p.447.

B. Cassinese Benedictines appointed to serve the Queen's Chapel from 1626.

- Their association in support of Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance.

Whether the wholesale expulsion of Henrietta's French ecclesiastical retinue was the moment when the Benedictines first became attached to the Queen's Chapel depends upon how conflicting contemporary evidence is assessed. John Pory¹²⁵ maintained that Henrietta Maria's ecclesiastical establishment following the comprehensive expulsion of her French Bishop and clergy comprised just "Two English priests she hath [were] now allowed her, viz.- Potter and Godfrey. Some add a third, Preston. All three of them have taken the Oath of Allegiance; some say of Supremacy also".¹²⁶

Another contemporary account records that those chosen to replace the French were the Benedictines: Thomas Preston, Michael Godfrey and David Codner (alias Savage). Common to these two accounts were Godfrey and Preston. If correctly identified by Pory there may have been more to the choice of these three Benedictines than David Lunn's famous pragmatic explanation for them, namely that: "When in 1625-6 Charles quarrelled with France and expelled his wife's French chaplains, the only priests whom he could scrape up at short notice were the offscourings: three Cassinese monks of dubious reputation...".¹²⁷

Preston was an interesting and politically important choice for co-operation between Crown and Cowl. Over a hundred years previously Benedictines were described and illustrated carrying the Royal Canopy over King Henry VIII as he processed to the Opening of Parliament in 1512. Now in 1625 an opportunity presented itself for King Charles to resume the old alliance - and on favourable terms compared with the episcopal and hierarchical problems posed by the French retinue.

Thomas Preston was one of the first Benedictines to return to England, following in the footsteps of Mark Barkworth and, from Spain, Augustine Bradshaw (leader), Joseph Prater (ex-soldier who had not attended any College) and John Robarts, all of whom had travelled from Santiago de Compostella, landing in England around the 10th March 1603. They were witnessed on the way by an Irish priest in Bordeaux who observed that "three Benedictine friars have lately gone to England, with plenty of money".¹²⁸

Lunn's discovery from Holy Office records of an earlier provisional licence for their mission, dated 29th September, puts out of court the presumption by historians that they jumped the gun because post from

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* For John Pory's career as a newswriter see also Sharpe, K, The Personal rule of Charles I., 1992 , p.685.

¹²⁶ Birch, T., CI, Vol I. p.122-3.

¹²⁷ Lunn, D., The English Benedictines, 1540-1688. Burns & Oates, 1980, p.123.

¹²⁸ Lunn, *ibid.* p.26 cites this from an unidentified Domestic State Paper of 1603.

Rome to Spain normally took forty two days. Preston was in the next wave, leaving Rome in June 1603, in company with Beech, and reaching England toward the end of 1603. But he was of the Cassinese persuasion (becoming a monk at Monte Cassino in 1591) - a point in his favour when it came twenty years later to Benedictines, who were not tagged with Spanish labels, being favoured by the Crown.

It has until now been thought that no evidence existed that any monk ever met King James I. Yet in response to the Oath of Allegiance of 1606, devised by the apostate Jesuit, Perkins, Thomas Preston assembled his thoughts in favour of swearing to the Oath as early as 1609.¹²⁹ Preston's Book in defence of the Oath came out in 1611, deliberately printed with the misleading title "Apologia Cardinalis Bellarmini pro Jure Principium". It was published under the assumed name Roger Widdrington, with a false imprint "Cosmopoli. Apud Theophilum Pratum" complete with the Jesuit emblem, thereby giving the impression that it had been produced abroad by the Jesuits. It was, in fact, printed by the Government in London.¹³⁰

But more than this, King James wanted to insert some passages of his own, according to the Venetian Ambassador, but was refused by the author - i.e. Preston. If correct, the King, in a letter which has not survived expressing this desire, must have been involved at this time; or if not the King then an intermediary. Whatever the formal arrangement was, historians agree that Preston was operating from the Clink Prison where he was to be confined for nigh on forty years. Certainly King James commented of Preston in relation to hostile Catholic authorities that "of my saul, for his awne gude, For if they had him they would burn him".¹³¹

In 1621 Pope Gregory XV had demanded that Preston return to Rome. Preston had in fact submitted to the new Pope on the advice of Gondomar earlier in the year. But in order to enable him to avoid the expected wrath of the Catholic Inquisition, King James frustrated its course by cleverly asking Secretary Conway to seek Preston's wishes. Preston then opted to defy the Pope and to stay in England, living for another twenty years within the relative safety of the Liberty of the Clink.¹³²

Lunn¹³³ was of the view that "In any case the Benedictine community at London may never have been formally established, for a new agreement was made as soon as the autumn of 1626 by which the Queen should have chaplains of her own choice, though it was not until 1630 that the new chaplains, who were Capuchins, arrived".

¹²⁹ Jones, Leander, "Rationes contra factam unionem...", 1614, and discussion in Lunn, p.40.

¹³⁰ Lunn, D., op.cit. p.40 and note 21.

¹³¹ Clancy, T.H. "English Catholics and the Papal Deposing Power, 1570-1640", Recusant History,6, 1961-2, p.117.

¹³² PRO. SP/16/149/57 and 79 and Jones, Leander, "Rationes contra factam unionem..." 1614.

¹³³ Lunn, D., Op.cit. p.32. For a vivid description of the Clink by an inmate see Weston, Father, W., Autobiography of an Elizabethan. A chapter is reprinted as Midnight in the Clink, Clink Prison Museum, Southwark, 1997.

From the memoirs of Fr Cyprien de Gamache we learn that two Oratorians retained the Queen's Confession and ran the day to day liturgical round at the Queen's Chapel from 1625/6 until the Civil War, in spite of the coming of the rival Capuchins who were based with the Queen at a new Chapel at Somerset House ¹³⁴. What then of the three Benedictines who earned a mention by Pory and others as serving the Queen's Chapel? David Lunn was of the opinion that "the only Benedictine who established himself permanently at Henrietta Maria's chapel was David Codner, who operated under the disguise of a gentleman-in-waiting with the cover name of Matthew Savage". ¹³⁵ Codner apparently posed as an art broker for the Court, only to come under the suspicion of Van Dyck.

Codner, though, had a record of incautious action in his student days in Venice, in collaboration with none other than fellow Cassinese, Michael Godfrey, whose name is mentioned as one of the four suddenly attached to the Queen's Chapel in 1626. While Godfrey was suspected of being a government spy, Codner returned to Italy where he became a monastic senior, living in Rome until returning to England in 1626. Codner was to be arrested for his priesthood three times in 1631, his freedom being secured only by the personal intervention of the Queen. ¹³⁶ From extant details concerning his difference with Van Dyck over the paintings, we know Codner was still serving the Queen in 1637.

Preston survived with his library intact in the Clink until on 6th July 1646 when two pursuivants together with a large number of soldiers burst into the Clink, taking not only the books Preston had written in defence of the Oath of Allegiance printed by authority "of the King and State" but also two letters from King Charles I commanding him to publish on the oath, and authorising his protection for doing so.

Preston's possessions, except for a Latin Bible which he was allowed to keep in 1646, probably included the "six cart-loads of books" described in an earlier unsuccessful raid on 7th April 1626, at which time the Queen's Chapel had been open for perhaps just nine days and Charles was acting to expel the French. Charles may well have been looking to Preston to fill the gap he was then creating at the Queen's Chapel and so was prepared to accord the protection which lasted until 1646. Preston's eventual death from natural causes in 1646 could not have been more different from the battling life envisaged by Cardinal Allen who,

¹³⁴ Fr. Charles de Condren, Superieur General de la Congregation de L'Oratoire, visited all the Oratorian establishments. Another useful guides to records of Stuart Catholicism is:

Shorney, D., Protestant Nonconformity and Roman Catholicism. A Guide to Sources in the Public Records Act. PRO. Kew, 1996, and Jackson, B., Papal History and the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, 1993. This includes some of the Embassy correspondence.

¹³⁵ Ellis, H., Original Letters, 1st Series, London, 1824, III, p.243.

¹³⁶ Lunn, D., The English Benedictines, 1540-1688, Burns & Oates, 1980, pp.26 and 123-4.

back in 1588, had re-issued the Pope's Bull "Regnans in excelsi" of 1570 in conjunction with the dispatch of the Spanish Armada to win England for the Pope by force.

Ever since 1558 English Catholics had wanted Catholic priests to hear their confessions. Vocation and even some glamour characterised the lives of those priests who obviously risked their lives under the provisions of Elizabethan Statute Law to serve those wishes. The missionary appeal of the task and the demands involved in its supervision had changed dramatically with the coming of the protected status attached to those clergy of the Queen's Chapel, but were to change again in the 1640s.

Holmes and Bossy have argued that the official spectacle of the execution of priests and the fear of men like Campion and Parsons had subsided markedly by the 1620 and was not to re-appear until the 1640s¹³⁷. Yet the continuing realities were that the "Black legend" never lost its popular appeal and became manifest in outbreaks of popular and official anti-Catholicism, while the demand for Catholic observances was small within the population as a whole, but steady.¹³⁸ Thus by 1621 a total of fifty-seven Benedictine missionaries of all congregations served in England, and with the number never falling below forty-six for the remainder of the century. Why should this consistent pattern pose any supervisory problem, and why was it difficult to find Benedictines to fill the gap left at the Queen's Chapel by the French expulsions of 1626?

To answer these questions we have to look yet further into the form of the supervisory opportunity. In 1607 at Rheims Bradshaw had met the recent Benedictine convert, Gifford, plus Leander Jones and Thomas Preston, to consider the way forward for the Benedictines now that five Jesuits had publicly called for the suppression of the Benedictine missions in a revival of old rivalries thrown up by the Appellant Dispute among the Catholic Orders.¹³⁹ It needed a platform of opportunity to steer them through this challenge, and that they would find more readily through the Stuart Court than the Catholic Episcopacy.

By 1626 as the new opportunities of the Queen's Chapel beckoned, the Benedictines faced new rivals like the Capuchin Friars, nominally an independent order from 1619, and hostile Jesuits who sought support from politically ambitious members of the Catholic Episcopacy. It becomes clear that in 1626 the search for Benedictines to fill the gap at the Queen's Chapel had led to Benedictines being chosen for the Queen's Chapel largely because of the 'politics' of their religious stance and their preparedness to do the opposite of

¹³⁷ Holmes, P., *op cit.*, and Bossy, J., The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850, Darton Longman Todd, London, 1975.

¹³⁸ Maltby, W.S., The Black Legend in England. The development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1588-1660, Harper Torchbooks, London, 1970.

¹³⁹ The five Jesuits were Caesar Clement, Hugh Owen, Richard Bayley, Robert Chambers and William Singleton: See "Rationes propter quas expedit Benedictinorum missionem in Angliam Prohiberi" in Stoneyhurst Asnflia VI, p.333.

Allen, Parsons and Campion in respect of the Oath of Allegiance. They now had to be of the Cassinese persuasion so as not to indicate approval of the Spanish colleges who had a track record of enthusiasm for participation in Armada invasion attempts. This would have ruled out men such as Bradshaw. Candidates had to be below the status of a Bishop to avoid the imminent question of the status of a foreign appointee who might have Catholic Episcopal status conferred upon him and demand diplomatic recognition of this at Court in the face of the Anglican hierarchy of the Established Church. If the chips were down, the candidate had to be one who would back the King's stance against that of the Pope or other overseas Benedictine authorities. In short, the chosen candidates were those whose past debarred them from any likelihood of advancement but whose faculties were sufficient for the task. Those men, barely under effective Episcopal oversight, would appear to live up to these conditions of religious real-politick. Three who survived official persecution perfectly fitted the King's specification for service at the Queen's Chapel from 1626 for the Roman Catholic Church found their supervisory heirarchy problematic.

The Oratorians according to Gamache were "to serve her in the functions of the Chapel" and were "lodged in the suburb of St. James".¹⁴⁰ But where did those Benedictines live? The answer is the Liberty of the Clink at Southwark in the case of Preston. Codner and Godfrey were probably living in nearby Embassies or in St. James's Palace itself. Gamache would have mentioned them had they resided at Somerset House. John Gee's list in "The Foot Out of the Snare" of priests who were in or near London in 1623 enables nine monks to be identified with certainty, and possibly another fifteen. Thomas Preston found security by serving at the Venetian Embassy until his chosen imprisonment in the Clink;¹⁴¹ another two had used diplomatic privilege to avoid the legal bar on their profession by serving Gondomar and his successors at the Spanish Embassy in Ely Palace, Holborn.

C. The Politics of more Episcopal Brinkmanship.

The game of episcopal brinkmanship, temporarily resolved by Charles's expulsion of the Queen's Chapel's French Chaplains and their Bishop in 1626, resumed again over the matter of the Grand Almoner to the Queen. The Privy Council refused the Bishop of Bazot, candidate of the French King, because he was a Bishop. The French King's emissary to Charles, the Marquis de Chateauneuf, managed to secure approval for a community of Capuchins to serve the Queen, amongst whom there would be a position of Grand Almoner - but not necessarily of episcopal status. The French King responded by refusing permission for the Capuchins to sail while he tried again through the appointment of a new Ambassador, Fontenay. Chateauneuf, about to lose credit for his Capuchin negotiations, switched causes and persuaded King Charles to retain the two Oratorians at the Queen's Chapel, causing the Capuchins to keep their distance,

¹⁴⁰ Birch, T., CII, Vol. II, p.294.

¹⁴¹ Venetian State Paper, 29. 8. 1623, Alvise Valaresso to the Doge and Senate. Hinds, A.B, (ed) op.cit. Vol. XVIII.

unknown to the French King, down the road at Somerset House in the years after their arrival in 1630.¹⁴² Chateaufort then hit upon the successful idea of persuading Charles to accept Du Perron as Grand Almoner to the Queen, and, once appointed, promptly had him invested with Episcopal status through elevation to the vacant see of Angoulême. Gamache commented: "France artfully had recourse to compliance for filling that office of Grand Almoner to the Queen and sent M. du Perron" and that "Monsieur du Perron...nephew of the most eminent Cardinal du Perron....was afterwards his successor in the Bishopric of Evreux".¹⁴³

All this, and especially the closely related initiative of the Franciscan Fr. Christopher Davenport and the Capuchin Fr. Joseph de Tremblay, had repercussions for the Benedictines serving the Queen. Capuchin attempts at an English presence mounted by William Fitch, Francis Nugent and Angelus Pame in the years from 1598 up to the latter's departure in 1625 were rather unsuccessful. The next wave of more successful arrivals included at least three Friars of English birth. First was Thomas Bullaker, who came directly from Spain and worked for twelve years in London prior to his execution on 12th October 1642.¹⁴⁴ Second was Arthur or Francis Bell who also came from Spain via Douai and Scotland before moving into English circles in 1637 only to be arrested and ultimately hanged on 11th December 1643. The most prominent contribution came from the third, Christopher Davenport, born in 1598, who was also trained at Douai, Ypres and Salamanca before working peacefully at Somerset House, largely as a chaplain up to his natural death in 1680. He was engaged in trying to effect Re-Unification of the Anglican and Roman Churches. He was widely respected for his work on the Henrician Thirty Nine Articles and his Deus Natura Gratis finished in 1634. He was befriended by Archbishop Laud as a "Divine of reconciling temper".¹⁴⁵ He even presented his studies to Oliver Cromwell before resuming earlier duties after the Restoration as one of Catherine of Braganza's chaplains.¹⁴⁶ The Custos Rotulorum of the Franciscan Province of England was an Irish Friar, Angelus of San Francisco who wrote the Certamen Seraphicum published at Douai in 1649, giving biographical details of at least a hundred English Franciscans and Capuchins.

Meanwhile at Court the Oratorians continued their drive towards Re-Unification of the Churches with ever-increasing influence. The contemporary Lucy Hutchinson observed of this objective before 1623 that "the prelates... meditated re-union with the Popish faction"¹⁴⁷ and that following Charles's marriage to Henrietta

¹⁴² "Memoirs of the Mission of the Capuchin Friars of the Province of Paris from 1630-1669 by Father Cyprien De Gamache" in Birch, T. CII, Vol II, pp.294-342.

¹⁴³ Gamache, in Birch, CII, Vol II, p.304.

¹⁴⁴ Bishop Moorman, J.H.R., The Franciscans in England, Mowbrays, London and Oxford, 1974, pp.98-103. In 1618 the General Chapter of the Franciscans meeting in Salamanca agreed to recognise the English Chapter in a new home at Douai, where there already was a Benedictine English College. Four more friars of that English Province were executed in England before 1679. Others following the Rules of St. Francis too, but known as the Capuchins after their separation in 1528, served Henrietta Maria in the Queen's Chapel.

¹⁴⁵ Moorman, Ibid, p.101

¹⁴⁶ Dockery, J.B., Christopher Davenport, London, 1960.

¹⁴⁷ Hutchinson, L., (ed.) N.H. Keeble, Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, Dent, London, 1995,

Maria "the court was replenished with papists".¹⁴⁸ The Oratorians had members at Court: namely, the Queen's Scottish Confessor, Robert Philip of Sanquhar with his mission to Rome at her behest in the 1630s; Henry Montagu who became Grand Almoner to the Queen; and the former King's Chaplain, Dr. Gough, who had played a key role in the Spanish and French marriage diplomacy which led to the creation of the Queen's Chapel by Treaty, and who joined the Oratorians, becoming in due course Almoner to the Queen.

The Papal Agent, Panzani, who was himself an Oratorian, recorded something of the scene in the 1630s, calling the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace "a public one, wherein, by the Fathers of the Oratory first, and afterwards by the Capuchins in their habits, were recited Divine Office, and Masses were said, and Sacraments administered. At these services the King and Court are present upon the High Festival days, with notable edification. In this Chapel the Divine Offices are celebrated with the aid of excellent music".¹⁴⁹ Bassompierre, French Ambassador, actually termed the Queen's Chapel "the Chapel of the Fathers of the Oratory at St. Gemmes".¹⁵⁰

Panzani's Diary, written in Italian and now in the Vatican Secret Archives,¹⁵¹ is full of mentions of Re-Unification and those he consulted upon this and other matters. The success of the work of Panzani and his fellow Oratorians inside and outside the Queen's Chapel meant that their close relations with Panzani's successors as Papal Agents (Conn until 1639 and Rossetti until 1641) contributed in large measure to Parliament's turning against the King and Arminians. The latter, perhaps not without foundation in view of William Laud's ambivalent reply when declining for the present the Cardinal's Hat, were perceived as collaborating with the Re-Unification cause along with the King. Parliament's resistance subsequently concentrated in the Commons was expressed in the Grand Remonstrance of 1641.

Ecclesiastical supervision was already a sore political issue at the time for Charles too, as in February 1638 the Scottish National Assembly had drawn up a National Covenant abolishing the Book of Common Prayer and followed that in November by abolishing Bishops, finally provoking military action by English forces in "the First Bishops' War" which was only ended by the Truce of Berwick in June 1639. The second round of hostilities in the Bishops' War resumed in October 1640. The English troops were defeated, suing for peace

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Bassompierre, French Ambassador, actually termed the Queen's Chapel "The Chapel of the Fathers of the Oratory at St. Gemmes". His observations are discussed in Harting, J., Catholic London Missions from the Reformation to the year 1850, Sands and Co., London, 1903, p.4. The rest of this work should be treated with caution.

¹⁵¹ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, VA Inghilterra, 1071, 3A, Panzani, Gregorio, Diario del Negotio dell'Inghilterra 1634-1637. Panzani's notes on Re-Unification appear at the following page numbers entered in manuscript. They supercede the original foliation, which is now partly illegible and which differs in being two numbers back. See therefore pages 8, 14, 18r, 29, 38, 39, 39r, 47r, 48r, 49, 49r, 50, 51, 53r, 54, 58, 59r, 60r, 61, 62r, 63, 64, 65r, 66, 67r, 68r, 69, 70, 734r, 74, 77r, 78.80, 81r, 82, 83, 84r, 85r, 86r, 93.

which was formalised in the Treaty of Ripon in October 1640 and agreed just before the Long Parliament met in London and began impeachment proceedings against Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford. Anti-episcopal petitions like the "Root and Branch Petition" of December 1640,¹⁵² and pro-episcopal petitions like Sir Thomas Aston's "Remonstrance against Presbetry," were subsequently presented to Parliament. Charles was forced into further concessions to the Scottish Covenanters in September 1641. Even so allegations of a royalist plot against the Covenanters emerged the following month to mar the beginning of the next Parliamentary session of the Long Parliament. It was in this context that the "Grand Remonstrance" passed the Commons by 159 to 148 votes.

The response of the thirteen Bishops prevented from taking part in the Lords' consideration of the "Grand Remonstrance" by the London mobs and apprentices, who roamed almost unchecked following the defeat of the ruling oligarchy of the Corporation of London in that month's City elections, was to declare that the parliamentary business taken in their enforced absence should be declared null and void. For that statement those Bishops were impeached before Parliament within the month of December. By February 1642 the Act excluding Bishops from Parliament had passed through all its readings and the threat to all established forms of ecclesiastical order was manifest. In the same month Henrietta Maria left England for France to seek foreign help for her increasingly beleaguered husband.

Thereafter the Benedictines at St. James's faced mob violence directed particularly against Catholics, and with the dominance of the Oratorians and Capuchins at Court chapels, enjoyed no prospect of protective or authoratative help from the Queen, Archbishop Laud, or even from English or Scottish Bishops. As the country plunged into Civil War, and some of the Court took up arms to fight wherever their loyalty to the King took them, the Oratorians were subjected to vindictive arrests. Executions of the Queen's recently active Franciscan and Capuchin chaplains began as early as 12 October 1642. They remained vulnerable until the Civil War was over and the Restoration effected because there was virtually nobody of authority for them, or the Benedictines, to negotiate with over the future of "the Queen's Confession". So it is significant that Gamache subsequently remarked that through the influence of such as the Earl of St. Alban's and Montagu (the Grand Almoner), the Oratorians retained the "Queen's Confession" and "pretended an authority over us in the peformance of Her Majesty's Chapel Royal, that it was only by their permission that we were to administer the sacraments there, and under their authority".¹⁵³

By contrast the history of the Oratorians' involvement at the Stuart Court and their entanglement with the Capuchins at Somerset House has to be seen as largely the consequence of moves by King Charles and

¹⁵²This noted "Archbishops and Lord Bishops have claimed their authority immediatly from Jesus Christ which is against the laws of this Kingdom." Cited in Hill, C., Century of Revolution, Cardinal Books, London 1972, p.73.

¹⁵³ Gamache, in Birch, CII, Vol. II, p.431.

Archbishop Laud prior to 1641 to govern more through the institutions of the Church of England and its pulpits and through the Church Courts. Meanwhile many Catholics outside the religious orders thought pursuit of Re-Unification as an alternative politico-religious counter-measure would wrest the power from a King who was reluctant to pursue that option and perhaps divide the Episcopacy of the Church of England. It therefore becomes significant to examine this next to provide the political context for the politico-religious activity of their fellow Oratorians and other Catholics in and around the Queen's Chapel in St. James's Palace from their arrival in 1625-6 at least until their flight at the outbreak of the Civil War.

Chapter 5.

POLITICAL INTERPLAY BETWEEN THE KING, THE QUEEN'S CHAPEL AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

"The Prince stood like a Rock, firm, and immoveable in the true Religion; and in the end, triumph'd over all Efforts, Policy and Machinations of the Romish Churchmen."

Bishop Matthew Wren's biographer on his role as Chaplain to Prince Charles in Spain during the marriage negotiations of 1623 .¹⁵⁴

Prince Charles's stance in 1623 was in marked contrast to the weakness and inconsistency, particularly in foreign policy, which had characterised his father's rule. James's failure to convince Parliament of the wisdom of his foreign and religious policy had far wider implications, as Quinn and Fincham have demonstrated.¹⁵⁵ John Bossy described James's ecclesiastical policy as a "period of retreat from the political engagement which had marked the Elizabethan period".¹⁵⁶ The arrival of James and the conversion of his wife to Catholicism had created a political climate latent with problems for a future Protestant King of England. The Queen's Chapel's creation and protection by diplomatic treaty provides one key to popular resentment of a Catholic influence, for Catholic clergy were now to be seen walking the streets of London and going in and out of various Catholic embassies too. "The king's unwillingness to accept any kind of criticism of his foreign policy produced," as Loades says "an important reaction in Parliament. But while the House of Commons became convinced that he had been seduced by Popish conspirators, the Spaniards understandably looked upon the recusancy laws as proof that he was not serious in desiring their friendship."¹⁵⁷

The problems which emerged after 1626 came despite the plea so evident in the formal dedication offered by the translators of the King James Authorised Version of the Bible published in 1611, to the effect: "if , on the one side we shall be traduced by Popish persons at home and abroad... or if, on the other side we shall be maligned by self -conceited Brethren" the abiding need of the Church of England amid the foreseen conflicts was for "the powerful protection of Your Majesty's grace and favour".

¹⁵⁴ McCullough, P., Sermons at Court, Politics and religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp.206. Wren as Bishop of Norwich became Dean of the Chapel Royal in 1636.

¹⁵⁵ Quinn, D.B. "James I and the beginnings of Empire in America", in Explorers and Colonies, Hambledon Press, London, 1990, pp.321-339. Fincham, K, and Lake, P. "The ecclesiastical policy of James I", Journal of British Studies, XXIV, 1985, pp.169-207.

¹⁵⁶ Bossy, J. "The English Catholic Community, 1603-1625", in Smith, A.G.R., The Reign of James IV and I, Macmillan, London, 1973, p.92.

¹⁵⁷ Loades, D., Politics and the Nation, 1450-1650, Fontana/Collins, London, 1974, p.351. He adds at pp.354-55 that such doubts meant "James was no more able to afford an active foreign policy in 1621 than he could in 1614."

In simple doctrinal terms the Papists believed in the supreme authority of the Church and the Bishop of Rome; the Puritans put their faith only in the authority of the Bible; but the Church of England, legally created by actions of the Sovereign in Parliament, accepted both the Bible and the tradition of the early Church and the authority of the Bishops plus the lessons which anyone might learn from his own conscience. As Richard Montague expressed it in a private letter, "his position was to stand against Puritanism and Popery, the Scylla and Charybdis of ancient piety".¹⁵⁸

Arminius had meanwhile praised Jesuit books while vilifying the works of Calvin and Beza.¹⁵⁹ The concept of free-grace could now be interpreted, or misinterpreted, as akin to the Roman Catholic confessional, and defied 'pre-destination'. High Church practices, such as those encouraged by Laud along Arminian lines as his episcopal authority grew, were therefore open to the criticism of alignment with, or absorption by, Rome. The advent of the Queen's Chapel served to ignite the latent controversy.

The degree to which elements of the Arminian or Laudian wings of the Church of England were prepared to seek, or sought, an accommodation with the Roman Catholic Church, and perhaps even Re-Unification, has been hotly debated in recent years. The historical arguments about this are well-rehearsed.¹⁶⁰ The fact that they overlap royal intentions and the foundation of the Queen's Chapel both chronologically and doctrinally was also significant for that Chapel. Yet in taking up positions about the Queen's Chapel, churchmen were all, as we shall see, constitutionally hamstrung by its diplomatic protection.

Collinson's research indicates an attempt by senior clerics to bring about a degree of purposeful uniformity, at least within certain dioceses, if not as between them.¹⁶¹ However, detailed studies of individual churchmen, especially those written more recently by Lake, Carlton, Lossky and Trevor Roper on early Stuart churchmen,¹⁶² have usually reflected the personal churchmanship of the cleric concerned rather than

¹⁵⁸Higham, F., Catholic and Reformed. A Study of the Anglican Church, 1559-1662. SPCK, London, 1962, p.97.

¹⁵⁹Croft, P., "Tabloid Smears at the Stuart Court: The Reputation of Robert Cecil", in History Today, Vol XLXXX, November, 1993, pp.43-47.

¹⁶⁰Fincham, K., (ed) Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church, Vol. I, Church of England Record Society, London, 1994.

Fincham, K., (ed) The Early Stuart Church, Macmillan, London, 1993.

Fincham, K., Prelate as Pastor. The Episcopate of James I, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990.

¹⁶¹Collinson, Patrick, English Puritanism, Historical Association, 1983; also: The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559-1625, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1982; The Puritan Character: Polemics and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century English Culture, W.A. Clarke Memorial Library, Los Angeles, 1989; and his series of essays presented as Godly People. Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism, Hambledon Press, London, 1983.

¹⁶²Lake, P.G., Anglicans and Puritans. Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker, Macmillan, London, 1988. Here Richard Hooker (1554-1600) is argued to be the founding- father of the *via media* between Geneva and Rome. See too: Lake, P. G., Calvinism and the English Church, 1570-1635, Past and Present, 114, 1987, pp.201-229. See too: Welsby, P.A., Lancelot Andrewes 1555-1626, S.P.C.K., London, 1958. Lossky, N., Lancelot Andrewes. The Preacher, 1555-1626, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991. Carlton, C., Archbishop William

a more comprehensive hidden agenda. Diocesan policy objectives were not exclusive of the actions of Bishops of the more Calvinist persuasion, with the result that some historians consider Re-Unification was thought of as a real possibility, and one to be feared. ¹⁶³ Anthony Milton thought "With charges of heresy and idolatry gradually being removed from Protestant/Romanist controversy under the Laudians, some form of reconciliation [with Rome] became at least conceivable". ¹⁶⁴

The effect of developments within the Church of England following its bishops' difficulties at the Synod of Dort in 1619,¹⁶⁵ and especially those among the Arminian English bishops, was evidently real enough to attract the interest of Roman Catholics at and near the Court. Loades writes of this that: "One consequence of this was the development of a fashionable catholicism at court, centring upon the Queen, Anne of Denmark, who was a catholic convert. The dangers of this did not become fully apparent until the following reign, but the isolation and unpopularity of the court were immediately increased." ¹⁶⁶

To the many arguments so far deployed in this field, particularly in the wake of Tyacke's research on the Arminians¹⁶⁷, one can usefully add the observations of Fincham¹⁶⁸ and McGee¹⁶⁹ on the political climate within which the Queen's Chapel operated, as a Roman Catholic Establishment which could not be ignored. So while the reality and potency of the Arminian presence within the Church of England continues to be the

Laud, Routledge Kegan Paul, London, 1987. Trevor-Roper, H, [Baron Dacre of Glanton] Archbishop Laud, 1573-1645, Macmillan, London, 1940, revised editions by Macmillan, London, 1962, 1965. and 1988. Trevor-Roper, H, Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans: Seventeenth Century Essays, Secker and Warburg, London, 1987.

Shell, A., a review in Church Times, 29th October 1993, p.12.

¹⁶³Hill, C., Society and Puritanism in pre-Revolutionary England, Secker and Warburg, London, 1964.

Hill, C., The Century of Revolution, 1603-1714, Cardinal Books, London, 1972, pp.73-87.

Hill, C., Collected Essays, (4 vols) Harvester Press, Brighton, 1986.

New, J.F.H., Anglican and Puritan: The Basis of Their Opposition 1547-1603, Ashgate, Basingstoke, 1990.

White, P., Predestination, Policy and Polemic, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992.

¹⁶⁴Milton, A., Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, pp.218-219. See also his paraphrase at p.63 of the comments by Richard Montagu and Sir Francis Cottington sent to Panzani in 1635.

¹⁶⁵White, Peter, Predestination, Policy and Polemic, p.184, concludes: "The decrees of the Synod cannot, therefore, be assumed accurately to reflect the theology even of any Dutch Delegation, still less that of any of the foreign contingents".

¹⁶⁶Loades, Politics and the Nation, 1450-1650, p.351. Initially the Bishop of Winchester, Lancelot Andrewes was fielded at the Chapel Royal by James I to refute Hakewell's anti-match treatise, by citing biblical precedents for inter-faith marriages (such as James's now was) and maintaining "every Papist was not an idolater." Cited by McCulloch, Sermons p.205.

¹⁶⁷Tyacke, N, "Puritanism, Arminianism and the Counter-Revolution" in The Origins of the English Civil War, (ed) Russell, Conrad, London 1973, pp.119-143. The controversy around his formulations of the problems of Arminianism from 1968 has been led by White, Sharpe and Bernard. See particularly: Bernard, G. W. "The Church of England c.1529-c.1642" in History, LXXV, 1990, pp.183-206; White, P. "The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered, Past and Present, 101, (1983) pp.34-54; Tyacke, N., and White, P., "Debate: The rise of Arminianism reconsidered", Past and Present, 115, 1987, pp.201-229.

¹⁶⁸Fincham, Kenneth, (ed), The Early Stuart Church, Macmillan, London, 1993.

¹⁶⁹McGee J.S., The Godly Man in Stuart England: Anglicans, Puritans and the Two Tables 1620-1670, 1976.

subject of disagreement, there is no doubt that in the Commons there was fear of that presence. The Subcommittee for Religion of the House of Commons in their Heads of Articles of 24th February 1629 even before the arrival of the Capuchins at Somerset House in 1630, observed: "the subtle and pernicious spreading of the Arminian faction; whereby they have kindled such a fire of division in the very bowels of the State as, if not speedily extinguished, it is of itself sufficient to ruin our religion; by dividing us from the Reformed Churches abroad."

Whatever the degree of coherent objective among the Arminian element in the Church of England, there is again no doubt that the Roman Catholics of the Queen's Chapels at St. James's Palace and Somerset House, as well as Papal Agents appointed in the 1630s, were in serious, if confidential, dialogue about the way forward. It was of considerable significance that Gamache wrote that the Capuchin Father Charles of Beauvais "rejoiced much more at the secret conferences which he had with the principal ministers, particular friends of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who wished with him to bring the Protestant religion so near to the Roman Church that a union should ensue almost imperceptibly."¹⁷⁰

These opinions and their implicit background of shared politico-religious opportunism may explain why Laud was reported to the Commons as having broken down with tears in his eyes whilst being required before the Council to renounce Arminian tenets.¹⁷¹ Laud did not deny the legitimacy or historicity of the Church of England's Episcopal succession and its Catholic antecedents or any part of the Roman Apostolic Succession.¹⁷² The fact Laud was prepared to exploit old powers of Metropolitan visitation, and perhaps even to take a Cardinal's hat should the Papacy purge itself of errors, represented a major shift in contemporary ecclesiology - and one seen as full of opportunity for the concurrent operation of the Queen's Chapel, particularly as there was no significant Catholic episcopate in England. Laud's better known guidance on the eastern positioning of Altars which followed the Roman Catholic practice was thus seen as

¹⁷⁰Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism 1590-1640*, 1987.p.317

¹⁷¹The *Manchester True Relation*, a manuscript of 1629's Commons Proceedings otherwise summarised in the *Commons Journal* for 1629, records the incident as follows: "The King did utterly dislike these novelists; then were these two bishops (Laud and Neale) with tears in their eyes, present and they protested they hated those opinions and the questions, and they renounced them upon their knees". This exchange neatly illustrates Collinson's point that "Puritanism" was not a thing definable in itself, but only one half of a stressful relationship". It was in part a relationship with the rest of politico religious society that was "a relationship of dynamic and mutual antagonism" far from the Laudian idea of the "beauty of holiness" in which order and hierarchy were necessarily and respectfully expressed in ceremonial and sacerdotalism.

¹⁷² This echoed James I's first statement to Parliament, when he acknowledged Rome as the mother of churches "although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions." For more on Laud, see:

Carlton, C., *The Dream Life of Archbishop Laud*, *History Today*, XXXVI, 1989, pp.9-14..

Carlton, C *Archbishop William Laud*, Routledge Kegan Paul, London, 1987 both offer perspectives differing markedly from those of Sharpe and Trevor-Roper. Christopher Hill offers a quasi-Marxist interpretation of Laud in Chapter 4 of Christopher Hill's, *A Nation of Change and Novelty, Radical Politics, Religion and Literature in Seventeenth Century England*, Routledge Kegan Paul, London, 1990. See too Tyacke, N., *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism 1590-1640*., 1987, pp.81-87.

a step in that direction. The politics of such dialogue, and what it was perceived by some to portend, emerged in the Grand Remonstrance presented to the King at Hampton Court on 1st December 1641 which claimed as the second promoter of subversion: "The Bishops, and the corrupt part of the clergy, who cherish formality and superstition as the natural effects of their own ecclesiastical tyranny and usurpation." The document cited, among their methods of achieving this, their ambition that "to cherish the Arminian part in those points wherein they agree with the Papists, to multiply and enlarge the difference between the common Protestants and those whom they call 'Puritans', and that of the 'Papists, Arminians and Libertines', they might compose a body fit to act such counsels and resolutions as were most conducive to their own ends."¹⁷³

John Cosin's "Collection of private devotions" of 1627 was, he said, composed in response to the arrival of the new Roman Catholic French Maids of Honour who accompanied Queen Henrietta Maria and who were challenging Lady Denbigh's circle at Court to the effect that the "Protestant Religion" did not provide them with the "Hours of Prayer of breviaries" to be found in the Roman Catholic Church that they "might edify and be in devotion". Cosin's work late sought to demonstrate to the Roman Catholics at Court and elsewhere that the Church of England could rival the ceremonies and antiquity of the Roman Church, and thereby reassure wavering Protestants.¹⁷⁴ Seen in this light, clear water separated the Laudian/Arminians from the Roman Catholics showing that Re-unification would have to entail either wholesale reform of the Roman Catholic Church (the view of Laud who had in 1626 been appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal) or else recognition of Anglican orders and their reformed ways. From the outside such subtleties were lost in favour of the application of cruder terminology tied up with the political concept of patriotism epitomised in the activities of the mob and their reflection in Parliamentary language.

¹⁷³ Rushworth, John, Historical Collections of Private Passages of State beginning in the sixteenth year of St. James, Anno 1618 ... and in Five Parliaments, Vol. IV, London, 1708. See Grand Remonstrance, para 89. This is a more complete text than that offered by Kenyon, J.P. The Stuart Constitution, Cambridge University Press, 1986, p.211.

¹⁷⁴ John Cosin, (1595-1672) was consecrated Bishop of Durham on 2nd December 1660, having in his earlier career in the Church of England been a friend and secretary to Bishop Richard Montagu (1577-1641) and by the mid 1630s, chaplain to the Archbishop of York, Richard Neile. See the editorial in "Richard Montagu's" Concerning Recusancie of Communion with the Church of England", by Milton, Anthony, and Walsham, Alexandra (eds.) in Taylor, Stephen (ed), From Cranmer to Davidson - A Church of England Miscellany, Church of England Record Society Vol. 7, Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1999, p.79.

Chapter 6.

DIPLOMATIC SHADOWS OVER THE USAGE OF THE QUEEN'S CHAPEL BEFORE 1641.

The Queen's Chapel was from the first enmeshed in international diplomacy and international ecclesiastical intrigue and ambition. The Oratorian Papal Agent Gregorio Panzani's Diary shows that Re-Unification was the chief thrust of his politico-religious activity at Charles's Court from 1634 to 1636.¹⁷⁵ Yet such was the diplomatic immunity conferred on the Queen's Chapel that whatever sympathies Laud had with the Arminians' interest in Catholic practice they could not be formally expressed even by the Archbishop to the King or Queen, short of their all accepting the proposition of Re-Unification. In fact as Archbishop of Canterbury Laud found it more difficult to offer opinions about the Queen's Chapel than did the diplomatically privileged Papal Agent.

Laud's position gave him access to the Privy Council whose meetings from 1627 onwards he regularly attended.¹⁷⁶ What Laud could say there about the Queen's Chapel even there was constrained by the King's will to have a Queen's Chapel. The Oath which applied to Laud as a Privy Councillor provided towards its end that: "you shall to your uttermost bear faith and allegiance to the King's Majesty, his heirs and lawfull Successors, and shall assist and defend all lawfull jurisdictions, preheminiences [sic] and authorities granted to His Majesty and annexed to his Crowne, against all foreigne Princes, Persons, Prelatts and Potentats by Act of Parliament or otherwise; and generally you shall doe in all things as a faithful and true servant ought to doe to His Majesty. Soe help you God and by the Holy Contents of this Booke."¹⁷⁷

By contrast the day to day operation of the Queen's Chapel fitted with cosy facility into the diplomatic protocols and the internationally accepted legal framework of extra-territoriality and diplomatic immunity developed since the Reformation to cover Ambassadorial residences, embassy staff, and their chaplains. Garrett Mattingly set out the important elements of this developing environment, showing how it related to "the new immunities", claiming: "The gravest ethical problem raised for theory by the new diplomacy, the possibility of conflict between an ambassador's duty to his Prince and to peace, also underlay, though unrecognised, the most vexing question concerning diplomats, the question of ambassadorial immunity."¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, VA Inghilterra, 1071, 3A, Panzani, Gregorio, Diario del Negotio dell'Inghilterra 1634-1637.

¹⁷⁶ In 1631 Archbishop Laud attended the Privy Council 48 times, a record of attendance exceeded that year only by the Lord Keeper, the Lord High Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl Marshall, the Treasurer of the Household and the two Secretaries of State, Dudley Carelton and Sir John Coke.

¹⁷⁷ Penfold, P.A. (ed.), Acts of the Privy Council, June 1630-1631, HMSO, 1964, p.2 citing from PC 2/40, fol 3 now in the Public Record Office.

¹⁷⁸ Mattingly, G., Renaissance Diplomacy, p.229, part of wider study of the subject at pp.243-255.

Developing a new dimension, this study will show both that within the Catholic Embassies there was an alternative form of supervision beyond the Ambassador for the Embassy Chaplain, which ran to his Superiors within a Regular Order, or as a result of cross staffing to another form of Royal supervision outside the embassy but within the Queen's Chapel. Physical developments like the Queen's Chapel and political developments could be used to reinforce or even to disturb the "new immunities" of extra-territoriality and freedom to worship in the London Embassies.

Just a year after the founding of the Queen's Chapel in 1623, King James understood the diplomatic privilege thus: "It is true that the houses of ambassadors are privileged places and though they can not take them [ie .English Catholics] out from their houses, yet the Lo. Mayor and Mr. Recorder of London may take them as they come from thence, and make some of them examples".¹⁷⁹

With the activities of the Spanish in the ascendancy in 1623 one would have expected their Embassy Chapel to be a hive of activity as the Queen's Chapel project was brought to reality. Ambassador Gondomar was depicted in such an influential role, under the title of "the Fatte Bishop" in the Frontispiece of Thomas Middleton's play enacted at The Globe in 1625 entitled "A Game at Chaess" [Chess]. The Spanish Black Knight boasts of the success of the Spanish Ambassador in extracting geographical, hydrographic and naval intelligence, and of his moves whereby Catholic Londoners were freed from the threat of jail, saying; "Thirty eight thousand souls have been seduced, Pawn, Since the jails vomited with the pill I gave them."¹⁸⁰

The Spanish Embassy with its Chapel was then somewhat removed from St. James's, being located from 1620 to 1624 in St. Etheldreda's, Ely Place, near Smithfield. It stands today with a memorial window containing the Arms of Gondomar.¹⁸¹ It was here in the Crypt and cloister garth that eighteen of the ninety-five victims of the 'Doleful Evensong' or 'Fatal Vespers' were buried in 1623 on Gondomar's orders, following the collapse of the garret third floor of the French Ambassador's house, and the Bishop of London's refusal of a public burial of these recusants who had gathered to partake of Catholic rites.¹⁸²

This incident reveals that the French Embassy Chapel in 1623 was in Hunsdon House within the precincts of the former Dominican Priory at Blackfriars, with the resident Ambassador probably being the Count de

¹⁷⁹Adair, A.E., The Extra-territoriality of Ambassadors in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Longmans, London, 1929., p.192.

¹⁸⁰British Library, C.34.d.38. Middleton, Thomas, A Game at Chaess, London, 1625, Act IV Scene II, lines 41-75.

¹⁸¹Cunningham, Fr. K. and Nibbs, R., St. Etheldreda's, Ely Place, Pitkin Guide, 1992.

¹⁸²Cowie, L.W., Blackfriars in London - For three hundred years associated with the Dominicans and, after the Reformation, with the theatre, History Today, December 1974, p.851.

Tillieres.¹⁸³ Gamache recalled that two French Capuchins, Frs. Ange and Deluynes, were appointed to serve the French Ambassador de Tillières in 1624.¹⁸⁴ Fr. Ange had written a work on religion which King James "desired to see...honoured with an answer, and to which he added marginal notes with his own royal hand".¹⁸⁵

From 1630 to 1633 the French Ambassador, Fontenay, who had accompanied the ten Capuchins to minister at Queen's Chapel, Somerset House, in 1630 himself engaged two Capuchins, Fr. Basile of Rheims, and The Ven. Fr. Seraphin of Compiègne. His successor, Ambassador Poigny, who had served in a lesser capacity under Fontenay until 1633, employed as his chaplains Frs. Vincent and Charles of Beauvais. Writing of the latter's work until 1636, Gamache recalled that the French Embassy Chapel was "always full of Catholics and Protestants, drawn thither by the excellent sermons of that Father".¹⁸⁶

The Papal Agents and Oratorians shared the same objective, to bring about re-unification with the help of Laudian Bishops who would then have Roman Catholic Episcopal status conferred upon them. The sort of union understood by Bishop Richard Montague, though, involved recognition of Anglican orders and might still have foundered had the matter of transubstantiation and other major hurdles been tackled.¹⁸⁷ The former understanding stood the greater chance. Panzani sent the Pope in 1636 a dossier on the two Archbishops and twenty five Bishops of the Anglican hierarchy, of whom eight were classified as well affected toward the Catholics, the rest being labelled as "rather good", "not bad" or "fairly moderate".¹⁸⁸

The memoirs of Gamache, give an unexpected insight into activities down the road at St. James's but only because of the intense rivalry between the Oratorian and Capuchin Orders over who had superior charge of the Queen's Chapel.¹⁸⁹ It can be deduced from this rivalry that the Oratorians must have been ministering at the Queen's Chapel in St. James's. But Gamache made only oblique reference to it noting that:

¹⁸³Cowie suggests the resident was the Count de Tillieres but, according to British Library, Sloane Ms. 1156 the dates of accreditation would suggest that the French Ambassador in question was rather Honore d'Albert, Seigneur de Cadenet, Duc de Chaulnes.

¹⁸⁴Gamache, *Op.cit.* p.481

¹⁸⁵Gamache, *Op.cit.* p.481

¹⁸⁶ Gamache, *Op.cit.*, p.316

¹⁸⁷Albion, G., *Charles I and the Court of Rome*, Burns & Oates, London, 1935, p.183. Bishop Richard Montague (1577-1641) was successively Bishop of Chichester from 1628, and then Bishop of Norwich from 12th May 1638, just after which he published his book on the "Eucharistic Sacrifice". (Not to be confused with the Grand Almoner).

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p.184 and Appendix V for complete transcript about favourable Bishops.

¹⁸⁹ "Memoirs of the Mission in England of the Capuchin Friars of the Province of Paris, from the year 1630 to 1669 by Father Cyprien de Gamache, is to be found within Birch, *The Court and Times of Charles I*, p.294. This was based upon Victoria and Albert Museum, MS Forster 48 D 14 in the Reserved Special Collection. From examination the original French text of this is evidently a later and more corrupted version of another more accurate copy in the BL. Curiously, the one consistently favoured by all historians, including Colvin, but with the notable exceptions of Albion and Chaney, has been Birch's translation of the V&A MS which would appear from the appalling spelling to have been itself copied by a poor transcriber. Its title reads: Memoires de la Mission des Capucins de la Province de

"You must know that in London there are but two catholic cemeteries belonging to the two churches of the Queen, wherein are interred none but their officers and servants, both sexes, who die in the faith of the Church of Rome".¹⁹⁰

As to the two graveyards, that of the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace now lies under Marlborough Road. That at Somerset House is marked today by Death Court and originated with the founding of the first Capuchin Chapel and Vestry at Denmark House in 1630. It was used for only five years before Inigo Jones could begin his better known work at Somerset House opened on 8th December 1635.¹⁹¹ Thus the graveyard reference was to both the Catholic Queen's Chapels at Somerset House and St. James's Palace. Gamache then describes how the Oratorians came to be attached to the Queen's Chapel in 1625 thus:

"M. de Belule, founder of the Oratory, afterwards Cardinal, had at that time great influence with the King of France, and he employed it in bringing about an agreement between the two crowns, that a certain number of Fathers of the Oratory should, with himself, attend that Princess to England, and serve her in the functions of the chapel, under the authority and direction of the Bishop of Mandes, our grand almoner".¹⁹² Thereafter... "The Fathers of the Oratory, on their arrival in London, were lodged in the suburb of St. James, in the sight of the royal residence, to which access was not obtained of the sentries without extreme difficulty by the Catholics, who repaired thither to attend divine service"¹⁹³.

Gamache hints that the Oratorians were present only in a handful of numbers initially, for he states of the subsequent French expulsions that "the fathers of the Oratory and the rest of the French quitted England, without any advancement of the Catholic religion", but then goes on to mention the Queen's anger that "the King, her husband, therefore detained two of those of the Oratory, till matters should be arranged, and till others who were peaceable and disinterested should be given him".¹⁹⁴

Whether one of the two who remained was Father Berulle, until he moved back to France as an advisor to the Queen of France just before his death in 1629, is unclear. At least it is clear that two Oratorians were still

Paris Prêt la Reine d' Angleterre l'année 1630 Jusques a l'an 1669 Par Le Père Cyprien de ["Gamache" crossed through] Gamache pred. capucin Mission.

For the other earlier differing version of this manuscript see: BL MS 4705aaa12. This translation is entitled P. Apollinaire de Valence, (édite) "Memoires de la Mission des Capucins de Paris pres la Reine d'Angleterre depuis l'année 1630 jusqu'à 1669 par le P. Cyprien de Gamache", Bibliothèque Francisçaine, Paris, 1881.

¹⁹⁰ Birch, T., C.I., Vol. II, p.342.

¹⁹¹ PRO, SO3/9, Signet Office, Docquet Book for May 1630. This warrant reads: "For payment of £2000 to Sir Richard Wynne, Kt, by way of Imprest for converting the Tennis Court and Tenements thereunto adioyning at denmark house, into a chappell and vestrie, and the roomes for the use of the Queen's Matie, and for making a Brickwall to inclose the same, with a passage and a stiaier from the Privy Lodgings into a Closett...."

¹⁹² Bassompierre's observations are discussed in Harting, op. cit., p.4. The rest of this work should be treated with caution.

¹⁹³ Birch, T., C.I., p.294 and Vol.I.p.33.

¹⁹⁴ ibid. p.295.

serving at the Queen's Chapel at St. James's when the Capuchins arrived in London in 1630, albeit without the direction of a Bishop. The problem with this from Gamache's point of view was, as he himself admitted, that the Oratorians retained the "Queen's Confession". This, together with Father Berulle's personal influence, provides a clue to a distinctive Oratorian politico-religious usage of the Queen's Chapel.

Father Berulle was instrumental in persuading the French Queen and her mother Queen Marie de Medici publicly to adopt the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary in his presence to ensure the defeat of the English at the Ile de Ré and La Rochelle in 1627. Its subsequent adoption at the Queen's Chapel by Henrietta Maria points to a common origin.¹⁹⁵ The importance of politico-religious associations of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary with the defeat of the Protestants off La Rochelle in 1627 ought to be appreciated both in the context of the life of Charles's Court and the Queen's Chapel and in its wider political context.¹⁹⁶

Confirming that it was Queen Henrietta Maria who in the 1630s had instituted the Confraternity a decade before her exile from England, Gamache wrote that:

"She had actually applied for and obtained this most ancient and truly noble Confraternity from the most Reverend Father General of the Order of St. Dominic, who had made us [i.e. the French Capuchins of the Queen's Chapel at Somerset House] Superiors of it...the Queen was the first who proposed to be received and, after her, the Gentlemen, the ladies, the people of the Court, and numberless other Catholics".¹⁹⁷

The Rule involved attending the Altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary every Saturday when litanies were chanted. Confession and communication took place every first Sunday of the month. In processions "a beautiful image [of the Virgin Mary] exquisitely carved out of that kind of wood which is called Montaigu, which Queen Mary de Medicis had brought from Flanders...was carried by a Priest in his Pontifical habit".

198

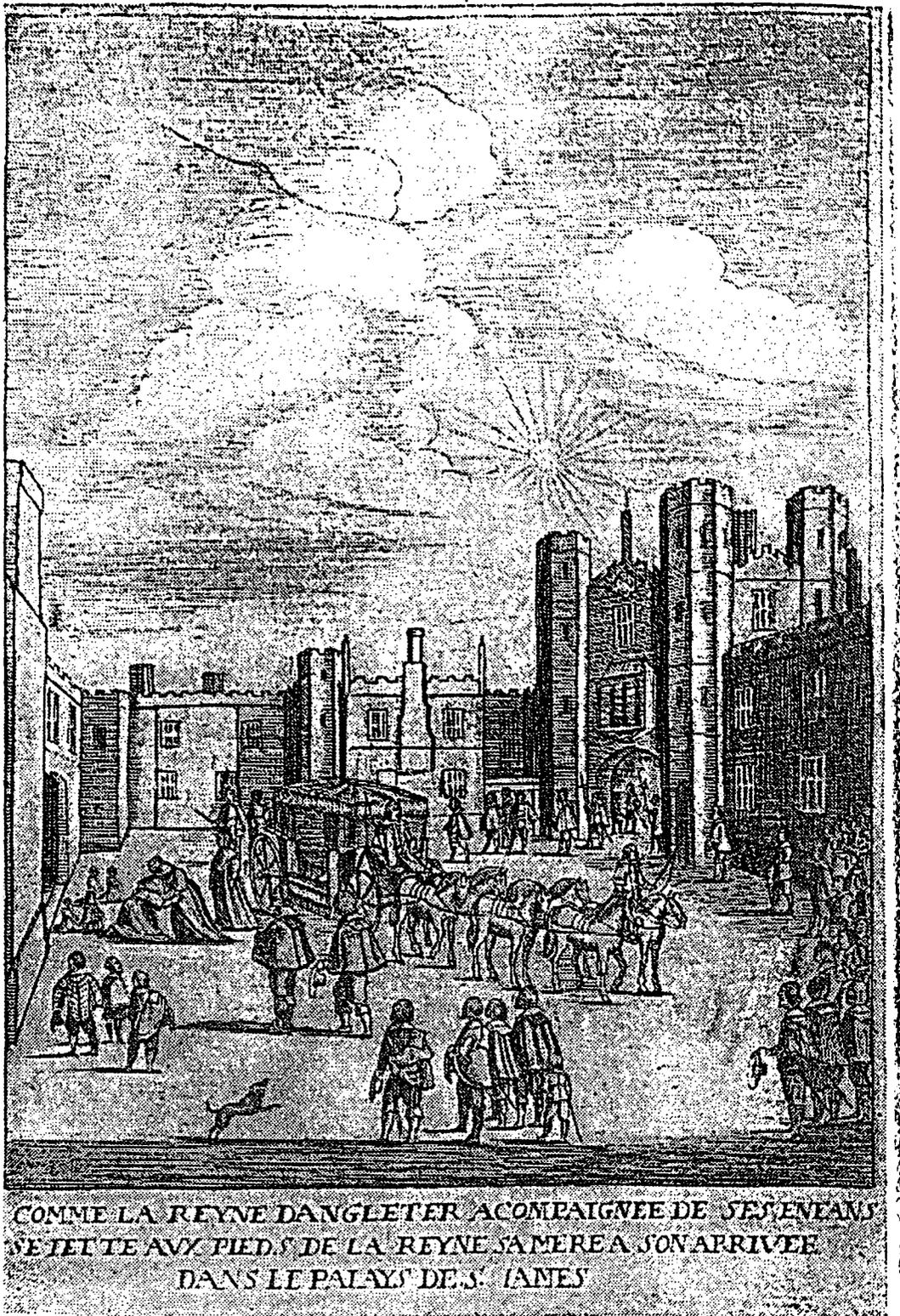
¹⁹⁵ Batterel, L., Memoires domestiques pour servir al'histoire de la Congregation de l'Oratoire, edited by Ingold, A.M.P. and Bonnardet, E., Five Volumes, Paris & Geneva, 1902-11, and Essai de Bibliographie Oratorienne par Le Père A.M.P. Ingold, Paris, 1880-1882. An illustration of the defeat of English forces at Ré, oil on canvas, Palace of Versailles, is reproduced in Worden, Blair, Stuart England, Phaidon, Oxford 1986, p.74. Another is in Paris, B.N, Cartes et Plans, Service Hydrographique, Archives no.12. "Hydrographic Description of France", Jean Geruard's manuscript French Chart of 1627 details areas of contemporary hostility, including the Island of Ré and the vicinity of La Rochelle, symbolised by English and French ships in conflict and cryptic sentences.

¹⁹⁶Cogswell, T., "Foreign Policy and parliament: the case of La Rochelle, 1625-1626, English Historical Review, 99, 1984.

Dedouves, Louis, Le père Jcseph et le siège de la Rochelle, étude d'Après des documents inédits, J. Sirandeanu, Angers, 1901.

¹⁹⁷ Gamache in Birch, T., C.I. p.432

¹⁹⁸ Gamache in Birch, T., C.I. p.433. See too the illustration of Mary de Medici's arrival at St.James's Palace in 1638. Packed amongst the baggage depicted must have been the carved image of the Virgin Mary made for the Confraternity of Montaigu wood - a wood the use of which was invested with especial spiritual importance by Jesuits.



The arrival of Mary de Medici in October 1638 at St James's Palace, amongst her baggage being Montagu wood and images for the Queen's Chapel.

From Jean Puget de la Serre, *Histoire de L' Entrée de la Mere du Roy,dans la Grande Bretagne*, London, 1639.

Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C., once in the J.E. Gardner Collection, Guildhall.

Gamache recorded that the practice continued "for the space of several years" until the Civil War. It is not entirely clear, though, that the Capuchins were the *de facto* Superiors of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary as it operated at the Queen's Chapel within St. James's Palace. The Library at Downside Abbey contains a booklet of thirty one pages entitled: "The Method of saying the Rosary of our Blessed Lady as it was ordered by Pope Pius The Fifth, of the Holy Order of Preachers. And as it was said in Her Majesties Chappel at S. James. - Printed in the Year 1669". It was almost certainly the work of a Dominican, with the chief contender being Father Christopher del Rosario, O.P., perhaps with the help of Lord Philip Howard, the Roman Catholic Lord High Almoner. Certainly Howard fled to Bornhem in Flanders in 1674 so as to avoid accusations of treason in connection with a publication of a book of devotion promulgating Papal Indulgencies granted to the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary. Cosimo Duke of Tuscany noted in particular upon entering the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace that there was a small Chapel dedicated to saying the Rosary on the right as he walked inside.¹⁹⁹

In consequence it would appear that the conduct of offices and devotions entailed in membership of the Confraternity at the Queen's Chapel at St. James's may have been conducted by the Oratorians throughout its existence. Apart from the deduction one could make from the lack of reference by Gamache to the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary at St. James's Palace, let alone his making no reference to Capuchins being there from time to time to administer its obligations, there are other indications that Capuchins may have had no dealings with observances at the St. James's end.

Retaining the "Queen's Confession" was evidently important to the Oratorians. Following the Restoration in 1660, Gamache recalled details which confirm the long-standing nature of the Oratorian mission with the Queen's Chapel and its promoters in high places - viz: "the power of the Earl of St. Albans and M. de Montagu, Grand Almoner of Her Majesty, who was a sworn partisan of the Fathers of the Oratory, by means of one Father Gough, an intimate friend of these two gentlemen ...afterwards Almoner to the Queen".²⁰⁰

The wider political context was that Henrietta Maria had come to England with firm instructions to convert her Protestant husband King Charles to the Catholic faith and to improve the lot of her co-religionists. Her Confessor, the Oratorian Father Berulle, together with the Bishop of Mandes and the Duchesse de Chevreuse (Marie de Rohan) advanced the notion that the influence of the Duke of Buckingham was a major source of discord in those early years of her marriage, since the Queen's position challenged his ascendancy. In fact they feared Buckingham might convert the Queen to the Protestant cause.

¹⁹⁹ Magalotti, Lorenzo, Count, (Crinó, Anna Maria, (ed.), Un principe de Toscana in Inghilterra e in Irlanda nel 1669. Relazione ufficiale del viaggio di Cosimo de Medici tratta del giornale de Lz. Magalotti, con gli acquirerelli Palatini, a curia di Maria Crinó, Edizioni de Storia e Letteratura, Roma, 1968. Also Magalotti, L, (ed) Travels of Cosimo, Duke of Tuscany, through England, London, 1821, p.169.

²⁰⁰ Birch, CI, Vol, II, p.431

There is little doubt that Buckingham did see a new and potentially important sphere of influence in the creation of the Queen's household. He needed to influence it to maintain his own influence, and it was for this reason that he managed to have appointed his wife and mother as Ladies of the Queen's Bedchamber, to the chagrin of the 'monsieurs', as Charles named her French retinue. But the French expulsion from the Court and Chapel in 1626 posed a problem of political alignment for Buckingham.

The culmination of Buckingham's policy was an unfortunate attempt to encourage internal resistance in Catholic France as a means of securing the downfall of Richelieu and the restoration of the Palatinate. It led to the deployment of Charles I's navy in a disastrous expedition in 1627 to the Island of Ré to relieve and encourage the Protestants in La Rochelle who had so angered Richelieu. On his assassination in 1628 Buckingham, far from creating anti-Catholic alliances against France, had in fact brought about defeat and the threat of encirclement by a Franco-Spanish alliance.²⁰¹

The seriousness and importance of such conflicts with France should not be underestimated when analysing the progress of international alignments between Catholic and Protestant nations in Europe. Recently Kevin Sharpe, relying upon the analysis of Dietz, has pointed to the seriousness of the domestic and international political consequences of the Ile de Ré conflict, noting that King Charles's 'Forced Loan' brought in over £240,000 by the end of 1627, but that the cost of the defeated Ré expedition amounted to £200,000, with an estimated £600,000 being required to finance another fleet. The consequences were felt all over the realm as localities found themselves unable to sustain the financial and human consequences of the continued brinkmanship.²⁰² It was all the more insensitive therefore that Henrietta Maria should want simultaneously to adopt the practice and personnel of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary in the Queen's Chapel in London.

Although there are good documentary sources describing events at Ré in 1627,²⁰³ perhaps the clearest exposition of the contemporary importance attached to the politico-religious conflict exemplified by the Ré expedition is visual. The details of the naval and landward battles at Ré and la Rochelle were expensively engraved soon afterwards by Jacques Callot.²⁰⁴ Naval war inevitably was pursued on a wider basis and by the seventeenth century in a trans-oceanic context. The French pilot and hydrographer, Jean Guérard,

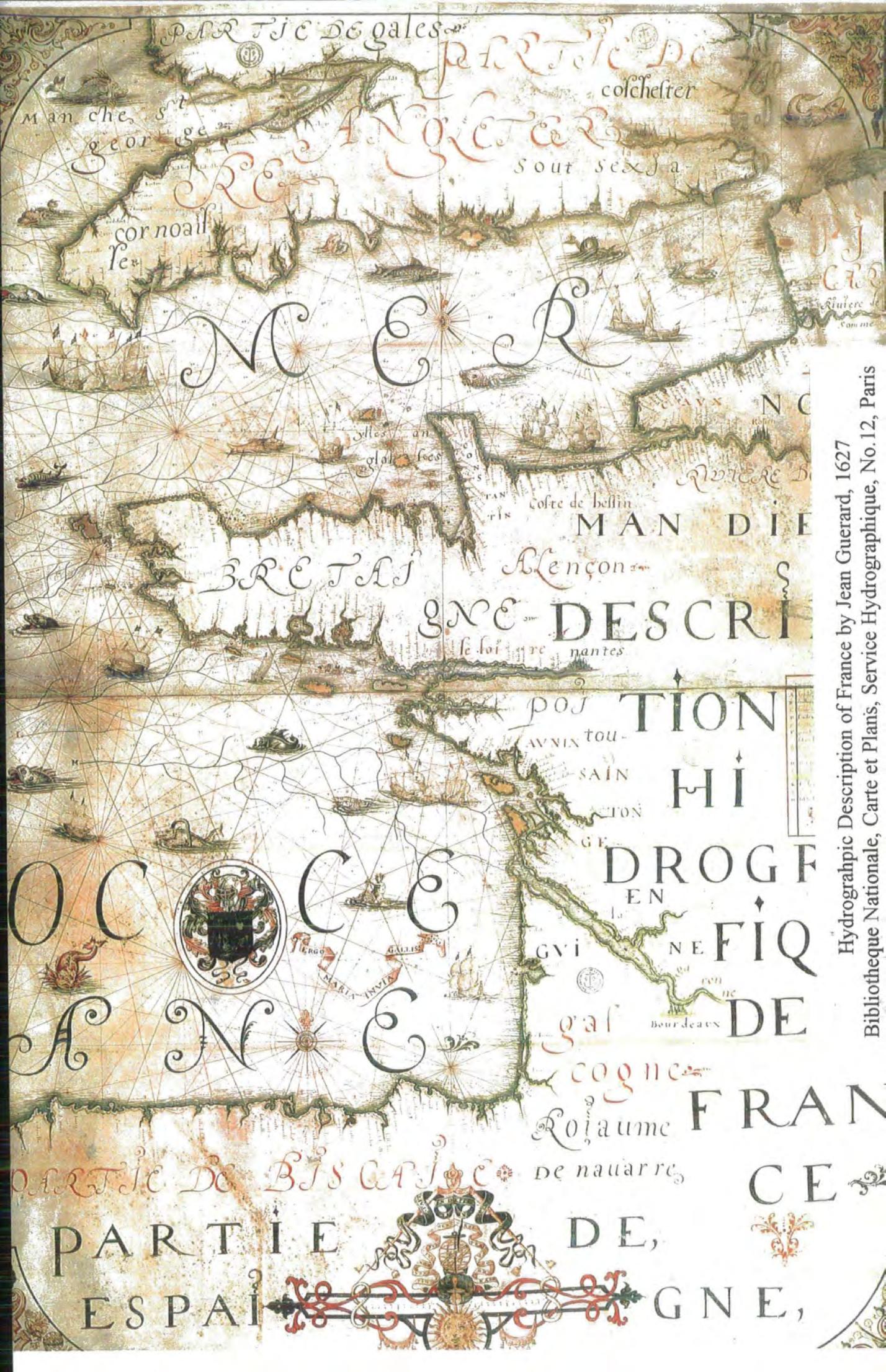
²⁰¹Cogswell, T. "Prelude to Ré: The Anglo-Spanish struggle over La Rochelle, 1624-1627" *History*, 71, 1986, pp.1-21.

²⁰²Dietz, F.C., *English Public Finance*, Vol.II, Frank Cass, New York, 1964, pp.243-7.

Sharpe, *op. cit.*, 1992, pp.22-23.

²⁰³BL. Lansdowne Ms 93/53, "Journal of proceedings at the Ile de Ré...., 1627".

²⁰⁴Jacques Callot, with lesser contributions from Isreal Henriet and Abraham Bosse were together the engravers and publishers of: *The Siege of La Rochelle*, 1627, La Rochelle and the Dike, 1627, and *Isle de Ré*, 1627.



PARTIE DE GALES

PARTIE DE COLCHESTER

MANCHE, S^t GEORGE

ANGLAIRE SOUT SEXJA

CORNOAILLE

NORMANDE

BRETAGNE

MAN DIE

NE DESCRIP

POITOU

AVNIN TOU

HI

DROGUE

EN NEFIQ

GAUCO

COGNE

ROYAUME FRAN

PARTIE DE BISCAYNE DE NAUARRE

PARTIE

DE,

CE

ESPAIGNNE

Hydrographic Description of France by Jean Gueraud, 1627
Bibliothèque Nationale, Carte et Plans, Service Hydrographique, No.12, Paris

produced a chart in 1627 indicating areas of conflict between England, France and the States General, by means of ships flying appropriate national flags depicted engaging one another. Three areas of conflict in particular are represented: the Hollanders of the States General engaging the French off Normandy, but roaming unchallenged off the mouth of the Somme; English engaging French between Cornwall and Brest; English engaging French off the Ile de Ré, but French roaming unchallenged off Gascony and elsewhere in Biscay. The chart conveys the humiliation felt by France over English actions in supporting Protestants in La Rochelle, and indicates this with the written streamer: "Ergo Maria invia Gallis" [the sea is closed to the galleys] . Relief at Razilly's victory over the English at Ré is indicted by the only other streamer: "Tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona 1627" [ie. "His forehead gleams, wreathed with the naval crown]"²⁰⁵.

Other charts reveal that Cardinal Richelieu's wider intention was to bottle up and isolate England using his authority as the "Grand Master, Chief and Superintendent of Navigation and Trade", a post he had held since October 1626. To celebrate this Guérard produced another chart in 1628²⁰⁶ which asserted French dominance as far North as "refuge aux Français ou Port Louis" in Spitzbergen. In 1633 a chart by Augustin Roussin completed in Marseilles²⁰⁷ sported Cardinal Richelieu's hat and arms off the West coast of Ireland, expressing the actuality of a French military interest that remained strong until 1690. In Paris in 1634 Guérard finished a "Carte Universelle Hydrographique",²⁰⁸ showing the world with Cardinal Richelieu's hat and arms across North America, and expressing the reality of a new and growing French Jesuit mission to the Canadian interior in the vicinity of the Great Lakes. That year the first works of the Jesuit, Fr. Paul Le Jeune, were published in Paris by Sebastien Cramoisy.²⁰⁹

The Queen's Chapel was directly tied up in the diplomatic and religious consequences of this overseas ambition and not just because some leading Catholic courtiers like the Earls of Baltimore were keen to invest in the Americas, if only the King would make them the appropriate land grants and confirm their freedom to worship in the Catholic manner, if necessary as in Newfoundland, by means of naval intervention. Sir Dudley Carleton, who had seen the French Court at first hand as a diplomatic envoy in 1626, declared in 1628 that first the French must give up "the idea of making themselves masters of the

²⁰⁵ Paris, B.N.: Cartes et Plans, Service Hydrographique no.12. Hydrographic Description of France", Jean Guérard, 1627. Two vellum leaves, coloured MS assembled into a chart, 1250 x 810mm. The chart also bears the arms of President de Lozon, counsellor to the Paris Parlement and later of the Grand Council. Reproduced in Jourdin, M., and Roncière, M., and Azard, M-M, and Raynaud-Nguyen, I., and Vannereau, M-A, Sea Charts of the Early Explorers, 13th to 17th Century, Thames & Hudson, New York, 1984, pp.78, and 254-5.

²⁰⁶BN, Paris, Ms. Fr. Cartes et Plans Rés Ge. DD 2987 (No 9648).

²⁰⁷BN, Paris, Ms. Français. 20122.

²⁰⁸BN, Paris, Cartes et Plans, Service Hydrographique Archives, No. 15.

²⁰⁹Fr. Paul le Jeune, Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année 1633, Sebastien Cramoisy, Paris, 1634. Also Breve relation du voyage a Nouvelle-France, Sebastien Cramoisy, Paris 1634 which marked the beginning of a series of annual "Relation" from the mission published up to 1673.

sea".²¹⁰ Richelieu on the other hand vowed never to forget the Ile de Ré²¹¹ where the English forces, sent at Buckingham's behest, had suffered defeat.²¹² Charles's reaction to this acute embarrassment was to retaliate against the Queen's Chapel saying that "if any one of these priests of my wife happen to die, I want the new ones to depend on the Pope and not on Richlieu..."²¹³

Charles's remark shows that he was as well aware as Henrietta Maria that the Confraternity were perceived as having played a key role in inspiring the defeat of the English Protestant forces of her husband at the Ile de Ré. So the adoption of its practices in the Queen's Chapel was at the least an act of politico-religious defiance by his wife. Both Henrietta Maria and Charles knew that the Oratorians had promoted it in the French Court with the avowed intention of enlisting the Almighty in support of the defeat of Protestantism, and that this initiative had been taken at the specific request of the Oratorian, Fr. Berulle, who had earlier accompanied Henrietta Maria to England.

For the Confraternity to have continued at the Queen's Chapel after Berulle's death in 1629 must have entailed the sanction of his successor as Superieur General de la Congregation de l' Oratoire, Fr. Charles de Condren, at least until the latter's death in 1641. Batterel wrote of Condren that: "il fit la visite de toutes les maisons" of the Order, and on this basis would have visited those of the Order serving at the Queen's Chapel".²¹⁴ Tantalizingly few extra details of its observances up to 1642 are to be found in a nearly contemporary work by Le T.R.P. Bourgoing entitled Direction pour les missions qui se font par le congreg. de l' Oratoire de Jesus-Christ, N.S., published in Paris, Vitre, in 1646.

Meanwhile Oratorians at the Court of St. James's were working to the dictats of the new Papal Congregation de Propaganda Fide, constituted in 1622 to maintain control over burgeoning missions in the wake of new economic opportunities and growing trans-oceanic empires. It was under this regime that the Oratorians at the Queen's Chapel in the 1620s, and other Oratorians subsequently holding office alongside them as Papal Agents and Confessors in the 1630s, appeared to have been working towards Re-Unification of the Church of England with that of the Church of Rome.²¹⁵ Archbishop Laud was offered a Cardinal's hat on at least two occasions, eliciting responses that were neither theologically dismissive nor diplomatic rebuffs. Laud

²¹⁰ Historical Manuscripts Commission, 4th report on the Cowper Papers, I, pp.442-3

²¹¹ Coke MS 46: Goring to Coke, 9th June 1633. In fact from October 1626 onwards Cardinal Richelieu did formally hold the post of Admiral of France and "Grand Master, Chief and Superintendant of Navigation and Trade."

²¹² Hutchinson, Lucy, op. cit., p.11.

²¹³ Codex Barberini Latini, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 8640, ff.309-311. Account of Con to Barberini, May 5/15th, 1637.

²¹⁴ Batterel, P.Louis (1680-1752), op. cit., 1880-1882, p.36

²¹⁵ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, VA Inghilterra, 1071, 3A, Panzani, Gregorio, Diario del Negotio dell'Inghilterra 1634-1637.



*Cur mundum sacris pectusque alturibus inseri?
Mundus ei, pectus, cunctaque numen erat.*

Le P. CHARLES DE CONDREN.

(Ce fac-simile du frontispice, gravé par Gr. HENET, de la Vie du P. de Condren, par le P. ANELOTE, est tiré de l'ouvrage de M. LOTU sur *Saint Vincent de Paul*, et nous a été libéralement communiqué par M. DUMOULIN).

knew that even as he answered Panzani, Con, and Rossetti as successive Papal Agents in London during the 1630s, the same diplomats were closely involved in the activities of the Queen's Chapel.

The Oratorian Panzani had succeeded in establishing official diplomatic relations between the Courts of England and Rome, and thereby gave impetus to the question of possible re-unification of the Churches. Con maintained this impetus and earned King Charles's trust and respect by contributing constructively to Charles's secret negotiations with the Spaniards in 1637, trying successfully to enlist support for an alliance between England and Spain for the recovery of the Spanish Netherlands and to provide relief for Catholics in England.

Although Charles stated that he would "give this right hand" that sixteenth century schism had never been,²¹⁶ he was not willing to risk announcing support for Re-Unification because of the domestic political scene as it stood in 1637. So he diplomatically told the Papal Agent Con: "It is not the moment yet: things are not favourable enough. We look to the future and say nothing".²¹⁷

Con was then running such an impressive Chapel that Gordon Albion argued "it became the centre of the Catholic revival in London".²¹⁸ Con would have been quartered at either Somerset House or in St. James's Palace had he not tactfully declined this offer from the Queen. Instead of operating at the Queen's Chapel, Con in effect mimicked the example of the protected status of the Queen's Chapel by opening his own Chapel with its own diplomatic immunity, soon popularly known as the "The Pope's Chapel, " where "more was spent on Mass-wine and candles than in a major Church in Rome." ²¹⁹

By 1638 eight masses a day were held there, some taken by Chaplains of the Queen's Chapel, while confessions were held on Saturdays and Vigils. A contemporary Capuchin ministering at the Roman Catholic Queen's Chapel by Somerset House observed that "these nuncios had successively their chapels open to all the Catholics...from morning till noon masses were continually said in their chapels...they were known to everybody. Their carriages rolled along the streets of London, without anyone daring to say a word against them".²²⁰ He observed that "The nuncios paid their court to the King and Queen...zeal for religion

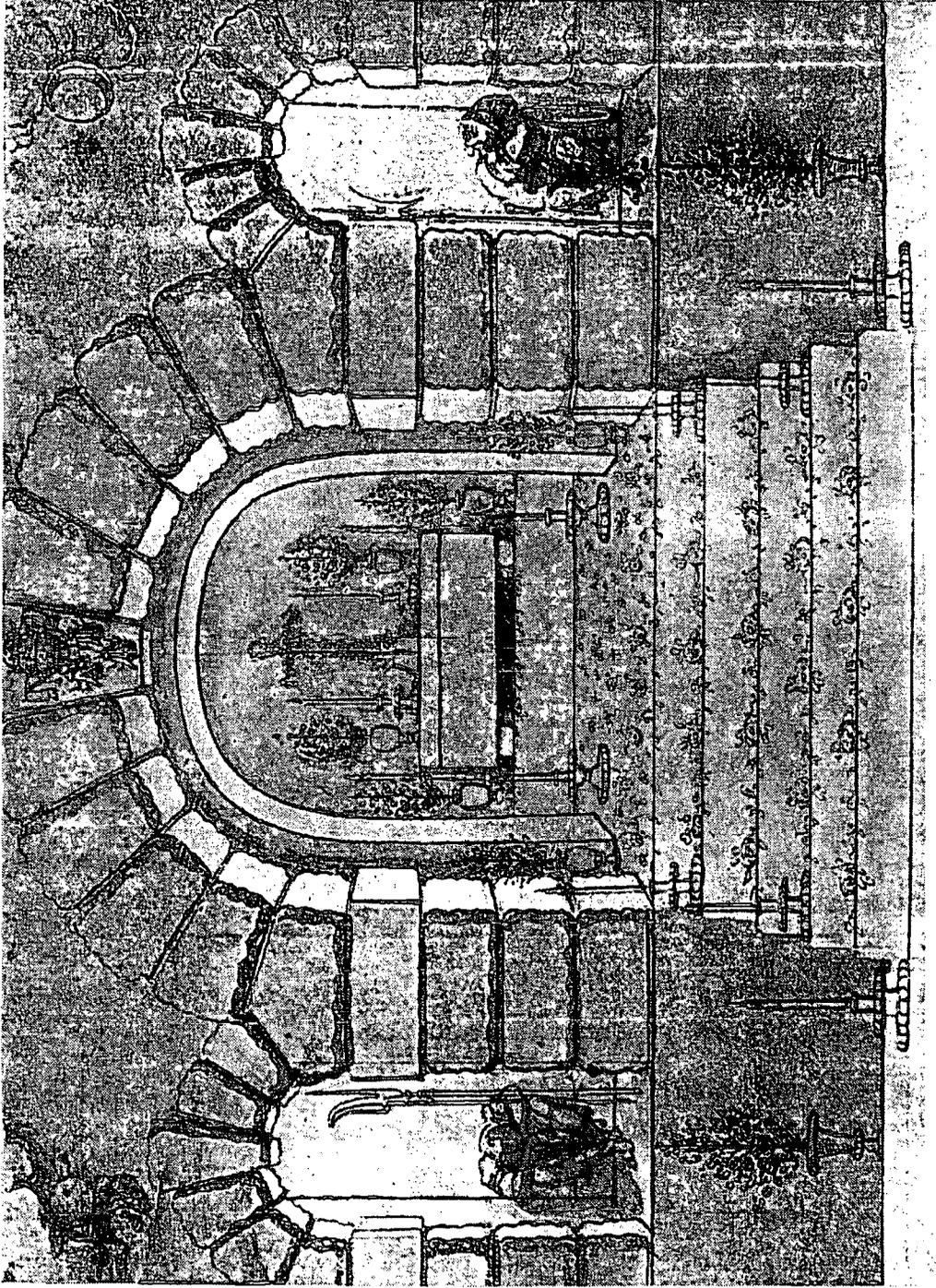
²¹⁶Albion, G., Charles I and the Court of Rome, Burns & Oates, London and Louvain, 1935, p.173.

²¹⁷Codex Barberini Latini, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 8640, ff184-5: Con's report to Barberini on conversation with King Charles, submitted in 'La Cifra d'Oro': "Il Re mettendomi una mano in spallo, mi rispose: Non e ancora tempo; le cose non sono disposte, bisogna veder piu avanti, e non di parola."

²¹⁸Albion, G., Charles I and the Court of Rome, p.163

²¹⁹Gamache, Cyprien de., "Memoirs of the Missions in England of the Capuchin Friars in the service of Queen Henrietta Maria", as cited in Birch, CI VolII. p.330.

²²⁰Ibid.



Altar of Repose in the Pope's Chapel, London, 1638, i.e. the Chapel of Papal Agent, George Con.

Pen and ink sketch found by Gordon Albion among Com's dispatches in the Barberini Papers at the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Rome.

having rendered the Queen so estimable to all the Catholics, particularly in the court of Rome, it is no wonder that those whom she sent thither were so well received".²²¹

Unlike the other Embassy Chapels which were regularly shut down when an Ambassador visited places away from London, or plague was about, the Papal Agency Chapel remained open every day. Con had a staff of twelve, twice as many as provided for by the Pope, while the Barberini family arms were even mounted over the Chapel, as depicted in the illustration of the Chapel drawn by Con.²²²

The Papal Agency arrangement was reciprocal and meant that Charles was able to appoint Hamilton to Rome as Con's opposite number to treat and negotiate with the Pope over such politico-religious matters as the possibility for re-unification. This did not steal the thunder of the Queen's Chapel, as the Spanish Ambassador shrewdly observed to Con's predecessor, Panzani, because without the Queen's support there would have been no Agency, even if the King were in favour of it.²²³

Matters of some politico-religious import were involved over the Requiem held for the Queen's brother-in-law, the late Duke of Savoy. This service was held at Con's Papal Agency Chapel and conducted by Bishop du Perron, who through his recent elevation to the See of Angoulême had broken the King's stricture against the appointment of a Bishop to the Queen's ecclesiastical household. Nonetheless he remained in London to serve as the Grand Almoner within the Queen's Chapel, an office traditionally associated with supremacy over the Household of the Catholic Queens on mainland Europe. As Hibbard observed, should this status have been conferred upon Con in succession to him, as was speculated in many quarters, even Archbishop Laud "would find himself ecclesiastically outranked at the English Court".²²⁴

Cross-ministering as between the Papal Agency Chapel, the Catholic Embassy Chapels and the Queen's Chapel was not the only outward manifestation of Catholic co-operation. Berulle, Sancy his successor, Robert Philip, and Viette were all contemporary Oratorians serving the Queen's Chapel, and were also the priests assigned to govern the daily ritual of the Queen's Chapel. Condren supervised the latter two as their nominal Ecclesiastical Superior within the French Chapter, but could only exercise that authority remotely from France.

But whereas prior to 1641 the Papal Embassy Chapel provided an unrivalled opportunity for furthering the cause of re-unification at Court,²²⁵ the Papal officials' often less than scrupulous methods were fatally

²²¹ Illustration printed in *Ibid.* p.203.

²²² PRO. Roman Transcript 9, Panzani to Barberini, June 7/17 and June 21/July 1 1636.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ Hibbard, C., *Charles I and the Popish Plot*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1983, p.60.

²²⁵ Albion, *op. cit.*, esp. Chapter VII on "Reunion Dreams", pp.167-193.

exposed by a hostile anti-Catholic faction using the protection of Parliamentary privilege in the "Ten Propositions" accepted by Parliament in June 1641. It was a cause that had depended heavily upon the continuing presence of the Queen to secure the diplomatic privilege of her Chapel. The virtual collapse of the Queen's Chapel came with the Queen's departure in 1642, not with the detentions of 1641. Although she took at least one of her Capuchin chaplains with her around Europe on her highly political mission she could not from there look after the fate of her Chapel in London too. Once the Queen had left the realm, Parliament could concentrate on dealing with the King's forces and did not have to fear French intervention until she returned in 1643. This suggests that the politico-religious importance of the Queen's Chapel persisted only so long as the person who was the subject of the diplomatic provisions remained in the realm.

The events of 1641 meant that the Papacy craved the equivalent in political leverage and information about politico-religious developments inside the Stuart realms to that which it had enjoyed earlier through the Queen's Chapel. The chance to exercise this influence in London alongside other diplomatic missions operating alongside the Queen's Chapel was lost by the circumstances of Rossetti's departure. Unable to operate from London, Pope Urban decided instead to deploy another Oratorian, Pier Francesco Scarampi, as a Papal Agent to Ireland during 1643. Scarampi landed at Wexford equipped with Briefs and Indulgencies for the supporters of the royalist Catholic Confederacy, as well as much ammunition and 30,000 crowns collected in Rome by the Franciscan, Luke Wadding. In 1645 Cardinal Rinnucini followed as the next Papal Agent to Ireland, operating to an even more disruptive brief, funded by Cardinal Mazarin to the tune of 28,000 livres, and designed to detach Ireland from its Stuart ruler and to create a Catholic realm there.²²⁶ The threatening military position of that Franco-Papal alliance enjoyed diplomatic respectability until 1655 as French forces were the theoretical guarantors who could have intervened to sustain Queen Henrietta Maria's Chapel. Thus Cromwell enforced on France in 1655 a Treaty obligation to keep Henrietta Maria, her youngest children and all her chapel staff and almoners in France.

The Parliamentarians had already been embarrassed by the determination of the Queen's close friend in her Chapel's milieu, the Duchesse de Chevreuse, who had in 1645 been captured off Dartmouth, over "barques taken with her by Capt. Hodges for papers and bills of exchange which we hear she has brought with her for great sums of money" to aid the King's war effort.²²⁷ Charles II was later to advise his eldest illegitimate son, James, to adopt the same friend's name, de Rohan, for secret entry to his Court via the Queen's Chapel.

²²⁶For Rinnucini's part after landing at Kenmare on October 22 1645, see Powell, J.A., The Navy in the English Civil War, Archon London, 1962, pp.50, 97-104, 109. See also: Ford, Alan, "Dependent or Independent? The Church of Ireland and its colonial context", 1536-1649, Seventeenth Century, Vol. No. X, 1995, pp.163-187.

Batterel, P. Louis, The Papal Nuncio (Archbishop Rinnucini) among the Irish Confederates, 1645-1649, (translated by Rev. W. McLoughlin), Catholic Truth Society, Dublin, 1908.

²²⁷ Hooper, Paul, "Our Island" in War and Commonwealth - The Isle of Wight 1640-1660. Cross Publishing, Chale, IOW, 1999, p.121 citing Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 22nd April, 1645.

Chapter 7.

ALLEGATIONS OF POLITICO-RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY INSIDE THE QUEEN'S CHAPEL IN THE TEN PROPOSITIONS AND THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE OF 1641.

As opposition between King and Parliament turned into military hostilities, it became clear that the unique treaty-based politico-religious position of the Queen's Chapel had contributed significantly to this outcome. Within the "Ten Propositions" accepted by the Lords and the Commons on 24th June 1641 clauses IV, V, VI and X all related to the operation of the Queen's Chapels. Their acceptance by Parliament reflected its concern to control Henrietta Maria and her Catholic connections. "The Grand Remonstrance" of nineteen closely related propositions, also accepted on 24th June 1641, constituted Parliament's bid to control her, based on intelligence and perhaps prior knowledge that Re-Unification plans were being concerted between Secretary Sir Francis Windebank and the Papal Agents. containing

The allegation was that in return "Court favours and encouragements" were being offered around the Queen's Chapel and the Somerset House Chapel.²²⁸ The Grand Remonstrance also claimed "The Papists enjoy'd such exemptions from Penal Laws, as amounted to a Toleration, besides many other Court favours and Encouragements, having a Secretary of State (Sir Francis Windebank) their powerful Agent, the Pope's Nuncio to govern 'em according to such influences as had receiv'd from Rome, by whose Authority the Popish Nobility, Gentry and Clergy were convocated after the manner of a Parliament".²²⁹ Furthermore, Parliament knew that the Oratorians and most of the Capuchins who served in these Chapels were controlled by superiors in France who were deeply implicated in the process and attempting to implement largely French and Catholic international agenda. On the suspicion that Catholic influence spread further still into the King's administrative machinery, Parliament tried to constrain any possible military response through Clauses II and VII which sought to restrain the King's prerogative to choose his advisors, make appointments to his armed forces and direct their conduct. It all deeply offended the King.

Rossetti's summons to testify before Parliament about some of the same "Ten Propositions" on 24th June 1641 led to his hurrying to the Venetian Embassy where Guisticiani organised safe conduct for him and a royal ship to take him to Flanders. Such was Rossetti's hurry he left behind some of his belongings with the

²²⁸ Paragraph 89 of Rushworth's transcript, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, of the Grand Remonstrance (and Kenyon, *op. cit.*, p.211) reads: "Also a prayer was compos'd and order'd to be read in all Churches, wherein the Scots were stil'd Rebels. All their pretended Canons were arm'd with the censures of Suspensions, etc., by which they wou'd have thrust out all good ministers, and most of the Nation's friends, to promote their Design of Reconciliation with Rome."

²²⁹ Head IV of the "Ten Propositions", Item III, 24th June 1641 for specific allegations concerning the Queen's Chapel. For text of the Grand Remonstrance see Rushworth, John, Historical Collections, from April 1641 to December 1642, Vol.IV, London, 1708.

Jesuit chaplains of the Duke of Somerset. The long term effect of that Parliamentary summons was that the Papal Agency could thereafter not be used to muster help for the Catholic cause or for Charles I, since Rossetti's flight in 1641 seemed to confirm politico-religious intrigue had taken place behind the guise of the business of the Queen's Chapel. ²³⁰

It would appear that Rossetti feared that the claims of Habernfeld and Brown could be proved - namely that international intrigue had been fostered through the Papal Agent's correspondence with the Jesuits.²³¹ It was the interception of mail originating from the Queen's Oratorian Confessor, Fr. Philip of Sanquhar, in May 1641 that had exposed letters revealing Fr. Philip's correspondence with Abbé Montagu in France and his description of the Queen as in danger. They urged that her brother, Louis XIII, intervene to help her ²³² and so substantiated Parliament's most immediate fear.

Popular suspicions about the ambitions of Catholic Orders operating inside the Queen's Chapel may explain why the petition submitted by 3,000 apprentices to Parliament in June 1641 had demanded the expulsion of all the Capuchins. It was initially met by the limited Parliamentary response of issuing instructions that the Capuchins be taken from Somerset House into the City, where they were imprisoned for "a month"; only subsequently was there another decree under which they were "banished from the Kingdom of England."²³³ Parliament deliberately chose Thursday in Passion Week in 1642 to start the second phase of the process, so as to avoid response from the French Ambassador "not being then in England".²³⁴

It represented a step short of demanding the exile of the Queen and her Chapel, which notion had in fact been resisted by King Charles ever since August 1641, when Trelon, the Capuchin Superior at Somerset House, had first been arrested following the Ten Propositions which had called for the expulsion of the Capuchins. But King Charles was less than decisive over the advice of his Secretary Nicholas in September that the Queen's Chapel should be dissolved, declaring: "I know not what to say if it be not to advertise my wife of the Parliament's intention concerning her Capuchins, so as first to hear what she will say" ²³⁵. Cannily, the King made no mention of others serving the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace.

²³⁰ Transcripts of Rossetti's correspondence, PRO. 31/9/140, show Rossetti was distrustful of the Venetian diplomatic bag, and with rightly feared his summons before Parliament. His letters to France had been intercepted.

²³¹ The Habernfeld claims start with the somewhat misdirected accusation that the Jesuits had "Four Orders", namely "Ecclesiastics", "Politicians", "Seculars" and "Intelligencers"(ie.spies) by which they "determined to effect an universal reformation of the Kingdom of England and Scotland", and that "to Promote the undertaken villainy, the said Society dubbed itself with the title of 'The Congregation of Propagating the Faith'; which acknowledgeth the Pope of Rome the head of the College, and Cardinal Barberino his substitute and executor" (Laud, W, Works, IV p.480).

²³²Rushworth, J. op. cit., Vol.VII, p.257 for copy of Fr. Philip's offending letter.

²³³Birch, T. The Court and Times of Charles I, Vol.II, p.359.

²³⁴Ibid.,p.353

²³⁵Quoted in Harting, J.op. cit., p.13.

In the event Parliament seized the initiative ahead of Henrietta Maria. Wholesale expulsion of known Catholics became inevitable in the months that followed Parliament's acceptance of the Ten Propositions, and the agreed exceptions. Initially those formally banished were Marie de Medici, the Queen's Mother, along with the Countess of Arundel, several Howard children,²³⁶ a number of priests and their Jesuit Confessor, Fr. Suffren. According to the Capuchin Gamache, then serving the Queen in the Chapel in Somerset House, the Grand Remonstrance and the concerted Parliamentary action that ensued thereafter was deliberately directed against the Queen's Chapel,²³⁷ and derived from Parliament's fear that the Queen might be successful in a mission to raise foreign help. It was this fear that led Parliament towards all-out rebellion against the King and Queen.

Parliament knew that there were international implications to any interference with the Queen's Chapel either at St. James's Palace or at Somerset House. Any such interference with its existence invited French retaliation under the guise of protecting a formal treaty obligation. In consequence the Lords had sent Dorset on 13th August 1641 to require the Queen to stop her Capuchins from "going abroad to pervert, and the English may not be suffered to come unto them".²³⁸ Already, in the context of the Strafford impeachment, all Irish priests had been banished under a decree of March 1641 which took full effect by April 7th with the agreed exceptions of 14 or 15 individual Catholics (including one from each Order serving the Queen's Chapel). Montagu had then unwisely infuriated the Commons by expanding the list of exemptions sought to 28. Although the Papal Propaganda Fide supported Montagu's efforts, he had to forfeit his support in the form the diplomatic couriers provided by Guisticiani, the French Ambassador, who discreetly withdrew. This closed a route used for correspondence between the Queen and Montagu, and also the last 'safe' method by which the Queen's Chaplains had communicated with the Papacy.

Nonetheless, the Capuchins seem to have been engaged in similar correspondence which, had it been discovered then, would have helped substantiate the allegations that they too had invited French interference. Mail dispatched from the Queen's Chapel Capuchins usually got through without interception, although some later elements seem to have been written by the Friars when in confinement at Parliament's

²³⁶Ornsby, G. op. cit. Ornsby's preface describes how this flight into exile by the Howard family began.

PRO. E.403/ 2758 records payment to this unpopular mother-in-law of the King of an allowance of £100 a day plus about £1,60 0, a month in food up to her ejection through 1639 and 1640. Her reception at St. James' Palace was recorded and illustrated by Puget de la Serre, Jean, Histoire de L'entree de la Reyne du Roy... dans la Grand Bretagne, London, 1639.

²³⁷There is, though, the theory advocated by A.S. Barnes in the Downside Review, New Series, Volume 1 (Vol.xx), 1901, p.238, that it was in a surviving range of the Savoy Palace "and not actually in Somerset House itself, that the French Capuchins were lodged who served the Chapel of Henrietta Maria, alike in the reigns of Charles I and in that of Charles II. The two places were adjoining one another, and the queen had authority, apparently' in both of them".

²³⁸Quoted in Hibbard, C., Charles I and the Popish Plot, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1983, p.205.

behest. Had parts of this correspondence also been intercepted it would have confirmed Parliament's concern that the Queen's Chapel was a major conduit for potential French intervention and that its clergy's correspondence constituted potent international politico-religious usage or exploitation of the Chapel. Indeed it provided nothing short of an excuse for a French invasion.

Gamache cites two entire letters, written to the King of France and Cardinal Richelieu respectively, which accuse the English Parliament of action in confining the Capuchins which "violates the articles of her marriage".²³⁹ One passage in the letter to Richelieu would seem to confirm that the Capuchins had arranged to co-ordinate their mail through the French Embassy in the absence of the Papal Agent. Before sailing from Dover accompanied by two Capuchins to seek foreign help for Charles in February 1642, Henrietta Maria had placed the remaining Capuchins at Somerset House under the protection of the French Embassy. The passage addressed to Richelieu accordingly reads: "We pretend not to add to the information given you by monsieur the Ambassador..."²⁴⁰

Although the authorship of the Habernfeld claims which underlie all this is uncertain, those claims provide strong indications that at the least the Oratorian element of the Queen's Chapel and successive Papal Agents had worked hand in hand in a number of fields, not least with the Jesuits and the Propaganda Fide in Rome.²⁴¹ The fact most of the letters reached Cardinal Barberini at the Propaganda and that he had sent instructions in reply, is evidenced by the correspondence in the Vatican Library and transcripts of it at the Public Record Office.²⁴²

²³⁹Birch, T, C.I. p.344.

²⁴⁰*Ibid.* p.345.

²⁴¹ The claim was also made that "Master Cuneus did at that time enjoy the office of the Pope's Legate...whose secrets, as likewise those of all the other intelligencers, the present good man, the communicator of all these things, did receive and expedite whither the business required" (Laud, Works IV.p.481), for the spies are required to deposit their intelligence "weekly" with the Legate (Laud, Works IV, p.480). The process revolved around the dwelling of the Scottish secular Jesuit, Captain Read, located in Longacre-Street, near the Angel Tavern, "on the day of the Carrier's (or post's) despatch which is ordinarily Friday, they meet in great numbers...that they may without suspicion, send their secrets by Toby Matthew, or Read himself, to the Pope's Legate; he transmits the compacted packet, which he hath purchased from the intelligencers, to Rome"(Laud, Works IV, p.417). More specifically, "the Pope's Legate useth a three-fold character, or cypher: one wherewith he communicates with all the Nuncios; another with Cardinal Barberino only; a third wherewith he covers some great secrets to be communicated"..These, together with other communications, Laud noted, "he packs up together in one bundle, dedicated under this inscription, To Monsieur Stravio, Archdeacon of Cambay"; whence they were sent to Rome. (Laud, Works IV,p.491).

²⁴² PRO. 31/9/173, transcripts of Gregorio Panzani's Letters from England 1634-37; transcripts of George Conn's Correspondence with Ferragalli, (PRO. 31/9/124); Transcripts of Carlo Rossetti's Letters; (PRO. 31/9/18-23); and letters from Barberini to Panzani, Jones et alia. (PRO. 31/9/140). These are discussed in Papal History and the Public Record Office - An Exhibition to mark the centenary Year of the publication of the first volume of the Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. PRO., March 1994, as a guide to an exhibition at Chancery Lane, and Shorney, David, Protestant Nonconformity and Roman Catholicism - A Guide to sources in the Public Record Office, PRO. Publications, London, 1996, pp.66-77.

More specific claims concerned the reverse of the process by which instructions were received from Propaganda, this time with members of the Queen's Chapel named. One such, the Queen's Scottish Confessor and Oratorian priest, Fr. Robert Philip of Sanquhar, was identified as the return mail-drop along with Read:

"With the same Read, the letters brought from Rome are deposited under feigned titles and names, who by him are delivered to all to whom they appertain; for all and every one of their names are known to him" and "Upon the very same occasion, letters are also brought hither under the cover of Fr. Philip, (he notwithstanding being ignorant of things) from whom they are distributed to the conspirators."²⁴³

That the Papal Agent too had enjoyed access to the Court at the highest levels was claimed by the observation that Secretary Windebank "at least thrice every week converseth with the Legate in nocturnal conventicles...for which end he hath hired a house near to the Legate's house, whom he often resorts to through the garden door; for by this vicinity is the meeting facilitated".²⁴⁴ Endymion Porter is also implicated as "he reveals all his greatest secrets to the Pope's Legate".

Despite all the flights and expulsions of those closely associated with her Chapel in 1641, the Queen's own long anticipated overseas mission to seek help for the King did not begin until February 1642. It was highly successful. She had been abroad "above a year"²⁴⁵ before returning to the North East on February 23rd, 1643 "with great supplies from Denmark."²⁴⁶ Gamache further boasted that she "had brought from Holland large sums of money, all sorts of arms and munitions of war, and a brave number of officers and generous soldiers had accompanied her and entered into her service".²⁴⁷

The Queen's subsequent ability to help further was constrained because she became pregnant soon after her return to Charles in February 1643. She later gave birth to Princess Henrietta Anne in Exeter. Thereupon the city was attacked by Parliamentary forces, forcing her into flight abroad accompanied by the Queen's Somerset House Chapel Capuchin, Fr. Jean Marie Treston, during which she was chased into exile by Parliamentary ships firing cannon.²⁴⁸ Fr. Treston was replaced at his death by Gamache himself, who then "attended her in all her journeys wherever she went in France or England, wherever she abode in the royal

²⁴³Laud, Works IV, p.487.

²⁴⁴Ibid., p.489.

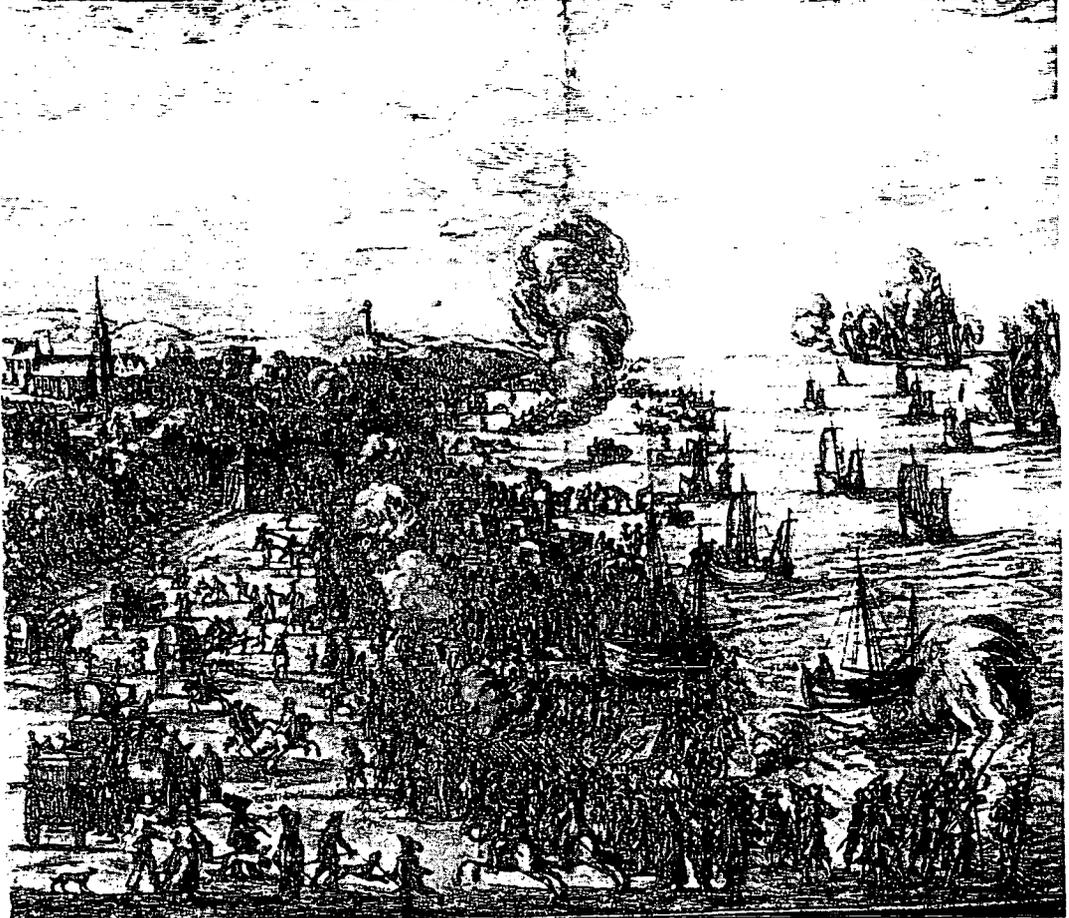
²⁴⁵Ibid., p.353.

²⁴⁶Fr. Cyprien de Gamache recollected "The Queen last night landed at Newcastle (actually Bridlington) with great supplies from Denmark". W.D. Hamilton, (ed.) Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1642/3, Vol XVIII., London, 1887, p.446, February 23rd 1643.

²⁴⁷Ibid., p.351.

²⁴⁸Hamilton, W.D. (ed.) Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1644, Vol.XIX, London, 1888, p.342 tells of the flight of the Queen from Falmouth, and offers at p.356 Lord Warwick's remarks dated 17th July 1644 from Torbay that "On Sunday last the Queen with the assistance of ten ships and vessels made her escape".

DELINEATIO ABITVS MAGNA BRITANNIA REGINA EX HOLLANDIA IN ANGLIAM. CVM 29 JAN. AN. 1643 SCHEVENINGA SCOPVS



Henrietta Maria's departure from Schneveningen in Holland on 29th January 1643.
An engraving showing Henrietta Maria's departure from Schneveningen in Holland on 29th January 1643 (13th February 1643 NS) when she brought safely to Bridlington with considerable military stores and funds for Charles. It symbolised the threat posed in the 1640s should France wish to invoke the treaty obligation to protect the terms of the marriage, and intervene militarily on the pretext of restoring the operation the Queen 's Chapel in London.

residences in France, at St. Germain-en-Laye, at the Louvre, at the Palais Royal, and at the Chateau of Colombe...".²⁴⁹

It had been Papal Agent Rossetti's unrealised hope that his own place would be taken by an unofficial representative at the Queen's Court - an Italian who would be financed through William Thomson, and described by Brown as the Franciscan "who by degrees hath intruded himself to be a clerke of her Majesties Chapple" under the name of Mr. Wilson. He is further described as a "Doctor of Divinitie and a most furious and unquiet spirit" who had the unpleasant name "Cackafugo"²⁵⁰

Without the King in authoritative residence in London, without the restraint once exercised by the Anglican bishops, and with Archbishop Laud languishing in the Tower until his final trial and execution in 1645, it was impossible to maintain the diplomatic creation of the Queen's Chapel. Meanwhile the possibilities of dishonouring some of the standard European diplomatic immunities for Embassy chapels honoured under the early Stuarts were to be explored by Parliament in the years up to 1660.²⁵¹

The demise of the Papal Agency in England, which had facilitated the dispatch of instructions to the Catholic orders operating in the Queen's Chapel on the authority of Propaganda Fide, was to leave a vacuum in the Catholic powers' diplomatic status and legality despite the presence of a new Portuguese embassy opened in 1641 in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The revival of the convenient and accepted reality of cross-staffing among Catholic Embassy Chapels and claims to "Extra-territorial immunity" for such diplomatic missions²⁵² had to await the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660 when all the Catholic embassies duly returned to normality with their chapels open once more. Significantly after 1662 they would then gravitate around the Dowager Queen's Chapel at Somerset House²⁵³ and a diplomatically revived Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹Birch, C. I. Op.cit. Vol.II, p.361.

²⁵⁰Durkan, J., "The Career of John Brown, Minim", in "The Innes Review", Scottish Catholic History Studies, Volume Twenty First, Burns, Glasgow, 1970, p.169 which cites BL Harleian MS. 1219, fol.364 recto: "The Confession of John Brown"

²⁵¹Trimble, W. R., "The Embassy Chapel Question, 1625-1660", Journal of Modern History, 18, 1946, pp.97-107.

²⁵²Wicquefort, A. B., L' Ambassadeur et ses Fonctions, The Hague, 1681, vol. I. pp.879-881 and 887-889. It was published in 2 quarto parts, now in the British Library, (Kings Library and Grenville Library Collections). Another edition published in Cologne in 1690 formed the basis of an English translation by William Digby (5th Baron Digby) as The Ambassadeur and his Functions to which is added an historical discourse of the election of the Holy Roman Emperor, London, 1716. Subsequent editions appeared in 1730 and 1746.

²⁵³ The Portuguese Embassy opened in 1641 soon after Portugal recovered her independence from Spain.

²⁵⁴ Wheatley, H. B., Round About Piccadilly and Pall Mall, Smith Elder, London, 1870, p.358 and Holmes, J., "Catalogue of French Ambassadors to England", Gentlemen's Magazine, Vol.XIV, 1840 pp.483-7 and pp.608-610. By 1665 the French Embassy had re-located immediately opposite St. James's Palace, and to within two hundred yards of the Queen's Chapel, as part of Berkshire House, home of the Howards, with its extensive gardens and outhouses. By 1676 it had re-located to No.8 on the North side of the new St. James's Square, again but a stone's throw from the Queen's Chapel.

Chapter 8.

THE PLACE OF THE QUEEN'S CHAPEL IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS POLITICS (1660-1669).

A. The strategic and dynastic context of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1661.

In reaching the decision to marry Catherine of Braganza, and with it at least a commitment for her natural life to a re-established Queen's Chapel, Charles discarded a good number of other potential candidates fielded for various diplomatic and dynastic reasons. For example, Baron Watteville, acting for the Spanish even as negotiations were proceeding between Charles and Catherine from August 1660 to May 1661, pressed for Charles to marry a Mancini. He also presented what Charles described as a whole "litany of marriages", including a princess from Saxony and another from Denmark, whom Charles dismissed with the remarks "I hate Germans, or princesses of cold countries" - an untruth when one considers his known friendship with Christina of Sweden.²⁶¹ Rival strategists pressed one of the Parmas as a possible wife, or a Princess of Orange, either of whom would guarantee a dowry almost as large as that promised by Portugal. For instance, in return for the surrender of Dunkirk and Jamaica the Spanish offered one million crowns, but under the threat of war. Events proved, however, that the will to proceed with the Portuguese scheme was fixed in the mind of the King.

Meanwhile Charles, living at his sister's court at Breda in the late 1650s, must have come to understand the economic consequences of Dutch deprivations of Portugal's trading Empire, and have developed concurrently a distinct sympathy for the Portuguese as they struggled to keep safely open the sea lanes of their empire by their mastery of those mathematical, navigational and scientific skills he so admired. He must have known from local encounters in the Low Countries that the Jesuit Colleges in Antwerp,²⁶² Douai and Lisbon taught those skills effectively alongside the particular type of music he also enjoyed. There too Charles's taste in religious music (later to form part of his affection for the Queen's Chapel) was to be formed on traditional Catholic-Netherlandish lines.²⁶³ Those inclinations led to the allegation contained in a letter from Marigny to Barrière, dated Brussels, 15th April, 1656, stating: "Yesterday the King of England came incognito (but however all the world might have seen him) to the Jesuits' Church, to hear the music before the arch-duke. His Majesty was in a tribunal, and the Marquis of Ormond and the Earl of Rochester were with him".²⁶⁴

In so developing those intellectual sympathies in the late 1650s Charles II would not have been appalled by the Portuguese insurrection against rule from Spain begun on 1st December 1640. This was a largely an

²⁶¹B.L. MS 4157, f.7, a French copy of a letter to Charles II from Christina of Sweden in 1655. He was in frequent and grateful correspondence with Christina, who, according to B.L. MS 2542, f.19 had sent ammunition to help the Royalist cause as late as 1649.

²⁶²Meskins, A., "The Jesuit Mathematics School in Antwerp in the early seventeenth century", *The Seventeenth Century*, Vol XII, No.1, Spring 1997, pp.11-22.

²⁶³Neuman, E, *The History of Music*, Volume II, Books II and III, Cassel & Co. London, pp.303-394, 493-516.

²⁶⁴Birch, T, *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, London, 1742, , Vol IV, pp.677-678.

aristocratic affair into which Donha Luiza de Guzman had pushed her husband. The Jesuit fathers of the college of Santo Antão in Lisbon had paraded their students before in a show of popular support for João de Braganza. Confirmed as the Portuguese King João IV by the Cortés of Portugal in 1641, he initiated the financial and strategic re-construction of the Braganza's position completed during Luiza's Regency from 1656 to 1664. The Jesuits would play a significant role in this, especially in negotiating the terms of a Marriage Treaty with clear religious and military provisions to benefit her marriageable daughter, Catherine of Braganza, born in 1638, and Portugal.

As the last Portuguese outposts in Ceylon at Tuticorin, Mannar and Jaffna fell to the Dutch in 1658, the Portuguese Crown, in whose name most Portuguese Asian trade was done, was forced into an alliance with England. The question left open for Luiza to negotiate was what type of long term alliance with England was appropriate. Firm Portuguese action against the Dutch base at Surat in 1654 had brought about the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1654, albeit that it was initially rejected by Cromwell, who realised that he must reciprocate over freedom of worship for Portugal's trading consulate in London. During the Regency of Queen Luiza a distinctively Braganzan dynastic policy emerged, dominated by religious considerations, marriage making and the mentally afflicted condition of her eldest son, Affonso VI.²⁵⁹ When Luiza was forced from power and into a convent in 1664 Affonso was five years over the age at which he might have been expected to take over as King.

Luiza's policy had been dominated by concern to secure her country's fragile independence, and thereby the Braganzan royal dynasty. It involved a mother's hand in making wise diplomatic marriages with the French and English royal families for Affonso and Catherine rather than for her younger son, Pedro, who was ten years younger than Catherine.²⁶⁰ But Catherine's personal views proved almost as important in the process, as become evident from her own letter to Charles II written in Lisbon on 3rd September 1661 in which she expresses her pleasure at the conclusion of the negotiations for their marriage and her eagerness to embark for England a full eight months before her actual marriage.²⁶¹ The Earl of Clarendon recognised correctly Catherine's character. He swore to the Portuguese Ambassador that the principal inducement for Charles's marriage was "*the piety, virtue and comeliness*" of the Infanta.²⁶²

There is good primary evidence surviving about the role of the English born Jesuit, then Bishop Designate, Richard Russell, in the formulation of the terms of the Anglo-Portuguese Marriage Treaty of 1661. But the Lisbon MS Collection at Ushaw College contains significant extra contemporary commentary on the role

²⁵⁹ Her temperamental elder son, Affonso, who eventually displaced her, suffered much on account of his central nervous disorder, perhaps caused by meningitis. He lacked the necessary personal and diplomatic skills, and was deposed on 22nd November 1667 by his younger brother Pedro (b.1648) who ruled until December 1706.

²⁶⁰ After Luiza's Regency the Jesuits took on a more prominent role in the Braganza's affairs, arranging with the Pope for the annulment and re-marriage of Affonso's ex-wife Marie Francois Isabelle of Savoy to his brother Pedro II, a marriage duly joined on 2 April 1668. On her death in 1683 Queen Marie Francois was to be buried within a Jesuit establishment.

²⁶¹ PRO. SP 89/5/44. In Portuguese.

²⁶² Bodleian Library, Clarendon Mss, Vol.74, fol. 298.



Donha Luiza Guzman.

As Queen and Regent for Dom Affonso VI, she oversaw the marriage Treaty negotiations of 1661 to conducted with the Earl of Sandwich in Lisbon, briefing Bishop Designate Richard Russell.. Regent until 1662 when Affonso assumed the Crown. Mazarin's declared she was a very shrewd negotiator, *"a sound reasoner, her discourse is polished, her speech so full of grace you are left marvelling. the Latin and Italian tongues are as familiar to her as Castillian and Portuguese."*

Unattributed. Peres Damiao, Historia de Portugal Edicao Monumental Comemorativa Do 8 Centenario Da Fundaco Da Nacionalidade, Vol.VI. Portucalense Editora, Barcelos, 1934.

of Richard Russell in devising the terms of the Marriage Treaty of Catherine of Braganza with Charles II which detailed the necessity to provide the Queen's Chapel for her Roman Catholic worship - both in terms of the physical provision of the building at St. James's Palace and its intended complement. In the event the Queen would see a chapel uncannily like the one she knew at Estremoz.

Bishop Russell's significant hand in this is not readily appreciated either from the contemporary State Papers or envoy papers such as those of Southwell,²⁶³ Newcastle,²⁶⁴ Tyrawly²⁶⁵ or Admiral Norris's Papers²⁶⁶ in the British Library. Nor is it apparent within the original 1661 Treaty documents and papers relating to the Treaty negotiations to be found in two separate classes within the State Papers, Foreign Entry Books and King's Letter Books at the PRO (SP 108 and SP 104 respectively), or from the calendared Portuguese State Papers in the SP89/5 series.²⁶⁷

Certainly elements of these reveal Russell's role as trusted confidant and diplomatic broker both by Charles II of England and his envoys, Queen Regent Luiza Guzman and Afonso VI of Portugal. Examples range from his formal appointment in 1665 as assistant to the Portuguese Ambassador in London in recognition of his commitment to furthering Anglo-Portuguese relations,²⁶⁸ to his earning Charles's favour to the extent of enjoying the latter's specific recommendation to the Bishopric of Portalegre in 1671,²⁶⁹ and to his being entrusted by the Portuguese to inform Charles II of the sensitive terms of the Franco-Portuguese alliance in 1667.²⁷⁰ These papers show Russell was often in conference with successive Portuguese envoys such as de Mello and Castelmehor, and that he kept company with Sir Robert Southwell and others, trying all the while to improve the current state and future prospects of Anglo-Portuguese relations.²⁷¹ The major influence which Russell exercised throughout the 1660s was based upon confidence placed by both nations in his motives and actions at the beginning of that decade.

Comment upon the particular endeavour which brought about that confidence in Russell is not to be found in the collections at the British Library, and barely appears in the PRO's holdings, and has escaped editorial

²⁶³ Add.Mss.34,329-34,335: Papers of Sir Robert Southwell.

²⁶⁴ BL Add.Mss.32,686-32,992: Papers of the Duke of Newcastle.

²⁶⁵ BL Add.Mss.23,627-23,642: Papers of Lord Tyrawly.

²⁶⁶ BL. Add.Mss.28,126-28,157: Papers of Admiral Sir John Norris.

²⁶⁷PRO. SP89/6 Bishop Russell denounced for causing bad blood between Portuguese and English Courts.

PRO. SP89/5 fol.15 Cites Portuguese advice to Russell advocating the giving of all Portugal's Indian colonies to Charles II if necessary to avoid possibility of his breaking off proposed marriage to Catherine of Braganza.

PRO. SP89/7 fols.65 and 91 Bishop Russell to assist De Mello the Portuguese Ambassador to London

PRO. SP89/7 Russell's journey to Portugal at de Mello's request, 1666, and Russell's role as a supposed creature of the Marquisa de Sande, whom de Mello replaced.

PRO. SP89/11 fol.127 Maynard to Arlington, regarding "implacable malice of the English Seminary [at Lisbon] to our Religion", 1671.

²⁶⁸ PRO SP 89/7, f.65.

²⁶⁹ PRO SP 89/11, f.217.

²⁷⁰ PRO SP 89/8, f.121.

²⁷¹ PRO SP 89/8, f.53.

comment by Boxer, Figaniere or Tovar.²⁷² Peres had spotted only one instance of Russel's diplomatic role, and that is not relevant to the establishment of the Queen's Chapel.²⁷³

Russell's obscure but central role in devising the terms of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1661 which specified the re-establishment of the Queen's Chapel is, however, described in the Lisbon Collection Mss. at Ushaw College and in the Lisbon College Register, which has only recently been edited by Sharatt.²⁷⁴ In particular, the Lisbon College Collection sheds new light on those responsible for negotiating the terms on which the Queen's Chapel was re-founded in 1662. It also offers unique information about it, listing exactly who sailed with Catherine of Braganza to staff the Chapel. Russell's brief, written in Catherine of Braganza's hand, shows the household and the Chapel staff she wanted on her arrival in England.²⁷⁵ This effectively counters the later allegation that Russell was just the agent of de Sande,²⁷⁶ recorded in the State Papers but emanating from a circle of diplomats kept at bay from the real negotiations.

The Queen's list included Russell himself, placed high in the hierarchy. Others of that inner circle included Dean Humphrey Ellis who gave faculties to Lord Aubigny for the secret Roman rite marriage of Catherine to Charles at Portsmouth,²⁷⁷ and Richard Bellings who, at Charles II request, undertook an important and successful secret mission to Rome for Afonso, and who subsequently wrote in gratitude for that to Charles just before Christmas 1662.²⁷⁸ Evidence about the international accreditation accorded to Bellings by three international European Courts (discussed more fully below) has been overlooked by historians such as Feiling in assessing his importance to Charles II's papal overtures.

Of Dr. Richard Russell's role the College Records, written in Lisbon, uniquely state that:

"When the marriage of Charles of England and Catherine of Portugal was agreed, he was taken into the Queen's household and returned home as her Sacristan and Preacher. He was loved by all for his gentleness, respected for his life of integrity, revered by the faithful for the holiness of his teaching and hated by infidels; he was like a lantern shining in a dark place crammed with heresy and depravity. Writing, meditating, praying, preaching, refuting heretics, confirming the faithful in the faith and winning souls to

²⁷² Boxer, Charles, Descriptive List of the State Papers of Portugal 1661-1780 in the Public Record Office London, Vol. I, 1661-1723, Academy das Ciencias de Lisboa, Lisbon, 1979.

Figaniere, Frederico Francisco de la, Catalogo dos Manuscritos Portugueses existentes no Museu Britanico, Lisbon, 1853.

Tovar, Conde de, Catalogo dos Manuscritos Portugueses ou relativos a Portugal existentes no Museu Britanico, Lisbon, 1932.

²⁷³ Peres, Damiao, Historia de Portugal Edicao Monumental Comemorativa Do 8 Centenario Da Fundacao Da Nacionalidade, Vol. VI, Portucalense Editora, Barcelos, 1934.

²⁷⁴ Sharratt, Michael, The Lisbon College Register, Catholic Record Society Series, Vol. 72.

²⁷⁵ Ushaw College, Russell Papers IV/V, 1662. "A Roll of the Queen's [damaged] as they were to be quartered at Portsmouth". See the Appendix for full List. The English College in Lisbon was founded from Douai in 1628 and finally closed in 1971, at which point Ushaw College acquired its archives and 2,000 ancient books.

²⁷⁶ PRO SP89/8, f.20

²⁷⁷ Ushaw College, "Old Chapter", 23/04/1662(313)

²⁷⁸ PRO SP89/5, f.154.

God through his Apostolic ministry, he spent his life at Court as though in the cloister: he was very dear to the Queen and not disliked by the King."²⁷⁹

Referring to Russell's part in the marriage negotiations in Lisbon there is another entry within the Annales Collegii under Russell's name, but written in the hand of the Jesuit President Perrot whose last entry, being dated 1667, comments that: "Ibidem ipsius optissimum opera et industria peractum est negotium matrimonii Regis Caroli Secundi cum Serenissima Catherina Infanta Portugalliae, ipseque in celebrando praedicto matrimonio parochi vices egit."²⁸⁰

As a very trusted intimate of both King and Queen, Russell was to receive two communications in 1661 and 1663, preserved in loose papers at Ushaw College, which show that he was deeply involved and trusted over the politics and diplomacy surrounding the attempts to effect religious settlements in both England and Ireland. While Sheldon and a diaspora of clerics and politicians were meeting at Savoy House between 5th April and 23rd July 1661, the London home of the Bishop of Lincoln, Russell barely a mile away at the Queen's Chapel was in receipt of a revealing petition "From some Irish Lords".

It was sensitive in that politico-religious context because it stated: "What is humbly desired her Majesty should say to the Duke of Ormonde in relation to the Catholics of Ireland...That he is designed for the great worke of the Settlement of Ireland, and the establishing of his Majesty's Catholic subjects there in their rights...that his Majesty's said subjects concerned in his said Publique faith, may not on the account of their religion be deprived..."²⁸¹ Having used his position of trust with Bishop Sanderson and the Earl of Clarendon in this context, Russell was to become involved in the politics of the English settlement too. Russell was sufficiently involved through his position in the inner circle of the Royal Household to have a document alleging treason written by the militant Roman Catholic Earl of Bristol on 10th July 1663. To have possessed such a document which alleged treason and threatened to upset the religious balance, required its disclosure to the King by virtue of rules applying to all appointments in the Royal Household at the time. It alleges: "Articles of High Treason and other haynous 'misformancy' against Edward Earl of Clarendon Lord Chancellor of England" regarding accusation that he did "traitorously acknowledge the Popes Ecclesiastical Sovereignty, contrary to the Lawes of his Kingdome..."⁽²⁸²⁾ In fact the Earl of Bristol's bitterness at the settlement was later to be exposed when he plotting the overthrow of that settlement in another context.

Such intimate information is not forthcoming from other contemporary sources. For example, Bishop Burnet, who might have been expected to be aware of and to expose such an important role entrusted to a

²⁷⁹ Ushaw College, Lisbon Room, MS Annales Collegii, L.A.111, Vellum bound. Initially compiled by President Perrot until 1667. It continues until 1813.

²⁸⁰ Ushaw College, MS Annales Collegii, L.A.111, p.55 for Perrot's entry on Russell.

²⁸¹ Ushaw College, Russell Papers XI, 1661.

²⁸² Ushaw College, Russell Papers X, viii, 1663.

Jesuit in view of his later allegation surrounding Fr. Peter's role in the 'Old Pretender' furore, instead confines himself to derogatory remarks about the alleged value of Tangier as part of Catherine's dowry and her "bigotted" Roman Catholic stance "because she would not say the words of matrimony". He simply was not party to the inner circle whose existence is only betrayed by reference to the Lisbon Collection. The reality of Burnet's exclusion from that inner circle, suggested by the fact that he makes no reference to the location as Portsmouth, now makes sense of his own inadequate recollection that "The Duke of York told me they were married by the Lord Aubigny according to the Roman ritual, and that he himself was one of the witnesses".²⁸³

Again unbeknown to Burnet, an ingenious device was employed by King Charles II to redirect a huge part of Catherine's dowry, amounting to £20,000, straight "to the Duke of York or his assignees" in May 1662, just one month after Catherine sailed for England.²⁸⁴ In view of James Duke of York's known Roman Catholic allegiance in exile, it must have been a device to meet expenses relating to the re-establishment of the Queen's Chapel which would not have enjoyed the approval of Parliament. Its similarity as a device to the later ploy devised by James when King to avoid political flack resulting from Parliamentary scrutiny is notable. In the latter case the purpose was to hide the costs of the making by John Cooqus in 1686 of sacramental vessels for his new Roman Catholic Chapel at Whitehall within the Secret Service Accounts.
285

It is not coincidental, therefore, that the considerable diversion of Catherine's dowry in 1662 was intended for the same purpose. It has not hitherto been established who paid for the making of a set of royal sacramental plate by Robert Smithier and John Cooqus in 1662, emblazoned with Roman Catholic emblems such as the sacred heart, comprising Smithier's pair of candlesticks, a pair of flagons, a paten, a 10-inch chalice and cover, three other matching chalices, an alms dish, and Cooqus's chalice with a cagework calyx. Of clinching importance is the latter's device, for it contains a movable ornament not hitherto known except in Roman Catholic silversmithing on the continent.²⁸⁶ Given these characteristics and the enormous sums this must have involved, to endow the Queen's Chapel by this means would have needed the ready approval of a senior figure in the Portuguese Court too.

In view of Russell's intimate involvement in devising the Treaty terms which included the dowry provisions, it is therefore likely that he too had a role in providing for the impressive ceremonial that would characterise the Queen's Chapel he was securing by international treaty and in which he was to serve by her command. Although later State Papers complain of tardiness in handing across other portions of her dowry, this was evidently not the case with the payment made to the Duke of York. In August 1662 Charles II wrote from

²⁸³ Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time from the Restoration of King Charles II..., Vol.I, Nunn, Priestly & Priestly, London, 1818, p.192.

²⁸⁴ PRO SP89/5, f.94, May 23rd., London. Royal Warrant of Charles II to Duarte de Silva.

²⁸⁵ "Moneys received and paid for secret services of Charles II and James II from March 1679 to 25th December 1688", analysed in Baldwin, D., Chapel Royal Ancient & Modern, Duckworth, 1990, pp.209-211.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

Hampton Court to the King of Portugal commending Duarte de Silva for his help as the man who made the arrangement work.²⁸⁷ Bishop Russell had already described Duarte de Silva's role in the Ushaw manuscript iv/v/1662, as the "Tresoureiro del Rey de Portugal".

Russell's religious opportunism in siezing thereby the moment afforded to establish a Catholic Chapel once again at the English Court is matched by the care manifest in the Treaty terms devised for its operation. His success in this process poses the question why Charles agreed so readily to the terms as prepared by Russell, mindful as he must have been of the 'trouble' which such a Chapel had occasioned his father.

B. Policy considerations in the re-establishment of the Queen's Chapel by Treaty in 1661.

There has been a marked tendency among historians of foreign and economic policy, such as Prestage²⁸⁸ and Feiling²⁸⁹, merely to regard the clause re-establishing the Queen's Chapel as of lesser importance than such substantive considerations as securing an economic and military alliance which would constrain Spain and attract French support. In its sweeping form this almost Marxist interpretation sees the Treaty as nothing less than the inevitable realisation of the need to create an Empire in the modern capitalist understanding of the term.²⁹⁰ But is this a fair way to appraise it?

The position was that at the Restoration English exports and imports in 1662-3 amounted to about 7.75 millions, rising to 11.5 millions in 1688, together with a simultaneous increase in national savings estimated at 100%.²⁹¹ About seven eighths of this was represented by the import and export trade of the Port of London, albeit the effect of the Navigation Acts was rather to inflate the figures especially for London. Feiling expresses the popular feelings about this commercial context thus: "Shares in the companies that made this new wealth were held by the whole political world, from the Duke and Prince Rupert downwards, and Danby's generation watched the course of East India stock with the same devotion their fathers had given to predestination or Arminianism."²⁹²

Those adhering to the centrality of these facts take the real motivation for the Portuguese Treaty to be commercial at heart, and so suggest that the marriage terms were nothing more than a convenient means to

²⁸⁷PRO SP 85/5, f.104. Charles II to King of Portugal, commending Duarte de Silva.

²⁸⁸Prestage, Edgar, The Diplomatic Relations of Portugal with France, England and Holland, 1640-1668. 1640-1688, Wass and Michael Ltd., Watford; 1925.

Prestage, Edgar, Chapters in Anglo-Portuguese Relations, Voss and Michael, Watford, 1935, pp.146-149.

²⁸⁹Feiling, K., British Foreign Policy 1660-1672, Macmillan, London, 1930, However, Feiling relies heavily upon earlier research by Prestage and duly acknowledges this by beginning his Chapter on "Portugal" with a footnote (p.45 note 1) reading "For this, and for much that follows, I depend primarily upon the work of Dr Edgar Prestage" - in this case to the latter's 1925 work, cited above; The Diplomatic Relations of Portugal.

²⁹⁰Treaty between Great Britain and Portugal, signed at Whitehall, 23rd June 1661, in Parry, Clive (ed.), The Consolidated Treaty Series, Vol.6, 1660-1661, Oceana Publications, Dubbs Ferry, New York, 1969.

²⁹¹Feiling, op.cit., p.14.

²⁹²Ibid., p.15.

secure the commercial advantages of the Treaty. Superficially, this argument would seem to have some evidence to support it within the Treaty itself, for it is undeniably the case that the Preface to the Treaty baldly calls "for a more firm and durable Peace and Alliance between the 2 Crowns, and for the good of both Nations, which are henceforward to take each other's interest to heart no less than their own, it is mutually consented and agreed as foiloweth...".²⁹³

But it is also undeniably the case that provision was made for Catherine to be unable to sail to Portsmouth with the English navy for the wedding until Tangier had actually been handed over to the forces who would disembark from that fleet before it returned north to collect Catherine.²⁹⁴ This may well be a reflection of the way Charles wanted to handle the matter. But for Charles to have had uppermost in his mind an all-embracing grasp from which to direct these largely un-coordinated military efforts when negotiating the Portuguese Treaty is not a wholly credible explanation for it either.

Charles was bi-lingual in French and English and able to revert to Latin where necessary. Yet it was asking a lot in the context of his own foreign policy negotiators that they should realise what was at stake given that they were themselves largely characterised by their inability to understand the language of the negotiations. For example, within Charles's Privy Council neither the Earl of Clarendon nor Sir William Morrice nor Sir Thomas Clifford nor even his Lord Chief Justice Bridgeman used spoken French (albeit Clifford did translate some written French in 1669).²⁹⁵ Henry Coventry never spoke it despite undertaking several diplomatic missions. In Austria, the Earl of Carlingford had to have recourse to the Emperor's Confessor as an interpreter, while Clarendon had to order Sir George Downing not to send him papers in Dutch as he could not find anyone to translate them for the King. Linguists and antiquarians like Sir Richard Bellings, Walter Montagu, Richard Russell, George Touchet and Sir William Dugdale enjoyed correspondingly greater influence. Even more significantly for the course of Lusitanian relations with British merchants is the fact it was necessary in Lisbon for [Edward] Maynard (who disliked the evidently better informed Richard Russell) continually to interpret for the Ambassador, Charles Fanshawe. Nonetheless the evidence of the Portuguese State Papers reveals the persistent frustration of the negotiators that they were unable to find full texts of older English Treaties with Portugal when it was obviously to the commercial advantage of English merchants and of the negotiators to cite them verbatim.²⁹⁶

²⁹³Green, Mrs E (ed.) *British and Foreign State Papers, Charles II*, Vol. I, London, 1860, p.494 provides an English version of the Treaty of Marriage between Charles II and Princess Catherine, Infanta of Portugal, and establishing, in addition, the alliance between the two countries. English versions are also reproduced in Chalmers, Alexander, *A Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other Powers*, Vol II, London, circa 1815-16., p.286, and in *Davenport's European Treaties*, etc., London, 1825.

²⁹⁴Clarendon's reactions on this are discussed by Fraser, A., *King Charles II*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1979, p.204, and by Prestage, Edgar, (ed.), *Chapters in Anglo-Portuguese Relations*, Wass and Michael Ltd., Watford, 1935, where Chapter IV discusses and compares the Treaties of 1642, 1654 and 1661.

²⁹⁵BL 65,138. The Bibliography below shows the competence of Bellings, Clifford and Montagu.

²⁹⁶PRO. SP89/10 and SP89/11/nos. 43 and 227. Maynard advocated finding and printing commercial parts of the Anglo-Portuguese treaties. By 1671 no authentic copy of the 1661 treaty could be procured.

Without detailed understanding or even reference to the still valid diplomatic protocols of 1386, some historians have argued that defence, and particularly a defensive naval alliance, was the real English motivation to agreement in 1660-61. The great problem with all those ideas is the manifest ignorance of the English delegates and the fact that since regaining her independence in 1640, Portugal had appeared as a naval power in rapid decline unable to stop the depredation of her overseas Empire and shipping by the Dutch - indeed unable even to sustain the defence of a fine harbour nearer home waters at Tangier. The Portuguese Jesuit Antonio Veira had noted in 1649 that the Portuguese could barely set thirteen large warships to sea, and that there were barely 4,000 Portuguese sailors available to man their ships and trade routes. An experienced Portuguese Naval Commander in India told the Viceroy in Goa in 1663 that "It is well known fact that the fortunes of war cannot be improved without men and money, and this is why we see so many disorders, so many tears, and so many losses, because the King has only an empty Treasury, and his vassals have no capital to help him." ²⁹⁷

Such a background to a new treaty, if motivated by the need for mutual economies in defence, would have been such an incongruous and unequal form of military obligation for a Stuart King that even poorly informed English negotiators would have been unlikely to accept it unless they had a brief to accept for other reasons. Not only were the partners so obviously unequal in strength, Parliament in London had also taken so tight a fiscal stance that a naval war was unthinkable far beyond the means annually available to the English Crown in 1660 and 1661.

Over the next decade it was the Goldsmiths who made Charles the loans to go to war with Holland, and they who subsequently refused them for fear of France. The same moneyed City men supported the Protestant chaplains in the factories of Catholic countries like those of the "Eastland Company" incorporated in 1579, and even in Muslim countries through chartered companies like the "Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies" chartered in 1600 and the "Levant Company" chartered in 1579. It was the leading men in these City of London livery companies and the chartered companies who determined what was possible in these trading matters. Feiling has observed that Charles's options were so heavily constrained thereby that: "By these he might be pushed into war, and without them he could not last one campaign". ²⁹⁸

Jeremy Black supports this by observing that the Triple Alliance between England, Sweden and the United Provinces as signed in January 1668, was devised to pressurise France and Spain to end the war with Spanish concessions, but was not effectively supported by Charles's Parliament. This is revealed by the fact that they were only prepared then to vote £300,000 for war preparations - only enough for some naval preparations - and even then they could not agree for some time on how to raise this money. Jeremy Black concludes firmly that "The lack of realism among parliamentarians about the real cost of armaments and

²⁹⁷C.R. Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825, Hutchinson, London, 1969. pp.115; also pp.64, 113-114.

²⁹⁸Feiling, op.cit., p.17.

war suggests that even with parliamentary support an active foreign policy entailing conflict or confrontation was not possible".²⁹⁹ The *raison d'être* for the 1661 Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, therefore, did not revolve around that element.

It has been also argued that the possibility of a second Dutch War had beset the English Admiralty and Parliament until the eve of the Restoration. Because the English could not rely upon France to constitute the necessary steady counter-weight this required, the Portuguese Marriage Treaty simply had to be agreed. France had the forces to be feared in her own right. Indeed for Cardinal Mazarin, the Anglo-French Military Treaty of March 1658 was a "necessary poison", to secure the surrender of Dunkirk and his overriding objective of enforcing peace on Spain. Given that context Cromwell too had used the opportunity of the same negotiations to try and counter all the other Catholic powers and to neuter the potential influence of Henrietta Maria, by estranging her children from the French King's realm and the comfort of his palaces. But by contrast with the cynical terms of the Anglo-French Treaty of March 1658, the defence commitments involved in the 1661 Portuguese Treaty were surprisingly strongly conceived to frustrate English marine ambitions at the expense of the Portuguese Empire, and worked instead in favour of Portugal, for Charles II agreed in Article XV to "defending the same with his utmost power by sea and land, even as England itself...", and further committed himself by numerous specific duties in the accompanying articles, including the Secret Clause at the end of the Treaty.³⁰⁰ Given this strategic context, the most enlightening features of the Treaty of 1661 are those features which advocates of the commercial or defensive interpretation have yet to explain successfully, namely the marriage with Catherine and the clause making formal provision for a Queen's Chapel to be re-established.

These considerations merit all the more attention because they show unequivocally that more elaborate provision was made for Catherine of Braganza than for Henrietta Maria; in particular they allowed for the provision of a building in each of the Royal Palaces for her Roman Catholic worship wherever she resided. The wording of the 1661 Treaty relating specifically to the re-establishment of the Queen's Chapel shows that Catherine of Braganza could have what Orders, priests, musicians, and religious staff she wanted. Trusting the Portuguese not to abuse this concession in the manner of the French in 1626, Charles also guaranteed the protection and perpetuation of Roman Catholicism in Tangier and other Portuguese

²⁹⁹Black, Jeremy, *A System of Ambition. British Foreign Policy 1660-1793*, Longmans, Harlow, 1991 p.127.

³⁰⁰ Articles XI, XVI, XVII. In the "Secret Article" at the end of the Treaty, Charles promised to "defend and protect all Conquests or Colonies belonging to the Crown of Portugal, against all his Enemies, as well future as present". He offered to mediate "a good Peace between the King of Portugal and States of the United provinces...to the mutual interest of England and Portugal" but, if he failed, agreed that "His Majesty of Great Britain shall be obliged to defend, with Men and Ships, the said Dominions and Conquests of the King of Portugal". Charles also promised to seize back any forts that should be captured by the Dutch after 1st May 1661, and agreed to send a fleet to the East Indies after the next Monsoon "proportionable to the necessity of England and Portugal and the strength of our Enemies". He then guaranteed the future of the Treaty declaring that neither "His Majesty nor his successors shall at any time require any pay or satisfaction for the same".

domains.³⁰¹ To appreciate the magnitude of these provisions it is necessary to know the wording of Section VII of the Treaty which reads:

"It is also agreed, that Her Majesty and whole Family shall enjoy the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, and to that purpose shall have a Chapel, or some other place set apart for the exercise thereof, in all the Royal Palaces where she shall at any time reside, in as full a manner, to all intents and purposes, as the Queen Mother now living enjoyed the same, and shall have such Chaplains and Ecclesiastical Persons in number and quality about her, as the said Queen Mother hath had, with the same privileges and immunities. And the King of Great Britain promiseth not to disquiet or disturb, the said lady Infanta his Wife, in anything appertaining to religion or conscience"

Perhaps the most dramatic evidence that Charles realised the treaty terms were winning him new friends is contained in folio 15 of SP89/5, a letter from the Consul Maynard to Secretary Nicholas, dated 10th May 1661, in which it is stated that popular enthusiasm in Portugal for the proposed marriage between Charles II and Catherine was considerable.³⁰² All Charles need have done to satisfy the necessity to provide for Catherine's religious observances would have been to allow another chaplaincy arrangement such as already existed with Portugal under the Treaties of 1642 and 1654 which allowed Protestant chaplains to operate in Lisbon and Oporto too. But instead, as we see, he chose to protect and build upon the format of the old pre-Civil War Queen's Chapel of his father which had attracted so many politico-religious criticisms in its day for Charles I.

'Lisbonia' articles claim a prime role for the General of the Jesuits in suggesting the Portuguese marriage to Charles II before his Restoration.³⁰³ It is also evident from the advice of Charles Fanshaw quoted below. But that the provision in the 1661 Treaty for Catherine to exercise her Roman Catholic worship at Court in the manner stated was not matched by anything in the nature of a reciprocal clause paralleling the concession for Protestant chaplains in Portugal, suggests something which can be otherwise verified, namely the fact that previous Treaties with Portugal had already secured these concessions. They did not have to be re-negotiated. Article 1 of the 1661 Treaty begins by stating :

"All Treaties made between Great Britain and Portugal since 1641, until this very time, shall be ratified and confirmed in all points and to all intents, and shall receive as full force and ratification by this Treaty, as if they were herein particularly mentioned and inserted word by word."

³⁰¹Article III. Note Article XI which states: "It being understood and declared once for all, that the same shall order shall be observed for the exercise and preservation of the Roman Catholic religion in Tangier, and all other places which shall be delivered by the King of Portugal into the possession of the King of Great Britain, as was provided for and agreed upon the delivery of Dunkirk into the hands of the English".

³⁰²P.R.O. Portuguese State Paper SP89/5. Letter from Consul Maynard to Secretary Nicholas, 10th May 1661.

³⁰³An anonymous article concerning Richard Russell and marriage negotiations in 1661, written for July 1934 issue of 'Lisbonia', pp.9-16, is now bound in the "College Magazine", 1930-39, in the Lisbon Room, Ushaw College. For other 'Lisbonia' articles concerning Portuguese negotiations see Dec.1933, pp.11-16; Dec.1934, pp.11-21; July 1935, 12-16; Dec.1935, pp.17-22; June 1936, pp.17-20



A ship of the Jesuit Province of Brazil engaged in the Atlantic trade

Produced as the title page of a work by Simão de Vasconcelos S.J. (1596-1671) published in Lisbon in 1663, it shows the exploratory scientific, navigational and mathematical aspects of Jesuit endeavour which so appealed to Charles II's mind. Note here the Jesuit preaching on the quarterdeck beneath a Jesuit banner. After 1649 date the Jesuit's could employ shipping in this trade due to the reforms of Dom João IV.

From 1661 the Jesuits could, with permits from the Dutch State General and from the Dutch West India Company employ two of the number in Curaçao, in the Dutch West Indies, to preach and move freely in habit. By 1685 up to ten Capuchin Friars could be on hand when slaves for Curaçao were loaded on the Guinea coast. This exception forms a legal and quasi-diplomatic parallel to the operation of the Queen's Chapel in otherwise hostile Protestant rule even preceding the Dutch acceptance of legal extra-territoriality in 1679.

Pepys saw that the prospect of securing part of the large royal dowry of £300,000 might have had a narrower appeal to the King as a means to meet some of his household expenses, but this was not big enough to change the course of the nation's economic affairs or to affect the size of Parliamentary subsidies he needed in the eventuality of war. Samuel Pepys soberly reports the way this was thought of in London on May 24th 1662 as follows: "The Queen hath given no rewards to any of the Captaines or Officers, but only to my Lord Sandwich; and that was a bag of gold (which is no honourable present of about £1,400 sterling. How reclude the Queen hath ever been and all the voyage never came upon the deck, or put her head out of her Cabin - but did love my Lord's musique; and would send for it down to the stateroom, and she sat in her cabin within hearing of it. That my Lord was forced to have some clashing with the Councill of Portugall about payment of the porcion before he could get it - which was, besydes Tanger and a free trade in the Indys, two millions of crowns - half now, and the other half in twelve months. But they have brought but little money; but the rest in Sugars and other Commoditys, and bills of Exchange".³⁰⁴

Pepys's gossip belies the significance of Treaty's religious provision for a Queen's Chapel, for Portuguese enthusiasm for it fitted well with Charles's academic tastes and religious propensities and Charles shared the clear strategic objective of effecting a Royal marriage with a Roman Catholic Princess, despite inadequately equipped negotiators. The fact that he seems to have considered its economic consequences marginal is strongly suggestive of the fact that both Catherine of Braganza of Portugal and Charles wanted to comply with factors regarded as far more fundamental in the Portuguese option than trade. If defence or foreign policy considerations, either of a commercial or reciprocal nature, do not combine to provide a fully adequate explanation for the Treaty, the inclusion of the 1661 provisions relating to the re-establishment of the Queen's Chapel and full diplomatic respect for accorded to its staff should merit more attention, especially as the religious and dynastic considerations were so prominent in the Regency of Luiza which depended heavily on the resources of the Regular and Secular orders of the Catholic Church throughout the Portuguese Empire.

C. The Royal Marriage and its immediate consequences.

The treaty evidence becomes all the more worthy of consideration in the light of the way Charles II agreed to marry Catherine of Braganza at Portsmouth on 21st May 1662, firstly according to the Roman Rite.³⁰⁵ The significance of 22nd May 1662 has not, for example, been appreciated by historians commenting upon the date born by the record of the marriage of the Catholic Catherine of Braganza to King Charles II, entered in the Register of the Cathedral Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and which exhibits the date of the "two and twentieth" day of May 1662, rather than the 21st May.³⁰⁶ Historians, and even Portsmouth Cathedral's

³⁰⁴Latham, Robert (ed), The Shorter Pepys selected and edited ...from the Diary of Samuel Pepys, Bell and Hayman, London, 1984, p.197.

³⁰⁵The date given by Powicke and Fryde (eds), Handbook of British Chronology, Royal Historical Society, 1961, p.41, is 21st May 1662.

³⁰⁶Pepys's Diary for 21st May records the lighting of bonfires to celebrate the Queen's arrival and marriage. They are also mentioned by Schellinks.

own "Guide's Guide", have, without exception, regarded the date as in error, some investing it with sinister religious or duplicitious significance. It was no more than naval dating correctly applied in the garrison's quayside chapel.³⁰⁷

The first ceremony took place according to her Almoner, Lord Aubigny, "privately"³⁰⁸ but so as not to offend the Protestants if King James II's account is correct. This is corroborated as fact by Gamache's recollections, and which subsequently report a second ceremony according the Rites of the Church of England taken by the Dean of the Chapel Royal, Bishop Gilbert Sheldon, D.D.³⁰⁹ Among those who went to welcome the Queen at Portsmouth were the Provincial of the English Jesuits, while her Confessor, a Jesuit by the name of Father Mark Anthony Galli, applied to the General of the Jesuits to have the Queen admitted into a participation in "the merits of the Society".³¹⁰

The marriage had not been conducted by proxy in advance in Portugal, on the model negotiated for Charles I's marriage, apparently because the Pope had not as yet recognised the rights of the bride's handicapped young brother as the Infanta King, or those of his mother Luiza as Regent of Portugal, thereby requiring her designation as merely the daughter of the Duke of Braganza. Pepys makes oblique reference to this problem

³⁰⁷See Chronological Conventions above. Also: Crooks. P. & D, The Guide's Guide to the Cathedral Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Portsmouth, Portsmouth Cathedral Council, 1996, pp.125-129.

³⁰⁸Archivum Romanum S.J., contained in Germania 115 Epp.Gener ad externos Germ., 1657-1665, (Index ref.p.289): and a letter by Bellings's written in 1663 describing to the Jesuits details of Catherine of Braganza's marriage ceremonies to Charles II, in Archivum Romanum S.J. Opp.NN174/175.D. This was after his Mission and may indicate an intelligence role of some kind.

Macray,W.D.(ed.) Notes which passed at meetings of the Privy Council between Charles II and the Earl of Clarendon, 1660-1667. Roxburgh Club, Edinburgh, 1896, p.67.

³⁰⁹Dr. Gilbert Sheldon had a long history of ties with the Stuarts, becoming a Fellow of All Souls Oxford in 1616, and then its Warden from 1626 until his imprisonment in 1648, that is through the time of Charles I's residence in Oxford. He had served the Lord Keeper, Thomas Coventry before becoming friends with Clarendon and Falkland, and winning Charles I's trust by attending him at Oxford, Newmarket and on the Isle of Wight. He is most famous for his paying for the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford finished in 1669, by which time he was Chancellor of Oxford University. He worked with Wren not only in Oxford, but as one of the Commissioners for rebuilding St Pauls and the City Churches after 1666. As Dean of the Chapel Royal, Bishop of London and Master of the Savoy, he hosted the Savoy Conference in Archbishop Juxon's absence. He became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1663 and so continued as Charles's most prominent Anglican advisor until his death in 1667. In 1663 he was succeeded as Dean of the Chapel Royal by George Morley, Bishop of Winchester.

³¹⁰In the Archivum Romanum S.J. in Rome I established that Marco Anobius Galli was an alias for Paulus Antonius Mariae Guidici, and that he was a regular correspondent from The Hague and Brussels throughout 1679 with the Jesuit General, Oliva, at the Curia in Rome. He used a seal with the emblem of a sacred heart with stars surrounding it - indicating strongly Colombiere's influence from the Queen's Chapel where the latter had first "begun" this Devotion only two years previously. These letters, all written in Italian, are to be found in Opp.NN 174/175 F and take the form of intelligence reports, sometimes encoded. On 8th April 1679 Galli discusses the Duke of Buckingham and Parliament; on 27th May the Duke of Monmouth; on 3rd June Galli discusses the dissolution of Parliament and the prospects for the Duke of York's assuming the Throne; on 5th August 1679 he discusses "Oates" and "il Medico Weakman"; on 7th September 1679 Galli discusses the Duke of Buckingham and the return of the Duke of York. The folder containing these letters is marked: "Litterae P.Belluomo et P.Ant. Mariae Guidici qui sub nomine Equitis Galli versabatur in aula Dulcis Eboracensis uti Confessor Ducissae Eboracensis. 1678-1685."

in his Diary for 24th May 1662, saying: "That the King of Portugall is a very foole almost, and his mother doth all."³¹¹

For the Catholic hierarchy the problem went wider still, for in 1662 D'Aubigny, who officiated on the occasion of her marriage according to the Catholic Rite in her Bedroom in Portsmouth, had no authority to do so there except that from a self-constituted body - the so-called "Chapter" of London.³¹² When the Abbé Agretti was sent from Brussels in 1669 to investigate the status of this "Chapter", the latter argued that if their authority was in question then so therefore must be the royal marriage. Agretti was forced to counter by arguing that that the Rules of the Council of Trent were not published in England and that, even if they had been, the mere presence of Father Howard, who had the Ordinary faculties of a missionary, sufficed to render the marriage valid. This marriage brings us to the inter-denominational and political issues at the nub of the issue of the form of the post Restoration Queen's Chapel. By making such a choice he formally committed himself through the marriage treaty to continue the existence of the Queen's Chapel.

D. Religious and diplomatic reasons for the distinctively new form of the re-established Queen's Chapel apparent in the years 1660 to 1669.

In a document carried under King Charles's instruction by Sir Richard Bellings to the Pope in 1662, Charles presented himself, secretly, as a good supporter of Catholicism. Charles stated that he "had permitted the erection of two public chapels in London for the Queen Mother and his own Consort; in the Queen's Chapel the choral office was solemnly celebrated by the Benedictines, while in that of the Queen Mother the functions were carried out by the Capuchins. All this was the cause of great consolation to the catholics, who had free access to the Divine service in the Royal Chapels".³¹³

This was not technically the case. The two buildings concerned did undergo some refurbishment in 1661 but this was far short of a commitment to their design and "erection". The reason was that the building forming Henrietta Maria's Chapel had survived well from Charles I's reign. Proof of this is to be seen in the depiction in the rare Peter Stent woodcut of 1653, and in the distinctly Inigo Jonesian architecture of the Sculpture Gallery/Queen's Chapel that survived to one side of the Tudor buildings of St. James's Palace.³¹⁴ Furthermore the Chapel's coffered ceiling completed by 1627, and detailed in the Jonesian accounts, had

³¹¹Latham, Robert, (ed) The Shorter Pepys selected and edited ... from the Diary of Samuel Pepys, Bell and Hayman, London, 1984, p.197.

³¹²Richard Russell is also referred to in the context of this rather ephemeral chapter in Ushaw College Ms. "Old Chapter", 23/04/1662(313).

³¹³Charles II, Rex, "The favours and benefits bestowed upon the English Catholics by the Reigning Monarch". The provenance of this document is discussed at length in Bellesheim, Alphons, (tr. Sir Daniel Blain), History of the Catholic Church in Scotland, Vol IV, Edinburgh, 1890, pp.97-100,

³¹⁴The Queen's Chapel window is recorded in a thumbnail sketch at Worcester College by John Webb in the 1640s which still survives.



Woodcut of St. James's Palace, circa 1650 by Peter Stent.

This is probably the earliest yet discovered view of the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace, the South side of which is seen at the right of the woodcut with two arched windows, three lead down-pipes and a 'sloping' roof, beyond the connecting Gallery in the foreground with its arches providing a thoroughfare for the approaching horse and cart.

This view corresponds with a description of a printseller's catalogue of 1653, found by E.J. Priestley. The original recently lost is reproduced in *Globe, Alexander, Peter Stent London Printseller circa 1642-1665. Being a Catalogue Raisonné of his Engraved Prints and Books with an Historical Introduction and Bibliographical Introduction*, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1985, plate 142.

survived intact to be shown in its turn in later engravings. ³²¹ Thomas Bagley, Master Glazier, was paid in August 1662 for adding to the great Venetian Window of the Queen's Chapel: "2 Coates of Armes show each 3 foot 5 inches deep and 2 foot 5 inches broad" together with a "Crucifix of paynted glasse in the Queene's Chappell." ³²² The flying boys supporting the huge impaled arms of Charles and Catherine added in 1682 above the altar attest to the continuing spirit of the commitment made and Charles's own attitude towards the Treaty. ³²³

Charles's agreement to the 1661 Treaty provision relating to the continuance of the Queen's Chapel represented a supremely clever way to protect his own Catholic beliefs from close scrutiny by would-be critics, by securing a continuing formal provision for the Catholic confession inside the Queen's Chapel in London. Thus the Treaty terms which regularised the existence of the Queen's Chapel also served to protect both the King and the Queen's Catholic beliefs.

In planning this the Portuguese negotiators of the marriage treaty terms knew or had access to the older treaties with England. It is certain that their English counterparts did not enjoy such access. In 1661 the English negotiators and the Privy Council put on record their concern to see in translation the form of all earlier Anglo-Portuguese treaties. Because the English delegates were frustrated by the inability of the King's servants to find those documents either in the Tower of London or the Rolls Chapel, or to transcribe and translate them, they could only take on some of the policy issues. Amongst documents only available in Portugal, not even in London, was the Constitution of the English Chapel Royal - the only copy extant being MS CV 1-16 in the Biblioteca Publica e Archivo Distrital, Evora, Portugal. It was written and presented in 1449 as a gift to King Alfonso of Portugal by the Dean of the English Chapel Royal, William Say.

Not quite the same embarrassment covered the four original documents forming the Treaty of Windsor of 1386, two copies of which were to be kept in Portugal, and two in England, namely the Protocol and the Enrolment respectively. In fact the two English documents did survive (but could not be found in 1660), one in the Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt; the other in the sequence of Treaty Rolls in Chancery Records. They can be found in the Public Record Office today. ³²⁴ The Treaty of Windsor of 1386 itself subsumes the earlier perpetual and defensive alliance of 1373, which not only provided for safe conducts of subjects from one country to the other, it laid down that within one year of their consecration the monarch of each nation would be obliged to renew and confirm the alliance under their respective Great Seals. Thus the English copy of the Latin protocol, although attested by notaries, was only sealed by the Portuguese parties at Windsor on 9th May 1386. The formal ratification by Richard II records the earlier Treaty and that it was finally agreed on 9th May 1386, although the surviving copy is dated at Westminster 1st December 1386.

³²¹ Harris, John, and Higgott, Gordon, *op. cit.*, p.182: "Although the fittings inside date from 1682 the whole of the ceiling and cornice are original, as is the Reigate-stone Chimney-piece in the Closet".

³²² PRO Works 5/3.

³²³ *Ibid.*

³²⁴ PRO. E30/310 and C76/ 71 No.9.

The process constituting the plenipotentiary ratification was a process that had begun as a triangular negotiation between plenipotentiaries in 1385, and whereunder the English agreed to pay certain Portuguese military bills.

Thus the Portuguese negotiators in 1660 must have been aware they did not have to negotiate a separate marriage treaty to secure a defensive or trading alliance for they only had to perform to the terms of the time honoured ratification. We can conclude therefore that they wanted the new treaty to serve a new and wider purpose. Significantly, the English copy of that marriage treaty of 1661 was not enrolled on the ancient treaty roll although the later Breda Treaty of 1667 was so enrolled.

In 1660-61 the English parties were being told that they were agreeing only to replicate features of earlier Anglo-Portuguese or Anglo-Spanish treaties. The temporary union of the Castilian and Portuguese Crowns from 1580 to 1640 had allowed the Portuguese delegates to borrow as a model the terms that Gondomar had devised just forty years earlier for a possible Anglo-Spanish treaty. The concern of Clarendon and others was to inform themselves of what was in those earlier treaties. By contrast Russell could exploit his own linguistic skill and Jesuit briefing on Portuguese treaty archives, assure the English of his authorities, and fit all that neatly to the hopes of England's King.

Charles's wider design is glimpsed when he readily acceded to Catherine's petition for a community to serve her Chapel at St. James's that would at the least outshine the Capuchin complement which already served the Queen Mother at Somerset House. The Capuchins had re-occupied Somerset House and its Chapel at the Restoration, but returned to France in 1669 following Henrietta Maria's death. Gamache wrote of the Capuchin mission which had served the Queen Mother's Chapel that: "All its foundation and its support was the service of the Queen; it was permitted on her account alone; this was the only cause that gave it substance, and, that cause being taken away, the mission must necessarily be at an end; as the life of the Queen kept it alive, so her decease was the death to it".³²⁵

Queen Catherine of Braganza had successfully petitioned for a community of Benedictines to work the Queen's Chapel at St. James's. King Charles offered to pay the sum of £100 per head for each of a community of Six Fathers, and £50 each for such lay Brothers as may be necessary.³²⁶ A Committee comprising Fr. Austin Hungate (then President), Fr. Paul Robinson (former President General whom King Charles knew well from exile days on the Continent and who was highly in favour at Court), and Fr. Anselm Crowder (with whom Lunn connects the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary), was appointed to choose the six priests, "except they did not intitulate a Prior, or a Conventual Prior". The three Committee members

³²⁵Birch, *op. cit.*, Vol II, p.464.

³²⁶Barnes, Mgr. A.S. "Catholic Chapels Royal", *Downside Review*, New Series Vol. I (vol xx), Apr-July-Dec, 1901, pp.234-4 for the initial discussion.



The Benedictine Lay Brother, Thomas Pickering.

Pickering was accused by Oates of being an assassin waiting in St. James's Park for an opportunity to kill the King as an engaged agent of the Jesuit. It is the Knave of from a pack of cards entitled "The pretended Popish Plot of 1678".

were also empowered "to make laws for the governance of the Chapel and were constituted its moderators".³²¹

The six Benedictines chosen were: Fr. Bennet Stapylton (until 1675) who was President general of the English Congregation from 1669 to 1680; Fr. Lionel Sheldon (until 1675) who was Chaplain to the Duchess of York; Fr. Anselm Touchet, younger brother of the Third Earl of Castlehaven (until 1675); Fr. Placid Adelham (formerly a Church of England Minister); Fr. Joseph Martin, (died at St James's on 15th September 1662 to be succeeded by Fr. Austin Latham (later replaced after 1670 by the Portuguese D. James Ferreira); and Fr. John Huddleston, who had hidden Charles following defeat at the Battle of Worcester. The Lay Brothers chosen were: Br. Bennet Hankinson (replaced after 1672 by Br. Thomas Pickering) and Br. Austin Rumley. Of this small number of Benedictines, Fr. Adelham and Brother Thomas Pickering were later to be implicated by Titus Oates in the 'plot' to kill the King and impose Catholicism with foreign support.

The entry of 1667 in Pepys's Diary about the Queen's Chapel is most enlightening with regard to the buildings, vestments and furnishing of the Queen's Chapel as used by Catherine of Braganza, although he is mistaken about the Order of Friars whom he observed. Pepys wrote of his visit to the Friary hosted by the Lord Almoner who "took us quite through the whole house and Chapel, and the new monastery, showing me most excellent pieces in waxworke; a crucifix given by a Pope to Mary Queen of Scotts, where a piece of the Cross is; two bits set in the manner of a cross in the foot of the crucifix:³²² several fine pictures, but especially very good prints of holy pictures. I saw the dortoire and the little cells of the priests, and we went into one; a very pretty little room, very clean, hung with pictures, set with books. The priest was in his cell, with his hair clothes to his skin, bare-legged, with a sandall only on, and his little bed without sheets, and no feather-bed; but yet, I thought, soft enough. His cord about his middle; but in so good company, living with ease, I thought it a very good life. A pretty library they have. And I was in the refectoire, where every man his napkin, knife, cup of earth, and basin the same; and a place for one to sit and read while the rest are at meals. And into the kitchen I went, where a good neck of mutton at the fire, and other victuals boiling. I do not think they fared very hard. Their windows all looking into a fine garden and the Park; and mighty pretty rooms all. I wished myself one of the Capuchins".³²³

Pepys was incorrect to identify the occupants as "Capuchins", and so was Airoldi. Agretti found them "privi di eruditione e quasi di letteratura", which is odd in view of comments on their Library and Books in their

³²¹Ibid, pp.234-5.

³²²Weldon, Dom Benet, Chronological Notes....., 1707. Re-published by Stanbrook, Worcester, The Abbey of our Lady of Consolation, 1881, Vol. I, p.418. Weldon also noted that the Chapel associated with the Holy Rosary possessed two relics; Christ's Crown of Thorns from Glastonbury, and a piece of the true Cross from the Benedictine John Fekenham, who with subsequent help from Sigbert Buckley OSB., had saved it from Queen Mary Tudor's Chapel at Westminster Abbey.

³²³Pepys, Samuel, The Diary of Samuel Pepys, Bell and Hayman, London, 1983, Vol.8, pp.26-7.
See too the Gasselin drawing of circa 1688.

cells as observed by Pepys. Agretti noted that they were of the obedience of St. Peter of Alcantara and this is conformed by Chamberlayne's "Angliae Notitia" of 1692 which called them "Portugal Franciscan Friars called Arabadoes". This was the special name of those Franciscans who followed the reformed Rule instituted by St. Peter of Alcantara in 1541 in Portugal, near Lisbon, on a mountain named Arabida. Their representation in the Friary was fixed by Queen Catherine of Braganza at thirteen - a Guardian and twelve Friars.³²⁴ Airoidi reported to the Pope that "They live in a Convent, close to the Chapel, and while in cloister wear the habit of their Order. But when they go out they dress as seculars and wear wigs and do not walk alone, but each has his companion. These good fathers are poor in knowledge. Some of them, not to say all, are unable to speak Latin".³²⁵

Meanwhile in May 1662 the Act of Uniformity was passed by a Parliament intent on a narrow Anglican Settlement. From the bishops' point of view it was needed to re-endow their bishoprics in a landed settlement,³²⁶ as well as to regularise the Anglican position of Convocation and its revisions of the Prayer Book. Parliament acted because of the need to make some formal sense of earlier failures to agree the terms of a wider religious settlement either at the Worcester House Conference hosted in Clarendon's London home on 25th October 1660, or during the longer deliberations of its successor, the Savoy House Conference from 5th April to 23rd July 1661.³²⁷

Several historians following Bosher's analysis have expressed doubts as to Clarendon's motives in holding those conferences, believing he was really operating from a rather intolerant Anglican position, from which he was forced into concessions to secure Parliamentary subsidies over the next few years.³²⁸ Others like Anne Whitmann and later Abernathy and Green have taken a different view of Clarendon's intentions.³²⁹ Many historians doubt that Clarendon and Charles wanted the Act of Uniformity as passed, believing that both Charles and Clarendon wanted a wider religious settlement as for the sake of securing Parliamentary subsidies and the compliance of the Commons they had had to agree. So in 1662 legislation was largely

³²⁴ Catherina R. An Establishment of Ordinary Wages 1672, describes payment of £1,000 "To the Syndic of Our Fathers Arabadoes, to be spent for them in the manner we have commanded."

³²⁵ Airoidi, Carlo Francesco, "Dello stato della religione in Londra, e della stima ed opinione cri si trova la Corte di Roma", relatione a Propaganda Fide, 1670. The order's founder later settled at Pedroso in Spain to write a work on asceticism and meditation entitled Tratado de L' oracion y meditacion, finishing it in 1556.

³²⁶ Habakkuk, H.J., The land settlement at the Restoration of Charles II, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th Series, XXVIII, 1978, pp.201-221.

³²⁷ The Savoy House Conference was formally hosted by Bishop Gilbert Sheldon, Dean of the Chapel Royal and Master of the Savoy.

³²⁸ Bosher, R.S. The Making of the Restoration Settlement: the influence of the Laudians 1649-1662, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1951.

³²⁹ Whitman, Anne, The Re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th Series, , Vol.V. 1955

Abernathy, G.R., English Presbyterians and the Stuart Restoration, Transactions of the American Philisophical Society, Vol.LV, Part II, Philadelphia, 1965.

Abernathy, G.R., "English Presbyterians and the Stuart Restoration", in Nuttall, G.F., and Chadwick, O., (eds), From Uniformity to Unity, 1662 to 1962, SPCK, London, 1962.

Green, Ian M., The re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663, Oxford Historical Monographs, Oxford, 1978.

directed at the Quakers and the wider problem was submerged.³³⁰ It re-emerged when Charles again granted a Declaration of Indulgence in March 1672. Charles wanted to issue that Declaration to fulfil the form of a promise made during his exile. But Parliament resented the fact that Charles had tried to do without a parliamentary session in 1672 despite a war with the Dutch which led to the downfall of de Witt and the appointment of William of Orange as Stadtholder.³³¹ Its objection to his policy became inevitable.

Ultimately Charles was forced by the incompatibility of his actions with the new Test Act to withdraw his second Declaration of Indulgence in the face of his need of a retrospective Parliamentary grant of £1,126,000 towards the cost of that naval war. Even the unsuccessful Bill of Relief for Protestant Dissenters had had to await the thirteenth session of the Cavalier Parliament in February and March 1673. One political problem throughout Charles's reign was predicting how Catholic opinion and the numerically more significant Non-Conformist opinion would react if a wider religious settlement was not gradually put in place for whatever reason.

Thus Charles's Breda Declaration of April 1660 in favour of "tender consciences", his personal letters taken on Bellings's missions to Rome, the Catholic form of the Queen's Chapel and that of the Queen Mother, all have to fit consistently into this context. In December 1662 Charles had gone so far as to offer Catholics and Non-Conformists alike the benefit of his first Declaration of Indulgence, although he was forced to withdraw it by the 'Cavalier Parliament' in April 1663. This sequence of concerns gives rise to some irreconcilable problems if the attempt is made to reconcile them on Hutton's assumption that Charles's religious views cynically "centred on his own interests".³³² So once again historians working in the 1990s in light of studies by Boshier, Abernathy, and Green have wondered whether Charles and Clarendon were really intent on securing a wider settlement than the Cavalier Parliament would approve. Certainly royal patronage had been offered to some non-Anglicans at the Protestant extreme, namely Richard Baxter, Edmund Calany, Simeon Ashe and Thomas Reynolds in the form of royal chaplaincies within the Chapel Royal,³³³ while alongside it the Queen's Chapel and Henrietta Maria's held out the promise of patronage for Catholic priests. Having re-considered all this in 1994 Barry Coward concluded: "Charles seems to have preferred Catholicism as a religion which supported absolute monarchies, but it is difficult to find evidence that he felt strongly enough about Catholicism to cause him to take extremely unpopular measures to promote it."³³⁴

³³⁰Horle, Craig, The Quakers and the English Legal System, 1660-1688, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1988. The problem of silence of their meetings and fear of its underground and subversive effect was confronted at the Hertford Assizes as early in 1664 as emerges at p.106.

³³¹PRO. SP 84/164 fol 18. Charles had taken a warm family interest as guardian to William Henry, Prince of Orange by his sister, Mary who died on 24 December 1660. As a boy of barely ten William, Prince of Orange, wrote to Charles thanking him for his protection and begging him to obtain for him in due course the position held by his ancestors as Stadholder of the Province of Holland.

³³²Hutton, R. Charles II, King of England, Scotland and Ireland, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991, p.456. (A paperback edition of a work first published by Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989).

Hutton, R, "The religion of Charles II, " in Smuts, op. cit., pp.228-246.

³³³Coward, op. cit., p.287. His earlier first edition of the work published in 1980 has a rather different emphasis.

³³⁴Ibid., p.295.

E. The Bellings Missions.

Hitherto the talented linguist Bellings has been ignored as an insignificant politico-religious figure. Thus although later engaged as the translator for the English negotiating team during drafting of the Secret Treaty of Dover with the King of France in May 1670, under which Charles committed himself to openly declaring his Catholicism, Feiling asserts that of the signatories to the Treaty "the political influence of the Catholics, Bellings and Arundell was slight". He concludes that only Clifford's case needs consideration, for he was among those fully party to the secret clauses of the first Treaty of Dover.³³⁵

Yet Bellings's Missions of 1662 and 1663 deserve notice for their evidence of the brief that the King himself asked him to take on his personal missions to the Papacy. The associated documentation shows that those advising the King and the Queen, if not the King himself, saw the scope to use the re-constitution of the Queen's Chapel as a latter day Trojan Horse to achieve their wider purposes.

Catherine must have been aware of Charles II's mistresses soon after marrying him, and that they were also popular knowledge. Her close relationship with Frances Stuart suggests she and her clerical entourage were both personally sensitive and aware that the King's passions provided a motive for his close involvement with various mistresses often close to one or other of the political factions involved. This did not exclude the possibility that there was also an underlying matter of religious conscience and the need for regular confession and even consequential penance behind Charles's actions - all behavioural patterns springing from the likelihood of his Catholicity. This might explain why a decade and more after his conversion, his wife had earned his affection and retained considerable respect even if denied his sexual loyalty. Catholicity may also explain why he took both Catherine of Braganza and the Catholic, Louise Keroualle, by then the Duchess of Portsmouth, to Oxford in 1680-81 so that they should enjoy his protection from London's anti-Catholic mobs.³³⁶

This Catholicity factor is explored hereinafter for its significance throughout the period from 1660 to 1685 as well as earlier, because, if established, it might explain why Dr. Russell was trusted to formulate provision in the treaty for the new Queen's confession, even as we have seen to sharing with Catherine plans for an establishment for the Queen's Chapel and provision for similar facilities in other royal palaces. All those provisions could be used to place Catholics in positions of influence close to both the King and the Queen and inside the sanctuary of buildings whence they could operate without hindrance.

More obviously relevant evidence is to be found in the remit for Sir Richard Bellings's nominally secret mission of October 1662 now preserved in the Jesuit Archive in Rome. By means of Sir Richard Bellings's 1662 mission King Charles II established his credentials with the Pope, secretly, as a good supporter of

³³⁵Feiling, *op.cit.*, p.269.

³³⁶In 1681 his Third Exclusion Parliament, also needed that protection as it too gathered there to approve an Exclusion Bill, prior to its inevitable dissolution.

Catholicism. Among the deeds Charles cited were that he "had permitted the erection of two public chapels in London for the Queen Mother and his own Consort; in the Queen's Chapel the choral office was solemnly celebrated by the Benedictines, while in that of the Queen Mother the functions were carried out by the Capuchins. All this was the cause of great consolation to the catholics, who had free access to the Divine Service in the Royal Chapels".³³⁷

Why should Charles, only five months after marrying Catherine of Braganza, have written three letters in his own hand, and entrusted them all to Sir Richard Bellings (a Roman Catholic already known in connection with the history of the Irish confederates and as the author of the curious "Vindiciae"), one addressed to the Pope, one to his nephew Cardinal Chigi and one to Cardinal Barberini, entrusting them together with letters from the Queen and Queen Mother to Cardinal Orsini?³³⁸

There is an explanatory cross-reference to the purpose of the 1663 Bellings mission in the de la Cloche collection, the veracity of which is also examined below; suffice it to say here that it seems to have been written in Charles's hand in 1668 stating: "We often wrote secretly to His Holiness concerning our own conversion to the Roman Catholic Church at the period when We requested Him to raise our Well-beloved cousin, my Lord D'Aubigny, to the rank of Cardinal".³³⁹

The letters conveyed by Bellings were urging the Pope to confer a Cardinal's hat upon the Queen's Almoner, the Abbe Louis Stuart d'Aubigny (whose ancestor, the Duke of Lennox, had been involved with the Jesuit conspiracy in Scotland in James VI's reign), in spite of the problems which this would certainly cause in relations with the hierarchy of the Church of England. As if it was not enough that D' Aubigny had married Charles and Catherine, he was now part of a grander scheme designed to tackle the consequential problems. A decade later as part of making a reality of Charles's promises in the Secret Treaty of Dover,³⁴⁰ a politico-religious bribe was agreed between Louis XIV and Charles II whereby D' Aubigny's French estates were awarded by Louis to the Catholic Louise Keroualle rather than to Frances Stuart, the Duchess of Richmond.³⁴¹ So there is evidence that Charles was party to a grander scheme - with the Queen's Chapel

³³⁷ Archivum Romanum S.J., contained in Germania 115 Epp. Gener ad externos Germ. 1657-1665 under Charles II Rex, "The Favours and Benefits bestowed....1662."

³³⁸ C.W.R. "The Religion of Charles II" in The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review, New Series Vol. I, Jan-June, 1866, Bradbury Evans and Co., London, 1866, pp.24-25. All three letters written by the King bear October 1662 dates and were presented to the addressed parties in January 1663.

³³⁹ Ogle, Octavius, Bliss, W.H., Macray, W.D.(eds.) Calendar of Clarendon State Papers in the Bodleian Library, Vol.III, Clarendon Press Oxford, 1896. Vol. 3, pp.280-283. The entire letter is printed in the Calendar and signed "P.T." i.e. Fr. Peter Talbot, and dated Anvers, Dec 24th 1655.

³⁴⁰ Maguire, N.K, "The Duchess of Portsmouth: English royal consort and French politician, 1670-1685", in R.Malcolm Smuts, The Stuart Court and Europe, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, pp.247-273.

³⁴¹ Frances Stuart, Maid of Honour to the Queen Catherine from 1663, and whom the Duchesse D' Orleans considered "the prettiest girl in the world" had been educated in France. Frances Stuart had resisted the advances of many suitors until March 1667 when she became Duchess of Richmond on marrying Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond (of the third creation) and the 6th of Lennox. On her husband's unexpected death in 1672 she became vulnerable to the King's will. In 1673 Frances Stuart's titles and D'Aubigny fiefs of the Duke of Lennox were assigned to Louise Keroualle and her heirs who enjoyed the title of Dukes of Richmond and Lennox.

being used as a diplomatically impregnable launching pad once its significance had been established in the briefings carried by Bellings to the Pope.

The existence of one later letter in this collection has greater significance in that it shows Bellings to have been in "secret" communication with the Jesuits in Rome in May 1663.³⁴² In presenting these various letters in 1663 to the Pope and others, Bellings followed secret instructions to urge the d'Aubigny suit forward in the first instance, and only if successful with this to proceed with another commission. Curiously, although Bellings was not successful in the first, he nevertheless proceeded with the second commission, as documents held in the Jesuit Archive at Rome reveal. Among the documents Bellings took with him then to Rome was "The Favours and benefits bestowed upon the English Catholics by the Reigning Monarch" written in Charles's own hand. Items nine and ten in this list reveal that Charles "had repeatedly received in audience priests and religious, in particular two Provincials of the Jesuits, and had assured them of his protection", and that he "had visited the Queen's Chapel, attended by his Court, had assisted at part of the High Mass, and knelt profoundly at the elevation", and at item five that he "Notwithstanding other and much more advantageous proposals, he had married a Catholic Princess".³⁴³

These documents make clear the substance of Bellings's second commission - nothing less than the union of the two Kingdoms of England, Scotland and the Lordship of Ireland with the Apostolic Roman See. In it the King professed his willingness to accept all the Decrees of the Council of Trent, and the recent anti-Jansenist pronouncements of the Popes, and noted "the deplorable schism and heresy introduced by Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and other wicked men, and the "Babylonish confusion" brought about by the Protestant Reformation".³⁴⁴

³⁴² Archivum Romanum S.J. Opp.NN174/175.D.

³⁴³ Archivum Romanum S.J., Germania 115 Epp.Gener ad externos Germ. 1657-1665 under Charles II Rex, "The Favours and Benefits bestowed....1662", items 9 and 10.

³⁴⁴Ibid. See also 6 large folded folio pages, all in Latin, recording Charles II's alleged views on the "perturbatum ac Babylonicum confusionem in Ecclesiasticis...", in the Archivum Romanum S.J. uncatalogued amongst "Litterae Caroli II Regis Angliae Des Quodam filo suo naturali qui Societati Jesu nomen dederat; et de unione Angliae cum Catolia Romana" in Opp.NN 174/175.E.

For secondary works on the re-unification question, see:

Milton, Anthony, Catholic and Reformed - The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640, esp.pp.353-377. Head, R.E., Royal Supremacy and the Trials of the Bishops, 1558-1725, S.P.C.K., London, 1967, esp.pp.73-91. Pawley, Bernard and Margaret, Rome and Canterbury Through Four Centuries, Mowbrays, London, esp.pp.22-50. Walsham, Alexander, Church Papistry - Catholics, Conformity & Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England, RHS, Boydell Press, 1993.

Chapter 9.

THE PARALLEL OPERATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE CHURCH OF ROME WITHIN THE COURT AFTER THE RESTORATION.

The re-establishment of the Catholic Queen's Chapel at St. James's and that of the Queen Mother at Somerset House forced the Church of England to respond. Developments at the Queen's Chapel should be seen against the background of official religious liturgy, enshrined in the new Book of Common Prayer, celebrated literally a stone's throw away at the Chapel Royal. The Chapel Royal was specifically designated as providing the example which all church of England churches were to follow in its conduct of the Prayer Book services.

As the launch of the "King James Authorised version of the Bible" in 1611 served to parallel the launch of Douai's Catholic English translation of 1609/10 - thereby allowing the Church of England clergy to enter religious debate with Catholics on an equal footing - so after the Restoration The 1662 Book of Common Prayer served to counter the legal arrival once more, this time through the marriage of Charles II to Catherine of Braganza in 1661, of the Roman Catholic Church.

The new Prayer Book contained many politico-religious elements that were in large measure a response to the challenge of Catholicism which the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace and that of the Queen Mother at Somerset House once again represented. The response was not, though, as anti-Catholic as might have been the case had the puritan component of the Savoy Conference secured any significant concession under their leader Richard Baxter during its sessions between 14th April - 24th July 1661. It was eventually left to the two Convocations of Canterbury and York to finalise the version. The 'Laudian' influence once again surfaced to colour the end result under significant contributions from Bishops Cosin (Durham), Sheldon (London) and Sanderson (Lincoln), together with William Sancroft. One Francis Cruse summed up the end product as "nothing but Blasphemie and Poperie".

The Catholicism represented by the return of the Queen's Chapel evidently served to galvanise the revision of the Anglican Prayer Book into addressing the great liturgical divides and religious differences which would now be revived not only between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, but also within those churches.

Matters of religious debate were enshrined as a final compromise in the 1662 Prayer Book in a way that was intended to remove scope for further debate.. The most obvious response to the fact of the Queen's Chapel's existence made within the Prayer Book is to be found in the prayers to be said at Morning and Evening services. Catholicism personified necessarily found a place in it, a specific requirement being to pray for

*Restoring of public peace at home
 & thanksgiving for peace and victory. A*



For Deliverance from Foreign Invasion
 Almighty God, which art a strong
 Tower of defence unto thy servants a-
 gainst the face of their enemies: wee
 recite thee praise, and thanksgiving
 for our deliverance from those great
 and apparant dangers, where with we
 were compassed: wee acknowledge of
 thy goodnesse, that we were not deli-
 vered over as a prey unto them, breche-
 ing thee sal to continue such thy mercies to wards vs, that all
 the world may know, that thou art our Saviour and might-
 ie deliverer, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Thanksgiving for deliverance from the Plague.



Lord God, which hast wounded vs for our
 finnes, and consumed vs for our transgressi-

*A eternal God's love
 Consider the altar was
 this was to be of our mind
 in a house, to shew the
 mercy of a living God
 that is not dead, as we
 know the Holy Ghost
 that is not dead, that
 is appear to deliver
 us from all our
 troubles, and to
 give us all grace
 that we need
 to live in
 the world
 to the end
 of our
 lives
 Amen.*

Bishop John Cosin's proposed changes to the 1619 Prayer Book, suggested in 1661.

In 1661 the recently consecrated Bishop of Durham, John Cosin, proposed alterations to the Prayer Book that highlighted the political context of Charles II's Restoration. Cosin recognised the continuous external military threat by retaining the text of the 1619 Prayer Book's "A Thanksgiving for Peace and Victory". Cosin pointedly proposed replacing its old title with a prayer "For deliverance from Foreign Invasion". For related domestic reasons it was he who suggested it be preceded by a new prayer for "Victory over Rebels and restoring of public peace at home"

Bishop Cosin Library, Durham University, 'Cosin D.3.5.' (S.R. Safe.)

“our gracious Queen Katherin” and “May ye Queen Mother”, as well as “James, Duke of York, and all ye Roial Familie”.

The revival of the Queen’s Chapel went hand in hand with the necessity to face once again the matter of the Real Presence. It was a contentious issue which was to engender splits both within and between the Catholic and Protestant churches. It found expression in the Prayer Book in the reintroduction of the “Black Rubric” omitted from the Prayer Books of 1559 and 1604. It now took a Zwinglian hue by stating that kneeling to receive the sacrament was not an action of idolatry since, following the Ascension, “the natural Body and Blood of Our Saviour Christ are in heaven and not here; it being against the truth of Christ’s Natural Body, at one time in more places then one”. Although the Presbyterian Baxter argued that this freed the sacrament from “all suspicion of idolatry”, the likes of Thorndike “disown the New rubrick of the Common-Prayer Book” and the Duke of York sneered at it as a “puritanical thing”, it was used as a political tool to protect the supremacy of the Church of England, including the Laudian component, and to exclude Catholics from high state office. Thus the Corporation Act of 1672, and the other Test Acts of 1673 and 1678, led to the requirement by the time James acceded to the Throne in 1685 for public office holders to take both sacraments in kneeling posture before two witnesses as a prerequisite. To many Catholics and Laudians alike this was using the central rite of Christianity for political ends in order to ensure the stability of the State. It was certainly a means of establishing clear sacramental water between the Church of Rome and the Church of England., but it served at the same time to provoke a series of conversions to the Catholic cause among eminent Englishmen between 1661 and 1688, including for example, Lord Clifford, Edward Sclater, Obadiah Walker and John Dryden. Bishop Burnet alleged that King Charles II had betrayed his belief in the Real Presence during a conversation in 1661, recording it as follows:

“Some of the Church of England loved to magnify the sacrament in an extraordinary manner, affirming the real presence, only blaming the Church of Rome for defining the manner of it; saying Christ was present in the most inconceivable manner. This was so much the mode, that the King and all the Court went into it: so the king upon some raillery about transubstantiation, asked Sir Elisha if he believed it. He answered he could not well tell; but he was sure the Church of England believed it. And when the King seemed amazed at that, he replied, do not you believe that Christ is present in the most unconceivable manner ? Which the King granted; then said he, that is just transubstantiation - the most unconceivable thing that was ever yet invented...”³⁴⁵

By denying Christ’s presence in the soul of the worthy receiver when consuming the sacrament, the Black Rubric of 1662 contradicted not only Cardinal Bellarmine and Luther but also Calvin, Ridley, Hooker and Andrewes. It was evidently intended as a line in the sand to fend off the influence and encouragement to the Catholic cause that re-establishment of the Queen’s Chapel would bring..

³⁴⁵Burnet, Vol.I, p.150.

That prediction was well placed, for perhaps the most influential personage to fly the Catholic flag promoting the Real Presence in London was Basile [Dubois] de Soissons, Almoner and Preacher at the Queen Mother's Catholic Chapel at Somerset House in the 1660s. He preached a famous series of sermons there upon the Real Presence, and published them later in France, noting on the title page that he had conceived them "en la cour de la Reyne Mere d'Angleterre".³⁴⁶ He chose to use the Geneva Bible for his proof texts rather than the later Douai Bible, unable perhaps to find the appropriate wording in the latter to support his argument.

The case of Dryden's conversion is evidence of the success of such pressure exerted by elements of the Queen's Chapel upon the Real Presence debate. Several passages defending Catholic doctrine in Dryden's work "The Hind and the Panther" deploy a series of arguments only found elsewhere in the same pattern in the sermons of de Soissons.³⁴⁷ This supports the strong conjecture that Dryden owed his conversion to de Soissons' proselytising at Somerset House.

But in attempting to bring about high level conversions with this debate, de Soissons may have attempted to reach across the divide defined by the Prayer Book's Black Rubric. Cardinal Howard in a letter of 1670 declared that "Basilia de Soissons Capuccin" had brought the entire English mission into apostasy.³⁴⁸ Gardiner concludes that "this mysterious charge, which is not found in ecclesiastical history, underscores the enormous influence the friar must have wielded behind the scenes".³⁴⁹

In order to protect the uniformity of the Prayer Book's stance from extremists meddling in such intricate politico-religious matters, measures were taken to curtail the opportunity to comment on them from the pulpit. Thus Charles II wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury on 14th October 1662 complaining of the "bold Abuses and Extravagances of Preachers in the Pulpit" directing that "no Preachers in their sermons presume to meddle with Matters of State". The Queen's Chapel, though, was exempt by international Treaty from such domestic limitations, and the Capuchin, de Soissons, took advantage of this. So, too, did the Jesuit Chaplain to the Duke of York, Claude de la Colombiere, from the pulpit of the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace on All Saints Day 1676, when he directly attacked the Test Acts behind similar protection.

To check the influence of unfettered Catholic sermons delivered at the Catholic Chapel in Somerset House, a warrant was issued for the exclusive use of John Durel's French translation of the new 1662 Prayer Book, not only for use in the Channel Islands, and elsewhere in England and the Dominions, but also specifically

³⁴⁶ Quoted in Gardiner, Anne Barbeau, *Dryden and the Great Debate on the Real Presence, 1661-1688*, English Literary History, 65, John Hopkins University Press, 1998, p.597.

³⁴⁷ Basile de Soissons, The invincible Defence of the Orthodox Truth of the Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist: where it is proven by nearly three hundred Arguments, of which all the major ones are taken from Scripture, Pierre Compain, Paris, 1680.

³⁴⁸ *Scrittura riferite nei congressi dal 1627 al 1707*, Propaganda fide, Rome, fols.526 and 609

³⁴⁹ Gardiner, Anne Barbeau, "Dryden and the Great Debate on the Real Presence, 1661-1688", in English Literary History, 65, John Hopkins University Press, 1998, p.597.

at the Chapel in the Savoy then used for French Huguenot worship. This meant it was to be used next to the Catholic Chapel there.

The Scottish Chapel Royal was also pressed into action as the vehicle for attempting to impose the Prayer Book in Scotland, Bishop Leighton being tasked with the duty to "set up the common prayer in the king's chapel."³⁵⁶ Meanwhile the Jesuits had set up their own presence at Holyroodhouse, not removed until 1688.

In order to maintain the stance of the Prayer Book and reduce the influence of the Presbyterians, episcopal ordination became obligatory for all holders of benefices and all clergy were required to declare their "unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything in and by the Prayer Book contained". Those who declined were to be deprived of their livings. In so doing, the Prayer Book dominated the Church of England's response to the challenge of the uncurtailed pulpit of the royal Catholic Chapels in St. James's Palace and Somerset House.

Moreover, the tradition of celebrating important events in the history of the nation was maintained by additions to the provisions of the Prayer Book. Some of these were heavily political as with the "Day of Thanksgiving for the Happy Deliverance of King James I and the Three Estates of England from the most traitorous and bloody-intended Massacre by Gunpowder" by Act of Parliament of 1605-6, which was included in the Annexed Book of 1662 along with services to commemorate the martyrdom of Charles I on 30th January and for the restoration of Charles II to the throne on 29th May. Reflecting political events after 1688, the 5th November celebration also marked the "Happy Arrival of King William for the deliverance of Church and Nation."

Provision for a musical Anthem in "places where they sing" gave an opportunity to reflect politico-religious matters in a Prayer Book service, not always with Catholics in mind. Thus the Anthem jointly composed by Humfrey, Blow and Turner celebrated the victory at the Battle of Lowestoft by the Duke of York over the Dutch in June 1665 - an event also celebrated in the contemporary visual form shown in this thesis.

To conclude, there were a number of ways in which the parallel operation of the Church of England and the Church of Rome within the Court at the Restoration could not be confined to the palace boundaries. The consequences spilled out all over the realm as Catholics took heart from the unfettered pulpit of the Queen's Chapel, and the Church of England struggled to respond to the medium of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer and its additions rather than through pulpits and preachments, which in view of the wide spectrum of churchmanship it found impolitic to attempt to regulate individually.

³⁵⁶ Burnet, Vol.I, p.151.



Battle of Lowestoft, 1665. Oil Painting by Hendrick van Minderhout (1632-96)

Fighting here under James II, Duke of York, Lord Clancarty was killed and subsequently buried in secret in the churchyard of the Queen's Chapel, now under Marlborough Road. It would appear that it was another member of his family who was sent to Virginia by Claude de la Colombiere to train as a priest about 1678.

Caird Collection, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. (BHC 0283)

By taking sides with either the non-Conformists or with the less numerous Catholics, in contra-distinction from Parliament, Charles faced a big practical and political problem. The census instigated by the Earl of Danby and Archbishop Sheldon in 1676 showed that among the population over the age of sixteen, 2,477,254 were Anglicans, 108,676 were Non-Conformists, and 13,656 were Catholics.³⁵¹ This illustrates where Charles had to pitch a balance as between losing the support of those who hated such highly visible manifestations of papal practices, and indulging them. By deciding upon a grander form of the Queen's Chapel than that which had existed prior to the execution of his father, Charles risked declaring his own hand and forfeiting popular support, especially if he made all his diplomatic moves openly. So Charles kept as much as possible secret - including his own religious proclivity.

Probably to serve just such purposes and to have a plea in mitigation before any critics, Charles II restored and paid for the establishment of the Chapel Royal to operate inside all his palaces from 1660 onwards. There is the further evidence that the Queen's Chapel retained its Catholic choir, its music and its interpretation of liturgical traditions throughout the exile at the French Court. With the approval of Henrietta Maria this was achieved through Lewis Richards, whose task it was until 1644 to train the choristers in Paris. That Charles was influenced by the musical tuition given him as child at his mother's instance may account for his subsequent liking of sacred Catholic music, as is evidenced in a letter from Marigny to Barrière, dated Brussels, 15th April, 1656.³⁵² That Charles liked organ music in the French tradition is suggested by his paying John Hingeston "for removing and setting up an organ in her Majesty's Chapel at St. James', for removing another organ from Whitehall to St. James' for the French music, and for portage of a larger organ from Mr. Micoe's [that is the Queen's Chapel's organist] to St. James's and setting up there".³⁵³

At the Restoration Charles II adopted Louis XIV's "Vingt-quatre violons du Roi" by having his own by his Coronation on 23rd April 1661, Evelyn recording their use in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall from 21st December 1661, and the addition of "violls and other instruments to play a symphony between every verse of the anthem...and very fine it is" observed Pepys on 14th September 1662. Twelve of this complement were normally be on duty for these occasions. The musical retrenchment undertaken by Charles in 1668 specifically excluded the Chapel Royal. Dearnley observed that at Charles's death in 1685 the Chapel Royal "possessed sufficient momentum to carry it through three years under a Roman Catholic monarch with no interest at all in Anglican worship".³⁵⁴ James recruited his own foreign musicians to promote his Roman Catholic Chapel Royal, which had the effect of displacing the Queen's Chapel's flagship role as pinnacle of Roman Catholicism at Court hitherto. It had the effect, too, of entirely eclipsing the 'constitutional' role of the Protestant Chapel Royal at Court, signifying in so doing to the populace at large, and to William of

³⁵¹ Coward, *op. cit.*, p.297.

³⁵² Birch, *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, etc.* Vol IV, pp.677-678.

³⁵³ Warrant Lord Chamberlain to Treasurer to the Chamber. PRO. Warrant 741-9, 5/137 April 1st 1663.

³⁵⁴ Dearnley, Christopher, *English Church Music, 1650-1750, in Royal Chapel, Cathedral and Parish Church*, Barrie & Jenkins, London, 1970. p.23.

Orange, what beliefs James intended to pursue in the politico-religious field. It was to be an international signal which triggered trouble.

Meanwhile, the continental influence of those appointed to Catherine of Braganza's Queen's Chapel since the Restoration, including its music, should not be underestimated. Its religion and pulpit were to hold centre-stage.

Yet the introduction of musical composition and innovation were not exclusive to the Protestant and Catholic Court Chapels at any point between 1623 and 1688, although both were indeed the host of many foreign musicians. The work of Wainwright has revealed the First Baron Hatton, for example, to have been a most important patron of Italian music, while his copyist, George Jeffreys, is shown to have been one of the key pioneers in the dissemination of Italianate sacred music in England. This is in spite of the presence of fine Italian music at the Queen's Chapel recorded by Pepys on Easter Sunday 1668: "to the Queen's Chapel, and there did hear the Italians sing; and indeed their musick did appear most admirable to me, beyond anything of our's."

Charles even endowed the Chapel Royal with new sacramental plate and flagons. Its holdings are detailed in the Whitehall Register of the Chapel Royal for 1676.³⁵⁵ Whether this was just to give cover to his intentions, or so that it could match the Treaty obligation to Catherine, or because he did not want to cut off from the Church of England and the counsels of some of senior Anglican Bishops is not clear.

The Deans of the Chapel Royal enjoyed a separate root of royal authority to attend to the souls and cares of those in his own household. Until 1663, that is during his tenure as the first Dean of the Chapel Royal after the Restoration, Dr. Gilbert Sheldon used the privileged access of that Household office as a means to keep in touch with the possibility of a wider religious settlement such was briefly promised of the parties to the Savoy Conference. As we have seen, this went so far as to have included in 1660 the appointment to royal chaplaincies of some with non-conformist sympathies like Dr Thomas Reynolds. A later Dean of the Chapel Royal, Walter Blandford, then Bishop of Worcester, attended Anne Hyde, Duchess of York at her deathbed on 31 March 1671, deliberately refraining from offering her the Catholic last rights but speaking of "the Truth" instead whilst Queen Catherine of Braganza and James Duke of York were present.

The Chapel Royal played its usual formal role on state occasions and at more private, though significant, politico-religious occasions, such as the marriage of William of Orange to Mary Stuart, James's daughter on 4th November 1677 in the Whitehall Chapel. This marriage had a strategic dimension in concluding the diplomatic deal done to end the Dutch war in the form of the Treaty of Westminster. Appropriately, Henry Compton, Mary's childhood tutor, acting then as the Dean of the Chapel Royal, married her under the

³⁵⁵PRO. RG8/76 fols 12-13. Transcript in Baldwin, *op. cit.*, 1990, p.213. The flagons commissioned in 1660 and 1664 are illustrated at pp.204 and 205 in the same work within a chapter on the subject, pp.198-217.

Church of England rite at 9pm. On that occasion the Duchess of York, Mary of Modena, having attended the service, provided some much needed comfort to Mary after her father had told her on 21st September that her marital fate had been determined as one of the needs of state. One can expect that that advice had a provocative Catholic edge for Mary, especially as true to an earlier threat expressed before Verney, her father James, Duke of York, absented himself from giving his daughter away in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall, Charles doing so instead while in reportedly jocular mood.³⁵⁶ Before the couple left for Holland on 19th November, a distraught Mary, learning in sadness that Archbishop Sheldon had died on the Friday after the wedding, consulted Dr. John Lake,³⁵⁷ Bishop of Bristol, who promised always to remember her to the Bishop of London, Henry Compton, and to keep her sickly sister, Anne, steadfast in her Protestant faith.

Given this kind of use made of the Chapel Royal and of the Church of England's episcopacy by members of Charles II's immediate family, and by its Catholic members like both the Duchesses of York, it becomes necessary to examine further the history of Charles's religious behaviour in the search for underlying motives. This is most necessary in the context of the allegation of his earlier conversion to Catholicism, if only to eliminate from our enquiries the claim as to its continuing and retrospective influence advanced by the Jesuits in the matter of his faith during the 1670s and 1680s.

³⁵⁶Bowen, *op. cit.*, pp.45-46. Charles says of William's gold coins: "Put these in your pocket, niece," said Charles, "its all clear gain."

³⁵⁷Bishop John Lake, who received his doctorate in 1661, became Bishop of Sodor and Man in 1683. He was soon translated to Bristol on 12th August 1684, before a final translation to the See of Chichester in 1685. He later refused to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, but died early in 1689.



Chapter 10

THE CATHOLICITY OF KING CHARLES II.

Excluding most obviously Burnet, Clarendon, Dalrymple, Temple, Swift³⁵⁸ and some other well informed Hanoverian writers like Harris,³⁵⁹ most English historians considering Charles's faith have worked in the shadow of Lord Acton. In 1862 Acton was supplied with a series of original documents from the Jesuit Archive in Rome by Father Boero, Librarian of the Jesuit College, relating to this period and Charles's faith.³⁶⁰ The full extent of the transcript provided to Lord Acton is not known today, although it is known that Acton thought that the documents were remarkably important in establishing the nature of the religious motivation behind Charles II's policies, and in particular that they explained his revival of a Queen's Chapel in accordance with the Treaty clause guaranteeing religious liberty for his bride. Acton also thought that they informed a wider vision of how the Stuarts would operate a policy through the Queen's Chapel devised to serve all his wider political purposes, and those of his mother, and that it could be used to placate those in other nearby Catholic realms, and to accrete the support of the regular and secular Catholic orders in the process.³⁶¹

Readily available English official sources explain well the legislative record of Charles's Parliaments in frustrating the effect of his Declarations of Indulgence and the possibility of a wider religious settlement. Although the provisions of the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act of 1664 and the Five Mile Act 1665 did not dent the intrinsic strength of Catholic opposition, many Catholics were driven from minor office although Catholics were well represented on Charles's Privy Council. The House of Lords, led by Lord Clarendon and the Earl of Bristol, showed some willingness to consider accepting a wider politico-religious compromise in 1663, but the Commons, despite Sir Henry Bennet's entreaties, were intent on enforcing conformity and constraining Catholic influence.

³⁵⁸The same conclusions as Burnet and Clarendon reveal about Charles's Catholicism were advanced by [Dean] Swift, Jonathan, (ed.) The Works of Sir William Temple (1628-1699), Dublin, 1740, Vol. 1, p.479. Dean Swift worked from 1692 to 1695 as Temple's secretary at Moor Park, and formed a close personal relationship with Temple who always felt strongly about how his policy and subsequent political career had been subverted by Charles's secret agreements with Louis XIV in 1670. Temple became very close to William of Orange through the marriage negotiations of 1674, resuming the friendship in regular encounters after 1689. In the 1690s Swift had helped Temple prepare his memoirs for publication, along with An Introduction to the History of England published in 1695. Only after 1711 did Dean Swift actually meet members of the Chapel Royal to discuss such matters in person.

³⁵⁹Harris, William, Lives and Writings of James I and Charles I, and Oliver Cromwell and Charles II etc., 5 Vols, London, 1814, Vol II, p.52.

³⁶⁰Acton, Lord, "Secret History of Charles II", The Home & Foreign Review, Williams and Norgate, London, 1862, pp.146-174. The transcripts, although full of transcription errors, were published later by Boero as Istoria della Conversione alla Chiesa Cattolica de Carlo II., Re D'Inghilterra, cavato do Scritture Autentiche ed originali per Guiseppe Boero, D.C., D.G. Roma. Coll. Tipi della Civitta Cattolica, Roma.

³⁶¹Acton used selected transcripts in The Gentleman's Magazine, New Series, Vol.I, January to June 1866, Bradbury Evans and Co. London, 1866, pp.23-29.

It thus becomes a central question as to whether Charles's personal faith altered over the years from the Protestant traditions in which his father had had him educated; and his brother James too.³⁶² There were certainly many rumours of Jesuit conversion during his exile from England. Another later letter of 1668 connects the issue of Charles II's personal Catholicity with national politics in observing that not enough care was taken to "prevent the clear sighted of Our Court from inferring that we had a secret understanding with the Pope; but having found the means of supressing this suspicion which had begun to circulate, that We were Roman Catholic, We were at the same time obliged, from dread lest it should again spring up in the Public mind to bear on several occasions with many things which turned to the prejudice of many Roman Catholics in Our Kingdom of Ireland."³⁶³

The rumours of conversion during exile relate closely to Mordaunt's observation of 10th November 1659 that he could not understand why Charles did not deny Catholicism to protect his throne, and why he subsequently put such non-committal phraseology in the Breda Declaration of March 1660. Its terms pose some interpretative problems because they coincide with Charles's actions in beginning the courtship of a Roman Catholic princess. Until recently there were only desultory attempts by Fraser³⁶⁴ and Hutton³⁶⁵ to address his faith or explain the rumours away as either unfounded or based on documentation too unreliable for such an assertion as Charles's Catholicity.

The corner-stone of Hutton's argument is expressed in the following observation:

"When Bellings asked the King privately to consider his conversion, Charles replied that although he hoped to tolerate Catholics, neither political expediency nor his conscience would permit his acceptance of the Roman Catholic faith. This is his clearest personal statement upon the matter preserved from the exile. Nor did anybody record any admiring comments made by him upon the Cathedrals or rituals which he saw". Hutton gives as his authority a citation reading thus: "Thurloe State Papers, 1.744".³⁶⁶

The whole issue merits a review looking further afield than the Thurloe papers especially if the authenticity of the De La Cloche manuscripts can be effectively established despite Hutton's dismissal of them.³⁶⁷ Alongside Hutton's notion that the post-Restoration Queen's Chapel was merely an elaborate replication of the pre-1642 establishment, the pair of assumptions are worthy of review in the light of documentation contemporary with the Chapel's re-establishment. Clear evidence has been shown that there was continuity among some of the regular Orders within the Queen's Chapel.

³⁶² Bowen, *op.cit.*, p.291. A transcript of a letter from James to the Princess of Orange, 4th November 1677.

³⁶³ Archivum Romanum S.J. POO/NN.174/5E. Charles II to Oliva, 3rd August 1668.

³⁶⁴ Fraser, Lady Antonia, Charles II, Weidenfield and Nicolson, London, 1979, pp.150-151 argues that "neither political expediency nor his conscience would permit his acceptance of the Roman Catholic Faith."

³⁶⁵ Hutton, Ronald, The Religion of Charles II, in Smuts, M., *op.cit.*, 1996, pp.228-246.

³⁶⁶ Hutton, Ronald, Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland and Ireland, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989., p.93. The original is in Duke Humfrey's Library, Bodleian Library, but is printed in Birch, T., (ed.) A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, etc., London, 1842, Vol.I., p.44.

³⁶⁷ Hutton, Ronald, "The Religion of Charles II" in Smuts, R., (ed.) The Stuart court and Europe, Cambridge University Press 1996, pp.228-246. His views on De La Cloche appear at p.231.

A dramatic pair of letters written on successive days in French and English, dated 21st and 22nd April 1656, the French one having originally been in the possession of Lord Chancellor Philip Lord Hardwick, suggest more about his mother's role in this and contain, apparently, an announcement to the French Court of Charles's conversion to Catholicism.³⁶⁸ The text of one as written "to Monsieur Petkum" reads:

"The Queen of England was Thursday last at Court, to give notice there of the news, which she had received from the king her son, of the resolution which he had taken to abjure his religion, after the example of the Queen of Sweden, perceiving that to be the only means for the regaining of his kingdoms. The Duke of Gloucester may choose to follow his example, and may be honoured with a cardinal's cap. This news did very much please their majesties, although there be no other particulars of it, only that his majesty of great Britain had turned away his Protestant servants, and had taken those of the Roman Catholick. Everybody here doth approve of this resolution".³⁶⁹

Even Clarendon admitted that the Italian Papal Nuncio in Cologne "never made the least scruple at his Majesty's enjoying the liberty of his Chapel, and the exercise of his Religion, though it was very publick".

³⁷⁰ But was such a presentation of Charles's Catholicism to be a factor that would in turn sufficiently explain Charles's action in approving the Bellings Missions to Rome in the 1660s, and why that phase of his diplomatic policy culminated in the Secret Treaty of Dover in 1670?

The same motivation, and the inevitable consequences of the terms of the Treaty of Dover, may well explain why he was not satisfied simply with achieving an operational Queen's Chapel in the 1660s. The reason was that he had been forced to withdraw his first Declaration of Indulgence. His second Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 cannot therefore be explained as experiment; it has to have been part of a strategy conceived, as we shall see, in the context of war and on the basis of own Catholicity. Jeremy Black, writing in 1991, is prepared to allow for Charles's genuine adherence to Roman Catholicism at least by the time that Treaty of Dover was negotiated and for this to be genuinely reflected in the terms of that treaty's secret clauses in 1670. The importance of a possible thread of consistency in this was highlighted by Jeremy Black when analysing the reasons behind Charles's foreign policy, because "the King's habitual secrecy renders any attempt to establish the relative importance of particular factors in his foreign policy implausible".³⁷¹

Nonetheless it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the seed of any alleged Catholicism may have been sown with Fr. Hudleston's intervention to protect Charles during his flight from the Battle of Worcester in 1651. The provenance and context of the 'evidence' for the period 1649 to 1651 is contained in a "very rare

³⁶⁸Birch, T., (ed.) A Collection of the State papers of John Thurloe, etc. Vol IV, London, 1842, pp.693-694. This is evidently a straight translation of "les advis de Paris du 21 Avriul [1656] marquent entr' autres ce qu' enfuit." which was written a day earlier.

³⁶⁹Ibid. This had been in the possession of Philip Hardwicke, Lord High Chancellor.

³⁷⁰Clarendon, Edward, Earl of, The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, Begun in the Year 1641.... Volume the Third, Book XIV, Oxford, 1704, p.424.

³⁷¹Black, Jeremy, A System of Ambition. ? British Foreign Policy 1660-1793. Longmans, London, 1991 p.127.

paper" lent to the Jesuit historian, Henry Foley, in the course of his preparing Volume V of his "Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus" by "Mr. Whitgreave, of Burton Manor, detailing the escape of King Charles II after the defeat at Worcester, and his entertainment at Moseley by his Ancestor, the grandfather of Fathers James and Thomas Whitgreave"[Jesuits].³⁷² It describes itself as "A summary of occurrences relating to the miraculous preservation of our late Sovereign Lord King Charles II after the defeat of his army at Worcester, in the year 1651, Faithfully taken from the express personal testimony of those two worthy Roman Catholics, Thomas Whitgrave of Moseley, in the county of Stafford, Esq., and Mr. John Huddleston, priest of the Holy Order of St. Bennet, the eminent instruments under God of the same preservation"³⁷³.

Moreover, since this text extends over seven printed pages in Foley and is described as "taken from the express personal testimony of those two worthy Roman Catholics", it is unclear why it should end with their names unless they had all signed a deposition. In spite of this caution, it must also be said that Charles certainly rewarded Huddleston (formerly a student at the English College, Rome) at his Restoration in 1660 by appointing him resident Chaplain at the Queen's Chapel, and always excluded him from all penalties whenever they arose, even requesting his presence at his death bed. Whitgrave too was rewarded by appointment as a Gentleman Usher to the Queen.³⁷⁴

The credentials of these two witnessed accounts lead to the conclusion that the evidence in this document should not be dismissed. There are observations bearing upon the King's personal religious proclivities contained in this document which records that Huddleston "showed him the chapel, little but neat and decent. The King looking respectfully upon the altar, and regarding the crucifix and candlesticks upon it, said: "He had an altar, crucifix and silver candlesticks of his own, till my Lord of Holland brake them, which (added the King) he hath now paid for."³⁷⁵

"His Majesty then spent some time in perusing Mr. Huddleston's books, attentively reading a short manuscript written by Mr. Richard Hudleston, a Benedictine monk, entitled, A short and plain way to the faith and Church." He expressed his sentiments of it in these positive words:

"I have not seen anything more plain and clear upon this subject. The arguments here drawn from succession, are so conclusive I do not conceive how they can be denied".³⁷⁶ However it is known that Charles then shared his opinion of "Mr. Turbeville's Catechism, saying it was a pretty book, and that he would take it along with him."³⁷⁷ After hiding himself in the 'private place or receptacle' to avoid a search party, Huddleston then remarked "Your Majesty is in some sort in the same condition with me now, liable to

³⁷²Foley, op. cit., vol 5, p.439.

³⁷³Ibid. pp.439-440. Since the word "late" appears in relation to Charles II it must be concluded that this document was compiled after 1685 but before 1702, probably from notes made by Whitgrave and Huddleston.

³⁷⁴Ibid. p.445.

³⁷⁵Ibid.

³⁷⁶Ibid.

³⁷⁷Ibid.

dangers and perils, but I hope God, that brought you hither, will preserve you here, and that you will be as safe in this place as in any castle of your dominions". The future King, addressing himself both to Mr. Whitgrave and Mr. Huddleston, replied: "If it please God I come to my crown, both you and all of your persuasion shall have as much liberty as any of my subjects".³⁷⁸

These exchanges serve to give some indication of Charles's personal religious views. They show his familiarity in exile with traditions carried on at the Queen's Chapel, and go some way towards substantiating the rumours of Charles's earlier private conversion to Roman Catholicism, so current in 1656 that Clarendon requested Dr. Earle to accompany Charles to counter such rumours.

Those rumours, which have been well documented,³⁷⁹ are the more credible because Charles acted after 1660 as if he understood all the implications of the Catholic tenets of faith, especially over the Treaty of Dover. So it is questionable whether his faith was just a private matter known only within the Queen's Chapel and the Chapel Royal. To determine whether Charles's Catholicity was a conviction as distinctive for its longevity as for being loosely held when under challenge as Coward has suggested,³⁸⁰ or whether it was so firmly held that it continually affected the wider diplomatic and politico-religious context and his views of the significance of the Queen's Chapel, we must turn first to documentation created after the first flush of enthusiasm reported in the Belling's Missions of 1662 and 1663 but still within the first few years of the re-creation of the Queen's Chapel. Documents of a more testing diplomatic and religious significance for Charles II are still preserved in the de la Cloche collection, including a letter, quoted earlier, that refers his request to the Pope to promote the Grand Almoner of the Queen's Chapel "to the rank of Cardinal" . This purports to have been written in Charles's hand in 1668, also stating: "We often wrote secretly to His Holiness concerning our own conversion to the Roman Catholic Church." ³⁸¹

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁹ D.J.P. Baldwin, *The Religious Usage of the Chapel Royal*, deposited in typescript on Royal instruction in Windsor Castle Library, August, 1998. Chapter 7, pp. 76-94.

³⁸⁰ Coward, Barry, *The Stuart Age*, Longmans, London, 1996, pp.287, 295-296.

³⁸¹ Archivum Romanum S.J., Borgo Santo Spirito, Roma, Opp/NN.174-175E. Charles II to Oliva, 3. 8. 1668.

Chapter 11.

The significance of the Queen's Chapel in the James de la Cloche manuscripts in Rome.

The de la Cloche letters which have survived in the Jesuit Curia in Rome date largely from 1668.³⁸² They contain a number allegedly written and signed in King Charles's hand, stating that he had been a Roman Catholic since Exile, that Charles "often wrote discretely to His Holiness concerning Our own conversion to the Roman Catholic Church", and now wished to see his eldest illegitimate son, James de la Cloche, priested as a Jesuit so that he, Charles, could receive absolution from his son in London. The Queen's Chapel was to host this. "We are content, after he shall have absolved us from heresy, and reconciled us to God and the Church, that he should return to Rome to lead there the religious life he has embraced." In return for this Charles would further reward the Jesuits "with our Royal munificence in a more manifest manner, should there be any place, site, building, or occasion in which they may require our assistance, and we have it in our power to give them aid".³⁸³

This was going to be a difficult context for Charles himself, and in consequence a test of his Catholicity too. Queen Christina of Sweden certainly knew of de la Cloche's origin. In an incontestably genuine document she would write to that effect that the man was the "filius naturalis Carolis: regis Angliae..."³⁸⁴. De La Cloche was born in 1647 and apparently brought up in Holland, and moved secretly to London in 1665. He appears to have returned to Rome in 1667, bearing a formal acknowledgment of his true parentage, authenticated by the Royal Seal (still held in the Jesuit Archive), to which was afterwards added a deed assigning him a pension of £500.³⁸⁵ He was then received into the Roman Catholic Church at Hamburg in 1667, at the inspiration of the Queen of Sweden, before entering the Jesuit Society at Rome under the alias De La Cloche. This was apparently his Mother's family name, and one that had been prominent in the ecclesiastical administration of Jersey from 1622 onwards.³⁸⁶ But he died in Naples on 26th August 1669 under the name Prince James Stuart, having married Teresa Corona on 19th February 1669 under the name "Prince James Henry de Boverie[recte D'Aubigny] Rohan Stuart." His mother would therefore appear to have been none other than the ex-fiancée of Prince Rupert, Marguerite who was the daughter of Duc Henri de Rohan, and by whom we are to assume King Charles had had this child.

³⁸²Archivum Romanum S.J.,Borgo Santo Spirito, Roma, Opp.NN 174-175:E, and D II, 1-5.

Title of black Folder:"Litterae Caroli Regis Angliae Des quodam filo suo naturali qui Societati Jesu nomen dederat; et de unione Angliae cum Catolica Romana".

³⁸³Archivum Romanum S.J.,Borgo Santo Spirito, Roma, Opp/NN.174-175E. Charles II to Oliva, 3.8.1668.

³⁸⁴Archivum Romanum S.J.,Borgo Santo Spirito, Roma, Opp. NN 174-175 DII 1-5. One of twelve letters in the bundle bearing no catalogue mark.

³⁸⁵"Charles par la grace de Dieu Roy d'Anglettere de France, d'ecosse et d'Hibernie Msieur Jacque Stuart.....nostre fils.....le somme de 500 Sterlin... a Wthall le 7 Febu.1667 escry et seelle de nse main propre" and signed "Charles". This document contains a paper seal impress of identical pattern to the wax royal seals - the only paper seal impress on the entire collection. The writing is bigger and spaced out better than the tiny writing common to all the other letters signed by Charles, except for the other shiny parchment-like document.

³⁸⁶Penfold, P.A., (ed.) Acts of the Privy Council, June 1630-June 1631, HMSO, 1964, no. 1199, pp.406-407.

James de La Cloche was subsequently 'legitimated' by Catholic authorities in 1667 to prepare him for possible succession. He was evidently one and the same as James de Rohan-Stuardo, Principe de Boveria in Italy who has been declared by the present Jacobite Historiographer Royal to have been the son of Charles II by Marguerite de Rohan.³⁸⁷ One of the letters in the De la Cloche Collection allegedly written on 29th August 1668 by King Charles to the Jesuit General in Rome, Oliva, orders that upon his arrival in England James de la Cloche shall immediately use the name Henry de Rohan. On arrival in London he should "present himself to the Queen Consort, either when at Mass in Our Palace of St. James, or when she goes to visit our dear and most honoured mother, to whom he will present a letter, sealed as a petition, in which he will briefly state who he is: and her Majesty has received Our orders to do what is necessary to introduce him before Us with all possible care."³⁸⁸

According to the same document King Charles had written in 1668 via the Jesuit's Superior General to his eldest natural son, who was not the Duke of Monmouth as usually thought but James de la Cloche, by then a member of the novitiate of the Society of the Jesus in Rome where: "This, our Son, is a young Cavalier, whom we know you have received into your Order, in Rome, under the name of De La Cloche, of Jersey, for whom we have always entertained a singular affection, partly because he was born to Us, when we were not more than sixteen or seventeen years of age, of a young lady belonging to the most distinguished in Our Kingdom..."³⁸⁹

Charles in writing to Oliva mentions: "although there be here a large number of priests, some for the special service of the Queens, who inhabit Our Palaces of St. James and Somerset, and other who live dispersed in London, nevertheless we cannot accept the services of any of them, lest we should excite the suspicions of our Court by conversing with these persons who, whatever may be their external disguise, are quickly known and detected."³⁹⁰

Charles envisaged that James de la Cloche would be ordained as a Roman Catholic priest, and that he would then see him briefly in the Queen's Chapel before he pursued his vocation elsewhere: "We will so manage, with the co-operation of the Queens, that we will have him secretly ordained a priest; and if there be anything which the Bishop in Ordinary cannot carry out without the permission of his Holiness, let him not fail to see to it, in all secrecy".³⁹¹ While in London Charles promised to "permit him, if such be his

³⁸⁷ Marguerite de Rohan was in Paris along with Prince Rupert and Charles at the right time in 1647. Rupert was on affectionate terms with Marguerite as attested by contemporary correspondence, and was charged with showing Charles the way of the world.

³⁸⁸ Charles to Oliva, Whitehall, 29th August 1668. Archivium Romanum S.J., Opp. NN 174/175, DII 5.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.* Charles to Oliva, 3rd August 1668. Archivium Romanum, S.J., Opp NN 174/175, DII 3.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁹¹ *Ibid.* Charles to Oliva, 29th August 1668. Archivium Romanum, S.J., Opp NN 174/175, DII 5.

choice, to observe with those members of your Order, who are in our Kingdom, the rules of the religious life he has embraced, provided this be not done in London".³⁹⁸

This was all to be done in secrecy lest the difficulties caused him by rumours of his conversion circulated by the Jesuit, Talbot, when Charles was in exile, should recur. It seems to have been achieved successfully because subsequently Fr. Russell of Maynooth was able to confirm that the requisite money stated in the correspondence was actually deposited at St. Andrew's College in Rome, and that de la Cloche was duly registered there to begin the appropriate training.

As to his future, Charles was quite prepared to see James Stuart as a Jesuit priest ascending the Throne, should the King and his brother die: "You shall, moreover, consider that from Us you might lay claims to honours and titles as great, if not greater, than those of the Duke of Monmouth, who is a young man like yourself. Should liberty of conscience and the Catholic religion be restored to this Kingdom, you might even perhaps entertain hopes of arriving at the Crown; because We may assure you that, should God so decree, that We and our honoured brother the Duke of York die without heirs, the Kingdom will be yours, nor could the Parliament, according to the laws, oppose itself to this", although at present there is the "impossibility of having other than Protestant Sovereigns."³⁹⁹

The same suggestion was made in Charles's first letter to the Jesuit Superior General:

"by means of the Queen our most honoured mother, and of the Queen Consort, who both could have at their disposal Bishops, Missionaries, or others to perform this duty, so that no person in the world could either know or suppose anything. We say this lest any difficulty should present itself in ordaining him in Rome"⁴⁰⁰.

There are also two letters apparently signed by Charles but written on shiny parchment-like paper. On these two letters, the writing looks different from the tiny writing common to all the other letters signed by Charles. The writing is altogether bigger and spaced out better. The first of them begins "Charles par la grace de dieu Roy d'Angleterre de France, d'Ecosse et d'Hibernie Msieur Jacque Stuart....nostre fils...le somme de 500 £ Sterlin....a Wthall le 7 Febu.1667 escry et seele de nse main propre" and signed "Charles". This document contains the one paper seal impress of identical pattern to the royal wax seals.

The other shiny parchment-like document opens with "Charles par le grace de dieu Roy d'Angleterre de ffrance, d' Ecosse et d' Hibernie..." and closes "a Wthall le 27th de Septembre 1665 escry et signe de nse maine cachete du cachet ordinaire de nse lettres sans autre facon...Charles".⁴⁰¹ Apart from the hole in the centre of the document it too is well preserved.

³⁹⁸*Ibid.* Charles to Oliva, 3 August 1668. Archivium Romanum, S.J., Opp NN 174/175, DII 3.

³⁹⁹Charles to de la Cloche, 4th August, 1668. Archivium Romanum, S.J., Opp NN 174/175, DII 1.

⁴⁰⁰Charles to Oliva. Whitehall, August 29th 1668. Archivium Romanum, S.J., Opp NN 174/175, DII 5.

⁴⁰¹Archivium Romanum, S.J. Opp. NN 174/175. DII 10.

These two documents as opposed to the foregoing ones pose questions which lead straight to the heart of the matter of the integrity of the collection. The contentious question of their handwritten character opens up the whole matter. Fr Boero in 1863 used a tracing of Charles's signature on a document then in the British Museum [now British Library] sent to him by Fr. Russell of Maynooth from which he concluded that the collection purporting to be written by Charles was genuinely so. Lingard later ventured his opinion, without seeing the originals, in his letter to Fr. Sythgoe saying: "You tell me that the letters are in the handwriting of Charles; but I may be allowed to doubt whether those who told you so are judges of the matter".⁴⁰² On examining the originals in 1966 Washington noted that "what purported to be Charles's handwriting differed materially from that of the so-called 'forger', young James de la Cloche". The latter's handwriting is evidenced upon a copy of a letter he made of one he claimed to have received from Queen Catherine of Braganza on 2nd November 1667, writing: "Voila la copie de la Lettre de la Reyne, qu j'ai copie mot a mot (signed) Jacques Stuart, nomme De la Cloche du Bourg de Jerse, noivice de la Compagnie de Jesus, au nociat de Sant Andre ce 19th May 1668"⁴⁰³. Washington concludes on this basis that "even if King Charles's letters were forgeries, we have Oliva's reply from Leghorn, 14th October 1668, which is incontestably genuine"⁴⁰⁴

So if a reliable process of testing could be devised that would show the veracity or otherwise of these documents, it would be of the greatest value in confirming a strong religious motive not only behind Charles's action in re-establishing the Queen's Chapel, but for a potentially significant event therein. It would also serve to clarify for historians the greater politico-religious context in which the Queen's Chapel operated. It would provide another *raison d'être* for the actions of those who formed the establishment and provide sound ground for a major historical re-interpretation of Charles's actions throughout his reign, since almost all historians considering them in the wake of Lord Acton have either ignored the documents or dismissed the whole collection as forgeries.⁴⁰⁵

But if it were only possible to dismiss parts of the collection as forgeries, would the genuine documents still serve, as Acton believed, to reveal a connection between the immediate motives and ultimate objectives of Charles expressed in documents borne to Rome by the Bellings and Leyland Missions in 1662, 1663 and 1670? It is question worth asking because Acton's conclusion would consistently explain the terms of the 1670 Secret Treaty of Dover, the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence, Charles's hosting of the Jesuit Beddingfield and Colombière Chaplaincies in a Chapel close to his family, and even his brother's hosting of

⁴⁰²Ibid.

⁴⁰³Washington, G.S.H.L., King Charles II's Jesuit Son, Private printing, Cambridge, 1966 p.9.

(Copy in London Library.)

⁴⁰⁴Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵Lang, A., "The Master Hoaxer, James de la Cloche", The Fortnightly Review, Vol.LXXXVI, New Series 1909, Chapman, London, 1909, p.437 presents his "coup de Grace" regarding the Queen Mother's whereabouts in France, to be in turn dismissed by Washington as a fully intended ploy.

the Jesuit Consult at St. James's just before the allegations of Titus Oates, and, perhaps ultimately, Charles's receiving of the Roman Catholic Sacrament on his death-bed in 1685.

As only the fourth person permitted to examine the originals since 1862, my own research conducted in the Archive of the Jesuit Curia in Rome agrees with few of the observations and theories propounded hitherto by historians. Close examination of those papers, fully listed in the Bibliography, supports the conclusion that the whole de la Cloche collection cannot be dismissed as forgeries.

It is not sufficient to rely upon internal textual evidence to dismiss the authenticity and genuineness even of Charles's alleged letters in the de la Cloche collection, for as Washington points out, inaccuracies could have been deliberately incorporated by Charles to allow him to disown them if matters went awry. An extant signet ring of Charles II does not accord with the characteristics of the seals attached to those of the De La Cloche collection.

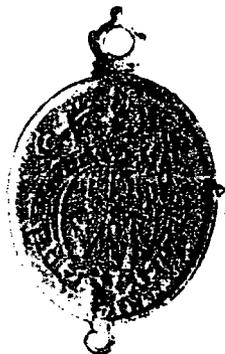
A more 'forensic' approach leads to other conclusions. The royal seals of Charles II attached to them are all characterised by wording of the motto "Honi Soit Qui Mal Y Pense" beginning at the top right of the seal, going around clockwise and ending at the top left. Surviving signet rings kept at Windsor Castle have the motto beginning at the bottom left and ending at the bottom right. If the De La Cloche collection were an unique instance of this peculiarity then this would strongly suggest a forged sequence. There are, however, at least two other instances of this peculiarity which have survived. One most certainly has English and royal origins for it is the seal as represented on the frontispiece of Henry VIII's printed Great Bible. Another is to be found on an anonymous Dutch engraving of 1651 in the Royal Collection entitled "Het tooneel der Engelsche Ellenden" (the Scene of English Misery). These examples remove the grounds of exclusivity as an indication of forgery. The seals themselves are of such excellently defined and uniform quality, as also is the single paper imprint seal with the same characteristics assigning "Msieur Jacques Stuart...nostre fils...le somme de £500 sterling", ⁴⁰⁶ that, even if they were forgeries, it is likely only one man in Italy at the time had that expertise, namely Celio Malapina, who had offered to forge letters for the Council of Ten of Venice.⁴⁰⁷ It would also therefore entail collusion and a number of people necessarily party to the enterprise. There is no evidence for such a circle of conspirators outside the protagonists in the correspondence, or indeed a coherent reason for the action of such a forger.

There is furthermore the matter of watermarks in the De La Cloche collection. One of these, a bird standing on three mounds with initials 'A' and 'C' at the sides of the mounds, is to be found within the paper of the "Copie de la Letter de la Regne 1667, 2 novembre" signed "Jacques Stuart nommine De La Cloche Du Borg de Jause novice de la compagnie de Jesuit", written by him in the same hand as the rest of his correspondence - and is identifiable as paper made by the Mariotti family from the Fabriano paper mill.

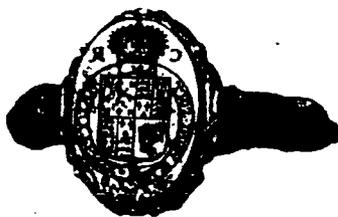
⁴⁰⁶Archivum Romanum SJ, Opp.NN 175/175:E: letter 7 dated 6th February 1667.

⁴⁰⁷ Marshall, Alan, Intelligence and Espionage in the Reign of Charles II, 1660-1685, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p.86, note 43 for Celio Malapina.

Sigillographic Technology and Examples apposite to
determining the integrity of the de la Cloche collection of
Charles II's letters in the Jesuit Curia, Rome.



Badge of Charles II in his youth, c.1650
W.Sharp Ogden Collection



Charles II Signet Seal, c.1660
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle



Charles II's seal attached to de la Cloche Collection
Archive of the Society of Jesus, Curia, Rome.

Exactly the same emblem but with the initials 'S' and 'M' is found in the 1614 "Roman Sketchbook" of the Catholic Inigo Jones, architect of the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace.⁴⁰⁸ Paper from Fabriano paper mill may also have been used in the Cassiano del Pozzo manuscripts in the Royal Collection. There is therefore evidence that this paper was to hand in Royal Court circles at the time. Lang failed to address the matter of the reply of 14th October from Leghorn written by the Jesuit General Oliva which forms part of the De La Cloche collection about which no doubt as to its genuineness may be entertained, since it is readily comparable with numerous other extant examples of his letters, and which came to be lodged in the archive for which he was responsible - unless he too were party to a conspiracy. There is, too, the matter of eight letters purporting to have been written by Charles II to General Oliva also in the collection. For him to have genuinely received them would appear more likely than that they were forged, written to him, never delivered and then filed and lodged without his knowledge in his own Curia for future reference by fellow Jesuits, as Laing would have to argue.⁴⁰⁹ New qualifications and conclusions about the de La Cloche papers flow from this analysis.

Some of the letters from Charles and attestations from Queen Christina must be genuine and so offer insights into the way Charles II would use the Queen's Chapel.⁴¹⁰ They also contribute, as Washington thought, to resolving the problem of the relationship of Mary Stuart, Duchess of Richmond, with Frances Stuart the next Duchess of Richmond and Catherine of Braganza's Confessor D'Aubigny over their family fief of D'Aubigny, awarded by Louis XIV to Charles's Catholic mistress, Louise Keroualle and her offspring, along with the Duchy of Richmond which also passed at Charles's behest to Louise Keroualle's children. If so, it would also help to explain Charles's presence in Brittany to gather further local support for a return to England in August 1659, and so why Charles was both fond of and beholden to yet another Catholic circle.

That parts of the de la Cloche collection are incontestably genuine gives the argument in favour of Jesuit 'involvement' credence, if not congruence with, Charles's Catholicity as a political motivation. In support of this there is other evidence outside the de la Cloche collection of actions taken in the Queen's Chapel because of Charles's Catholicity before the Secret Treaty of Dover of May 1670. The political significance of Charles's illegitimate son probably born in Jersey about 1646-7, following Charles's visit there in April 1646, or perhaps in Paris, was apparent to some even before the terms of the Portuguese marriage treaty were agreed. It has to be taken in the context of that brief period of speculation over who Charles would formally marry while other Jesuits were engaged in drafting the Portuguese Marriage Treaty. At the time

⁴⁰⁸ The Chatsworth House Ms by Inigo Jones comprises 84 unnumbered folios.

⁴⁰⁹ See the Bibliography for full descriptions of the eight letters to Oliva in Archivum Romanum SJ, Opp.NN 174/175, DII, 2-5 and 6 a-d.

⁴¹⁰ Fold-out large photograph of this letter reproduced in E. Hildebrand, *Sveriges Historia*, between pp.428-429. Other unassailably genuine correspondence from Queen Christina in her own handwriting also lodged at the Archivum Romanum, thereby permitting direct comparison, is found under Opp.NN.164-175:B., titled "Litterae Christinae Reginae Sveciae" and date from 1651 onwards. Others are written from Hamburg in 1666, including some to her friend Fr. Antonio de Macedo. My conclusion using all these for comparisons was that Christina's letter concerning de la Cloche is unassailably genuine. These letters were lent to a Symposium held under the auspices of the Council of Europe in 1966 at the National Museum, Stockholm.

Samuel Pepys wrote: "It is much talked that the King is already married to the niece of the Prince of Ligne, and has two sons by her - which I am sorry to hear, but yet am gladder that it should be so than that the Duke of York and his family should come to the Crowne - he being a professed friend to the Catholiques."⁴⁰⁵

Some of Charles's progeny were thus older than Charles's more famous illegitimate son by Lucy Walters of Haverfordwest, born in the Hague in 1649, and acknowledged in 1663 as the Baron Tyndale, Earl of Darlington and Duke of Monmouth. But whereas the Duke of Monmouth had been brought up a Protestant in the care of Lord Crofts, he had no significant income of his own bar that from a career in Charles's army and a small estate enjoyed through his marriage to Anne Scott. He was thought unlikely to side with a pro-Catholic faction and thereby pose a threat to the delicate politico-religious context of Charles rule. But when he did do so Charles, unlike James, could readily secure his exile to Holland in 1679 and 1684.

The problem that the Catholicity of the older James de la Cloche posed to Charles before 1668 was seen most obviously in terms of dynastic inheritance - namely that unless he could have a child by Catherine of Braganza, this son would have prior dynastic claims. The Society of Jesus must have realised that this was a continuing embarrassment unless he were to take Holy Orders in the manner proposed and with Charles's full knowledge. Charles and possibly James, Duke of York, may have wanted some deniable or obviously forged documentation to exist if their correspondence on the subject were ever discovered. Nonetheless, the unequivocal evidence of monies paid in Rome and of James De la Cloche's registration as a Jesuit support the version of events planned to take place in the Queen's Chapel in London and were to have considerable politico-religious significance. Queen Christina of Sweden must also have realised the significance of what she wrote on the subject. She was an attractive woman of nearly same age as Charles and James with a generous nature and Catholic convictions who remained unmarried but close to the Stuart family even after she chose to live in Rome. Thus the De La Cloche papers not only show how the Queen's Chapel was used to arrange a meeting between Charles and his son in a private, perhaps confessional scene, but also that Charles needed Papal approval for James de la Cloche's stay in Rome as a re-insurance about his secular succession. This in turn made Charles so beholden to the Jesuits as to make it unlikely that Charles would take hostile action towards their Order, or against their continuing presence in the Queen's Chapel.

Explanation of so many historians' lack of interest in the Jesuit archive of the De La Cloche correspondence, and of their prevailing scepticism about it, may be found in the fact that Charles was never embarrassed by the correspondence. What essentially created that outcome was the young man's change of course to marriage and then his early death. But those events do not in themselves constitute any reason for doubt that parts at least of the De La Cloche archival holdings are genuine. Nor is there any reason to question the authenticity of the Queen of Sweden's writings in the archive; nor the evidence which that writing

⁴⁰⁵ Latham, Robert, (ed) The Shorter Pepys selected and edited ... from the Diary of Samuel Pepys, Bell and Hayman, London, 1984, p.120 for Pepys on the rumoured contexts on 18th February 1661.

constitutes of the identity of De La Cloche himself. Nor again is there reason for denying that De La Cloche came to London where the knowledge of his presence was closely confined to the Queen's Chapel - evidence indeed of the discretion of the Queen and her staff. This carries its own implications for interpreting the use made of the Chapel in support of the positions and intentions both of the King and of the Queen.

In contrast with these points of inherent significance those who would discount the whole archive as forgery would have to explain why the penetrating mind of its careful Jesuit custodians created or accepted two versions of Charles's handwriting so that each would be liable to discredit the other. The Jesuits have respected the crucial archival principle of complete retention. In common sense the implication is that one version is genuine and the other is not; and that therefore the coherence of the whole should not be regarded as of no account.

Chapter 12.

CHARLES'S POLITICO-RELIGIOUS CONCERNS OF THE 1670S.

A. The Dover Treaties.

The various stages of negotiation which led to the signing of the Secret Treaty of Dover on 22nd May 1670 appear to reveal the Catholic motivation behind Charles's diplomacy. His brother, the Duke of York, recorded details of the Meeting held on 25th January 1669 between Charles, Lord Wardour, Lord Arlington and Sir Thomas Clifford and himself in St. James's Palace" at the Duke's Closet, to advise with them about the ways and methods fit to be taken for advancing the Catholic religion in his dominions, being resolved not to live any longer in the constraint he was under". Charles decided at this meeting upon the "settling of the Catholic religion in his kingdoms, and to consider of the time most proper to declare himself; telling them withal that no time ought to be lost" and that "The consultation lasted long, and the result was that there was no better way for doing this great work than to do it in conjunction with France and with the assistance of His Most Christian Majesty". ⁴⁰⁶ BL. Add. Ms 65,138 shows that the idea originated before 1669 in the hand of a Grand Almoner of Henrietta Maria's Queen's Chapel, then the Abbot of St. Martin de Pontoise, Walter Montagu. ⁴⁰⁷

The fact that the secret Treaty of Dover of 22nd May 1670 was later signed by the Catholics Clifford and Arlington, but that that was known to only four other Ministers - being withheld at first from Buckingham, Lauderdale and the future Shaftesbury too - suggests that Charles's younger sister, Henrietta Ann, the pregnant Duchesse d' Orleans, had made the crucial contribution, first as a diplomatic postbox to Louis and Montagu⁴⁰⁸ and then during her visit to Charles in May 1670. She came with an attractive entourage including the young Louise de Keroualle. Even more significantly the Duchesse came armed with a secret cypher in order to participate in negotiating the terms of the 'Treaty'. The fact that surviving letters show that Charles was genuinely fond of her, calling her 'Minette', indicates a natural progression of thought and the confidence of approved family action. Nonetheless, some historians read Charles's mind on this Treaty differently. For example, Antonia Fraser asserts that "Charles II was not, by 1670, the convinced Catholic of some imaginings; definitely not the proselyte who would engage himself to such a cause for sheer religious ardour....As for the details of the Secret Treaty of Dover, these were not in fact generally known until 1830, when the historian Lingard printed the text". ⁴⁰⁹

Certain of Charles's contemporaries, though, appear to have been well aware at least of the religious motivation behind the Treaty. For example, between her return to Paris after the secret Treaty was signed and her sudden death on 30th June 1670, the Duchesse d'Orleans was entertained at an Opera, written by

⁴⁰⁶ Clarke, J., *Life of James the Second, Collected out of memoirs writ in his own hand*, Vol. I, pp.441-442.

⁴⁰⁷BL Add. Ms 65,138, fols 1-3 show that Arundell of Wardour, Arlington and Clifford all knew its origin.

⁴⁰⁸Ibid. fols. 45-55, 83-84, 116-121. Note modern data of historiographic value is at fols.163-193.

⁴⁰⁹Fraser, Antonia, *King Charles II*, Weidenfield and Nicolson, London, 1979, p.277.

"M St. Ange", and dedicated to her thus: "It is from your heaven-like wisdom to manage your Royal brother's tender soul, that we expect the happiest of consequences. It is from the torch of your love to our Catholic Apostolic Church, we hope to see His Britannic Majesty's zeal to the ancient religion of his ancestors take flame, by the sympathy of a nearest relation. We long with somewhat of impatience for the happy result of your consultations; we doubt not to see that monster heresy lie grovelling at our invincible Monarch's and your brother's feet, and her supporters expiring in chains".⁴¹⁶ This M. St. Ange was almost certainly of the same family, but not the same person, as the Queen's Chapel Capuchin, Fr. Ange de Raconies, of whom Gamache records that he met Cardinal Bellamine several times, was appointed by him "Apostolic Missionary", and was responsible for the conversion of the Duchess of Lennox, mother of D' Aubigny, the Grand Almoner to Henrietta Maria.⁴¹⁷

Ellis Waterhouse considers that the painter Henri Gaspar came to England with the Duchesse d' Orleans, having been sent as the French King's secret agent to be planted in Charles's Court circle to monitor the Treaty.⁴¹⁸ Others suggest that Gaspar's diplomatic interest was born otherwise before the Treaty of Nijmegen in 1678.⁴¹⁹ The likelihood is that Gaspar and Louise Keroualle as survivors of the Duchesse D' Orleans's delegation continued to work over many years on Charles's pro-French and pro-Catholic sympathies. As a devout Catholic from Brittany, Louise Keroualle came from Brittany to England in 1670 in the role of teenage Maid of Honour in the Duchesse d' Orleans's delegation. She stayed on, her looks ensuring that she would become one of Charles II's mistresses. In later years she would show the ability to get her way effectively with both Charles II and Louis XIV, amassing a considerable personal fortune, gaining the title Duchess of Portsmouth in 1673, even from 1674 onwards enjoying the former D'Aubigny estates assigned to her by Louis XIV at Charles's behest.

The unusual negotiating process over the year prior to agreement of the secret Treaty concluded on 4th May 1670 was unusual. The Secret Treaty was not then added even in its disguised form, to the ancient Treaty Roll even in its disguised form when the main body Treaty was announced as agreed in December 1670. To explain this sequence of events it is useful to study in The Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II published in 1792. This summarises the process thus: "Lord Arundel of Wardour, a declared Papist was the person appointed to go to Paris, with full instructions; and none of the Ministry or Council were admitted into the secret, but Arlington and Clifford, and Sir Richard Bealing, who were all Roman Catholics".⁴²⁰ "Bealing" was the same Sir Richard Bellings of the 1662-63 mission to Rome who now

⁴¹⁶Cited in Oldmixon, John, Secret History of Europe, Part II, (2nd edition), London, 1792, p.104.

⁴¹⁷Birch, op. cit., Vol. II, p.479.

⁴¹⁸Waterhouse, Ellis., Painting in England, 1530-1790, The Pelican History, Penguin, 1953, reprinted by Yale University Press, 1994, p.105. Well before his death in Rome on 1st January 1701 Gaspar moved on from portraiture, to establish an alternative source of income, painting altarpieces for Catholic chapels, the last of which was completed for the church of Santa Maria Miracoli, Rome.

⁴¹⁹Barber, Peter, Diplomacy, The world of the Honest Spy, British Library, London, pp.111-112. Gaspar's painting of the signing ceremony on 17th September 1678, completed in 1679, is in the Nimegs Museum.

⁴²⁰Oldmixon, John, op. cit., Vol II Supplement, p.3.

operated as a member of the Queen's Household⁴¹⁵ with all his knowledge of the Papal position and recent developments in the Queen's Chapel too.

The full Catholic nature of the secret Treaty of Dover is readily appreciated from its opening Article:

"Art.1. The King of Great Britain being convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, and resolved to declare himself a catholic and to reconcile himself to the Church of Rome, thinks the assistance of his Most Christian Majesty may be necessary to facilitate the execution of his design. It is, therefore agreed and concluded upon, that His Most Christian Majesty shall supply the King of England, before the said declaration, with the sum of £200,000 sterling, one half to be paid in three months after the ratification of the present Treaty, and the other half in three months more: and further that His Most Christian Majesty shall assist the King of England with troops and money, as there may be occasion, in case the said King's subjects should not acquiesce in the said declaration and rebel against his said Britannic Majesty, which is not thought likely".⁴¹⁶

Colbert's brother, the Ambassador to England, in a despatch to Louis XIV on 13th November 1669 before the Treaty was concluded, and consequent upon a meeting with Charles, wrote: "He would still augment as much as possible his regiments and companies, under the most specious pretexts he could, that all the magazines of arms are at his disposal, and all well filled. That he was sure of the principal places in England and Scotland; that the Governor of Hull was a Catholic; that those of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and many other places be named...that as to the troops in Ireland he hoped the Duke of Ormond, who had very great credit there, would always be faithful..."⁴¹⁷.

Some have thought that the purpose of these negotiations was to trick the French into supporting a war with Holland.⁴¹⁸ Here Antonia Fraser admits that "it must be immediately granted that a certain mystery surrounds the religious clause of the Treaty", but she argues that it was either "inserted to please Madame"(thereby discounting all Charles's previous secret diplomacy with the Pope and Jesuits) or else as a way of cementing an alliance with France, the reason being "not so much a question of Charles II's religious proclivities as those of Louis XIV" who would feel bound in a closer way thereby to the military advantages of the alliance against the Protestant Hollanders.⁴¹⁹

Fraser's interpretation relies upon an unproven assumption of unimportance or bogus nature in Charles's Catholicity. Ronald Hutton has reviewed this controversy about the motives behind the Secret Treaty,⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁵Bellings had responsibility for the Queen's Chapel Establishment. See "Catherina R," ...1672.

⁴¹⁶*Ibid.*, p.4. Over his reign Charles received from France 9,950,000 livres Tournois, of which 8,000,000 came under the terms of this secret treaty. Chandaman, D.C., The English Public Revenue, 1660-1688, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1975, p.274, suggests this was less than one year of the King's ordinary Revenue.

⁴¹⁷Discussed by Dalrymple, Sir John, Memoirs of Great Britain, Second Edition, 1783, Appendix, p.39.

⁴¹⁸Fraser, *op. cit.*, p.275. She also notes there that "King Charles was left to implement the consequences of that Treaty which Madame had worked so hard to bring about."

⁴¹⁹*Ibid.* p278

⁴²⁰Hutton, R., The making of the Secret Treaty of Dover, Historical Journal, XXIX, 1986, pp.297-318.

and mistaking the significance of the timing of Minette's letters, virtually dismisses the Catholic clauses like many before him, preferring to concentrate on other grounds than Charles's Catholicity. But if Charles's Catholicity was real then these interpretations fail to identify the prime reason why he approved the signing of the Treaty with its secret pro-Catholic clause, as Coward's analysis of Charles's policies in the light of that secret clause has shown.⁴²¹

Part of the problem may be that some rely on knowledge of the English texts only. Contrary to Lingard's findings, there is a French copy in the *Depôt de Traités*, Archives des Etrangers, Paris, while another contemporary French language copy survives in the British Library as Add Ms 42,774, fol 241. In this respect the findings of Imbert-Terry in 1917 are better informed, and he was persuaded that the existence of these texts lent credence to an interpretation based on Charles II's Catholicity.⁴²² Feiling, reasoned that "whatever his grounds, we may provisionally assume that Charles's "Catholic" decision was an ephemeral adjunct to his policy, taken up not as principal but as subsidiary, and not seriously pursued when its political fact had been achieved and its danger revealed".⁴²³ By adopting this assumption he is then forced into arguing of the signatories to the Treaty of Dover "the political influence of the Catholic Bellings and Arundell were slight, and only Clifford's case needs consideration"⁴²⁴.

There is evidence on the other hand that Charles expended much effort on the 'Catholic' clauses and had shared their secret content with the French King, risking exposure and the stability of his throne should it fall through before securing French financial help through the Treaty. Recently Jeremy Black has accepted the notion of Charles's alleged Catholicism as both genuine and significant. He explained Charles's diplomatic manoeuvrings over the Treaty of Dover as a reflection of this, asserting that as a result of Arundell's secret mission to France, an unusual politico-religious proposal was offered by Louis. Black considers that this amounted to "an offensive and defensive alliance against all other powers on condition that Louis supported Charles's decision to become a Catholic with, if necessary, troops and £200,000".⁴²⁵

The simultaneous English insistence that construction of all French warships must cease should, according to Black, be seen within the context that "the options available to a Stuart intent on following a pro-Catholic domestic policy were limited by the growth of French and decline of Habsburg power".⁴²⁶ Thus, for Black, Charles's Catholicism was a key factor in his choice of foreign policy options. This would seem to be borne out by evidence of Charles's intentions contained in his "Instructions" for the proposed Envoy to the Pope, written in Clifford's hand after many amendments by Charles, and presented by Arlington for his approval on 25th February 1671. The preface is unequivocal and reads: "It having pleased Almighty God to touch our heart with the sense of that duty which we owe to him and with an ardent desire to render ourself capable of

⁴²¹Coward, *op. cit.*, p306-308.

⁴²²Imbert-Terry, H.M., *A Misjudged Monarch*, Heinemann, London, 1917, pp.165-166.

⁴²³Feiling, *op.cit.*, p.275.

⁴²⁴*Ibid.*

⁴²⁵Black, *A System of Ambition?*, p.128. BL Add. Ms 65,138 fols 138-144 provides confirmation.

⁴²⁶Feiling is mercenary about it and argues that feigned religion was a ploy to stop the French building ships.

Instructions for Dr

It having pleased Almighty God to touch our heart with the sense of that duty which we owe to him and with an ardent desire to render our self capable of his mercy through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by being reconciled to the holy Catholick and Apostolick church according to the practice and doctrine of the church of Rome we have thought fit to send you thither in our behalf and in our name to desire his Holiness's fatherly indulgence and protection in the execution of this great work which we have undertaken for the glory of God and the good of the Roman Catholick church as well as of our own soul. And because this ought to be cautioned with all the heed and circumspection that such an affair is capable of we charge you to observe the following instructions.

(1) You will receive him with a letter written in our own hand to his Holiness which you are to accompany with all respect and fitting compliments on our part to his person. You like you must do on the behalf of our especially beloved brother who will also give you a letter in his own hand to his Holiness and you shall represent to his Holiness the resolutions of us both to persevere in our purpose of reconciling our selves to the church of Rome at the price of all worldly things. You will likewise receive a letter from us to the great Duke of Florence another for Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and another to the Bishop of Leon for the delivery of all which we shall find it best to instruct.

(2) As soon as you are possest of a letter and in conjunction you shall take your journey to Rome. And if you shall find any difficulty in the way you are to mention it to our brother in his said letter. Especially to be desired to be the knowledge of his Holiness's pleasure in this behalf. And you shall receive you with a letter of commendation which you shall correspond with our last

Handwritten notes in the left margin, including the name "Clifford" and other illegible scribbles.

Instructions for Dr. George Leyburn as proposed Envoy to the Pope, written in Clifford's hand.

his mercy through the merits of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by being reconciled to the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church according to the practice and doctrine of the Church of Rome, we have thought fit to send you thither in our behalf, and in our name to desire His Holiness's fatherly indulgence and protection in the execution of this great work which we have undertaken for the glory of God and the good of the Roman Catholic Church as well as of our own soul".⁴²⁷

Charles chose for the task of Envoy Dr. George Leyburn, once a Chaplain in Henrietta Maria's Chapel, but from 1652 President of the English Benedictine College at Douai. A letter was also to be carried from James Duke of York too. Charles told also the Queen of Spain of his intention. He submitted his "Instructions" to Dr. Leyburn for his opinions, wanting the Pope to grasp the politics involved and that "this war against the United Provinces is chiefly made for the facilitating this great affair".⁴²⁸

⁴²⁷BL Add. Ms. 65,138 fol.132-136v. "Instructions for the Envoy to the Pope", was a Clifford MS reproduced and discussed at length in Hertzmann, C.H., The King My Brother, Heinemann, London, 1954., pp.344-347. As BL 65,139 fols 1-38 show, a Benedictine monk attached to the Queen's Chapel, Fr. Hugh Serenus Cressy, was sought out by Clifford for his advice on the following matters before finalising the Instructions to be sent in King Charles's name: the form of the Oath of Allegiance to be taken to the King by English Catholics; the retention of former Church lands; liberty of conscience for Protestant dissenting sects; the use of English vernacular for Church services; Communion in both kinds; validity of Anglican Orders; clergy celibacy; ecclesiastical jurisdictions and re-Unification. Cressy, who had been a member of Lady Falkland's literary circle at Great Tew, and was chaplain to Lord Wentworth, Dean of Lieghlin and Canon of Windsor made a public recantation of his errors before the Inquisition in 1646, being professed at St. Gregory's, Douai, on 22nd August 1649. After appointments as Chaplain to the English Benedictine nuns at Paris from 1651-2, Sub-prior at St. Laurence's in 1652 and at St. Gregory's 1653-60, he was then chosen at the Restoration to become Chaplain to the Dowager Queen Mother Henrietta Maria at Somerset House. He held office there until his death in 1674. Portrayed as "de Cressy" by John Inglesant, David Lunn writes of him: "More than anyone since Leander Jones, he gave currency to the public image of the courtly Benedictine". De la Cloche in 1668 was to have reported to Cressy in a rendezvous with King Charles to take place after he had reported to the Queen's Chapel specified in letters at the Archivum Romanum S.J.

⁴²⁸BL Add Ms. 65, 138, fol.136. George Leyburn (1593-1677) was never sent on the mission.

B. Charles II's second Declaration of Indulgence: Its fate and its consequences for the Queen's Chapel in Jesuit activity .

It is clear from Charles II's second use of his prerogative to issue a second Declaration of Indulgence on 15th March 1672 that he was serious about trying to give effect to earlier promises to Louis and the Pope and pursue a pro-Catholic policy. If Hutton is right to place the English attack on the Dutch Smyrna Convoy in the English Channel two days before the Declaration of Indulgence suspending the execution of the penal laws, then Charles must have wanted a lasting result amid the barely predictable consequences of war, which was inevitably declared in response on 17th March.⁴³⁵ To have provoked this as an unplanned war would surely have created difficulties enough on the domestic front, not least financial ones.

Despite Parliament's approval for big increases in indirect excise duties,⁴³⁶ and the subsidy of £225,000 towards that war's costs that Louis XIV had promised, and even with the prospect of Duke of York becoming naval war hero fighting the dreaded Dutch naval and maritime threat, Charles must have expected a significant anti-Catholic backlash, especially to any further Declaration of Indulgence. Hence Charles's frustrated and fierce reaction to the Rev. John Tillotson's sermon preached before him in the Chapel Royal against Catholicism on 22nd April 1672. Although praised by Charles for his eloquence, Tillotson's stance was so disliked theologically that the King thereupon refused to allow it to be printed lest it promote division in the wake of his recent Declaration of Indulgence.⁴³⁷

The twelfth session of the 'Cavalier Parliament' ran only from October 1670 to April 1671, long enough formally to ratify the second Treaty of Dover. What the secret Treaty of Dover signed on 22nd May 1670, as opposed to the second version signed on 21st December 1670, entailed in this context was to prove crucial in defining the way international affairs and domestic politics moved onward without a severe check on the King's considered and understandable lurch towards a Catholic France. The political effects would soon affect the Queen's Chapel too. The King's rationale as it developed during 1671 was at least in part a financial one - designed about avoiding Parliamentary control.

The twinning of the King's financial and religious strategies becomes clearer by September 1671 when Charles resumed direct administration of his customs revenues and received the first of Louis's grants

⁴³⁵Hutton, R. "The making of the Secret Treaty of Dover", *Historical Journal*, XXIX, 1986, pp. 297-318.

Haley, K.H.D., *Politics in the reign of Charles II*, pp.18-19 takes a very critical view of Charles's pro-French policy, but Coward, *op. cit.*, pp.306-308 accords far more credibility to Charles's wish to associate and inform so much of his subsequent policy with the Secret Treaty of Dover's pro-Catholic clauses.

⁴³⁶Chandaman, *op. cit.*, p.221.

⁴³⁷BL Add. Ms. 4080, fol 27. Lord Anglesey's Diary entry for 22nd April 1672. The same Diary was later to be used in fierce struggle between Anglesey and the Third Earl of Castlehaven over the letter's *Memoirs*, a row that led Charles to dismiss Anglesey for misjudged intolerance. Charles must have known by then that Tillotson first made his name as the author of the *Rule of Faith*, a fiercely anti-Catholic tract published in 1666. Tillotson became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1691.

through his Keeper of the Closet, Chiffinch,⁴³⁸ and even more so when in January 1672 he imposed a stop on the Exchequer so as to curtail capital repayments on loans to the Exchequer. Charles was intent upon pro-Catholic actions which he knew from the experience of 1662-63 that the same Parliamentarians would not have approved. He may even have thought that the death of the Duchess of York on 31st March 1671 would make matters easier, especially in respect of his brother's duties and Catholic entanglements.

Jesuit influence on the Queen's Chapel was almost immediately apparent in the form of the consequences of Charles's Declaration of Indulgence of 1672. By this means Charles suspended the execution of the penal laws against both Roman Catholics and non-Conformists, allowing the former to celebrate Offices in private houses, and the latter to hold Divine Services in licensed buildings. In effect he attracted attention away from his Declaration of Indulgence by the formal Declaration of War on Holland made on 17th March. With money from Parliament, who had voted it for equipping an army to fight Holland, and with more due from the French King, Charles saw French armies reach and occupy Utrecht, and then at least one dynastic hope was realised as his nephew, William of Orange, replaced de Witt as the Stadholder. The Duke of York barely figured as a hero in this war, being more anxious about the wider strategy as De Ruyter long refused battle that summer, writing about his plight and the lack of Catholic support that "should Austria delay it, France might strike in and press my marr[y]ing young woman who would end up Daughter of France."⁴³⁹ He was followed by Rupert in that role in 1673.

Charles misjudged how subtly Parliament would use its financial powers in pressing its reaction to his twin strategy. Parliament's preparedness to meet the King's war expenses retrospectively in a grant of £1,126,000 was apparent by February 1673. But one consequence of its preparedness to grant him the resources was that Parliament insisted upon revocation of the Declaration of Indulgence in March 1673, which was effected as they passed a new Test Act instead. This combination of responses provoked the Duke of York both to resign his naval office as Lord High Admiral of England and later to threaten never to go to the Chapel Royal at Whitehall again.⁴⁴⁰ The catholic Clifford resigned too as Lord Treasurer in favour of Sir Thomas Osborne, later made the Earl of Danby.

The sparks of religious fervour flew, especially against the Jesuits who now felt uncomfortably targeted. This in its own turn gave rise to allegations surrounding the activities of the Queen's Chapel, variously interpreted by historians. Sir John Pollock has argued that from the moment that Charles II revoked the Declaration of Indulgence the Jesuits dumped Charles and intrigue centred upon James instead, and that this change of focus was what lay behind the Coleman intrigue, the Jesuit Congregation held at St. James's Palace and the murder of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey in 1678.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁸65,138/fols 145-154. Charles II to William Chiffinch, Keeper of His Closet, 1671.

⁴³⁹ NMM Clifford Papers. Cited from Sotheby's Manuscript Sale 23/24 May 1987 catalogue Lot 244 whence they were acquired with NHMF grant. James would marry Mary of Modena instead on 30th September 1673.

⁴⁴⁰John Verney reported the Duke's furious words on 30th March 1676.

⁴⁴¹ Pollock, Sir John, *The Popish Plot - A study in the history of the reign of Charles II*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1944.

Certainly much Jesuit activity can be identified. Edward Coleman, son of an English clergyman, converted at an early age to Roman Catholicism and, subsequently educated by Jesuits, acted as an Agent between Louis XIV and mercenary Whigs. With more than £3000 passing through his hands and available for politico-religious purposes, it is significant that he knew successive French Ambassadors, Ruvigny, Courtin and Barillon. He was dismissed twice from the Duke of York's Household. On the second occasion the Bishop of London even secured his removal to Calais, but he returned in secret to continue as the Duchess of York's Secretary two weeks later. He struck up a friendship with Throckmorton and Louis XIV's Jesuit Confessor, Père Ferrier, during the Second Dutch war and corresponded with the Earl of Berkshire (alias Rice). In December 1675 the Jesuit, Fr Burnet, alias St. Germain, of the Duchess of York's Household, replaced (though not as her Confessor) Throckmorton who had died raping Lady Brown; his colleague, the Jesuit, Père de la Chaise, then replaced Louis XIV's Confessor, Père Ferrier, thereby providing a direct link between the two monarchs via the new Jesuit members of their respective Royal Households

Coleman had also corresponded with Cardinal Howard at Rome. Howard, who had been appointed Bishop-elect of England with a See "in partibus" but not consecrated. In 1675 Howard was promoted Cardinal by Pope Clement X and then in 1679 made Cardinal Protector of England and Scotland by Innocent XI. Coleman was arrested on the 'evidence' of Titus Oates who swore that Coleman had formed a plot to kill the King. The "Lemon Juice" letter caused particular excitement in this respect.⁴⁴² The fact that Coleman wrote much of his correspondence in code, which the Commons Committee examining it could not decipher, led to some wild accusations about its contents. These accusations have also served to divert historians' attentions from Coleman's other activities which are of importance in shedding light on the Jesuits in and around the Queen's Chapel, notably the mission there of Claude de la Colombière.

The re-establishment of the Queen's Chapel and its continued existence under Royal patronage defied Protestantism, suggesting an underlying *raison d'être* or motivation underpinning Charles's domestic and foreign policy. In other words, the walls of the Queen's Chapel were not so much brick and stone - rather they were Catholic clergy and laymen at the hub of Charles's Court, influencing his temporal decisions, either by advocacy or, through their mere presence, reminding him of his Catholic 'duty'. Perhaps Feiling was near the mark in guessing at the influences upon Charles's Catholicism: "here that of Catherine of Braganza has probably been underestimated".⁴⁴³

If so, Catholic and Jesuit attempts to exert influence upon and through the Queen's Chapel must be regarded as real, and have dramatic twin origins in nothing less than the unique opportunity through the Portuguese

⁴⁴²For "the Lemon Juice letter" concerning "the conversion of three Kingdoms" from Coleman to la Chaise, see: Treby, George, A Collection of the letters and other writings, relating to the horrid Papist plott, printed from originals in the hands of George Treby, Samuel Heyrick, London, 1681. vol.1, pp.117-118.

⁴⁴³ Feiling, op. cit.,

Marriage Treaty to exploit the conversion of King Charles in 1655-56, and in the Jesuit's active support of Dom João's wars to secure Portugal's independence and integrity.

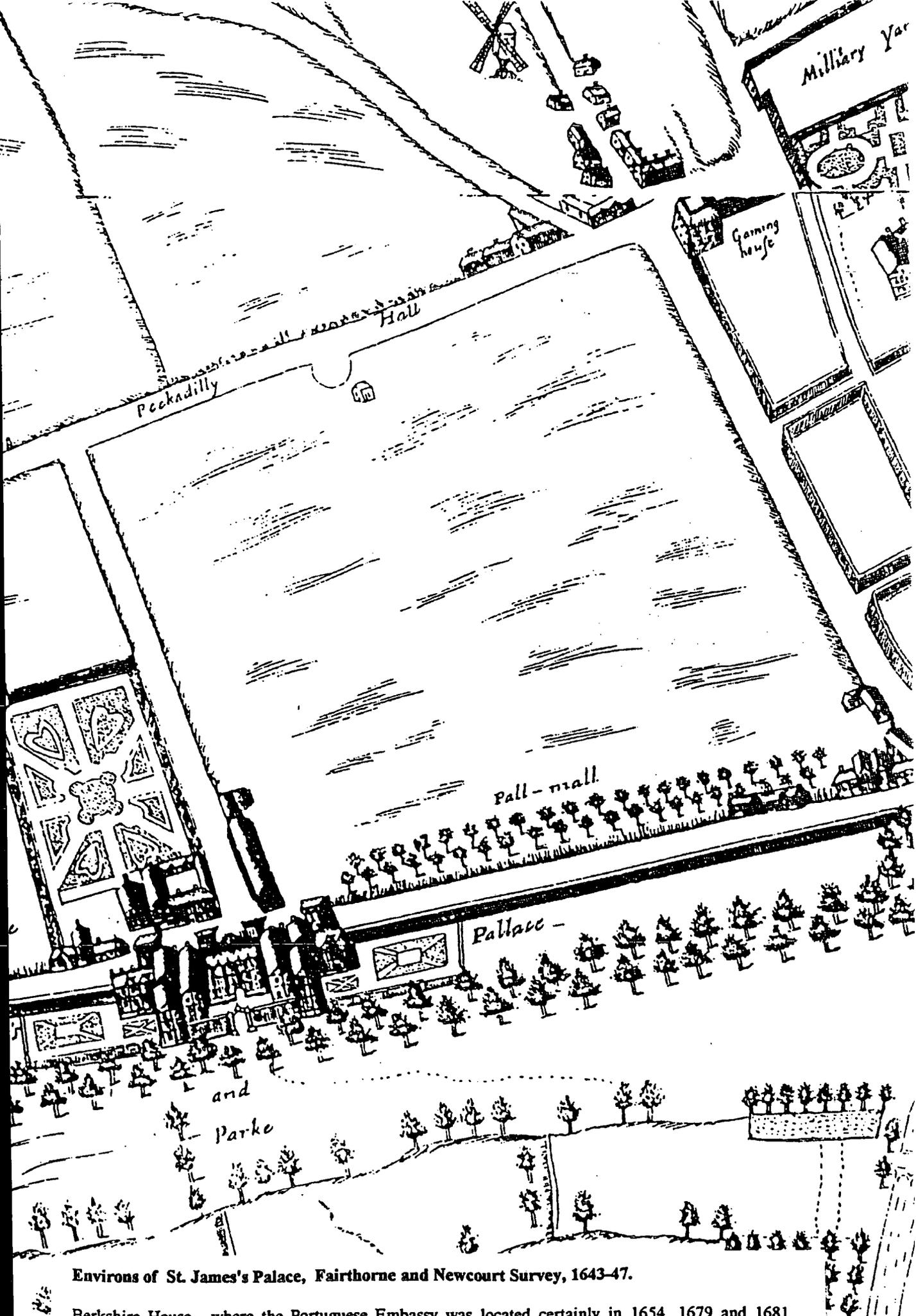
Jesuit influence worked through attachment to the Queen's Chapel, because both the Queen Dowager and the Queen provided, purposely or otherwise, protected opportunity for Jesuits to pursue re-conversion of the nation from the 'top'. Martin offers at least a formal caution over interpreting their purposes as politically malign, outlining the conventional remit of the Society of Jesus by citing the third paragraph of Ignatius Loyola's "Formula": "...we are to be obliged by a special vow to carry out whatever the present and future Roman Pontiffs may order which pertains to the progress of souls and the propagation of the faith; and to go without subterfuge or excuse, as far as in us lies, to whatsoever provinces they may choose to send us".⁴⁴⁴

Despite Loyola's rule the conclusion in this context must be that each Order must be given credit for inspiring its own actions to a greater or lesser extent, and that it is unsatisfactory to rely upon presumed Jesuit purposes or those of any other Catholic Orders. But in particular the evidence of this Chapter suggests that the influence of the Jesuits should not be underestimated. As Clarendon observed of Jesuit influence elsewhere at the time of Cardinal Chigi's election to the Papacy and before Charles's Restoration: "...the Jesuits are look'd upon to have the Ascendent over all other Men in the deepest mysteries of State and Policy, insomuch as there is not a Prince's Court of the Roman Catholick Religion, wherein a man is held to be a good Courtier, or to have a desire to be thought a Wise Man, who hath not a Jesuit to his Confessor".

445

⁴⁴⁴ Loyola's "Formula of the Institute" as cited by Martin, Malachi, The Jesuits. The Society of Jesus and the Betrayal of the Roman Catholic Church, Simon Schuster, New York and London, 1987, p. 162.

⁴⁴⁵ Clarendon, Earl of, The History of the Rebellion and the Civil Wars in England, Volume the Third, Oxford, 1704, Book XIV, p. 428.



Environs of St. James's Palace, Fairthorne and Newcourt Survey, 1643-47.

Berkshire House, where the Portuguese Embassy was located certainly in 1654, 1679 and 1681 appears immediately opposite the Palace with extensive grounds.

Guildhall Library, Aldermary, London, EC2.

Chapter 13

THE POLITICO-RELIGIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF HOLDING A JESUIT CONSULT IN THE QUEEN'S CHAPEL IN 1678.

This chapter provides a brief introduction to the range of views among historians, from maximalist to minimalist, concerning the political significance of Jesuit presence and activities in London in the 1670s. Allegations that the Jesuits may have been engaged upon some great political enterprise have revolved particularly around the so-called Jesuit "Consult" of 24th to 26th April 1678 held at St. James's Palace. 's .

Marsh puts the number who attended at forty. Such a number could not have been accommodated in Colombière's quarters, described so atmospherically by the Franciscan Father Wall, who had visited him at St. James's on All Saints Day 1678 for "Mass at the little Altar of the Sacred Heart, which Father Colombière had erected in his Oratory".⁴⁴⁰ The most reasonable explanation is that the Consult actually took place inside the Queen's Chapel itself.⁴⁴¹ It is curious that there remains any mystery concerning the exact whereabouts of this Chapel. The alternative site of the Portuguese Embassy with its chapel close to the Queen's Chapel since the Restoration is irrelevant given the Order for "The Portugal Ambassadors Chapel at St. James's to be shut up" on 2nd July 1676.⁴⁴²

Commenting on the occasion, 'minimalists', such as the Jesuit Father John Warner and the historian Malcolm Hay, suggest that the Duke of York was not involved in Jesuit intrigue, the Jesuit Consult being merely a routine event, and that the charges of Oates and others were the result of Protestant hysteria or even an anti-Catholic plot.⁴⁴³ At least one letter does provide 'evidence' for the theory that Shaftesbury was

⁴⁴⁰Father Wall's remarks are cited in Gervase Sacheverill, *An Episode in the seventeenth Century*. The exact location of Colombière's Oratory has not been determined, but if it occupied the room later given over to German Lutheran members of the Royal Household shown on the 1729 Flitcroft Plan of the Quarters with an Altar, then it survives today as the living room of the Superintendent of the State Apartments. It may be the same as that mentioned in Hume's *History of the House of Stuart*, which records that "Mr William Chiffinch Page of the Chambers consented, immediately after the death of King Charles to show to certain friends a tiny secret Chapel adjoining the Private Apartments of the King. It was there, he declared, that the King in his last years used to repair secretly in order to hear Mass."

⁴⁴¹ Galton, Theodore, (ed), *Gervase Sacheverill, An Episode in the seventeenth Century*.

This is discussed in Foley, *op. cit.*, Vol. Vpp.866-867, who in turn cites *Catholic Progress* for 1875. More recently Fr. Edwards, former Librarian of the English Province of the Society of Jesus at Farm Street, was of the opinion that the controversial Jesuit Consult (ie. Provincial Congregation), which was the subject of so much rumour and conjecture on the part of Titus Oates, was in all probability held in Colombière's apartments in 1678. The sheer number mentioned in the contemporary record of Marsh, and the need for their arrival to appear quite normal suggests that only the Queen's Chapel could discreetly host those coming from other Jesuit establishments

⁴⁴² Barber, Peter, *Diplomacy*, British Library, London, 1979, p.31 notes the proximity of the Portuguese Embassy to the Queen's Chapel at the Restoration and the Order for "The Portugal Ambassadors Chapel at St. James's to be shut up" on 2nd July 1676. The proximity of the Portuguese Embassy Chapel to St. James's Palace did not obviate the need to complete repairs and the Braganzan additions to the Queen's Chapel in 1662.

⁴⁴³ Another reasonable explanation of all the Oates allegations revolves around common membership of the Green Ribbon Club founded by Shaftesbury in 1675. The archives of the Scots College in Paris contain the pre-Oates accusations made about Dr. Sergeant by the Archbishop of Dublin. The Jesuit Fr. Warner described this pre-Oates document at the time as "The egg hatched by Oates and Tong from which came forth a Basilisk who

'behind' the Popish Plot for it predates Oates's allegations, and suggests a rationale based on the 'Green Ribbon Club'. 'Maximalist' historians such as Walsh, say it was an occasion to plot the murder of the King and bring about the quick succession to the throne of the Roman Catholic, James, Duke of York.⁴⁴⁴

For those historians who could best be described as middle-of-the-roaders, such as Sir John Pollock, the fact that Oates was wrong over the location of the Consult⁴⁴⁵ does not mean there was no truth in some of his accusations. For Pollock "The Duke of York was the pivot of the Roman Catholic schemes in England, and Godfrey's death saved both from utter ruin" - the reference being to the suspicious circumstances surrounding the death of Godfrey immediately following the Jesuit Consult.⁴⁴⁶

The role of the Duke of York needs to be analysed since he turns out to have been the host of the Consult. It took place in St. James's Palace despite all the dangers that portended if its foregathering were to become known in advance. The Duke in the 1670s would accept in several ways, but not entirely, the public consequences of his Catholicism after refusing to take the Easter sacraments in Whitehall Chapel Royal in 1673. He had already avoided the Whitehall Chapel when his daughter, Mary Stuart, was married there in 1677 to William of Orange. He took compliance with the Test Acts to the extent of resigning office as Lord High Admiral, but did not relinquish the comparable Scottish post nor did he long abandon attendance in the House of Lords itself. Having enjoyed a long military liaison with the third Irish Earl of Castlehaven, knowing him as an ardent Catholic, the Duke was present in 1678 for all the Lords' stages of a Bill to regulate the inheritance of the Earl of Castlehaven's titles. Under it George [i.e Fr. Anselm] Touchet, who as a Benedictine had become a chaplain to Catherine of Braganza, was understandably excluded in favour of the younger Mervin Tucket.⁴⁴⁷

Catholicism, however, did not necessarily entail support of the Jesuits. The number of Catholics whom Ruvigny, the French Ambassador to the Court of St James, found opposed to the Jesuits was so large that at the close of the century they probably constituted a majority of Catholics in England. Among them were

destroyed all England." Originally preserved at the Scots College, Paris, and then deposited in the Archives of St.Mary's College, Blairs. See also: Records of the Scots Colleges, I, New Spalding Club, 1906.

Hay, Malcolm. V. The Jesuits and the Popish Plot, Kegan Paul, Trench Truner, London, 1934, p.xxii.

⁴⁴⁴Walsh, Walter, The Jesuits in Great Britain - An Historical Inquiry into their Political Influence, George Routledge, London, 1903, p.274. Walsh here distinguishes the rantings of Oates from the "real Popish Plot" centred round the name of Edward Coleman" in which Pr. la Chaise played a key role as French paymaster, making this the "very real plot of his and the Jesuits".

⁴⁴⁵Oates placed it at the White Horse Tavern in The Strand.

⁴⁴⁶Pollock, op. cit., p.166 concluded that Coleman disclosed to the magistrate Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey that the secret the shadow of which Godfrey saw stretching across the line of his life was that the Jesuit Congregation of April 24th had been held in the house and under the patronage of the Duke of York", p.153; and that with the Coleman correspondence which was undeniably genuine, "clearly, then there was some truth in the discovery of Roman Catholic conspiracy in the year 1678." p.64.

⁴⁴⁷House of Lords Record Office, An Act for the restoring of the Honour of Baron Heley to James Lord Audley and others herein mentioned. And also for restoring them in blood. 29/30 Car. II. cap.17 Enrolled as a Private Act which at fols 38-39 it reveals the exclusion of George Touchet described as "serving beyond the seas". His banishment as Fr. Anselm Touchet followed the Benedictine's expulsion from the Queen's Chapel in 1675.

respectable Roman Catholics who preferred to swear the Oath of Allegiance rather than be identified as "Jesuitical Papists" - men such as Blackloe, Peter Walsh and John Serjeant. More prominent were the Earls of Bristol, Berkshire and Cardigan, and Lord Stafford and Lord Petre. They all took the Oath of Supremacy, although two of the latter group had Benedictine Confessors. This group of Catholic Oath takers should not therefore be counted in with the supporters of the Jesuit cause. Then there was Cardinal Howard whose role was to caution that if the rumours of the Duke of York's connections with the Jesuits were proved true then his cause might be ruined. Howard actually had orders, following Pope Clement X's death, to vote in the Conclave with the "French party". If it had to take account of all this what are we to make of the business of the Jesuit Consult held at St. James's Palace?

The Rev. John Gerard has picked on Pollock's inaccuracies and argued for a 'minimalist' role for the Jesuits allegedly involved in arranging the Consult and for regarding the 'Popish Plot' allegations as false. Pollock made specific charges against the St. Omer students, arguing that Oates could have attended the Consult as he claimed. On re-examination of this charge, Gerard could find only one instance of contradictions in respect of time among the evidence of the St. Omer students - that of Master Cox who testified that Oates left the College in July. The others said he had been in continual residence from December 1677 until June 1678 - as Lord Castlemaine had stated at the time.⁴⁴⁸ None of this affected the evidence upon which they all agreed, namely that Oates was in College over the period of the Jesuit Consult from April 24 to April 26th 1678, and was not at the Consult or even in England. Oates called seven witnesses to try and prove that he was in London at the time of the Consult but only two, as Pollock acknowledged, gave any evidence of initial weight, namely Smith who was Oates's old Schoolmaster, and Clay who was a disreputable Dominican Friar. Both of these were afterwards proved to have been suborned by Oates and to have perjured themselves.⁴⁴⁹

Pollock argues that Coleman, Secretary to the Duchess of York, had meanwhile confided to Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey the secret of the Jesuit Congregation being held under the patronage of the Duke of York and that "the only possible remedy was to take from Godfrey the power of divulging the secret. His silence must be secured, and it could only be made certain by the grave"⁴⁵⁰. This, Pollock argues, was what Godfrey must have meant by his premonition that he expected to be knocked on the back of the head at any moment. Pollock argued that "To Shaftesbury the knowledge would have meant everything. Witnesses of the fact would certainly have been forthcoming, and James's reception of the Jesuits in his home was a formal act of high treason"⁴⁵¹.

⁴⁴⁸John Gerard, *History Ex- Hypothesi and the Popish Plot*, *The Month*, Longmans, London, 1903, pp.12-14.

⁴⁴⁹An effective rebuttal of Oates's testimony was Fr. Gavan's own observation that Oates declared he was in England on 24th April (English reckoning) and for a few days before and after, only six or seven in all. Oates's own witnesses swore differently, one to having seen him at the end of March or beginning of April, another that he had dined with him on 6th May, and others that they had seen him at Whitsun ie. 19th May in 1678 or after.

⁴⁵⁰Pollock, *op. cit.*, p.69 conjectures that James "was not above tolerating, if he did not direct and attempt to murder the husband of his daughter."

⁴⁵¹*Ibid*, p.153.

Jesuit contemporaries such as Fr. Warner, and minimalist historians such as Hay and Gerard, dismiss the importance of the venue of the Consult, and consequently also dismiss the Jesuits as having anything to do with Godfrey's murder. They question whether this meeting was the tremendous secret upon which, according to Pollock, much depended when in fact it is a secret which does not seem after all to have been kept with any extreme care. Pollock himself admitted that "More than five years afterwards James II let out the secret to Sir John Reresby."⁴⁵² He goes on to add that "Up to that time it had been well guarded. It was of the utmost consequence that the fact should not be known. Had it been discovered, the discredit into which Oates would have fallen would have been of little moment compared to the extent of the gain to the Whig and Protestant party."⁴⁵³

The integrity of Pollock's line of thought relies on his view that the venue within the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace was kept secret after 1683. But there were some arguments about it published in 1681, at the latest. For instance the author of "A Vindication of the English Catholics etc" argued that if the Consult were not at the White Horse Tavern, the Jesuits should declare where it was held, adding: "I do not believe the Jesuits will satisfy his curiosity in that it would be an ill requital of the favour received from him who did not refuse their meeting under his roof, which would render him liable to a violent and malicious faction".⁴⁵⁴

Arguments along minimalist lines, on the other hand, are based on the routine nature of Provincial Congregations, such as that which gathered at St. James's Palace on 24th April 1678.⁴⁵⁵ A transcript of the "Acts of the English Provincial Congregation, S.J., Convoked in London For The 24th of April, O.S. or 4th May, N.S., 1678", is preserved in the Library of the College of Exaten in Holland.⁴⁵⁶ and records the transactions of the meeting in just such routine matters. Three decisions recorded therein are: Fr. John Carey was duly elected "envoy to the Congregation of Procurators"; "Fr. John Keynes was added as substitute", and was to go to Rome; a unanimous decision was taken not to summon a General Congregation for reasons of safety "with war raging on all sides". Two petitions were recorded as presented at that 1678 consult; one related to reducing the length of future Provincial Congregations in England on the twin understanding "without waiting for the third day, that the meeting of so many together may be more

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, p.152. Also: Gerard, *op. cit.*, p.8 and Warner, *op. cit.*, pt. 2, p.198 which recorded Oates's testimony "that the Jesuit Provincial Congregation had met in London, in the Strand at the White Horse. Charles knew that this was untrue since he was aware that they had foregathered in the Palace belonging to the Duke of York."

⁴⁵³ Pollock, *op. cit.*, p.152 and Reresby, *Memoirs*, p.325.

⁴⁵⁴ Pollock, *op. cit.*, p.44.

⁴⁵⁵ Provincial Congregations, according to the Society's Rule, were held triennially. Their object was three-fold. Firstly, to elect a Proctor to be sent to Rome for a Procuratorial Congregation under the Presidency of the General and consider the state of the Society and its observance of religious discipline. Secondly, to convene or not a general Congregation of the Order. Thirdly, to lay before the General matters needing his decision.

⁴⁵⁶ Rev. John Gerard, The Jesuit Consult of April 24th 1678, in *The Month*, Longmans Green & Co, London 1903, Vol. CII, July to Dec., and Vol CII, July to Dec. p.311 footnote 1.

speedily expedited and with less risk"; the other to grant "dispensation from the oath imposed on students in the English College, Rome".

The question of the length of the session arose over the existing Rule that the opening session must be followed by an interval extending to the day next but one, during which discussion may take place about who best to elect as envoy to Rome.⁴⁵⁷ It was decided to "grant the dispensation, when a Congregation is held in England, and there is a danger in delay."⁴⁵⁸ The Secretary of the Congregation, Fr. William Marsh, who recorded these Acts in Latin, was circumspect with what he committed to paper. He noted only that it was "convoked in London". The fact that he added no record of thanks to the Duke of York for use of the Palace, suggests that the record of this Congregation was made to appear mundane lest it fall into hostile hands. Marsh's care was taken with good cause as it turned out, for thirteen of the forty participants subsequently became victims of Oates's allegations.

Concentration upon the Consult has tended to attract attention away from other activities which are of importance to understanding another significant Jesuit activity within the Queen's Chapel - namely, the personal mission of Claude de la Colombière from 1676 to 1678. These activities involve Coleman whom after some four years as Secretary to the Duchess of York would be brought by Oates's allegations to conviction for treason and execution in 1678. His position in St James Palace introduces us to the reality of a sustained connection between the households of the English and French Kings through those years operated by correspondence between Coleman, associated as we shall see with Colombiere, and the Jesuit de la Chaise in the French Court. This was a working relationship which was much resented by Ruvigny as the accredited French Ambassador trying to handle official relations between the two monarchies.

⁴⁵⁷Second Session April 26th, chose Carey.

⁴⁵⁸Its purpose was to "Hasten on the takings of information and election, without waiting for the third day."

Chapter 14.

HOW NEW DEVOTIONAL PRACTICES EVOLVED AT THE QUEEN'S CHAPEL.

A. The Devotion of the Holy Rosary.

The Queen's Chapel played a central role in the evolution of Roman Catholic devotions. In 1669 the Confraternity of Holy Rosary, whose "extinct devotion was rekindled"⁴⁵⁹ with Dominican permission, was described by the Capuchin, Gamache. Affinity within a Confraternity, like secular membership of a Regular Order, usually followed along lines approved in advance by Heads of the Regular Orders. The impact of the Queen's Chapel's part has hitherto been obscure because it took place alongside cross-ministering between those at the Queen's Chapels and the Catholic Embassies.

Abbate Claudius Agretti noted in 1669 that "four masses a day are said in the Venetian, and two in that of the Portuguese Ambassador".⁴⁶⁰ Oratorians associated with the Holy Rosary were also involved in the Stuart's diplomatic initiatives, as is evident from Batterel's observation about the Oratorian, Le P. Duhamel. "En 1668, il accompagna en Allemagne Colbert de Croissy, plenipotentiaire francais a Aix-la-Chapelle, comme un autre Oratorien, le P. Lecomte, avait autrefois accompagné Servien au traite de Munster. Il suivit le meme ambassadeur en Angleterre, pris en Hollande."⁴⁶¹ Among other Catholic Embassy Chaplains who found themselves preaching at the post-Restoration Queen's Chapel was the Capuchin controversialist, Fr Mathieu of St. Quentin, who was also appointed confessor at the Chapel of the French Ambassador, Colbert, in 1668. Even Gamache, another Capuchin, took refuge from a politically hostile mob in the Portuguese Embassy while the London apprentices rioted, before returning to France, due to "the Ambassador of the King of France not being then in England".⁴⁶²

A particular Jesuit Confraternity which the Queen's Chapel hosted, albeit at Somerset House, can be identified behind a handbill printed in 1672. This contained a potted history of the Confraternity of Our Blessed Lady of Succour from its foundation in Santa Fé in New Granada by the Jesuit Father Francis Baray to its remarkable spread in Spain. It gives the conditions for membership, citing Papal Indulgences granted to it by Pope Innocent X, and the fact that it was "newly instituted in Her Majesties Royal Chappel at Somerset House". It adds "that the benefit thereof may be extended also to the Faithful in this Kingdom, Commission is given to one of the religious Order of St. Francis at Her Majesties Chappel at Somerset House to receive the names of such as desire to be of this holy congregation".⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁹Birch, *op. cit.* vol. II, p.432-33

⁴⁶⁰Harting, *op. cit.* p.103.

⁴⁶¹Batterel, P. Louis, *Essai de Bibliographie Oratorienne par Le Pere A.M.P. Ingold*, Paris, 1880-1882, p.41.

⁴⁶²Gamache, *op. cit.* p.352

⁴⁶³Needham, R. & Webster, A., *Somerset House Past and Present*, Fisher Unwin, London, 1905, p.158.

It follows that the Queen's Chapel Jesuits, Colombière and the Chaplain to the Duke of York Fr. Thomas Beddingfield, probably belonged to their Order's Confraternity. Other likely members were Jesuits active at, or near the Queen's Chapel, such as Fr. Antonio Galli, Confessor to the Duchess of York. In the French Embassy there was to be found Fr. d' Obeilh. ⁴⁶⁴ Earlier, in 1672 the Jesuit Fr. Thompson, alias John Throgmorton, is also recorded as preaching to large congregations at the French Embassy during Advent. He was forced to flee in 1679, but was summoned back by the Duke of York later that year to be his Chaplain at Bruges. ⁴⁶⁵

Confraternities have to be added to palace geography, and the day's round, as a more useful interpretative tool in reconstructing Court life across Catholic early modern Europe, especially in Stuart London. ⁴⁶⁶ But in London the free inter-availability of appointments and ready access as between the Queen's Chapels at St James's Palace and Somerset House with the Chapel of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary was to be legally constrained again in 1675. Claude de la Colombière observed in December 1676 that: "Subjects of the King of England are not permitted to go to the chapels of the ambassadors to hear Mass there, and since I have been here, men have been stationed at the doors of all these chapels, even the chapel of the Queen, to lay hands on any of the English who come out of them". ⁴⁶⁷

Colombière himself masterminded the creation of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart which originated inside the Queen's Chapel with potent political content. As Colombière envisaged the Devotion it was of open access until the King had to accede to Parliamentary pressure virtually to suppress it. ⁴⁶⁸ Colombière was exiled accordingly in 1678. ⁴⁶⁹ But it was also a prime reason for his canonisation.

⁴⁶⁴Guitton, *op. cit.* p.240

⁴⁶⁵Foley, *op.cit.* p.314.

⁴⁶⁶Baillie, H.M., *Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces*, *Journal of the Society of Antiquaries*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1967, pp.170-199. Glass, Juliet, "The sixteenth century Spanish Chapel Royal: The Alcazar", A paper presented to the *Society for Court Studies*, 14th February 1997, due for publication shortly. Orme, Nicholas, Review of "Philip of Spain", by Henry Kamen, Yale University Press, 1997, in *Church Times*, 24th October 1997, p.16.

⁴⁶⁷Guitton, Georges, *Perfect Friend, The life of Blessed Claude la Colombière, 1641-1682*, Hereder, London 1956, p.241

⁴⁶⁸Colombière's offence was to breach Charles II's and Parliaments's *Orders and Resolutions* ... "that no person or persons.... do presume to say Mass," London, 1675 printed on two sheets, requiring the banishment of Roman Catholic Priests and the forbidding of any subject to receive and education "in any Popish Colledges or *Seminaries beyond the Seas*". Later King James II ignored Parliament's decisions and sought successfully to revive the circumstances for the Devotion of the Sacred Heart.

⁴⁶⁹*House of Lords Journal*, Vol. 13, 27 Chas II, 1-33, 1675 - Chas II, 1681, p.374 for 23 November 1678. where Lord Maynard reports the House's order for, "for the banishing of La Colombière, out of His Majesties' dominions which his Majesty says he hath given order for...."

B. Saint Claude de la Colombière in the Queen's Chapel.

The circumstances immediately preceding the start of Claude de la Colombière's mission with the Queen's Chapel bear mention briefly. The Jesuits were particular about it and, as it turns out, for good reason. The marriage of James Duke of York to the Roman Catholic, Mary of Modena and Este, became public knowledge in 1673 and had significant repercussions for Jesuit influence at Court, and in particular at the Queen's Chapel. This was not least because Mary brought with her to England as her Chaplain a French Jesuit, Père de Saint-Germain, who held this office in her Chapel at St. James's and at Court until 1675 when he was expelled for high treason, having embraced what turned out to be the feigned conversion of the apostate Frenchman, Luzancy⁴⁷⁰.

Although the Duke of York pleaded with the King for him to be retained, Charles could not persuade Parliament to agree to this. The most James could secure was agreement that a successor should at once be sent from France. But Père Patouillet, chosen to succeed him by Père de la Chaise, ⁴⁷¹ was regarded as unacceptable by the French Ambassador, Ruvigny, so the Duke of York had to give way. An idea of the importance of the appointment can be gauged from the letter which the dismissed Père Saint-Germain wrote to Coleman, the Duchess of York's Secretary: "Monsieur de Ruvigny says that he finds that the storm will unavoidably fall upon France and the Catholics, who are very angry that endeavours are made to bring a successor to Monsieur Saint-Germain, of the French nation. And he further says that it will absolutely ruin the Catholic religion and irritate the enemies of France; neither does he doubt, but that it will also prove fatal to the Duke, for which he absolutely blames the Jesuits and Mr. Coleman, who are now more than ever averse to the Protestants, and likewise to one party among the Catholics and Minister of State, for they are persuaded that those who are in a position of Confessor to the King of France and to the Duke do act most imprudently in that they are entangled betwixt King and the Catholics, because they would introduce an unlimited authority. They urge Mr. Coleman to take strange steps, such as will precipitate them into destruction, and above all, they will attribute this to France; so that Monsieur de Ruvigny is very ill-satisfied with these proceedings, for it is most certain that the persecution will be very terrible against the Duke, the Catholics and all the Jesuits, and above all against France". ⁴⁷²

⁴⁷⁰Luzancy preached a violently anti-Catholic sermon in the French Protestant Chapel, originally a Chancel of the Great Building at the Savoy, on July 11th 1675. Three years later also to denounce Colombière for treason. See: Somerville, Robert, The Savoy, Manor, Hospital, Chapel, Duchy of Lancaster, London, 1960, pp.77-78.

⁴⁷¹ La Chaise, Confessor to Louis XIV, who was accused by Oates of being paymaster for King Charles's assassination with the consent of the Jesuit General Père Oliva (also accused by Oates). Oliva was also accused by Oates. The same Oliva was the correspondent involved in the De La Cloche Collection in the Archivum Romanum, S.J.. Foley, op. cit., p.107 cites items IX to XIII of Oates's "True and exact narrative of the horrible plot and conspiracy of the Popish party against the life of his Sacred majesty, the Government and the Protestant Religion." All those named by Oates as beneficiaries in the intended re-disposal of Bishoprics and Dignities "had their commissions stamped by the General of the Society, John Paul d' Oliva and sent from Rome to Langhorn, and were delivered to them with plenary indulgences sent from Rome, and additional patents by the Provincials, Strange and White."

⁴⁷²Quoted in Philip, Sister Mary, A Jesuit at the English Court, The Life of the Venerable, Claude De La Colombière, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, London, 1992., p.105.



Le Bienheureux Père Claude DE LA COLOMBIÈRE
d'après un portrait de famille
appartenant à M. LE COMTE LOMBARD DE BUFFIÈRES.

Despite these warnings Père de la Chaise once again named a Jesuit of the French Province to replace Saint-Germain as Preacher and Confessor to the Duchess of York: Claude de la Colombière - a man whom de la Chaise knew well. Sister Mary Philip concluded that after his arrival probably late in September 1676, Colombière "obeyed the summons with no other thought than to obey the Will of his Master...."⁴⁷³ and that as "A guest in St. James's Palace, he lived there in the quietest manner, a stranger to the excitements and tumults of the Court, knowing only those parts of the Palace through which he was obliged to pass to reach the apartments of the Duchess of York. His room overlooked the wide space in the front of the building, yet never did he once gaze from the windows on what is one of the most beautiful views in London. He never visited the monuments or curiosities of the town, nor did he frequent any of the public walks, for he went out only to visit the sick or those to whom he hoped to be of service. Devoting himself entirely to God and the good of his neighbours, he never conversed with any, except on religious topics".⁴⁷⁴

It is on account of such descriptions of his life and work that he was beatified in 1929 and canonised in 1992.⁴⁷⁵ But these descriptions are based upon 'one way' correspondence, for no letters addressed to Colombière at St. James's have yet come to light. Many exist from him in his hand, in particular to Sister Margaret Mary Alacoque via Mère de Saumaise at Paray-le-Monial, where he had been Spiritual Director of the Sisters of the Visitation, and who had encouraged him to spread the Devotion to the Sacred Heart when he arrived in England.⁴⁷⁶

Maximalists have to a great extent relied upon the accusations of Titus Oates and exchanges recorded in the State Trials as indications of less innocent political activity by the Jesuits, perhaps most succinctly summed up in Oates's statement to the King on 27th September 1678 that he possessed evidence "That the Jesuits and Benedictines, by order of the Pope, conspired against the life of the King of England, and of the Protestants, and had drawn in as accomplices of their crimes the Kings of France and Spain".⁴⁷⁷

From a minimalist the point of view, on the other hand, this statement and the subsequent detailed allegations amounted to "more like the dream of a madman than that of a man in his senses".⁴⁷⁸ The Oates allegations, though, are by no means the only indications of Jesuit activity associated with the Queen's Chapel. This thesis now re-examines the accusations concerning Claude de la Colombière's activities with the Queen's Chapel and presents new evidence concerning his deeper involvement in more wide-ranging and hitherto unappreciated Jesuit actions in the politico-religious field.

⁴⁷³*Ibid.*, p.106.

⁴⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p.111.

⁴⁷⁵Pope Pius XI beatified Colombière on 16th June 1929. He was Canonised on 31th May 1992.

⁴⁷⁶For the best transcripts of all his 138 surviving letters see: Filosomi, Luigi, *Lettere Spirituale*, Segretariato Nazionale Dell' Apostolato Della Preghiera, Rome, 1990. See the bibliography for his several biographies.

⁴⁷⁷PRO. SP29/409/2, dated Sept 27th 1678

⁴⁷⁸Philip. Sister Mary, *op. cit.*, p.171.

Colombière's daily 'routine' in the Queen's Chapel from September 1676 until September 1678 has been well established.⁴⁷⁹ He preached on every Sunday and Festival, and gave a course of sermons in the Lent of 1677 and 1678. Colombière himself recorded that his first sermon was on the Feast of All Saints in 1676, and that "The Duchess of York is a princess of great piety; she receives holy Communion every week, sometimes oftener, and every day she makes half an hour's mental prayer" .⁴⁸⁰ Misleadingly, Sister Philip states that the preachments occurred in the "Chapel Royal" at St. James's. This was not so for he preached in the Queen's Chapel from 1676 to 1678.⁴⁸¹

Hitherto he has been generally recognised as instituting the Devotion of the Sacred Heart in the Queen's Chapel, beginning with his first public reference to it in on the Eve of the Feast of the Annunciation which fell on the third Wednesday of Lent in 1677. But the progenitors of the Order of St. Peter of Alcantara between 1499 and 1562 had this devotion - the same Order which occupied the Queen's Chapel Friary from 1667 and with whom Colombière had to share worship upon his arrival towards the end of 1675. Pepys, as we have seen, observed their Library which probably contained their Devotional rubrics while we have already noted the little Altar of the Sacred Heart in Colombière's oratory .⁴⁸²

To complete the description of Colombière's normal 'routine', mention ought to be made too of the fact that he saw the Duchess of York several times each week both in the confessional and in ordinary conversation. But a letter in the Marquess of Bath's Archive at Longleat appears to indicate that the spectrum of Colombière's activities extended far beyond the daily routine just described, and into the realms of bravery in view of the possible repercussions both for himself and those with whom he associated.⁴⁸³ Written by Olivier Du Fiquet, this letter formed the basis of the examination of Claude de la Colombière in 1678. Amongst the twelve allegations, together with a postscript containing another two, was a statement indicating a close working and personal friendship between Colombière and Coleman, the Duchess of York's Secretary who was conducting regular correspondence with Père la Chaise, Jesuit Confessor to the King of France.

The allegation reads:

"That M. La Colombière, Jesuit and preacher to the Duchess of York, who lives in St. James's, has for three months (to my knowledge) been in communication with M. Coleman, who came to see La Colombière in his own room every day from eleven o'clock till midday, when they conversed together; and that after these three months La Colombière sent his valet to the country for two months and a half, and took in his place

⁴⁷⁹Bougaud, Most Rev. Emile, The Life of Margaret Mary Alacoque, Tan Books Rockford, Illinois, 1990. Also: Bainvel, Rev. B.J. The Devotion to the Sacred heart, The Doctrine and its History, Burns Oates and Wasburne, London, 1984, pp.280-290.

⁴⁸⁰ Philip, Sister Mary, *op. cit.*, pp.108-11. The Filisomi transcripts reveal that some of his subsequent sermons were re-workings of ones delivered earlier in Lyons.

⁴⁸¹ So far Filisomi only has the correct location, attributing as his source as a letter to Rev. Mother Saumaise.

⁴⁸² Hume, *op. cit.* For Chiffinch's description of the secret chapel, see footnote 149 below.

⁴⁸³ Historical Manuscripts Commission, 4th Report, HMSO, London, 1874 for transcripts of Coventry Papers, at pp.233-234. Also available in microfilm at the Institute of Historical Research.

the nephew of M. Coleman, who is between thirteen and fourteen years old; and when M. Coleman was taken prisoner, La Colombière sent away the nephew of M. Coleman and took back his valet".⁴⁸⁴

Since they both worked for the same Household of the Duchess of York it is not surprising to find them conversing. But a different slant is put on it by the further allegation of Du Fiquet that "La Colombière said that I could very well be a Roman Catholic, seeing that His Royal Highness [the Duke of York] is one, and that he hears Mass and receives the Sacraments of the Roman Church, that which was confirmed to me by Le Lievre, valet of Monsieur La Colombière, and by one called Antoine, sacristan of the Chapel, who told me that His Royal Highness hears Mass through a secret window", and that "La Colombière told me a few days ago that in a short time I should see England completely changed".⁴⁸⁵

Another insight in Du Fiquet's allegations broadens our view of Colombière moving in wider circles of Jesuit connections. "La Colombière told me there were several women in a house near St Paul's who lived a monastic life. This was confirmed to me by Le Lievre, his valet."⁴⁸⁶ There is confirmation also in a letter which Colombière himself wrote to his brother at the end of July 1677 in which he exclaims: "Oh, what holy women I have met here! If only I could tell you what manner of life you would be astonished."⁴⁸⁷

The relationship was close enough for Sister Mary Philip of that community to become Colombière's first biographer, writing as early as 1684. She knew, apparently, only so much of Colombière's relationship with the King. She writes that Colombière "had the honour of three or four interviews with the King of England". She conjectures that "It is probable that in the interviews between Charles and Father de la Colombière the personal conversion of the King was aimed at as much anything else".⁴⁸⁸ She subsequently speculated on the same lines when she guessed that Colombière was the author of the letters found on Charles' death in his cabinet and subsequently published by James II, for she writes: "They seem to give us the key note of the interviews between Charles and the chaplain to the Duchess of York." Colombière must have refrained in references before her from asserting anything definite about Charles' Catholicity. But she picked up enough to record that the subject of the meetings between Colombière and Coleman "could have been nothing else but an exchange of communications between the Kings of England and France with the object of establishing in England a legal state of liberty of conscience. Charles II would then have been at liberty to proclaim himself a Catholic"⁴⁸⁹.

The name of the community of nuns, as a member of which Sister Mary Philip heard enough to record these impressions, was the Institution of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Its history had brought it close both to the Court and to Jesuit circles. It was housed in St. Martin's Lane from 1639 when its founder, Mary Ward,

⁴⁸⁴*Ibid.* Item one in the Longleat/Coventry Version.

⁴⁸⁵*Ibid.* Note "Antoine" in this capacity appears as Thomas Dodd in the PRO. Passes List for 1678.

⁴⁸⁶Longleat/Coventry version, HMC report as above, item 12.

⁴⁸⁷ Filiosomi, *op.cit.* pp.62-63.

⁴⁸⁸Philip. Sister Mary, *op.cit.*, p.168.

⁴⁸⁹*Ibid.* But p.169 is in error. In 1684 she could not have known what James II publish after Charles II's death.

returned from Rome with letters of introduction from Pope Urban to Queen Henrietta Maria.⁴⁹⁰ Other information contained in the York Annals of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin and in Leitner's *Geschichte der Englischer Fraulein*, suggest that the community returned to London in 1669 at the encouragement and probably the invitation of Catherine of Braganza.⁴⁹¹ Their Head was a "Mrs Long" who established the community in St. Martin's Lane and then later moved it to Hammersmith. The members exchanged religious habit for matronly dress to avoid pursuivants. From 1677-1686 "Mrs Long" divided herself between this community and one established in Yorkshire, first at Dolebank, near Fountains Abbey in 1677.⁴⁹² Further research shows that "Mrs. Long" turns out to have been an alias for Frances Beddingfield, who at the time of her appointment to the English mission was Superior of the Mother House at Munich.⁴⁹³ Moreover she was a relation of the Jesuit Father Beddingfield, better known as Fr. Thomas Mumford, who was Chaplain to James Duke of York from 1671-1678 at St. James's Palace, having previously been his Naval Chaplain.⁴⁹⁴ Foley states categorically that during his appointment as Chaplain to the Duke of York "he spent most of this period at Court."⁴⁹⁵ It is surprising therefore that nowhere is there any reference to contact between Colombière and Foley. Jesuit connections, including Frances Beddingfield's community and Colombière's acquaintance with it, suggest a social circle not yet brought to light for it was to Fr. Beddingfield at Windsor that the Oates/Tonge letters about the plot to kill the King were delivered.

In contrast with the traditional meek image of him, Colombière seems to have pursued wider Jesuit objectives, perhaps more co-ordinated way than has been supposed. There are indications that Colombière was part of an inner circle of co-ordinated Jesuit activity which has so far not come to light. Du Fiquet's allegations concern Colombière's sending potential converts to Cardinal du Bouillon, Clermont College and Paris.⁴⁹⁶ The allegation that he was "on the look out for priests, so as to send them to Virginia" has substance.⁴⁹⁷ By the time Lord Winchester read his report to the House of Lords on 1st December 1678, the name of an Irish priest was inserted into the Virginian allegation: "That M. La Colombière sends secretly priests to Virginia, amongst others Maccarty, an Irish priest, who was carried by La Colombière's servant, and by his order to M Le Choquenna, who lives at the Savoy".⁴⁹⁸ Choquenna duly appears as "De choqueeux" in an entry of May 27th 1667 in the Register of the Somerset House Chapel.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁰ Peter, Henrietta, *Mary Ward - A World of Contemplation*, Gracewing, Alcester, 1994.

⁴⁹¹ Foley, op. cit, pp.579-582. Catherine of Braganza was presumed by some to have retired to Hammersmith after 1689, but the surviving musical records indicate she stayed on at Somerset House.

⁴⁹² It later moved to Heworth and finally to York

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.* pp.255-56 for his naval appointment at the end of the summer of 1671 and confirmation therefore of his year of appointment to the Duke of York.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p.253.

⁴⁹⁶ Longleat/Coventry version, HMC, item 7.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.* HMC, item 11.

⁴⁹⁸ Item 7 of Lord Winchester's List. Also the *Historical Manuscripts Commission's 4th Report*, 1874, pp.233-234, and the Coventry Papers, Item No. 24 on microfilm at the Institute of Historical Research.

⁴⁹⁹ Hitherto this connection has not been made, but De choqueeux's identity was unrecognised by Weale. Nor has the correlation been made with the burial of Charles Mccarty, 1st Viscount Muskerry, in the graveyard of the Queen's Chapel as a sham funeral was held at Westminster Abbey - events recorded in a contemporary poem discussed in David Baldwin's correspondence.

Although Colombière's letters suggest a deep commitment to furthering the Devotion to the Sacred Heart there remains a suspicion that this was deliberately angled at the Stuart Court with a mixed politico-religious objective. A letter from Sister Margaret Mary Alacoque to Mother de Saumaise at Dijon dated 28th August 1689, shows she also tried to establish in the French Court the same Devotion as Colombière managed at the Stuart Court. She talks of "The eternal Father, wishing to have reparation made for the bitter anguish the adorable Heart of His divine Son suffered in the palaces of the princes of this world from the humiliations and outrages of His Passion, wants to establish His empire in the court of our great monarch...shower his blessings on all his undertakings...granting happy success to his armies so as to make him triumphant over the malice of his enemies" and that as "God has chosen the Reverend Father de la Chaise for the execution of this design because of the influence He has given him over the heart of our great king, success in this matter rests with him".⁵⁰⁰ She continues to conclude that: "He wants the Reverend Jesuit Fathers to make known its utility and worth. This is reserved for them".⁵⁰¹ The physical manifestation demanded by Margaret Mary was that "He wants to have a Church built and a picture of this divine Heart placed in it, and there receive the consecration and homage of the king and of his whole court".⁵⁰²

Colombière's name neither appears in the list of names contained in the Papal Bull disposing of political, military and ecclesiastical dignities, and which names other Jesuits and members of Regular Orders, nor in the list of forty nine Jesuit plotters allegedly identified by Oates and named as active in England, nor among the thirteen in Scotland.⁵⁰³ Nor does his name, or at least his usual one, appear in the lists of those who attended the Jesuit Consult at St. James's Palace in 1678. Nonetheless, Coleman's letters to Colombière would suggest his deep involvement in Jesuit actions to bring about conversion of the English and the rich imagery of his preaching that he sought a redistribution of positions and estates both ecclesiastical and secular in favour of Catholics. This was the form of politico-religious exploitation of the Queen's Chapel, devised to exploit direct Jesuit links as between the English royal family and other dynasties in rivalry with conventional diplomacy, which so annoyed and antagonised the French Ambassador, Ruvigny.

⁵⁰⁰The translation by the Daughters of St Paul, Boston completed in 1980, Jesus reveals his Heart - Letters of St Mary Margaret Alacoque, corrects previous errors of transcription which misread "Cour" as "Coeur" thus losing the Royal Court imagery.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ Ibid. p.108.

Chapter 15.

POLITICS AND THE PREACHING OF COLOMBIÈRE AND ELLIS AT THE QUEEN'S CHAPEL.

The Benedictine community at the Queen's Chapel in St. James's Palace moved to Somerset House to join Serenus Cressy in 1671 just as his involvement with Clifford in formulating the Secret Treaty of Dover ended. They were nevertheless the innocent victims of higher politics in 1674/5 when Charles was forced to confirm an earlier Parliamentary Resolution with an Order in Council requiring amongst other things that "all Catholic priests born within His Majesty's dominions, with the exception of Father Hudleston, to leave the kingdom before the 25th day of March next following", a stipulation applying also to those who served the Queen.⁵⁰⁴

When in 1675 the Benedictine chaplaincy came to an end, the Queen was thereafter served only by her Portuguese retinue at St. James's and, in particular, by the Iberian Arabadoes of the Order of St. Peter of Alcantara,⁵⁰⁵ and by the Jesuit Chaplain to James Duke of York from 1676 to 1678, Fr. Thomas Beddingfield, also known as Fr. Thomas Mumford. After the brief interlude of the Jesuit Fr. St. Germain, Colombière succeeded the Benedictine Fr. Lionel Sheldon. Thus Beddingfield and Colombière resided at St. James's Palace, apparently opposite the Queen's Chapel in the Tudor ranges. Fr. Francis Edwards mentions as resident too, a "Venetian Father" who served the Duke of York.⁵⁰⁶

Colombière was not a man for administrative cares, hence the doubt as to whether he attended the Jesuit Consult in 1678. He saw the Protestant Church in England as constituting an irreverence and sacrilege. The third revelation had demanded a "solemn act of reparation" in the form of a special liturgical feast for his Sacred Heart. This, together with a subsequent vision which placed a duty upon the Jesuit order to spread this devotion, placed an obligation, as Colombière saw it, upon him to bring about that "solemn act of reparation" at the Queen's Chapel in the midst of a Protestant country, since he was none other than Sister Margaret Mary's confessor.

This obligation was clearly a departure from safe practice in that it would result of necessity in an obligation to attack Protestantism, with all the dangers that would entail for a Jesuit attempting it within the English Court itself. For this purpose, the existing Catholic haven of the Queen's Chapel was a natural starting point. This explains a fearless attack in a sermon upon the Test Act which he preached there on All Saints Day 1676, saying: "How many subterfuges daily bring men to yield God's interests to those of the State,

⁵⁰⁴See footnote 179 above.

⁵⁰⁵St. Peter of Alcantara's Canonisation at the Vatican in the presence of the exiled Catholic friend of Charles II, Christina former Queen of Sweden, took place on 28th April 1669,⁵⁰⁵ and must have added to the status of the Arabadoes at the Queen's Chapel. They were already respected for their ascetic and non-political traditions.

⁵⁰⁶Edwards, Francis, S.J., The Jesuits in England from 1580 to the present day, Burns & Oates, 1985, p.81.

openly to disregard all the most sacred laws, and persuade themselves that religion itself is only a department of politics which ought to adapt itself to the times and the demands of temporal affairs".⁵⁰⁷

Colombière chose to inaugurate the devotion to the Sacred Heart, with its particular theme of God's mercy versus man's ingratitude, on the Eve of the Feast of the Annuciation, that is on the third Wednesday of Lent in 1677. It was evidently no co-incidence. Rather it can be understood as a deliberately preached politico-religious climax to his earlier sermons, and the *raison d'être* for the Devotion.

That Charles was prepared to acknowledge the importance of the Sacred Heart is clear from his personal commissioning of Gibbons to make a decorative panel as a gift to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III de Medici, incorporating a large Sacred Heart, at a time when his workshop accounts show Gibbons to have been involved otherwise almost exclusively with carving commissions for the King's Chapel Royal. The importance of the Cosimo Panel is indicated by the fact that Gibbons received his highest payment for a woodcarving for this piece: £150. The workshop accounts include it in pieces made between 1680-1682, making it the more extraordinary if Charles II's Catholicism is contested because it was barely two years before the carving of this panel that the Jesuit had been expelled in 1678 from St. James's Palace for propounding the devotion to the Sacred Heart at the Queen's Chapel. Personally to commission a gift of such Roman Catholic and Court significance in the face of the Oates accusations is a statement of defiance, which would certainly not have escaped the notice of the recipient, and which was made with the full knowledge that it would be prominently displayed, with Sacred Heart in the design for all to see when it arrived at Leghorn on 17th November 1682 and was presented to Cosimo in Florence by the English envoy, Sir Thomas Dereham, on 16th December. There it has remained for nearly three centuries.⁵⁰⁸ The association with Colombière, as chaplain to Mary of Modena as Duchess of York, is further cemented by Gibbons's second work for Italy, the Modena Panel, commissioned either by James II on the death of his brother in 1685 or by the Duchess of Modena herself as Mary the Queen Consort.

Colombière looked back wistfully to pre-Reformation England during his sermon preached at the Queen's Chapel on the Third Sunday in Advent 1677, saying "the number of your religious has almost equalled the number of your other inhabitants; you were hardly less than a great monastery...there are whole kingdoms which recognize you as their Mother in Jesus Christ, whom your children have won for the Catholic Church".⁵⁰⁹ But he went on to attack the Protestant Church he now saw replacing it with "this multitude of sects, which causes each one to doubt of his own, to distrust it, to be at a loss as to what he should believe, which is the cause of the great number having little religion, and many to have none at all".

⁵⁰⁷Colombière., Claude de la, OSJ., Premier sermon pour la fête de tous les saints, in *Oeuvres Completes du Ven. P. de la Colombière*, (Vols.I-V), Grenoble, 1900-1901, Vol.I, p.21.

⁵⁰⁸ Esterly, David, *Grinling Gibbons and the Art of Carving*, V&A Publications, London, 1998, pp.130-144

⁵⁰⁹Colombière, Sermon pour le troisième dimanche de l'Advent, 1667, in *Oeuvres etc.*, Vol.III, p.111.

He then proceeded to ask two questions:

"Dear God, when will you cause so great a scourge to cease ?

How can we at length appease You, and oblige You to unite us all in one and the same fold, as we had been throughout the space of thirteen or fourteen centuries ?" ⁵¹⁰

His equation of Protestantism with ingratitude to God identifies him with Sister Margaret Mary's revelations at Paray-le-Monial, which Colombière had decided were genuine and led to his institution of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart in the Queen's Chapel. Although evidence supplied by the Visitation Order, itself founded by Francis de Sales, at Paray-le-Monial shows that some of Margaret Mary's contemporaries also experienced intimate visions of the Sacred Heart: Amongst others, Sister Anne-Marguerite Clement in 1661, Sister Claus Garnier in 1667, Mother Anne Marie Rosset in 1677 and Mother Marie Constance de Bresson in 1668. These visions did not have the international implications of those experienced by Sister Margaret Mary in her three revelations in 1673, 1674 and 1675. During her third, Christ is credited with saying "There it is, that Heart so deeply in love with men, it spared no means of proof - wearing it out until it was utterly spent. This meets with scant appreciation from most of them; all I get back is ingratitude - witness their irreverence, their sacrileges..."⁵¹¹

Colombière accordingly equated the continuing wrath of the Almighty with the persistence of Protestantism. It was a concept which when preached at the Queen's Chapel and in his personal ministrations, evidently hit home with the Duke and Duchess of York both as a political message and as a personal explanation for their continuing family tragedies. The Duchess of York's eldest daughter, Catherine Laura, was born on 19th January 1675, baptised according to Roman Catholic rites in the Queen's Chapel by the Jesuit, Galli, but died the following 3rd October. The second, Isabella, born on 28th August 1676, died on 2nd March 1682. It was the death of the third child, the Duke of Cambridge, born on November 18th 1677, and his death a month later on 22nd December, with which Colombière had to deal following his appointment as the Duchess's chaplain. A third daughter, Charlotte Mary, was born on 15th August 1682 but died the following 6th October. Of this period of intense personal tragedy, the Duchess of York later recalled: "I never tasted happiness in England, except between my fifteenth and twentieth year. But in those five years I had always been pregnant, and I lost all my children". She added, rather more significantly, "My husband, the king, and myself would have been desolate had we to bring up our children Protestants. We found some consolation in seeing them die young". Of the same era she recalled King James had said: "Look, until we are able to bring up our children in the true religion, not one will live". ⁵¹² This echoes the central theme of the sermons which Colombière gave at the Queen's Chapel while she struggled to come to terms with this tragic record of infant death in James's family.

⁵¹⁰Ibid.

⁵¹¹Ladame, Jean, Saint Margaret Mary and the Visitation in Paray, translated by Mrs. Elfrieda T. Dubois, University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1977, for a chapter entitled "Revelations of the Sacred Heart".

⁵¹²Memoires Historiques relatifs a S.M. la reine d'Angleterre, femmes de Jacques, Vol. II, Paris, p.713. Mary of Modena's Memoires were reprinted in French in 1889. See Madan Falconer (ed), Stuart Papers, Roxburghe Club, Edinburgh, Vols I and II, 1889.

Chapter 16

KING JAMES, ELLIS AND THE ROUTE TO A VITAL NEW POLITICO-RELIGIOUS USE OF THE QUEEN'S CHAPEL.

Colombière's preaching foreshadows the later use of the prime Benedictine pulpit by Bishop Philip Michael Ellis. But there was more to Ellis's pronouncements and sermons than obedient and convenient support for the King. His pronouncements from the pulpit at the Queen's Chapel in the reign of James II, and their relationship or otherwise to James's plans for the restoration of Roman Catholicism, have been well researched by Dom Geoffrey Scott.⁵¹³

A decade later than Colombière, the Benedictine Fr. Ellis had to cope with a King and Queen who had been convinced that failure to restore Catholicism to its former glory amounted to succouring Protestantism - the explanation given by Colombière for the deaths of their children on the basis of Our Lord's saying that "he who is not for me is against me". Given Colombière's explanation, with its implicit threat of continued personal family tragedy if ignored, James's apparently headstrong actions in restoring the 'old Faith' in the face of political reality can now be understood in a new light.

On the throne at last, but unable to persuade Parliament to repeal the Test Acts of 1673 and 1678⁵¹⁴ in November 1685, James responded by proroguing Parliament on 20th November 1685. A collusive law case, *Godden v Hales*, examined in April 1686, led to a judgement published in June that the King could dispense with the Test Acts in some circumstances without the consent of Parliament. With this James set about introducing Catholics into the Army, the Universities (where he backed the cause of the Benedictine Alban Placid Francis at Cambridge, even backing Catholic candidates for the Presidency of Magdalen College, Oxford). He established an Ecclesiastical Commission to promote and regulate appointments within the Church of England. On 15th July 1686 he delegated to it his powers as Governor of the Church of England. By September it had used its authority to suspend Bishop Compton, who was vigorously opposing James's moves. Meanwhile in Scotland James readily introduced a largely Roman Catholic administration.⁵¹⁵ Having prorogued his first Parliament in England after that short two week sitting in November 1685, James announced its dissolution early in 1686. To clear the decks for his major use of his prerogative powers he ordered preachers to suppress anti-Catholic sermons in March 1686.⁵¹⁶ In November 1686 he established a

⁵¹³ Scott, Dom Geoffrey, OSB, "Sacredness of Majesty": The English Benedictines and the Cult of King James II, *Royal Stuart Papers* XXIII, Huntingdon, 1984; "A Benedictine Conspirator: Henry Joseph Johnston (c.1656-1723)", in *Recusant History* [Reprint], Catholic Record Society, 1992; p.63; "Benedictines and Jacobites", Douai Abbey 1980; *Gothic Rage Undone - English Monks in the Age of Enlightenment*, Downside Abbey, Bath, 1992.

⁵¹⁴ 25 Car II. 2. and 30 Car II. st.2, c.1.

⁵¹⁵ The Scottish Assertery Act of 1669, not repealed until 1690, conferred upon the King enough power "plainly to make the King our Pope" according to Gilbert Burnet. See Burnet, G, *History of My Time*, Vol 1, Dublin, 1724, pp.149 and 428. An alternative view is given in Head, R.E. *Royal Supremacy and the Trial of Bishops, 1558-1725*, Church Historical Society and S.P.C.K, London, p.77.

⁵¹⁶ This is the prelude to the establishment of the Court of High Commission established in July 1686.

Licensing Office to sell dissenters certificates of dispensation from penal legislation⁵¹⁷ before moving on April 4th 1687 to publish his first Declaration of Indulgence⁵¹⁸- re-issued as a second Declaration on 27th April 1688.

But as Archbishop Sancroft and six Church of England bishops refused in front of James in "the room within the Kings Bedchamber" at Whitehall Palace to disseminate it in their dioceses.⁵¹⁹ James directly required all the Church of England's clergy to read it from their pulpits. Intent on introducing a compliant Catholic Episcopacy James had received Count Ferdinando d'Adda as official Papal Nuncio to the Court of St. James's in July 1686, eventually hosting his consecration in the Queen's Chapel by two Irish Prelates as Archbishop of Amasia on 11th May 1687.⁵²⁰ Also consecrated then as Bishop of Adrumetum was the nephew of a former Queen's Chaplain, now the Vicar Apostolic of London, John Leyburn. In 1687 Bonaventure Giffard was made Bishop of Madaura and Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District in a change which prefigured further change. Weldon notes that these Catholic appointments culminated in Ellis's consecration on 6th May 1688 as Bishop of Auriopolis in a ceremony also held at the Queen's Chapel.⁵²¹

James also built a new Roman Catholic Chapel Royal in 1685 only yards away in Whitehall from the existing Tudor Anglican Chapel Royal.⁵²² In doing that he ignored the authority of the Anglican Clerk of the Closet so fully that he created concurrently a complete Roman Catholic hierarchy at Court headed by a Roman Catholic Clerk of the Closet, the Jesuit Fr. Edward Petre, who was also appointed a Privy

⁵¹⁷Pawley, Bernard and Margaret, Rome and Canterbury Through Four Centuries, Mowbrays, London, p.46-7. They conclude that James's actions leading up to the Declarations of Indulgence amounted to "a forked-tongue policy of universal toleration, intending in this way to bring in justice for his fellow-religionists by a side-wind".

⁵¹⁸The Declarations of Indulgence are both entitled: "King James II His gracious declaration to all his loving subjects for Liberty of conscience". For the text of the first see Kenyon, Stuart Constitution, p.389. See too "A letter to a Dissenter upon Occasion of his Majesty's late gracious Declaration of Indulgence, of 4th April 1687, by George Marquis of Halifax", in The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest period to the year 1803, Vol.4, 1660-1688, Appendix No.XVII, Longman, London 1808.

⁵¹⁹Cox, Montagu, and Norman, Philip, (eds.) Survey of London, Volume XIII, The Parish of St Margaret, Westminster, Part II, published by B.T Batsford for the London County Council, 1930, p78 cite the encounter from Henry Clarendon's Diary. Bernard and Margaret Pawley, op. cit., p. 47 note of Sancroft's position that "the Trial became in effect a constitutional Trial of James himself" and that "the real verdict was against the King".

⁵²⁰"Lettere di Mgr Nuncio in Londra 1685", Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Nunziature Inghilterra, 1071, 10, and "Altre dell 1686-1689" in 1071, 11-14: "Adda Nuncio a Londra dal 1686 a tutto il 1689", Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Nunziature Inghilterra, 1071, 15: "Registro di lettere scritte a Mgr Nuncio in Inghilterra del 1686-1689" Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Nunziature Inghilterra, 1071, 16: "King James e Adda Nuncio di Londra", Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Nunziature Inghilterra, 1071, 17.

⁵²¹Ibid. Also Weldon, Dom. R. Bennet, O.S.B., (ed.) Dolan, Gilbert, Chronological Notes, containing the Rise, Growth, and Present State of the English Congregation of the Order of St Benedict, drawn from the archives of the said congregation at Douay in Flanders, Dieulwart in Lorraine, Paris in France, and Lambsring in Germany where are preserved the authentic acts and original deeds etc., 1707. The Abbey of Our lady of Consolation, Worcester, 1881; Green, Dom Bernard, The English Benedictine Congregation, Catholic Truth Society, undated, p.25. Scott, Dom Geoffrey, Benedictines and Jacobites, typescript, undated, Douai Abbey, p.22.

⁵²²PRO. LS/13/255. Lord Steward's Records Warrants of Appointment for 26th April 1687 is prefaced by the remark: "Wee have lately built a Royal Chapell in Our Pallace at Whitehall and have fitte to order an establishment for our said Chapell in manner following...."

Councillor.⁵²³ As these full-blooded actions in favour of the Roman Catholic cause were not the actions of a coward in political terms, why did his protégé Ellis use the pulpit of the Queen's Chapel to renounce the Benedictine claims once and for all to their pre-Reformation lands ?

The conventional wisdom is that there must have been co-ordination over the content and timing of this sermon between Ellis and King James, with Ellis drawing the sting of anti-Catholic sentiment through the renunciation of those land claims. James must have remembered Colombière's sequence of sermons, especially that of the Third Sunday in Advent, 1677 which had used dramatic terminology to describe England as "one great monastery" in days of old and the consequential duty to restore those days. Surely the timing of Ellis's renunciation of the claim to the old Benedictine lands and foundations, together with appointments to them, was provoked by the possibility that the wrath of God might again be vented within James's family through yet another of Mary of Modena's unfortunate pregnancies.

James II in writing to his daughter Mary on 4th November 1687 wrote of "The blood of Martyrs, the seed of the Church, rendered her extremely fertile and glorious by the astonishing examples of grandeur and the courage of Christian conduct: through her humble submission she has been preserved to the present, because without submission one cannot be a Christian. It was principally this consideration which made me embrace the communion of the Roman Catholic Church..."⁵²⁴ It shows he must have remembered almost phrase for phrase Colombière's sermons. That familiarity reveals the thoughts which must have crossed James's mind when listening in person to Ellis's sermon on the Feast of All Benedictine Saints delivered on 13th November 1686. But Ellis's ideas did not accord with James's earlier understanding of Colombière that the appeasement of Protestantism was what constituted evil in the eyes of God. Colombière had sought a full and complete submission to Rome. Put starkly, but against the background of infant mortality, James must have thought that little was to be gained from the irrevocable renunciation of the old monastic lands and claims - except to confirm Protestants in their possession of them.

Edward Corp agrees that Ellis's stance must have antagonised James who still evidently associated the restoration of all things Catholic with furthering his dynasty.⁵²⁵ While it is undeniable that Ellis remained in the employ of James, serving him in exile after 1688 and receiving a pension in exile until 1695, that pension was cut because he refused James's command to return to England. This suggests a volatile relationship. It is the contention of this thesis, with which Edward Corp agrees, that Ellis was in fact looking after the future interests of the Benedictine Order by tempering James's headstrong actions. Ellis

⁵²³ Petre's appointments appeared in The London Gazette as follows: "Whitehall, 11 November, 1687, - This day the Honourable and Reverend Edward Petre, Clerk of the Closet to his Majesty, was sworn of his Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, and accordingly took his place at the Board".

⁵²⁴ Bowen, *op.cit.*, p293.

⁵²⁵ Letter 8th June 1998 from Dr. Edward Corp in response to this interpretation which comments: "I find your explanation in that section totally convincing, and indeed alarmingly so. James II was undoubtedly a man of great courage until his terrible breakdown in November 1688 and the decision to renounce the Benedictine claims in 1686 seems very odd indeed in the context of the time."

probably saw what James did not. If James's attempt at restoring the Old Faith were to include monastic pre-Reformation claims, and if James were to founder, how would the Benedictine cause have been seen ?

By renouncing the old monastic lands alongside unyielding actions in other matters, Ellis must have sailed close to James's limit of toleration - especially in its implications for potential Divine retribution in the form of further infertility and personal tragedy. James and Mary were still trying for other children as the birth of James Francis Edward Stuart on 10th June 1688 shows. Furthermore James's visit to the specially re-opened shrine at Holywell in North Wales in September 1687 to pray for a son illustrates the determination of his search.⁵³² In the context of Colmbière's explanation of Mary's experience of infant mortality, Ellis cannot be seen as furthering James's interest, however astute was Ellis' political appreciation of the monarchy's need not alienate living English landowners just as they were expected to stomach a new hierarchy of English Roman Catholic Bishops that the Pope had appointed.⁵³³ Further testimony to Ellis's political awareness are his six sermons printed in London at the King's command. The first was delivered at Windsor,⁵³⁴ but the other five given at the Queen's Chapel. They indicate the latter's importance as the prime Catholic pulpit in England until James's exile began late in December 1688.

⁵³²Baldwin, David, "The Benedictine Community at the Queen's Chapel, St. James's Palace", Benedictine History Symposium, Vol 16, 1998, pp.51-52.

⁵³³ In 1685, John Leyburn, (1620-1672) was appointed Vicar Apostolic of England. In 1687 Bonaventure Giffard was made Bishop of Madaura and Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District in a change which prefigured further change and re-organisation into four districts. Leyburn then became the Vicar Apostolic of London in June 1688. At the same time Philip Michael Ellis OSB was consecrated as the Bishop of Auriopolis in the Queen's Chapel in 1688 and made Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, while James Smith became Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District.

⁵³⁴Weldon is a credible source for recollections about this, for, just eleven months later than Ellis's sermon renouncing claims to pre-Reformation monastic lands, he himself later recalled "For as much as I can remember dipping into the clear fountain of the church was on 12th October (S.N.), on a Saturday in 1687, when I made my abjuration at the Royal Convent of St. James, in the hands of R.F. Joseph Johnston, and was admitted to the most holy sacrament of the altar on the Monday following, October 14th, in the said Chapel, which I therefore particularly ever since loved, and much grieve to see in the power of erroneous darkness."

Chapter 17.

ARCHITECTURE, LITURGY AND STAFF AS EXPRESSIONS OF THE POLITICO-RELIGIOUS USAGE OF THE QUEEN'S CHAPEL, 1660 TO 1688.

The architecture of the Queen's Chapel as found by Catherine of Braganza in 1662.

Since Andrew Barclay wrote his thesis⁵²⁹, major restoration works at the Queen's Chapel have revealed a number of architectural surprises, not least of which is that the Chapel had been constructed in the 1620s as a double-shell, with a cavity all around of about a foot and a half. Before the Arabados moved into the Friary alongside the Benedictines in 1667, the Benedictine community at the Queen's Chapel would have conducted worship in a Chapel lit not only by the lateral windows (two of which are now filled in on the North side), but also by the huge triple Venetian window at the east end. In the course of the same works programme, the blacksmith Richard Quinnell, who has recently made the ironwork for the replica Inigo Jones theatre next to the Globe in Southwark, examined the great thick curved and straight iron bars which support the glass of that window and concluded that they must have been made using an array of eight synchronised water driven hammers to beat out the wrought iron. So it was a considerable engineering feat by Wainwright Smith to make the "18 saddle barrs for the window in the Queen's Chappel."⁵³⁰ The glass itself was emblazoned in 1662 by Thomas Bagley, Master Glazier, with "a Crucifix of paynted glass iii foot broad and four foot deep" together with "2 coates of Armes" described earlier.⁵³¹ When Christopher Wren built the Apse onto the east end of the Chapel sometime around 1669 the great Venetian window was obscured and had to be hung with tapestries - as seen in the 1687 drawing of the interior.

Works accounts for 1663-64 reveal intimate details of other internal features integral to worship. They included a deal pulpit "with a foote pace for it to stand on and a broad stepp ladder to it with seven steps", while Thomas Kinward for £64 18s 9d made a "confessing howse...devided into three parts with arches seven foot wide, 7 foote eight inches high, two foote three inches deepe, with an Architrave freeze and cornish", and a new "closet" for the Queen. This latter was a box-like structure covered in crimson damask as described by the French visitor M. de Monconys in May 1663, and stood near the front of the present Royal Gallery. This structure features later in the story of the "Old Pretender's birth" for it was allegedly behind it in 1688 that the Jesuit Father Petre crept, carrying a baby born in the Friary in a warming pan to introduce him into the Queen's bedchamber in the South range of the Palace to which this Closet was connected by a passage known as "the Gallery". Monconys also noted that the Queen Catherine kept 24 grand coffers up there, presumably for relics. These too would appear to be represented in a drawing of Mary of Modena's escape by boat from Whitehall steps with the baby James Edward Francis Stuart.

⁵²⁹Barclay, *op. cit.*, 1994. For fuller details of its careful concern with James II's Household see page 11 above.

⁵³⁰PRO. Works.5/3 fol. 100.

⁵³¹PRO. Works 5/3 August, 1662.



Interior of the Queen's Chapel, St James's Palace, 1998.

H.M. Chapel Royal Archive, by gracious permission of H.M. The Queen.

A succession of tabernacles was constructed in the Queen's Chapel. The first was described by Monconys as "un Tabernacle d'argent".⁵³⁸ Pepys himself commented in September 1662 upon the "fine Altar ornaments, and the fryars in their habits".⁵³⁹

The post 1678 changes to the Chapel's original architectural features.

In 1679 Kinward made another Tabernacle, the outside of which was gilded and the inside was painted blue with gilded stars. Kinward also made a new pulpit, the angles of which were decorated with cherubims, heads and festoons carved by William Emmett, together with a "Great Ogee" and a rose, before the Benedictines returned under James II in 1685. This pulpit with its cherubims is still to be seen but split into two and now forming the ends of the Choir stalls.

The Inigo Jones coffered ceiling was also repainted by Robert Streater in the 1680s. But the Benedictines serving there in 1669 were familiar with the Chapels added under the Royal Closet in the Chapel, described by Cosimo, Duke of Tuscany on his visit: "At the entrance of the church are two lateral chapels, of which that on the right is dedicated to the most blessed Virgin, and in [which] Her Majesty recited the rosary on holy days, when she is present at divine service".⁵⁴⁰

There remains the slight possibility that they were located outside on either side in the area described in the Works accounts of 1679-80 as "the Friars' Great Cloister".⁵⁴¹ That cloister surrounding the "Buryal Ground" itself was supported by 27 columns with capitals and bases, behind which were set four niches, which were "washed, stopped and whitened" by a plasterer. This "Burying Place" is marked on Burgis's plan of 1689, the site of which now lies under Marlborough Road. It was here that the body of Lord Clancarty (Viscount Muskerry) was secretly interred following his death fighting along with the Duke of York at the Battle of Lowestoft in 1665, while the 'real' funeral was taking place at Westminster Abbey. It was here, too, about 1685, that Isabella Swinburne, who on 20th July 1684 at the age of nineteen, had entered the Benedictine Order at Cambrai and before "the middle of her Noviceship went into England, to be cured of, as it was thought, the Kenill and dyed there & was the first Catholic buried in St James Chappell when our monks were chaplains to K. James the 2nd of Blessed memory. She was buried in our habit".⁵⁴²

A fire raged outside the Palace in 1682, necessitating the use of gunpowder to blow up the houses nearby. Whether this signalled the eventual demise of the building that had housed the Portuguese Embassy until 1676 is unclear. What is clear is that the proximity of the gunpowder blasts resulted in a "window that was

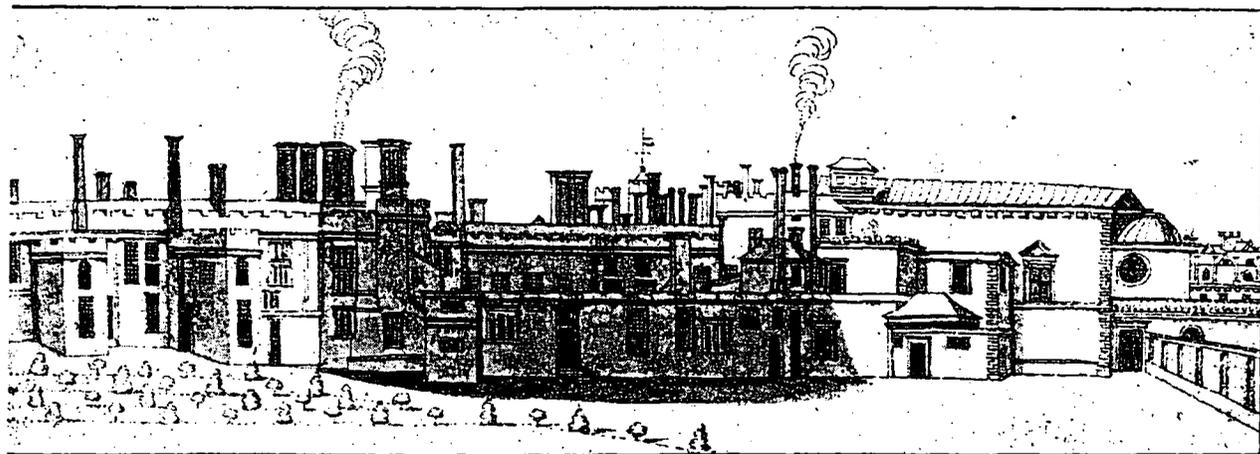
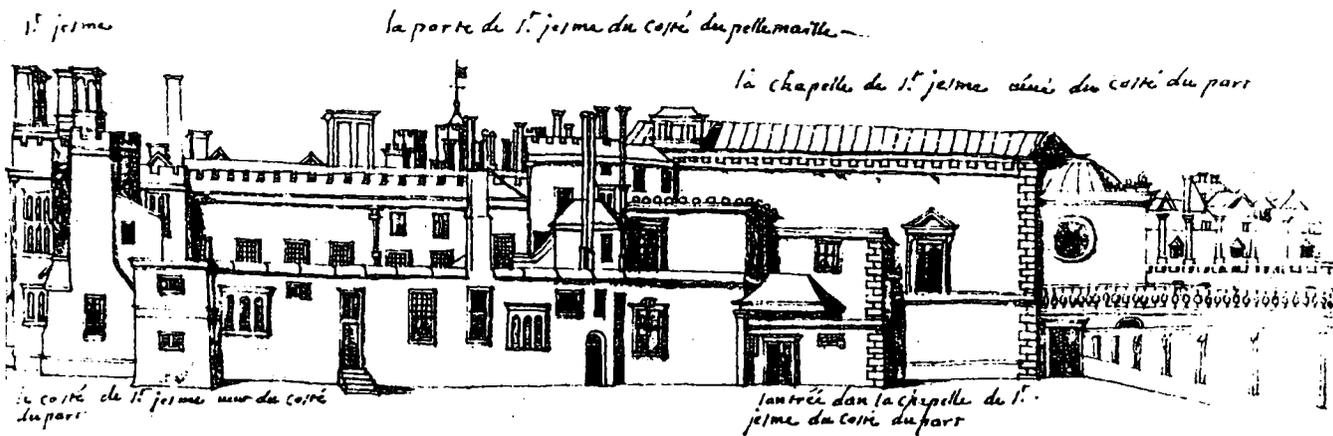
⁵³⁸ *Le Voyage de M. de Monconys*, Vol. III, Paris, 1695, pp.36-7.

⁵³⁹ *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Vol. II edited by H.B.Wheatley, 1893, p.342.

⁵⁴⁰ *Travels of Cosimo, Duke of Tuscany, through England*, edited by Magalotti, 1821, p.169.

⁵⁴¹ No evidence remains of these today.

⁵⁴² Cambrai Entry Book, written 1709-10. Copy generously supplied by S. Margaret Truron of Stanbrook Abbey, Callow End, Worcester, at the 1998 Benedictine History Symposium. The Convent of English Benedictine nuns at Cambrai had been founded in 1625 with English monks as chaplains.



Two drawings by Francois Gasselín of the
 South exterior of the Queen's Chapel from
 the Friary Garden, c.1687.

B.M.Crowle Pennant IV, No.165.

blown out" and which was repaired afterwards and the opportunity this afforded was taken to create "a great new architrave window on the north side of the Chapel", complete with festoon scrolls and a cherub's head on the keystone.⁵³⁷ It is this window which is seen in the internal 1687 engraving, although none of the external embellishments now survive. This may be due to the demolition of the Vestries early in the 18th century. These were ranged along the North wall, and were provided with presses for altar cloths, a "great chest of drawers" and a long shelf "to sett candle sticks on", and there was a "Privy Sacristy" equipped with "a napkin rowle" by Kinward.⁵³⁸

There is, though, confusion about the Friars' choir. This appears to have been located in the apse, but must have somehow housed twenty stalls, where 81 feet of Portland stone was employed in 1683 "in the two round Architrave windows of the Chaire" which are visible in the Gasselin sketch. Here, too, the occupants of the stalls, presumably the Arabadoes, were provided with segmental "compasse kneeling boards and resting boards", while in the centre was "a large reading deske of wainscot turning upon a pillar"⁵³⁹, and at one side there was an altar standing on deal steps. Two stalls were also "made to open into the Chaire".⁵⁴⁰ There also exists a bill "To Grinling Gibbons Carver for carving the Altar in her Majesty's Chappell accordinge to a designe approved of by her Majestie". He made her a "modell for the altar piece" to help the decision, for which he charged £1 17s. ⁵⁴¹ The Altar piece and reredos is substantially what we see today, painted and gilded at the time by Robert Streater, including the "two Great Festoones" over the Arch with the "two flying boyes", and he was also paid for "gilding the Queenes Armes" which Royal Arms are impaled with the Stuart and survive today. ⁵⁴²

These major sequential changes and refurbishments as effected to the Queen's Chapel during the 1680s have their roots in the events of 1675-82 when Charles and Catherine of Braganza had reason to feel severely embarrassed by the Jesuits' activities in and around the Queen's Chapel and about their corresponding network of connections right up to the French monarch too; others have their roots in the Italian Catholicism and interest of Mary of Modena following her marriage to the King's brother in 1673. In 1681 Thomas Davies captured the prevailing mood of suspicion at the Jesuit's purposes when in London by publishing there his satirical tract called "The Jesuits Advice to the Painter". Part of this reads:

" And though we Swear, For Swear and Lie, we pardon,
A Jesuit as no Devil but a Saint
For Deep rebellion of a purple dye,
Draw Humble supplication to Majesty.
Where foreigners design for to invade,
No answers put, but Langour, Fear and Dread.

⁵³⁷PRO. Works 5/3. St James's. There is now no sign of the scrolls or cherub's head on the keystone.

⁵³⁸Ibid.

⁵³⁹ PRO. Works 5/3. St James's. Apparently made by John Turner, joiner.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid. 10th June 1682.

⁵⁴² Ibid.

Depose great Lewis from his glorious Throne
While we unite three kingdoms to his own."⁵⁴³

The immediate reason for some of the major elements in the refurbishment of the Queen's Chapel of 1682 was that fire damage, but this accident gave Charles the opportunity for spending on the Chapel so as to put a stronger emphasis on Braganzan symbols. This was a clever political response to the current climate of opinion, even if it was also about asserting the Queen's identity. After 1680 Charles had to distance himself increasingly from his earlier alignment with Louis's ambitions, so it was convenient to celebrate even more prominently the other Catholic alliance that was beyond controversy - the one enhanced by his Portuguese Queen. While Charles trusted Catherine's judgement in such matters, continental influence in the Braganzan period of the Queen's Chapel found expression beyond the botany of the Tangier symbolism enshrined in Gibbon's embellishment of Inigo Jones's chimneypiece in the Royal Closet of the Queen's Chapel. Mary of Modena's coming to St. James's brought the Bolognese artist, Benedetto de Gennari's the Younger, to her notice too.

Thus the wooden carved decorations incorporated into Gibbon's reredos behind the Altar reflected not only English botany in contrast to the Chimneypiece additions at the other end of the Chapel, but also made provision for the liturgical picture barrier supplied by Benedetto Gennari specifically on the Queen's instructions. More than this, Gibbons was evidently given leave to incorporate into the reredos two features of French origin which are extant: the Jean Warin II plaster-casts of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Although originally from the Low Countries, Warin had been summoned to the French Court in 1627 by Louis XIII, and henceforth he was regarded as a Frenchman and celebrated engraver of medals, and who engraved portraits of Richelieu and Louis XIII and St. Peter before making a gilded bronze portrait of St. Paul in 1650. It is casts of Warin's portraits of which Gibbons incorporated into the reredos on its North and South wings in 1682-83.⁵⁴⁴

Queen's Chapel Paintings.

Much else, though, has been lost from the 1682 scheme, which included painting of the dome over the choir and the tabernacle, as well as an oil painting of the *Familiglia Sacra* painted by Benedetto Gennari as the Altar Piece in 1682, complete with an altar carved by Grinling Gibbons.⁵⁴⁵ Certainly the face of the Virgin Mary was reproduced by Gennari in 1688 for the "sacristy"⁵⁴⁶ In all, Gennari executed about twenty five

⁵⁴³BL Printed Tracts, 11602 i. 25 (5).

⁵⁴⁴Identification made by David Baldwin 1999.

⁵⁴⁵ Gennari's *la Sacra Familiglia* has been since 1972 in the Birmingham City Art Gallery.

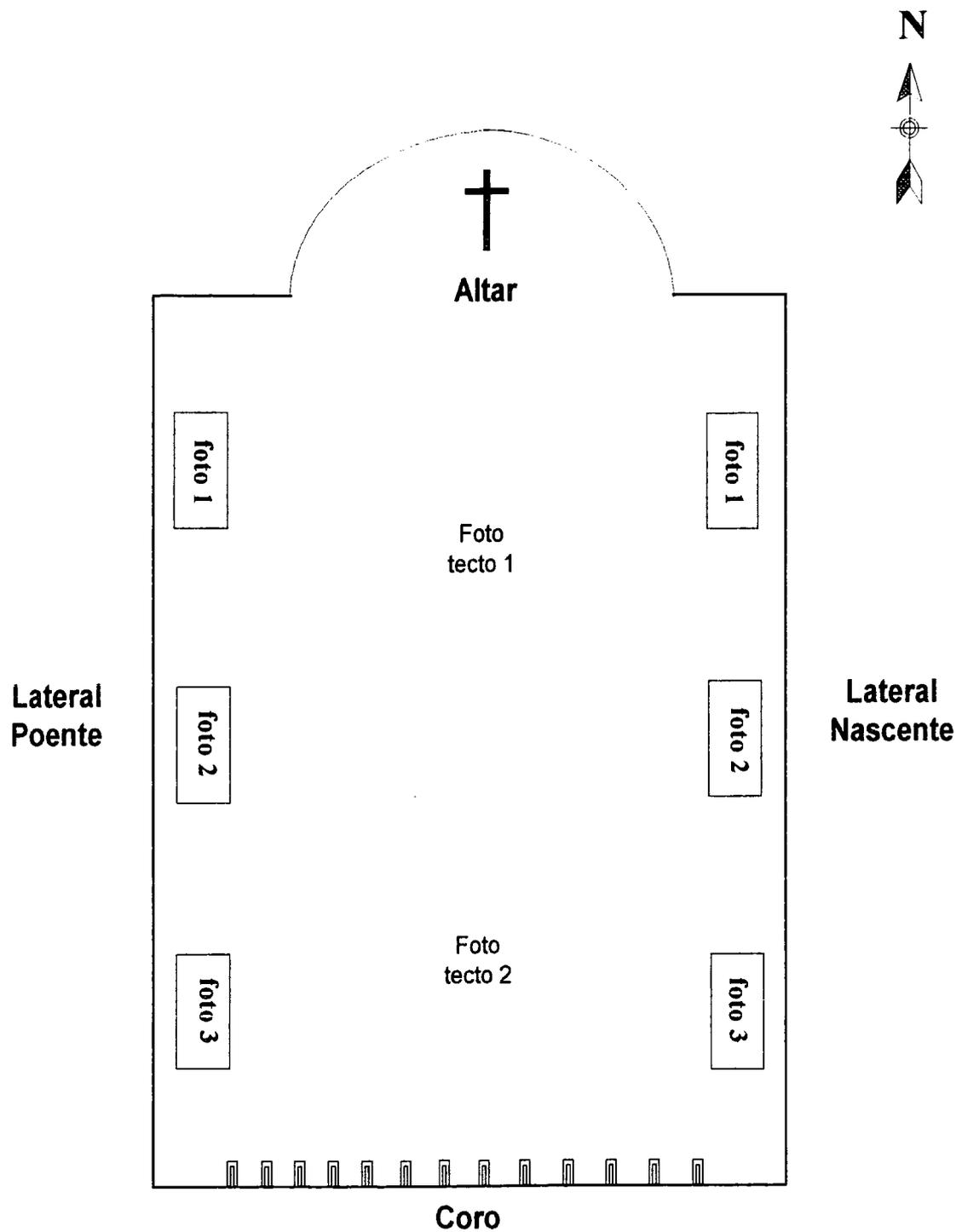
⁵⁴⁶ Baldwin, *op. cit.*, pp.137-141. That such paintings were rotated and displayed in accordance with the Festival of the Church Calendar is clearly indicated by an instruction in Item 114 of Gennari's List for a crucifixion scene "for the Chapel of St. James's to be displayed every year at passiontide". See also item 134 of Gennari's "Nota...".



Devotional paintings and traditional 17th century Portuguese tiles in the Capela Rainha Santa Isabel, Palacio D.Denis, Estremoz, Portugal. A similar picture 'barrier' is recorded at the Queen's Chapel in St.James's Palace under Catherine of Braganza's governance.

Photograph by courtesy of Jose Gregorio Faria, Portuguese Ambassador to the Court of St.James's.

Capela Rainha Santa Isabel



Plan of the Capela Rainha Santa Isabel, Palacio D.Denis, Estremoz, Portugal.
By courtesy of Jose Gregorio Faria, Portuguese Ambassador to the Court of St.James's.

paintings between 1675 and 1688 specifically for the Queens Consort to hang in the Queen's Chapel and its vestries, or in its staff's quarters there. Four of these can still be traced.⁵⁴⁷

Gennari's picture of the Sacra Famiglia must therefore have predated Huysmans' paintings which were installed by 7th July 1683 when Sir Christopher Wren wrote to the Earl of Clarendon, the Lord Treasurer, to say that he had examined the paintings performed by Mr. Houseman, (Jacob Huysmans) at the Chapel of St James, and recommended payment of £230 which he deserves, "the work being painfully don and like an able Artist."⁵⁴⁸ Another of the 1682-83 alterations, permitted by the Chapel's double skin construction, included the hewing out of the niches by Maurice Emmett for the Saints' statues of St Gregory and St Augustine which are to be seen in the 1687 engraving.

Gennari's lists of paintings for which he was commissioned, as Court Artist to the Queen Consorts between 1675 and 1688, contain rare information about this period, not only in the form of details relating to the reasons for the various commissions.⁵⁴⁹ They record that he was commissioned by three Chaplains in their personal capacities while they were serving in the Queen's Chapel at this time.⁵⁵⁰ These three Chaplains were Don Emmanuelle Dias, Don Giovanni Battista Draghi (also Organist), and Don Giacomo Ronchi. The lists Gennari kept furnish other important details both about additions to the Queen's Chapel's furniture and to the Friary, and about the office holders for whom they were intended.

Thus Item 26 of Gennari's London Section inventory reads in translation : "An oval painting depicting St. Joseph with Baby Jesus who is studying a Book. This painting for Sig. Emmanuelle Dias, Treasurer of the Queen's Chapel".⁵⁵¹ Dias is described further in No. 51 which reads: "A portrait in an oval of Sig. Dom Emmanuelle Dias the Portuguese Almoner of the Queen's Chapel. No.101 adds the data on "A little oval

⁵⁴⁷Others may have been taken to St. Germain on Mary's flight. Certainly the 1703 Inventory of James III mentions four Gennaris with perhaps one commissioned for the Queen's Chapel. Yet there is a likelihood that they might have come under the Protection of Francesco Riva, whose sister married Benedetto Gennari's brother, Cesare, in 1669. Francesco accompanied Benedetto to England in 1672, held office in James's Household and was one of few chosen to accompany James on his flight.

E. Corp (ed), *La Cour des Stuarts a Saint-Germain-en-Laye au Temps de Louis XIV*, Musée des Antiquités nationales de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1992, p.185, for Francesco's movements.

⁵⁴⁸PRO. E 101/ 674/31. Wren notes that it required payment of £170 as £60 had been paid already. Jacob Huysmans appended his receipt in the sum of £170. Wren was Surveyor General of the King's Works from 1669-1718.

Huysmans is more famous for his picture of Catherine of Braganza as a shepherdess, in the Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace, surely a metaphor for the way she used the Queen's Chapel. The same compositional elements appear in another portrait by Lely in the Duke of Grafton's Collection at Euston Hall, Thetford, where the sheep is being fed with one hand, while The Queen's other hand rests on book of sacred music next to her Crown.

⁵⁴⁹Gennari in his subsequent role as Court Artist at St. Germain-en-Laye painted several portraits of Mary's children. Portraits of the "Old Pretender" in his childhood, especially Gennari's, show unmistakable Stuart physiognomy even as the Stuart dynasty was divided as between its Catholic and Protestant branches.

⁵⁵⁰Commissions by Benedetto Gennari the Younger, Court Artist, in *Bibliotheca Communale dell'Archiginnasio* at Bologna, MS. M.S.B.344.

⁵⁵¹Item 26 in Benedetto Gennari's *Nota Alfa quadri fatti in Londra pricipiando dall'anno 1674 ali 8 ottobre (A di 24th settembre 1674 in giorno di lunedì arrivassimo in Londra*", which covers the period 1674-1688.



**The Sacra Famiglia, by Benedetto Gennari the Younger,
(1633-1715). Signed and dated 1682.**

Altarpiece as commissioned for the Queen's Chapel by Mary of Modena as Duchess of York. This must have been among those items smuggled out of the Queen's Chapel in 1688 and is known to have been in the hands of Earl Poulett in Rome in 1767.

Birmingham City Art Gallery

painting showing the Baby Christ and St. John the Baptist with the lamb & this for Almoner Emmanuelle Dias of the Queen's Chapel".⁵⁵⁸

It has long been assumed, and with some justification since the discovery of a 1703 inventory at St. Germain, that Mary of Modena took flight with a number of items and paintings that were present in the Queen's Chapel for the Christening. Working to a tight deadline she may have had to settle only for paintings that were stored in chests and/or rolled up for safety. These may well have included the Gennari painting of the Holy Family which hung over the Altar until replaced by the Huysmans. A document in the Jesuit Archivum Romanum hints at who, along with Gennari himself, may have organised their movement asserting that; "those of the Society who, living in the immediate service of their Majesties within the precincts of the Court, might have expected to enjoy greater security, altogether escape the violence of the storm. These were four, viz., Father John Warner, the King's Confessor; father Anthony Judici [ie.Galli] and Bartholomew Ruga, the one her Majesty's confessor and the other her preacher; and Father Sabran, the Chaplain to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to whom alone was confided the care of the spiritual affairs of the Queen's household"⁵⁵⁹.

Plate for the Royal Chapels.

A further impression of the grandeur of the established tradition of the Queen's Chapel is gained by noting the content of an inventory again mentioning Ronchi and compiled as late as 1703 in the newly discovered "King James III's Inventory of the late King James II's Goods at St.Germain en Laye ". Under the heading: "Chappel Plate in the Custody of our Almoner Mr. Ronchi."⁵⁶⁰ this entry appears: "Chappell Plate in the Custody of our Almoner, Mr. Ronchi: Six great Candlesticks for the Altar, weight 130lb .20z, Value 3097; The rest of the Chappell plate consists of one Ciborium, one Expositorium, One Crucifix, Three Chalices, Two Patens, One Basin for the Crewetts, One Cross, One Thurible, a Boate for incense, Two little Crewetts, Two Burets & a Bason. We do not think proper to be estimated in this Inventory as being things appropriate to the Service of God. Weighs 41. 5. 0". In the margin is a "Note that the Chappell Plate in Scotland to the Value of about two hundred pounds was given by Us to support the poor Missions there".⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁸ Item 134 of Gennari's "Nota...", discussed in Baldwin, *op.cit.*, p.141

⁵⁵⁹Archivum Romanum S.J. Germania, Epp. General ad Externos 1686-1713. Document entitled "A Supplement to the History of the Province or a brief narrative of some events that happened especially to the members of the English Province at the time of the lamentable overthrow of the Government in England, both sacred and profane, at the end of the year 1688".

⁵⁶⁰ Leeds, Brotherton Library, MS.Dep., 1984/2/5 entitled "A True and Just Inventory indented and made this five and twentieth day of July in the yeare of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Three and in the seconde year of the Reign of our most dear Son Jaems The Third...", reprinted in part and discussed in Baldwin, D.J.P., Stuart Roman Catholic Almoners, St.James's Palace, London 1992, and presented as a paper at the Royal Maundy Feast. The Chapel Royal liveries, have remianed exactly the same as those provided and made under the 1661 warrant, deposited with the Royal Taylors. They are worn every Sunday, and regularly televised.

⁵⁶¹*Ibid.* Dr.Corp suggests that "C'est une reference a la celebre argenterie religieuse de Holyrood, qui avait ete sauvee de la chapelle catholique de Holyroodhouse par la pere David Burnet, quand la foule attaquit le palais en decembre 1688" - La cour des Stuarts a Saint-Germain-en-Laye au temps de Louis XIV, Musée des Antiquites nationales, 1992, under Item 140, p.130. A photograph of the 1703 Inventory is held at Chapel Royal Archive and was discussed in a paper by Baldwin, D.J.P., Stuart Roman Catholic Almoners, St.James's Palace, 1992.



Catherine of Braganza as Queen Consort to Charles II.

Painted in the image of a shepherdess of the Roman Catholic Church by Sir Peter Lely. (1618-1680). The image of an opened volume of sacred music beside her Crown is unmistakable allusion to The Queen's Chapel.

An engraving by S. Freeman after the original the Duke of Grafton's Collection, Euston Hall, Thetford.



The Roman Catholic Holyroodhouse Altar Plate, 1686-7.

Assembled by St. Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh, and the Scottish Roman Catholic Hierarchy for exhibition at the National Museum of Scotland, Chambers Street, Edinburgh.



The seventeenth century Queen's Chapel Roman Catholic Plate

The 'Dux Jacobus' items were made in c.1661 by Robert Smithier and others, and are distinguished by the 'DJ' monogram incised into them. They continued in use for Roman Catholic worship at the Queen's Chapel until 1688, and thereafter were retained by subsequent Sovereigns for the use of the |Chapel Royal at St. James's Palace. The monograms of Charles II on nearly all of the rest of the Restoration sacramental plate were erased and replaced with William and Mary's about 1689-91. To survive this fate in its entirety the 'DJ' set must have remained in Roman Catholic use probably at Somerset House until the Queen Dowager's Chapel was closed. **H.M. Chapel Royal Archive. Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen**

This latter Scottish collection was bought mostly in London by the Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, with £8000 on James's instructions in 1686, for his Roman Catholic Chapel Royal in the Abbey Church of Holyrood. A contemporary Protestant diarist duly recorded that on 23rd November 1686 "the King's Yaught arrived...at Leith with the popish altar, vestments, images, priests and other dependers for the Popish chapel in the Abbey."⁵⁵⁶ This set was reunited in 1967 when the Scottish Roman Catholic Hierarchy and the Mother Superior of St. Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh, deposited it with the National Galleries and Museums of Scotland.⁵⁵⁷

Some Royal Sacramental Plate was saved in 1688 by the Spanish Ambassador, Ronquillo's intervening to have it moved to his official residence in Wild House, near Lincoln's Inn Fields.⁵⁵⁸ Other silver-gilt Sacramental Plate made for James Duke of York in the early 1660s has survived and is still used by the Chapel Royal. These items would have been familiar to the Benedictine community at St. James's Palace and comprise the set for which the payment was noted earlier in relation to Dr Duarte de Silva, Treasurer to the King of Portugal. This set included an elaborate chalice and paten, two flagons decorated on the handles with large 'M's, two altar candlesticks and an offertory plate displaying a sacred heart beneath the IHS - over a decade therefore before introduction of the Sacred Heart as a Devotion by Colombière in the 1670s. All these items display the 'Dux Jacobus' monogram surmounted by the royal ducal coronet. Schellinks noted some of the plate upon Catherine of Braganza's arrival at Hampton Court in 1662: "On the 14th in the morning we went once more to look at the Palace, also the Queen's Chapel, where, on the altar, was a heavy silver ciborium and candlesticks".⁵⁵⁹

Liturgical practice in the Queen's Chapel.

The way that liturgy, music and architecture of the Queen's Chapel had combined prior to December 1688 was quite magnificent and was achieved by careful attention to each respect. Some idea of the form that the Roman Offices took at the Queen's Chapel can be gleaned from a few surviving Office manuals and Breviaries. A work entitled "The Compleat Office of the Holy Week with Notes and Explications, translated out of Latin and French, published with allowance" was printed for Matthew Turner at the Lamb in High Holborn in 1687.⁵⁶⁰ William Kirkham Blount dedicated it to the Queen with the observation that "now the

⁵⁵⁶ Marshall, Rosalind (ed.) "Dynasty: The Royal House of Stewart," National Galleries of Scotland and National Museums of Scotland, 1990, p.84, with the description of items in Findlay House written by George Dalgleish.

⁵⁵⁷ The Scottish Plate appears as Item 102 in the new permanent display in the National Portrait Gallery/National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.

⁵⁵⁸ Macaulay, Thomas Babington, History of England..., Dent, London, 1906, Vol 2. p.132 records this probably in error as the Chapel Royal's Plate. It was more likely to have come from the Queen's Chapel whence staff moved regularly and without exciting suspicion among all the Catholic embassy chapels. Baldwin, op. cit., 1990, p.214 and Baldwin, op. cit., EBC History Symposium, 1998, pp.60-61.

⁵⁵⁹ Exwood, Maurice and Lehmann, L.H., (eds) The Journal of William Schellinks' Travels in England 1661-1663, Translated from the Dutch, Camden Fifth Series, Vol.I, Royal Historical Society, London, 1993, p.92.

⁵⁶⁰ Photographic copy held at Chapel Royal Archive, St. James's Palace, Old Safe.

THE
Compleat Office
OF THE
Holy Week.

WITH
NOTES and EXPLICATIONS.

Translated out of Latin and French.

Published with Allowance.



L O N D O N :

Printed for Matthew Turner, at the Lamb in
High-Holborn. 1687.

TO THE
QUEEN.

MADAM,

WITH all possible
Respect, and some
Hopes it will not
prove absolutely unwelcom, I Humbly
lay at Your Majesty's Feet a very
good Book, but a very ill-suited
Present: For Devout Ink and
Paper to Your Majesty, whose Life
is it self a Book of Devotion, is
A 3 but

Times are returned in which the Queens of England are Saints again; and the Fruit infinitely great, when people find the way to Heaven is the way to be well at Court".⁵⁶¹

We may assume that this detailed record of the Queen's Chapel's practices was in the public domain, for the Queen possessed a printed copy of it recording that it had been "published with Allowance". Internally, its elements tally well with Evelyn's observations that such ceremonies were conducted in these forms at the Queen's Chapel at St. James's and at Whitehall. The Chapel Royal Archive now also possesses a copy of James II's Prayer Book, the original of which was described when it came up for sale as "excessively rare and unknown to Lowndes and other bibliographers. The work was probably printed only for use in the King's Chapel, which may account for its rarity".⁵⁶² It bore the title "Short prayers for the Use of all Good Catholics in the Hearing of the Holy Mass - permissu superiorum"; its titlepage adds that it was "Printed by Henry Hills, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty for His Household and Chappel; and are to be sold at his Printing House on the Ditch-side in Blackfriars. 1688". It contains "Short Prayers to be used in the time of Holy Mass", and "The Ordinary of the Holy Mass in Latin and English according to a Copy Printed at Paris, Anno 1661, in French and Latin".⁵⁶³

Particularly valuable is the list at the end of the Prayer Book described as "A Catalogue of Books printed by Henry Hills, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty for his Household and Chappel".⁵⁶⁴ This includes publications which confirm that Jesuits preached to the King and Queen and reveals a lively situation of religious controversy played out between Catholic and Protestant apologists from both pulpit and pamphlet. For example, there is advertised "A Sermon of the Nativity of our Lord, preach'd before Their Majesties at Whitehall, 1687, by B. Gifford, Doctor of Sorbon, Chaplain in Ordinary and Preacher to Their Majesties. Price 4d."; a "Sermon preached in the Chappel of His Excellency the Spanish Ambassador, on the second day of Advent, 1687, on which was solemnized the Feast of St. Francis Xaverius: By Reverend Father Lewis Sabran, of the Society of Jesus. Price 6d"; and "Dr. Sherlock sifted from his Bran and Chaff, or a certain way of finding the true Sense of the Scriptures, and discovering who are the true living Members of Christ, in a Dialogue between the Master of the Temple, and a Student there. Price 4d".⁵⁶⁵

The establishment of this new Roman Catholic Chapel Royal at Whitehall, described by Barclay, is also crucial to an understanding of how the older Queen's Chapel at St. James's had been furnished for its various liturgical uses. Some of the sources he discusses reveal the liturgical practices undertaken in both royal chapels. They include an extant Queen's Household Account dated 11th August 1686 revealing a re-

⁵⁶¹The Compleat Office of the Holy Week with Notes and Explications, translated out of Latin and French, published with Allowance, London, 1687, Preface.

⁵⁶²Auctioneer's description lodged with photographic copy held at Chapel Royal Archive, St. James's Palace, Old Safe.

⁵⁶³Short Prayers for the Use of all Good Catholics in the Hearing of the Holy Mass - permissu superiorum, London, 1688, p.3. Photographic copy held in the Chapel Royal Archives, St. James's Palace.

⁵⁶⁴Ibid. pp.71-72.

⁵⁶⁵Ibid., p.72. The attribution to Sabran is made in Foley, Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, Vol.V., op.cit., p.295.

SHORT
PRAYERS
For the USE of all Good
CATHOLICS,
IN THE
HEARING
OF THE
Holy Mass.

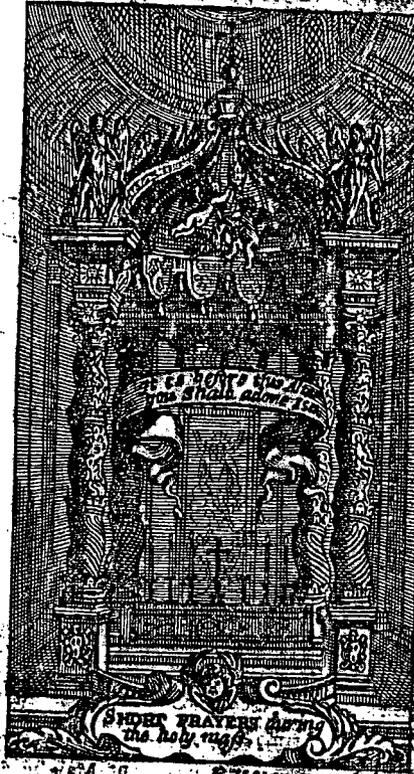
Permissu Superiorum.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *Henry Hills*, Printer to
the King's most Excellent Majesty for
his Household and Chappel; And are to
be sold at his Printing-House on the
Ditch-side in *Black-Friars*. 1688.

P. 21102

very rare



SHORT PRAYERS during
the holy eights

By JOHN BISHOP, D.D.
of the University of Cambridge
Printed by J. Sturges, in Pall-mall

imbursement by Henry Guy to Major General Werden, Treasurer to the Queen, of £1,263 13 9 for "her Majesty for several provisions brought by her Majesty for her Chappell at St. James's which provisions are to be removed from Her Majesty's Chappell to the King's Chappell at Whitehall...".⁵⁶⁶

If as is to be expected, the liturgy in the new Roman Catholic Chapel Royal at Whitehall mirrored practices at the Queen's Chapel in St. James's, then Evelyn's observations give a dramatic picture of such ritual in progress on 29th December 1686: "Here we saw the Bishop in his mitre and rich copes, with 6 or 7 Jesuits and others in rich copes, sumptuously habited, often taking off and putting on the Bishop's mitre, who sate in a chaire with armes pontifically, was ador'd and cens'd by 3 Jesuits in their copes; then he went to the altar and made divers cringes, often censing the images and glorious tabernacle plac'd on the altar, and now and then changing place: the crozier wch was of silver, was put into his hands with a world of mysterious ceremony, the musiq playing, with singing. I could not have believ'd I should ever seene such things in the King of England's Palace".⁵⁶⁷

The Choir.

Regarding the circumstances of other Priests and the Choir of the Queen's Chapel upon the King and Queen's flight in 1688, Dr. Edward Corp has established of the Choir that: "All ten members went to Saint-Germain, Italians, French and English".⁵⁶⁸ They were not alone, but were accompanied by others from James's Roman Catholic Chapel Royal at Whitehall⁵⁶⁹. Dr. Corp has established that "Fede, Abell, Bomaster and Pedley from the Whitehall Chapel definitely went to Saint-Germain. Arnould probably left the Whitehall Chapel because there is a "quittance de rente" in his name dated April 1701, in which he is described as "Ordinaire de la musique du Roy d' Angleterre" but he is in only one of the lists.⁵⁷⁰ At least 3 out of the 8 Whitehall boys went, because they were all sent on to Rome by the Queen in the early 1690s. Corp adds the note that Ashbee has muddled Pawmester, Bomaster and Abraham for "they were all three the

⁵⁶⁶Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS. 987.

⁵⁶⁷Weldon, too, observed such ceremonies, and mentions the Benedictine V.R.F. Francis Fenwick as one of those regularly present.

⁵⁶⁸Dr Edward Corp's in a letter to David Baldwin dated 3rd December 1990 about music sung at the Queen's Chapel, Dr. Corp wrote "I do agree with you that the origin of the "Adeste Fideles" might well have been in England under James II, rather than in Douai during the 1740s, despite the absence of any copy that can be dated back to before 1720", Dom John Stephan argued in "The Adeste Fideles - A Study on its Origin & Development", Buckfast Abbey, 1947, that it had only 18th century origins, but Dr Corp's letter to David Baldwin dated 1st May 1997 notes that "It is, as you say, the main weakness of his argument that he does not take into account the presence of the Portuguese in England during the 1680s". See too: Corp, Edward, "Further Light on the Career of 'Captain' Francois de Prendcourt" in Music & Letters, Oxford University Press, Oxford, Vol.78, No.1, Feb.1997, pp.15-23; and "Saint-Germain-en-Laye: La Cour anglaise et anglicane en France, (1689-1712), in Cahiers Saint-Simon, Frontiers de la Cour, Société Saint-Simon, No.24 - Année 1996, pp.77-87.

⁵⁶⁹Each priest and musician from James' Roman Catholic Chapel is mentioned by name and capacity in the Lord Steward's records: PRO. LS13/255 p.46 for 26th April 1687; Ibid. p.53 for 5th July 1687; Ibid. p.56. for 20th March 1688; Ibid. p.59, to end Lady Day 1688.

⁵⁷⁰PRO. LS/13/255/p53.

same person, a Bavarian called Johannes Abraham Baumeister."⁵⁷¹ Regarding others at the Queen's Chapel, Dr Corp points out that "the two Ronchis were brothers, and the two Sachelli brothers were nephews of Galli. Claude Mansuet was a Capuchin from Lorraine, and the names La Crouy and Marsh equal, respectively, Lacrig or Lacroix and Naish".⁵⁷² He showed that "no one at all went from the King's Private Musick, though two of the sixteen trumpeters of the ceremonial music did go."⁵⁷³

As for the appearance of the Queen's Chapel's choristers and the expense incurred upon them, there is a Royal Warrant of 20th July 1664 which provides for "three liveries to be delivered to Mr Fernando for the three children of the Queen's Chappell," while at the same time as twelve more were to be provided for "twelve Chapel Royal children" which were to be delivered to Captain Henry Cooke.⁵⁷⁴ A bill dated Lady Day 1664 mentions shoes "for the three children of the Queen's Chapel."⁵⁷⁵ A warrant issued earlier on 17th September 1661 shows the full form of the Chapel Royal livery, which must be the same as that issued on the 9th October 1664 from the Lord Chamberlain to the Great Wardrobe "to deliver to Mr. Fernando the winter liveries for the three children of the Queen's Chapel". Thus we may conclude that these were the liveries worn by the "children" of the Chapel Royal, for another Warrant of 1662 required the provision of "the Children of the Queen's Chapel, being three in number, with liveries similar to those of the Children of the Chapel Royal".⁵⁷⁶ The number of Queen's Chapel children remained at three until 1671. Thereafter, until at least 1679 Chamberlayne recorded under the heading "of the Queen Consort's Court" that it comprised "4 Clerks of the Chapel, and 4 boyes added", although an earlier entry in the Lord Chamberlain's Office papers concerning payments to the Queen's Household dated Michaelmas 1677 mentions "Far. Emmanuel Dias for Five Boyes of ye Chapple"⁵⁷⁷. The same 1677 list also recorded payment to "John Baptista Organist £150".

Personalities around the Queen's Chapel.

Dias is known from Robert Streater's Accounts of 1679/80 to have occupied quarters adjacent to the Royal Closet of the Queen's Chapel; Streater having painted the "Chappell Clossett and Mr. Deas's Rooms a Chimnie in the withdrawing room and to the Chappell Clossett the rooms next the Queen's rooms a litle clositt next the organ loft the passage from the park to the Chappell...etc."⁵⁷⁸ Item 75 in Gennari's account confirms Draghi's position as "maestro di capella della Regina", and depicts what is translated as "A half-figure painting showing the Christ Child and St. John the Baptist. Christ is in the act of embracing the Cross

⁵⁷¹Ibid. Almost certainly he had served in the Whitehall Chapel rather than the Queen's Chapel. See Edward Corp's letter of 3rd December 1990.

⁵⁷²Ibid.

⁵⁷³Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ PRO. Lord Chamberlain's papers bundle, LC 8.

⁵⁷⁵ PRO Lord Chamberlain's papers bundle, LC 5

⁵⁷⁶ Quoted in Ashbee, Andrew, Records of English Court Music, Volume I (1660-1685), published by Ashbee, Snodland, Kent, 1986, p.33.

⁵⁷⁷B.L. Add. MS. 15897, f. 33v, titled "Establishment of Queen Catherine of Braganza for one year from Michaelmas 1677".

⁵⁷⁸ PRO. Works 5/3.



Liveries of the Children of the Chapel Royal, 1790.

These liveries are still made according to the terms of the original warrant of 1661. A warrant from the King to the Great Wardrobe of 26th June followed “to provide the Children of the Queen’s Chapel with liveries similar to those of the Chapel Royal”

PRO Great Wardrobe, 5/60 p.322.

Water-colour in the Archive of H.M.Chapel Royal

and St. John is in the act of giving water to the lamb. This for Sig. John Baptist Draghi, head of the Queen's Chapel".⁵⁷⁹ Item 110 mentions "signor Don Giacomo Ronchi tesoriere della capella della regina" in "A half-figure of St. John Geronimo in the act of writing and this I did for sig. Don Giacomo Ronchi Treasurer of the Queen's Chapel".⁵⁸⁰

These priests, including the recipients of Gennari's work, can be cross-referenced to the sixteenth edition of Chamberlayne's *Angliae Notitiae* published in 1687, which details the "persons belonging to Her Majesty's Chappel". One is "Mr. James Ronchi Second Almoner and Treasurer of the Chappel" to be paid £200.⁵⁸¹ But Don Emmanuelle Dias is not mentioned as the Portuguese Almoner of the Queen's Chapel. This omission casts some doubt on the source of the data, for Dias does not appear in this list at all; the office is attributed instead in 1687 to "Mr. Galley, Confessor and first Almoner" who was also to be paid £400. This was the same Galley who was secretly briefing the Jesuits in Rome about English Court politics and attitudes to the Catholic Church.⁵⁸² Don Emmanuelle Dias, though, had served in Catherine of Braganza's Queen's Chapel in 1677 looking after the "Five Boyes of ye Chappel" (see also Note 73). After the edict of 1680 there is the vague reference in Chamberlayne's *Angliae Notitiae* for the year 1682 which reads: "Divers Persons belonging to the Musick of the Chappel, as well Italians as Portuguese; and others to serve at the Altar. The Principal Organist, is that admirable Master of the Musick, Sig. Giovanni Battista Draghi".⁵⁸³

Draghi had ceased to be "maestro di capella della Regina" before 1687, and had joined the Queen Dowager's Household by 1687, as entries in Chamberlayne's *Angliae Notitiae* for 1687 and 1690 state. In the edition of 1690 Draghi is termed: "Mr. John Baptista Draghi - Organist" in a list of "Ecclesiastical Persons belonging to the Queen Dowager's Chappel".⁵⁸⁴ This would in turn suggest that Draghi had ceased to discharge the role of Organist at the Queen's Chapel at Charles II's death in 1685.

In 1684, Chamberlayne recorded that amongst others there were "two other Preachers both of whom were Portuguese (Bent. de Limes and Augustine Lorenzo), 11 Franciscan Friars, and Miguel Fereirs, a Priest".⁵⁸⁵ That Bento de Lemos was a Portuguese Jesuit priest was established by Professor Prestage.⁵⁸⁶ The continuing presence of Bento de Lemos presents something of a mystery, for the records used by Foley in his analysis of Jesuits in the London Province at that time make no mention of that name. The French Ambassador, Barillon, was probably mistaken in stating that Huddleston was instructed "par un religieux

⁵⁷⁹Gennari, Bologna Ms. M.S. B. 344. London list Item 75.

⁵⁸⁰Ibid.

⁵⁸¹ Chamberlayne, *op. cit.*, 16th edition.

⁵⁸² Jesuit Archivum Romanum, S.J., Opp. NN 174/175 F, in folder titled "Litterae P. Belluamo et P. Ant Mariae Guidici qui sub nomine Equitis Galli versabatur in aula Dulcis Eboracensis uti confessor Dulcissae Eboracensis. 1678-1685". This includes nineteen of Galli's letters written in 1679.

⁵⁸³ *Angliae Notitiae*, 1682, (14th Edition), p.223.

⁵⁸⁴ Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitiae*, 1687 (16th Edition), p.203, and 1690, p.212.

⁵⁸⁵ *Anglia Notitiae*, 1684, (15th Edition).

⁵⁸⁶ E. Prestage, letter to "The Times Literary Supplement", 30th November 1932.

Portugais carne dechausse"⁵⁸⁷ unless it was by Bento de Lemos. Yet Bento de Lemos does not appear in the list of Jesuits working in the London Province in 1701. Such an omission is all the more odd, even sinister, because it was the internal rule of the Jesuits that no other Jesuit could work in another's 'patch' without coming under the jurisdiction of the Provincial of that area.

Foley calculated from information no longer available to us that the number of Jesuit missionaries in the College of St. Ignatius (i.e. the London District) in the period 1680-1685, including those belonging to the Duke of York's Household, was about thirty⁵⁸⁸. The circumstances surrounding Charles II's death-bed reception of the Roman Catholic Sacrament (fetched from the Queen's Chapel by the Jesuit Bento de Lemos for the Benedictine Chaplain Fr. Huddleston to administer) as described by Padre Mansuet, a Capuchin, throws up other information about those attached to the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace.⁵⁸⁹ Padre Mansuet himself served as a Confessor to the Duke of York. He describes being entertained to dinner, on the night of the King's death, along with the Benedictine Gibbon from Lambspring, by Marus Poss (alias Nichols) a Benedictine from St. Gregory's, in the latter's rooms in St. James's Palace.⁵⁹⁰

It would be quite wrong, though, to extrapolate from the incidence of such expulsion and 'exposure', in 1675, prior to their re-instatement in 1685 by James, that the Benedictines' influence at Court and in national issues was greatly curtailed in the interim. Corker steered a course between the anti-Papalism of the secular clergy who collaborated with Shaftesbury and the Whigs and the ultramontanism of the Jesuits. Its reward came on the death of Charles II. After 1685 an overt royal politico-religious patronage emerged wherein the position of Roman Catholicism would be central. It was first signalled, according to Dr. Rimbault, by James's actions in the Queen's Chapel: "It was in this Chapel also that James II, two days after the death of his brother Charles, openly insulted the prejudices of his people, and infringed the sanctity of the laws by attending public mass, surrounded by all the insignia of Royalty, and the splendid paraphernalia of the Romish Church. He was attended both to and from the Chapel by a band of Gentlemen Pensioners, his Life Guards, several of the nobility, as well as by Knights of the Garter in the Collars of their Order."⁵⁹¹

The post 1685 context of the Queen's Chapel and its Catholic ritual.

Through Charles II's reign it is very understandable that he and his Queen should have tried to beautify the appearance and the liturgical practice of the Queen's Chapel. However, from James's point of view the exercise of regal authority and the authority of the Queen's Chapel tradition and staff would be central to his determined policy of Catholicising Britain. By 1685 it was no longer a Chapel protected by treaty as the

⁵⁸⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸⁸Foley, Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, Vol.V., Burns & Oates, London, 1879, p.215.

⁵⁸⁹This information was revealed by Mansuet himself in a record then secretly printed as a half-sheet of folio, which appeared in 1685. Anthony a Wood commented that "but few believed it". The text was reprinted in full and discussed by J.G.Muddiman in "The Death of King Charles II", The Month, 160, 1932, pp.520-527.

⁵⁹⁰Weldon's record also placed this same Poss amongst the original community of Benedictines chosen to serve the Queen's Chapel in 1685 following Charles II's death - Poss having already been quartered in rooms in St. James's Palace as mentioned by Mansuet while he was as Weldon says "attending" the Duchess of York.

⁵⁹¹Sheppard, Edgar, Memorials in St. James's Palace, Vol.II, Longmans, London, 1894, p.236.

Queen's Chapel, albeit Catherine of Braganza would remain in England as the Dowager Queen. In assessing the politico-religious context in which the Queen's Chapel was permitted to operate after 1680, it is also necessary to consider the political repercussions of the Oates Affair and Parliamentary attempts to pass an Exclusion Bill.⁵⁹² Some of London's Protestants loudly celebrated the objective and motto of the Green Ribbon club to deprive the Duke of York of the succession, and their celebrated "cant", namely "Gad you shall see we will exclude the Duke", ⁵⁹³ reducing the injured Charles to the retort "There's nought alas of Popery at Court." By 1685 another Tract "Father Whitehead's Walking Ghost which lately appeared to a cabal of Jesuits in Drury Lane" noted the pressure applied the other way too, especially on James, by that Catholic Order:

"Be quick dull Souls, Pray Lord, new altars raise.
Fresh Tapers light, till Night outshine the Days;
Let Masses numberless performed be,
That I from Purgatory may be free."⁵⁹⁴

King Charles's II death on 6th February 1685 allowed for new and different contributions to those intellectual and theological debates until December 1688, and made way for the very different conditions of encouragement for the Queen's Chapel. James showed all the keenness of which the author of *Father Whitebread's Ghost* speaks in commissioning a new Roman Catholic Chapel Royal in the King's Privy Garden at Whitehall, only yards away from the existing old Tudor Anglican Chapel Royal. ⁵⁹⁵ In appraising its significance, without (like Barclay) considering how it affected the Royal Household, Bolton and Hendry argued "the Whitehall addition was essentially a political and State concern, the New Chapel, with its Sacristy and Priests' Apartments, signalled the restoration of public Roman Catholic worship".⁵⁹⁶

The items Evelyn mentions as put to use there tally with the December 1686 "Bill of Roger Davis, Joiner," which included among many other things: "30ft of picture frame for the Altar Piece at 2s per foot...for the tabernacle as with-all its 8 relieves [reliefs] and 14 figures now in the Chappell...for the marble holy water Pott". ⁵⁹⁷ Upon its completion and dedication on Christmas Day 1685 the Chapel was, according to

⁵⁹² See below for the Bibliographic guide to sources for the Complement of the Queens Chapel, 1630-1688. For the Bill see: Browning, A.D, & Milne, J., "An Exclusion Bill Division List for 1679", Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Vol..XIV, 1936.

⁵⁹³BL Printed Tracts 11602 i.25 (6) "Sejanus the Popular Favourite, Printed for Smith Curtis, Janeway and Baldwin all True Protestants near the Sign of the Three Legged Brand iron, called Tyburn." [1681]

⁵⁹⁴BL Tracts 11602 i. 25 (3)

⁵⁹⁵The proof of this location for the new Chapel Royal at Whitehall, since there would appear to be no surviving pictorial illustration of it, is in a sketched plan by Knieff, and preserved by accident by being pasted into the back of an interleaved Pennant, now in the B.M. Print Room.

⁵⁹⁶ Bolton, Arthur, and Hendry, H., (eds) The Seventh Volume of the Wren Society, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1930, remark on this sketch: "the New Building extended westward, along the lines of the Privy Gardens, for a distance equal to the distance of the Holbein Gateway. It is certain that the New Chapel was on the western face, because the addition made to it in 1687 is clearly shown", p.73.

⁵⁹⁷Quoted in Bolton, Arthur, and Hendry, H. op.cit., p.120 from selected extracts of the PRO. Pay Book entitled "Accounts Privy Garden and Chapel, Whitehall, 1685-7"

Evelyn, put in the hands of the Roman Catholic Clerk of the Closet, Fr. Petre, for whom rooms previously occupied by James when Duke of York (including the "Queen's Closet and Oratory") were prepared by a warrant of 5th October 1686.⁵⁹⁸ James only achieved this in the face of Parliament's opposition by disguising expenditure on furnishings and silver smithery by Cooqus and Shelley for the new Chapel which are to be found in the "Schedule of Receipts & Payments by Henry Guy Esq. for the secret services of his late Majesty Charles II and the late King James II successively between Lady Day 1679 & Xmas 1688 to wit for the time of nine years and 3 quarters".⁵⁹⁹

Its opening had big political consequences for those inside the Royal Household, for the Queen's Chapel and for its adverse effect on the King's relationship with Parliament and most of the Anglican Episcopate. Research on these aspects was conducted for a PhD thesis by Dr. Andrew Barclay, entitled "The impact of James II on the Royal Household". The three important points about James's new Household which Barclay makes were his attempts to: (i) change the Anglican personnel of the Chapel Royal, which he placed under Nathaniel Crew instead of Henry Compton as Dean; (ii) provide for a duplicate Catholic hierarchy for himself and his Catholic advisors by using the members of Regular Catholic Orders to staff another Royal Catholic Chapel; (iii) expand the public practice of the Queen's Chapel by permitting publication of sermons given there; and (iv) by listing Episcopal consecrations and publishing the liturgy it used from 1685 to 1688.

But the diplomatic and legal protection afforded by Parliamentary approval of the Queen's Chapel under the marriage Treaty of Catherine of Braganza did not formally extend to James II or his wife in using the establishment. The opening of the Whitehall Chapel put the continuance of the Queen's Chapel itself under the spotlight especially as its diplomatic protection was now formally confined to the Dowager Queen's personal chapel which continued to operate at Somerset House until 1692.

Parliament antagonised by this rapid and proximate action at Whitehall would barely tolerate James's faith, or his actions to advance it, doing so only so long as James did not have a Catholic male heir and so long as he did not expect Parliament to enforce a long term religious settlement in favour of Catholicism. They were frustrated by the celebrated legal decision made in *Godden v Hales* in June 1686 which limitedly allowed James to use his prerogative powers, and which in turn enhanced James's ability to pursue his wider Catholic purposes without needing Parliamentary approval. But his actions in so doing raised questions of allegiance for many inside the Royal Household and for those who would normally have expected to have their say in the Commons or in the Lords but who were silenced by virtue of the very short sessions he held. Under this pressure Charles Talbot, the twelfth Earl of Shrewsbury, having been advanced by James who

⁵⁹⁸PRO. L.C. Warrants 5.147 and 5.148 for "Mr. Peter's Lodgings", and "Rooms over Gate in Whitehall", on April 25th 1687. From July to September Warner was lodged at Windsor. Dr. Welwood in "Memoirs", 1700, stated that it was rumoured that Petre received the dispensation from Pope Innocent XI with a view to his being appointed to the See of York.

⁵⁹⁹Baldwin, D.J.P., op.cit., 1990, pp.209-211. Some Chapel furnishings mentioned in this and other "secret services" documents, such as alabaster carvings are displayed in Westminster Abbey's Pyx Chamber Museum.

knew that he had been brought up a Catholic albeit one converted to Protestantism by Tillotson in 1579, transferred his loyalty to William of Orange in mid 1688.

One major formal restraint upon the personnel attached to the Queen's Chapel up to December 1688 had been the Parliamentary pressure that led to the 1674 Order in Council under Charles II requiring "all Catholic priests born within His Majesty's Dominions, with the exception of Fr. Huddleston, to leave the Kingdom before the 25th day of March next following."⁶⁰⁰ It came with the further stipulation that all priests who claimed a privilege to attend upon the Queen or upon foreign Ministers had to leave the Court within fourteen days after notice of the Order; and the Kingdom by the same day in March. The intention was that thenceforward the Queen's Chapel would be served only by foreign priests.

To counter growing hostility which this action engendered, the Benedictine Maurus Corker⁶⁰¹ had published in 1680 "Roman Catholick Principles in regard to God and King", advocating the acceptance of the Oath of Supremacy by Catholics. However, Scott's view was that "Cowl and Crown were not really close until 1685. Perhaps it was only in the person of Fr. John Huddlestone that the Monks finally made the bright lights at Court"⁶⁰² The remaining Benedictines had had to disperse to France following another Order in Council issued in 1680.

However, Queen Catherine's former Benedictine Chaplain, Fr. Adelham, defied that Order, returned to the Mission after banishment, was captured, tried and condemned to death, reprieved, and then committed to Newgate Prison where he eventually died in 1689.⁶⁰³ Other Benedictine chaplains who served the Queen's Chapel at St. James's, but who from 1671 transferred their living quarters to Somerset House, included Benedictine lay Brothers, Austin Rumley and Thomas Pickering, who not being in Holy Orders, avoided the terms of the banishment. Although Pickering⁶⁰⁴ was later found guilty, condemned to death and hanged at Tyburn on May 19th 1679, Brother Austin Rumley was acquitted.

The details of those Benedictines chosen to re-establish the Queen's Chapel community in 1685⁶⁰⁵ were recorded by Weldon as drawn from the four monasteries comprising the English congregation of the Benedictine Order with five coming from St. Gregory's (one of them being Fr. Howard, the Superior), two from St. Laurence, three from St. Edmunds and three from Lambspring - thirteen in all, with the two lay

⁶⁰⁰Weale, *op. cit.*, p xviii.

⁶⁰¹Corker was the Ambassador of the Elector of Cologne. Lingard commented: "There was something sufficiently extraordinary in the appointment itself: but James was not satisfied, he insisted that the resident should be introduced at Court in the habit of his order, accompanied by six other monks, his attendants, in similar dress". Dolan, Dom Gilbert, "James II and the English Benedictine Missions in London, Downside Review, LVIII, Weston Super Mare, 1899, p.102.

⁶⁰²Scott, Dom Geoffrey, Benedictines and Jacobites, Typescript Offprint, Douay Abbey, p.21.

⁶⁰³Barnes, A.S. "Catholic Chapels Royal, St. James's Palace, and Catherine of Braganza", Downside Review, New Series, Vol.1, No XX, 1901, Weston Super Mare, p.326.

⁶⁰⁴ Guildhall Library, London, Playing Cards Pack 237. Pickering is depicted on the Knave of Diamonds.

⁶⁰⁵ Weldon, Benet, Chronological Notes, Preface, p.xvi.

brothers to assist them. Weldon remarked that they enjoyed "a copious income" from royal and other benefactors, and that the Queen's Chapel Convent where they served was "in the very best air of all London". They had shared Friary buildings beyond the east end of the Queen's Chapel from 1667 with the Franciscan Friars of the Order of St. Peter of Alcantara as details exist of Streater's works undertaken to cells in the Friary allocated "for Father John's man" and another "for Father Hudleston's man". The latter was the same Benedictine Fr. Huddleston who had given refuge to the then Prince Charles after the Battle of Worcester half a century previously and was living in the Chaplain's quarters adjoining the Chapel on its South side, remaining there after Queen Catherine left England in 1692 until his death in 1698. Weldon's account of this tenure concluded with a rare and valuable confirmation of what happened to the Franciscan Arabadoes:

"Thus the royal chapel of St. James (the Franciscans being placed with the Queen Dowager at Somerset House) came into the Benedictines".⁶⁰⁶

The last Benedictines serving James II were to see a few alterations to the Queen's Chapel before their final departure in 1688. These included the making of a curved altar rail, two tabernacles for the side altar, two pedestals for the great altar, two confessing seats and a new staircase leading to the Royal Closet at the West end. Finally, in 1686 a "great niche" was "cutt out of the maine wall" to "sett the font in".⁶⁰⁷ This was the font in which the "Old Pretender" was Baptised in 1688, and it measured 8ft high by 6ft wide.

These events reflected the looming problems for the Benedictines, and about which Ellis was so much more sensitive than James. They were soon to be overshadowed by the even more impressive test of loyalty for those associated with birth of James's son in June 1688 and the high profile political use he proposed to make of the Queen's Chapel for his son's christening.

⁶⁰⁶*Ibid.*, pxxvi. Weldon's first draft is BL.Add. Ms. 10,118.

⁶⁰⁷PRO. Works 5/4, Extraordinary Works. In 1938 a plastered niche was revealed behind the panelling on the North side of the Chapel under the Royal Closet immediately to the West of the supporting pier at its front. This particular niche though was smaller than the dimensions detailed in 1686.

Chapter 18.

POLITICO-RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY FOCUSES ON THE QUEEN'S CHAPEL FOLLOWING THE BIRTH OF A MALE HEIR TO JAMES II.

Because James did not pursue the wider tolerance he had professed to want, but instead exploited his prerogative authority to restore the primacy of the Catholic Church, and to install a rival Catholic episcopacy through the Queen's Chapel, he would incur the whole hearted opposition of Parliament and the Church of England. While the politics of his policy might have been regarded as reversible on his death, the birth of a healthy son and heir to himself on 10th June 1688 at St. James's Palace promised at once to secure his changes and the dynasty that would sustain them. In fact his wilfully political use of the Queen's Chapel to advertise the birth would lead to its downfall as a Catholic institution, and to its being ransacked of its treasures by the flight of Mary of Modena and her Chapel's staff.

James wanted his birth celebrated and invited many of Europe's ruling families to attend the Queen's Chapel to witness his christening which was seen as securing his religious plans and his succession, as we have seen. The Protestant community was thereby united in opposition to the direction of James II's policies, delighting in Archbishop Sancroft and Bishop Compton defiance in 1688, even before William of Orange invaded in November 1688 and provided for a new politico-religious settlement in 1689. It was barely surprising that when James issued a second Declaration of Indulgence on 27th April 1688, Archbishop Sancroft and six Bishops challenged it on the basis that it was "*such a dispensing power as hath often been declared illegal in Parliament*".⁶⁰⁸ In consequence James had them imprisoned on charges of seditious libel, but they were acquitted on 30th June, only to join those now famous parliamentarians who would write to the Prince of Orange pledging their support against James. Indeed James's attempt to create a packed and pro-Catholic Parliament, and to place Catholics in high office in administrative and military posts, had made most Parliamentarians suspicious of his alleged policies of promoting wider religious toleration.

The historiography of this subject has been dominated by the retrospective "Proof" of Bishop Gilbert Burnet, who established the notion of the "Pretender".⁶⁰⁹ He later observed that the Queen herself "seemed to be soon recovered, and was so little altered by her labour, either in her looks or voice".⁶¹⁰ He must have written this long after Simon Burgis's interpretation was published in 1689. This asserted and mapped the involvement of those attached to the Queen's Chapel in this alleged plot. Burgis's work, which includes a

⁶⁰⁸ J.P. Kenyon, The Stuart Constitution, 1603-1688, (2nd edition) Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986, No. 126, pp.407-411.

⁶⁰⁹ Rev, Gilbert Burnet, Bishop Burnet's Proof of the Pretender's Illegitimacy, extracted by G. Wilson, M. Smithson, London, 1724.

⁶¹⁰ Burnet believed that either there was a royal baby born who died overnight to be replaced by a substitute at the double, or that the Queen's cries were not followed by those of the royal child. He strongly implies that the Queen had planned a rendezvous at St. James's because she knew that a woman was prepared to give up her child on birth. That woman was due to give birth in quarters in the Queen's Chapel Benedictine Convent. Burnet presumed the Queen had engaged Petre to effect the ruse of introducing the baby to the Queen's Bed by the warming pan.



"Birth of the Old Pretender", 10th June 1688 in the Queen's bedchamber at St James's Palace.

This contemporary image was used to sustain the idea of the warming plot where the nurse a baby. the secret door of the allegation through which Fr. Petre is alleged to have entered figures in this sketch.

British Museum, Prints and Drawings Room.

detailed plan of the Palace, bears a long and revealing title: "A full answer to the depositions and to all other the Pretences and Arguments whatsoever concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales. The Intrigue thereof detected, the whole design being set forth, with the way and manner of doing it. Whereunto is annexed a map or Survey engraven of St. James's Palace, and the Convent there. Describing the place wherein it is supposed the true mother was delivered: with the particular doors and passages through which the child was conveyed to the Queen's Bed chamber".

Despite the contemporary opinions of Mary of Orange and her sister Anne, the allegations reported to William of Orange by Count Zuylesteyn are either entirely fanciful, or the fruit of Gilbert Burnet's resentment of the James's ideas, or perhaps a testimony to an astounding feat. Even so, the possibility must remain of the alleged connivance of the Queen's Chapel staff because all doubt cannot be convincingly dismissed in the light of some of Mary of Orange's correspondence.⁶¹¹ Suspicion that the Jesuit priest, Fr. Petre was a prime mover in the 'plot' is likely to have been kindled by nervous Protestants aware of his advancement at the hands of James through the London Gazette notice: "Whitehall, 11 November, 1687" cited earlier.⁶¹² Shortly afterwards the King and Queen proposed him to Pope Innocent XI for a Cardinal's Hat.⁶¹³ But there is also evidence from Papal correspondence, in the form of the Pope's answer of 16th August 1687, that James had already applied for Petre's preferment to a Bishopric and a Cardinal's Hat. For such reasons he would have become an obvious target to his opponents. The 'warming pan' allegations may well have originated in an attempt to discredit him and thereby slur the Queen's Chapel .

Fr. Petre was alleged to have taken just about the only possible route soon defined by Burgis across the Cloisters of the Benedictine Convent, through the three great Vestries of the Queen's Chapel, up the stairs and through the Royal Closet of the Chapel, and thereafter through the adjoining Gallery and numerous winding passages to the Bed Chamber at 9.45 a.m on Trinity Sunday. To have passed unnoticed with a child and warming pan through the midst of the sort of elaborate ceremony being conducted in the Queen's Chapel and Sacristy that characterised Roman Rites on such a major Festival is little short of miraculous. Barring exceptional circumstances, the Queen's Chapel would have been full of people, priests and monks involved in the obligatory liturgical ceremony - but one needing thuribles not warming pans. Such a journey must have involved a widespread conspiracy, amazing audacity, and some physical effort.

Whatever the truth behind the birth of the Prince of Wales and any involvement by the Queen's Chapel priests in it, there is no dispute about which invitations were issued for they are faithfully recorded in the Netherby Hall manuscripts already cited;⁶¹⁴ nor about circumstances of his subsequent Baptism in the Queen's Chapel. This must have been conducted in the "Great Niche". Beeston recorded that: "It was in

⁶¹¹ Bowen, op.cit., pp.124-126, where she deprecates the absence of her sister from the birth, fearing a substitution.

⁶¹² See also Foley, Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, p.275.

⁶¹³ Dr. Welwood's Memoirs record that Petre was to take the See of York but this is not mentioned in Foley.

⁶¹⁴ 7th Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, HMSO, London, 1897, p.426.

this Chapel that James II, in flagrant open defiance of the murmurs of his people, caused his infant son to be Baptized according to Romish Rites, with the Pope represented by his Nuncio, Count Adda, for Godfather, and the Dowager Queen Catherine of Braganza for Godmother".

The official announcement in the London Gazette reads rather differently:

"Whitehall October 15. This day, in the Chapel of St. James, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, being before Christened, was solemnly named amidst the ceremonies and rites of baptism, James Francis Edward. His Holiness, represented by his Nuncio was the Godfather, and the Queen Dowager, Godmother. The King and Queen assisted at the solemnity with a great attendance of nobility and Gentry, and concourse of people, all expressing their joy and satisfaction which was suitable to the place and occasion". This hints that perhaps there had been an earlier "Christening" in the Chapel.

Although these seemingly natural events appeared to have every sign of credibility, an alternative and controversial version of events was gaining ground in the Protestant community. It was subsequently given particular currency by Bishop Burnet, based on data apparently gleaned from the apothecary Hemings, who came from St Martin's Lane, London. Hemings was credited with the first report that the Prince was born quietly and supposedly therefore dead. That Protestant community added the crude idea, perhaps as long as twenty four hours later, that at the same time a substitution of a live baby was effected using the Queen's warming pan.⁶¹⁵ A drawing now in the British Museum's Prints and Drawing Collection shows the bedside scene, a fully dressed Prince, and a covered barrow at the bottom of the bed. The room's details suggest that this artist had enjoyed full access to the Royal apartments some time after the birth, so conferring some credence as to the means of a swap. Whatever the truth of those events they led directly to seven leading Englishmen signing a request for William of Orange to intervene militarily. The signatories, albeit with their identities disguised behind a code of numbers known to its author Henry Sidney, were Charles, Earl of Shrewsbury (who took £12,000 to William in Holland), William, Earl of Devonshire, Thomas, Earl of Danby, plus Lord Richard Lumley, (later Earl of Scarborough who became a Protestant in 1687), Lord Edward Russell, and Henry Compton, the Bishop of London. It was taken to William III in the Hague by Admiral William Herbert, under the cover of visiting his sister in Holland.

William's initial published response, "*A Declaration of the Reasons Inducing him to Appear in Armes in the Kingdom of England for Preserving of the Protestant Religion and for Restoring the Lawes and Liberties of England, Scotland and Ireland*," was widely circulated in the Hague during July 1688. It had been translated into a very readable tract by Gilbert Burnet, acting in his capacity as Chaplain to the Princess of Orange. It was to be published not only in the Hague where most of the foreign ambassadors knew its

⁶¹⁵ Gilbert Burnet, History of his Own Time, London, 1723-1734, Vol. i, p.751. reprinted as an Everyman Edition, London, 1979. From the 1670s Gilbert Burnet and Dr. Stillingfleet had tried ineffectively to persuade James to become an Anglican, publishing tracts against Popery but in favour of episcopal obedience in 1673. As a garrulous Scotsman, he managed to annoy Charles II sufficiently to forfeit his post as Chaplain to the King in 1674. A keen supporter of Mary Stuart and the Prince of Orange, Burnet believed in the "warming pan plot", basing his credulity on reports reaching the Bishops imprisoned in the Tower the next day, so giving time to explain away why he does not cite the King's words or summons of forty or so witnesses to the infant's new life.

contents, but also in Magdeburg, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Edinburgh, London and York.⁶¹⁶ This "Declaration of Reasons" contained the firm opinions that the birth of a Prince of Wales was a pretence; that Princess Mary, as James's eldest daughter, was still his heiress presumptive; and that to save the English liberties and religion her husband would come with military force to act as a "Deliverer".

It was both natural and dynastically respectable that, in the face of James II's obvious moves towards absolutism on the French model, Protestant Churchmen led from Holland by the Scot, Gilbert Burnet, and in England by Henry Compton, Bishop of London, (the latter having been Mary Stuart's childhood tutor) should look to Mary Stuart and Prince William of Orange as their main hopes to sustain the traditional order in England and Scotland. In his gossip ridden memoirs, Bishop Burnet even claimed to have told her as much. But it was not plain sailing to exploit the matter effectively.

Gilbert Burnet had alienated some Protestant extremists by his defence of some prominent Roman Catholics during the Popish Plots of 1678-80, and others on the Catholic side by having published in 1673 and 1682 several vehement charges against Popish practice. He had even lost his Chaplaincy of the Chapel of the Rolls over his last outburst. Thus he had little option but to retreat abroad in 1682 into an exile formally confirmed by James II in 1687 when he realised how close this critic had become to his own daughter, Mary, and to Prince William of Orange.⁶¹⁷

In fact William of Orange and his wife, Princess Mary, were already more perturbed than Burnet thought by the announcement that Mary of Modena had given James II a son. In consequence they sent William Frederick de Nassau, Count Zuytlestein, to pay their formal complements to James II and to investigate further. Mary Stuart herself recorded that she was initially troubled about whether to pray for her father's son on the grounds that it was a substitution.⁶¹⁸ She and William became determined on their military response when she learned that having made inquiries Zuytlestein confirmed that he too thought Burnet's surmise was correct. Mary's belief was that Mary of Modena's baby had been born a month before the time it had been expected if it were the result of time which James II and Mary of Modena had spent together in Bath the previous year. At the time the likelihood that conception took place following James's visit to the old shrine at Holywell in North Wales was given much credence by Catholics, but was steadfastly ignored by

⁶¹⁶BL. 8132.h.8 Rev. Burnet, Gilbert [supposedly the translator for William, Prince of Orange of], "A Declaration of the Reasons Inducing him to Appear in Armes in th Kingdom of England for the Preserving of the Protestant religion and for Restoring the Lawes and Liberties of England, Scotland and Ireland." James did not sight a copy until 1st November, that is after the christening in the Queen's Chapel. The London edition was probably first printed on William's portable campaign press. It was exhibited at the Houses of Parliament in 1988 and reproduced in L.B. Schwoerer, Declaration of Rights, 1689, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1981.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid. As Bishop of Salisbury from 168, Burnet would remonstrate with Queen Anne over her contemplating the possibility of negotiations with James Francis Edward Stuarts at Bolingbroke's behest in 1714-15.

⁶¹⁸Mary Stuart's letter written in French, as translated and published in full by Marjorie Bowen, The Third Mary Stuart (Mary of York, Orange and England being a character study with memoirs and letters of Queen Mary II of England, 1662-1694), Bodley head, London, 1929, pp.114-136.

the Protestants. All this shows that in the most relevant of circles serious, if selective, credence was accorded to the theory that the baby was in fact a substitute or "pretender".

Bishop Burnet suggested much the same in his long circumstantial account of the birth, and of how the Queen had been drugged as she entered her labours. His was a dramatic account which placed extraordinary emphasis on that London apothecary's evidence as to what happened thereafter to effect a substitution using the Queen's bedpan. This version soon gained some credibility in London where everyone's eyes were on the matter of the succession. However, being far from the scene and serving William and Mary in the Hague with a particular axe to grind, Burnet subsequently found many convenient political reasons as to why this version of the events of 10 June 1688 should be accepted.

What Burnet probably did not know was that that year Mary had received from her father a book entitled Reflections of the Differences of Religions written by the Irish Jesuit D' Abbeville and dispatched to her with a view to her conversion. However, she had fundamental doubts about Papal authority and correctitude which were reflected in her two long and theologically well grounded refutations of Papal authority for her father's perusal. At the end of that fateful year Mary Stuart would also briefly write of "The news that the King had made the Queen depart with her son (supposed) and after that he had followed himself. I was informed that an apothecary in Paris had formed a design on the life of the Prince."⁶¹⁹

Writing over eighty years later of that "baby's birth" Sir John Dalrymple reported not only that forty witnesses' depositions were recorded in Chancery, but cited the King's own words (recorded in the introduction to this thesis) concluding "I have taken this time to have the matter heard and examined here expecting that the Prince of Orange with the first easterly wind will invade the Kingdom."⁶²⁰ As a historian writing with the benefit of hindsight, rather than as a participant in the events at Court, Sir John Dalrymple telescoped the two dramatic events of the birth and William's military action. He barely reported James's ineffectual military response, putting much emphasis on the "Protestant" wind which made a reality of the naval threat from William of Orange.

Nonetheless the threat of naval intervention from Holland was always taken seriously by James II who had had quite enough naval experience to have a very healthy respect for Dutch naval capabilities. By early October 1688 William of Orange had assembled 463 ships, comprising about 350 large ships plus sixty more fishing vessels to provision the force, and others to carry more stores and horses. An Army Chaplain, The Rev John Whittle, FC in compiling "An exact Diary for the years 1688 and 1689" observed that "The whole Channel was bespangled with beautiful ships and colours flying" for successful invasion necessitated the conveyance of 15,000 mostly Dutch troops to England. Even so, as late as the beginning of November 1688 it was not clear that the weather and tide that had allowed him to embark on the voyage would allow

⁶¹⁹Ibid, p.136.

⁶²⁰ Sir John Dalrymple, Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, 1681-1692, (Vol. 1 of 2) London, 1771, p.153.

William to effect a safe landing of his forces in England, or that they would triumph in subsequent landward confrontations.

In the event the same weather window that let them leave Holland, also trapped the English fleet behind Gunfleet Sound in the Thames Estuary. In consequence William's forces were able to land unopposed in Torbay on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. A convenient propagandist interpretation of God's favour in the form of "the Protestant Wind" later took hold although this collapses under closer, more scientific scrutiny of the relevant ships' journals.⁶²¹ That interpretation really took hold because of James's subsequent failure of nerve and organisation in resisting their advance to London, and the insurrection in their support in the Midlands led directly to the flight of Mary of Modena with their son and some of the Queen's Chapel's greatest treasures, and then to his own attempts to flee to France. The concurrent flight of the Queen's Chapel staff began before the end of November 1688.

The Queen's Chapel Jesuit Father Petre is known to have escaped to the Continent as the outcome of the land war became obvious at the end of November 1688.⁶²² Foley records that "the day before the King had determined to leave the Country, he sent Father Warner to Gravesend, in order to embark upon a vessel about to set sail for France".⁶²³ This places the date of Warner's attempt at flight on 12th December. But Warner was only detained at Gravesend until James, after the failure of his own first attempt at escape on 13th December 1688, secured his release from confinement. Together with a companion priest, Warner was again rearrested by the same ship's Captain whom James had imagined to be in his confidence, and both priests were thrown into Maidstone Jail. Warner escaped after a month with the help of a false name and passport provided by a sympathetic nobleman.⁶²⁴ He had escaped removal from there to London by only a few hours, and would soon secure a safe passage to the Continent where he rejoined James.

The same events are revealed in Father Sabran's personal narrative incorporated into the Jesuits' Annual Letters that:

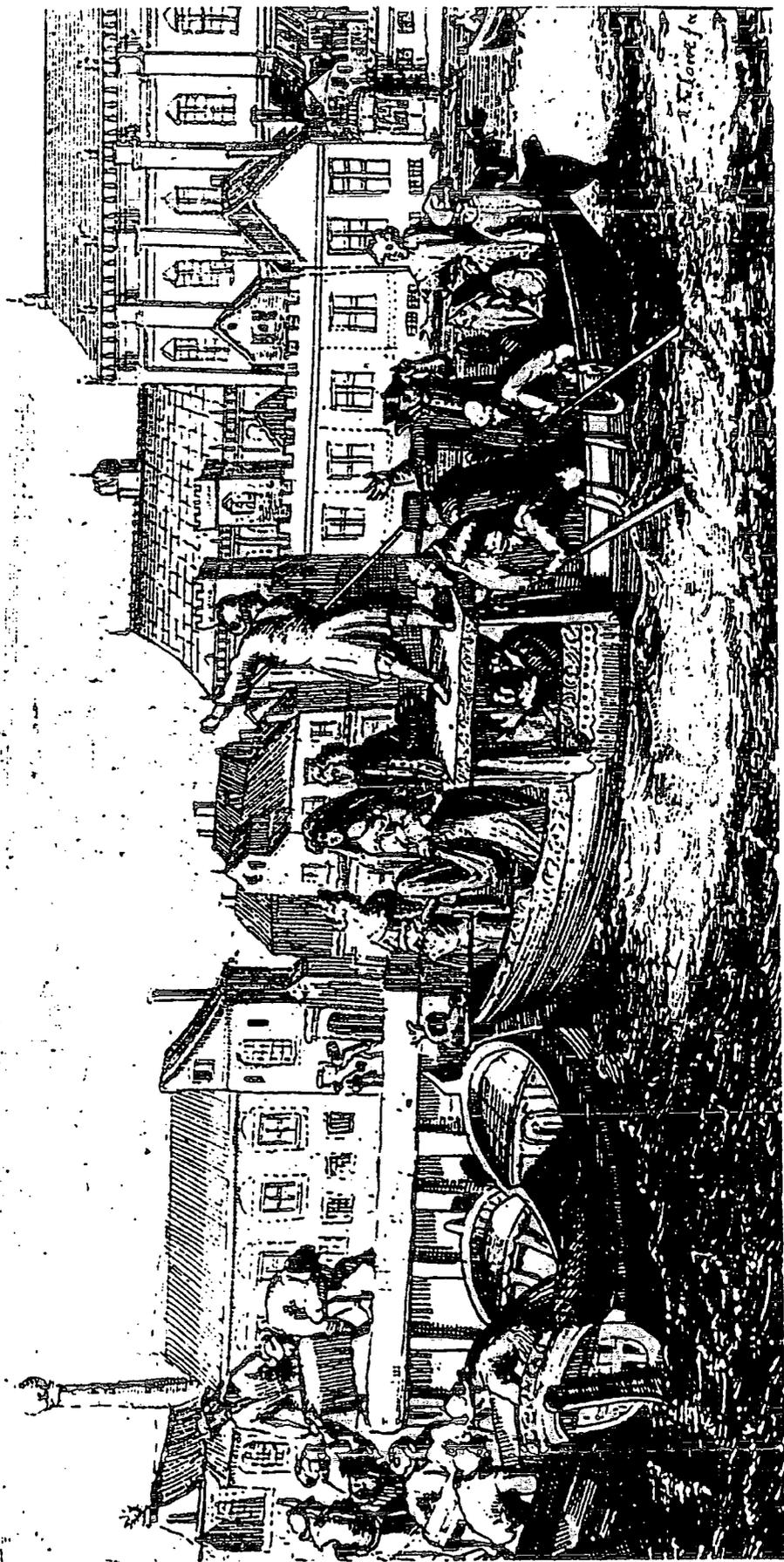
"At the birth of the Prince of Wales I was appointed his chaplain. I delivered controversial sermons every Wednesday in the Chapel Royal, and every Sunday in the chapel of our city College, for as many weeks as I had undertaken that duty. I was ordered back from Portsmouth, whither the royal infant had been removed, to London...I received an order from the Queen not to accompany the infant Prince to France, for fear of exciting suspicion of the flight if seen on board the vessel, being so well known..."

⁶²¹ Anderson, J.L., "Combined Operations and the Protestant Wind - Some maritime aspects of the Glorious Revolution of 1688", The Great Circle, Vol. 9, 1987, pp.96-107. Jones, Clyvie, "The Protestant Wind of 1688, Myth and reality", European Studies Review, Vol. 3, 1973, pp.201-221. Lindgren, S., and Neumann, J., "Protestant Wind - Popish Wind," the Revolution of 1688 in England, Bulletin of the American Meteorological Society, vol. 66, 1985, pp.632-644. Pearsall, Alan, "The Invasion Voyage - Some Nautical Thoughts", in Wilson, Charles and Proctor, David, (eds.)Stateborne Alliance and Diplomatic Revolution, National Maritime Museum, 1989, pp.165-174

⁶²² A biography of Petre is in Foley, Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, Vol. V., p.277.

⁶²³ibid.

⁶²⁴ibid., pp.285-287.



Queen Mary and the Prince of Wales leaving Whitehall steps on 19th December 1688. Note the coffer being loaded on an accompanying boat to the left. Such coffers were described by Monconys as containing relics when they were placed in the Royal Closet at the Queen's Chapel.

Foley adds the information: that "it is believed that he privately baptized the royal infant the day after his birth, though the ceremonies were not supplied until the 25th October"⁶²⁵, and so he was suspected by Dr. Oliver of being the author of the tract "Dr. Sherlock sifted from his bran and chaff". Sabran was apprehended at Deptford but later escaped in company with James following his final return to London. He later wrote of those contrived circumstances that "the national commotion having somewhat subsided, I crossed over to Dunkirk by means of a feigned passport that had been procured for me".⁶²⁶

James's flight precipitated more among those serving the Queen's Chapel. Four Jesuit Masters of the Savoy and a Lay-Brother, who ministered at the Queen's Chapel, were also detained on their way to Belgium but eventually released.⁶²⁷ Father John Keynes died later at Watten on 15th May 1697, being renowned for his ongoing disputations with Dr. Stillingfleet from 1671 to 1675. Father John Pearsall escaped to the continent where he became Rector of Liege and attended the Fourteenth General Congregation of the Jesuits at Rome as Vice-provincial of England before returning to London where he died in 1691. Two of his sermons have survived: One preached on 25th October 1685, and the other to the King and Queen at Windsor on Trinity Sunday 1686. As the Annual Letters record, the first two Masters of the Savoy College, Fathers Poulton and Hall, were also detained at Faversham on 16th December 1688 whilst trying to escape to the continent, and thereafter taken to Newgate Prison.

These events, which were to destroy the Queen's Chapel, unfolded very fast in mid-December 1688. Nonetheless Evelyn recorded as late as 18th December 1688 that, at least at Whitehall, Jesuits were operating as usual serving the King at his last Mass in that chapel before "I saw the King take barge to Gravesend at 12 o'clock, a sad sight. The Prince comes to St. James's and fills Whitehall with Dutch Guards" - a reference to the arrival of the Prince of Orange later the same day.⁶²⁸

William's use of force would first extinguish and then reverse the religious affiliation of the Queen's Chapel thus striking down James's propagandist concentration on that Catholic institution which had culminated in his invitations to gather Princes from Catholic nations to the christening ceremony there. William wielded that force using the invitation given by Admiral Herbert whom he put in charge of that vital seaborne assault in the name of securing the freedoms of a Protestant country, the Church of England, and a Protestant succession. It is hardly surprising therefore that William would immediately make very different and consciously politico-religious use of the Queen's Chapel as a building within St. James's Palace so soon as opportunity offered. William had occupied the Palace and installed a Dutch Guard on 18th December 1688.

⁶²⁵Ibid. p.292.

⁶²⁶Reminiscence in a personal letter from Sabran to his Provincial incorporated into the Annual Letters, pp.292-3.

⁶²⁷Ibid. p.270.

⁶²⁸ Letter from Evelyn to his Son, dated "Anno Mirabili, London 18th December 1688. These may have been the occasions for taking to St. Germain sacramental items from the Chapel, and at least one Gennari painting.

Chapter 19.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE'S USE OF THE QUEEN'S CHAPEL IN DECEMBER 1688.

William held Court at St. James's Palace on 19th December 1688. Only the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Mayor declined to attend and that for good practical reasons. Even as he held Court James's flight to France was being tacitly agreed. William then planned to hold a quasi-Parliamentary gathering comprising all the MP's lawfully elected in Charles II's day. They were duly summoned to meet him at St. James's Palace on 26th December 1688. About 500 of those former Parliamentarians, together with all the City's Aldermen and fifty representatives of the Court of Common Council of the City of London, were summoned in unmistakably forceful terms; "hereof, we desire thee not to fail" to attend.

Those who say that palace geography has to be understood for the proper interpretation of the political life of the sovereign have surprising vindication in William's use of the Queen's Chapel premises to assemble this politically significant assembly to initiate and legitimise his rule. The Queens' Chapel itself is the probable location for that assembled throng for lack of other comparable load bearing spaces for a gathering of some 600 souls inside the Palace.⁶²⁹ The Queen's Chapel both affords sufficient internal space and provides a strong stone covered ground level floor, although some invitees may have occupied its galleries,⁶³⁰ and perhaps the courtyard outside if the winter conditions so allowed. For so large a gathering the Queen's Chapel also had the advantage of its situation on the perimeter of the Palace. The alternative which must have been a candidate for consideration would have been the then recently finished Council Chamber at St. James's Palace. But it is questionable whether that chamber was either large enough or, given that it was on the first floor of the State Apartments, strong enough. A further point is that William would have seen the political and Protestant triumphalism of using the Queen's Chapel, of all places, as the venue for having his military victory legitimised, and a wholly Protestant order reinstated.

This ad hoc assembly, whose business is recorded in an unusual "Journal of the Assembly (December 1688)",⁶³¹ duly gathered and thanked William "for the Preservation of our Religion, Laws and Liberties and for rescuing us from the Miseries of Popery and Slavery". It was the ultimately politico-religious use of the Queen Chapel that this ad hoc gathering (in the very premises where James II had his heir christened in a Catholic ceremony that year) should unanimously request William to assume immediately the realm's administrative and executive powers, resolving to meet again in St. Stephen's Chapel (the usual location of the Commons) on 29th December 1688 to formalise the calling of a Convention Parliament.

⁶²⁹The opinion expressed on safety grounds concurs with that of the Palace's modern surveyors.

⁶³⁰ The Chapel's galleries could look like a parliament. See the later engraving of the Prince of Nassau's marriage illustrated in Baldwin, *op cit*, 1990, p.240.

⁶³¹HLRO, Manuscript Commons Journal (presently No.84) called " Journal of the Assembly" (Decemebr 1688), the only volume in the series .left unnumbered when the series was rebound in blue morocco in 1742.

As to the last liturgical use of Queen's Chapel building in late December 1688, the 'London Mercury' announced in its issue of 31st December 1688 that: "The Popish Chapel to which the Monks belonged at St. James's is being lent to the French Protestants; they had prayer and preaching in it on Sunday."⁶³² But there was much more to William's use of St James's Palace than this during that momentous month..

Seventy of their Lordships invited earlier to St. James's on 21st December 1688 had met with William to discuss in the new Council Chamber before the Throne what to do next constitutionally. Their Lordships determined to convene their House from 22nd to 24th December. Developing constitutional agonies there, they needed to re-convene it on 29th December 1688, but this time chose to debate four different constitutional options, even though few Lords were calling for James's return.

Finally by a margin of three votes they agreed to the St Stephen's Chapel motion of the other ad hoc assembly that the throne was "vacant" and that a full Convention Parliament was needed to confer legality and fill the vacant throne. Thereupon 513 MPs, including 183 new ones, were commanded by the Royal Chancery at St. James's to attend the Convention Parliament's House of Commons on 22nd February 1688/89 forming thereby the body that would give constitutional reality to the idea formulated unanimously four weeks earlier at St James's Palace, but now grandly called the "Declaration of Right"; namely, that "The sole and full exercise of the Regall Power be only in and executed by the said Prince of Orange in the names of the Prince and Princess during their Joynt Lives."⁶³³

⁶³² This advertisement contradicts Sheppard's assertion that "The services of the Roman Catholic Church were held in this Chapel until the accession of William and Mary, in the beginning of the year 1689, when they were discontinued." Sheppard, Op.cit., Vol. II, p.237.

⁶³³Howarth, Mary, op. cit., pp.92-93.

Schwoerer, Lois B., Declaration of Rights, 1689, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1981.

Chapter 18

CONCLUSIONS.

The Queen' Chapel hurriedly provided under treaty for Henrietta Maria in 1625-6 was more than a strikingly new classical building devised by Inigo Jones. It was an establishment that would immediately find itself mired in international politics and politico-religious rivalries. During the reign of Charles I it became an establishment of significance because of two factors: first its position in the Catholic diplomatic community; and second the talents of its clergy, mostly drawn from the Regular Orders of Oratorians, Benedictines, Franciscans and Capuchins. Some of its staff were talented laymen, most obviously the musicians trained in Paris. Its congregation drawn mainly from the Queen's retinue and the Catholic Courtiers included some of the men who had cleverly engineered the diplomatic and political context in which it would operate a Catholic political agenda alongside the Catholic embassies in London. It owed its existence and virtual immunity from criticism to the diplomatic imagination of Spaniards, and the opportunism of the French in securing clauses no less favourable for a marriage Treaty for Henrietta Maria. Although Charles I had some qualms, its constitution allowed the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary to be introduced despite their close association with Marie de Medici and English naval defeats at Ré and La Rochelle. It also allowed for the legal presence of Roman Catholic Bishops in rivalry with the Church of England's.

The Chapel was always a creature of international law ratified by Parliament, and so beyond most political criticism and also beyond the Episcopal authority of the Church of England or its Church Courts. Its staff explored alternative ways of restoring Roman Catholicism to England from the top downwards, through advocacy of religious liberty, the suspension of penal laws, and even espousing re-unification of the Church of England with Rome. The talents of its staff and the diplomatic context in which they functioned at the Royal Court intermingle in such respects as the cross staffing of the Queen's Chapel and Catholic Embassy Chapels, but fell foul of Parliament with the presentation of the form of criticism used in the Ten Propositions accepted by both Houses in 1641. From 1641 onwards Parliament was reluctant to allow regular Catholic orders to flourish on the pretext of the extra-territoriality of embassies. So it aimed its new laws against individual Catholic priests and against Episcopal authority lest its Arminian sympathisers should extend some toleration. The absence of the Queen's Chapel after the Queen's departure in 1642 provided the legal pretext for French military intervention to restore the Chapel, while the removal of Papal Agents led directly to a more threatening form of Papal interference manifest in Ireland as Civil War became a reality.

The revival of the Queen's Chapel at the Restoration, initially just for the Dowager Queen Henrietta Maria, was more than observance of an earlier Treaty; it was a reflection of Charles II's discreet Catholicity. The importance of his faith is most evident when examining how the Queen's Chapel fitted into his wider diplomatic activity which was conducted beyond Parliamentary scrutiny. Even so it was a bold political step

to re-establish such an institution by a Marriage Treaty largely devised by Jesuits in negotiations dominated by Bishop Russell in Portugal during 1661.

The thesis shows that the coherence imposed by Charles's Catholicity runs right through the correspondence involved in the Bellings Mission, through de la Hillière's mission and through terms agreed in the Secret Treaty of Dover in 1670 and still had its effects on foreign policy in the 1680s. At home it motivated his domestic Declarations of Indulgence spread over a decade. The selection, actions and talents of the Benedictines, Arabadoes, Capuchins and Jesuits to serve in the revived Queen's Chapel after 1662 takes on a politico-religious significance following the marriage ceremonies at Portsmouth which went far further than just hearing the Queen's Confession and serving privately some of the Royal family's religious proclivities. Like its predecessor, Catherine of Braganza's Chapel observed some innovative Catholic liturgy and music, such as the music for meditation on the True Cross written by her father, Dom João of Portugal. The Queen's Chapel's cultural impact came as much via the introduction of continental musical traditions and polyphony and the classical style of religious architecture as through the publication of its members' works and the high profile political sermons such as those by Colombière and Ellis, some of which were printed in James II reign. The Chapel's witness thus reached a wider audience than the Stuart Court and became a political tool with its own establishment regularly published in the *Angliae Notitiae*. Some saw the Queen's Chapel as a political "Trojan Horse" to be used for politico-religious sallies by book and sermon, to advance Catholicism, or in defence of, Charles II and his family for their Catholicism.

In assessing Jesuit influence exercised through attachment to the Queen's Chapel, it is clear that both Catherine of Braganza and Queen Mary of Modena afforded ample opportunity for Jesuits to play their part, but only as one Order, though an important one, amongst other favourites of the Stuart Queens, such as the Oratorians, Benedictines, Franciscans, and the more obviously Iberian Arabadoes. It is clear that the Queen's Chapel was targeted by the Jesuits as a ready way to influence the King and Queen at first hand, and their courtiers in the process. The Chapel thus became a tool in their struggle to re-convert the nation from the top down, and a base for them to operate their own international system of communication with Europe's Catholic monarchs in parallel to official diplomatic channels.

Despite the provisions of international treaties, the Queen's Chapel could not have been more elaborate than an Oratory without the support and protection of the King. This was demonstrated by Charles I who expelled almost its entire French staff of about 300 in 1626. Yet he permitted its continuation staffed by others. Charles II permitted a far more elaborate arrangement with greater freedom for the re-established Queen's Chapel. The alternative model of a similar but later Jesuit seminary and an associated printing press both located within Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh illustrates both how much difference royal

indulgence could make,⁶³² and how dogmatic over-indulgence by James II could transform tolerance for a royal chapel serving the monarch's family into a prime target for Edinburgh's High Street mob in 1688.

Jesuit influence upon the Queen's Chapel was as strong, if not as desperate, as Titus Oates supposed. This in turn makes it impossible to accept the minimalist interpretation of Jesuit activity, such as that advocated by Malcolm Hay, for it cannot satisfactorily explain the political successes of Oates or Shaftesbury. Charles II, like his Queen and his brother, was not averse to their influence upon the Queen's Chapel. So they at least acquiesced in a large Jesuit consult which met there in 1678, and in the activist preaching from there, such as that of Saint Claude de la Colombière. The legacy of Colombière's preaching and the liturgical practice was to make a major impact on the Duke of York and his second wife, Mary of Modena, and ultimately on their subsequent actions as King and Queen which reached the proportions of a major political crisis with the birth of their healthy son and the invitations sent to all Europe's royal families to attend his Christening in the Queen's Chapel on 15th October 1688.

In their anxiety to serve the Chapel the Benedictines were even prepared to give up their controversial claim to their ancient lands in the attempt to secure Re-Unification with Rome, as Ellis showed in his statement from the pulpit of the Queen's Chapel in 1686. In doing so he was pursuing a broader objective of the Queen's Chapel's clergy that had been manifest in the Chapel's close liaison with Papal Agents since the 1630s. One conclusion must be that several of the regular Catholic orders were pursuing their own political actions and rivalries.

All these politico-religious tendencies move to a dramatic head within the Queen's Chapel with the birth on June 10 1688 of a male heir to James II, an event which might have ensured continuing long term progress towards Catholicising the Stuart realms. That threat to a largely Protestant realm was tackled both by peddling the myth of the "Pretender" and by the successful invasion mounted in November 1688 by William of Orange. His invasion was followed by declaratory political use of the confessional space provided by the Queen's Chapel in late December 1688 to hold a quasi-Parliamentary gathering to consider the constitutional problem of James II's flight and to show support for William's actions. By 31st December 1688 the Chapel was advertised as put to a new use as a Dutch Chapel serving the Prince's Army and Household, although the arms of Catherine of Braganza were retained there in their dominating location above its main window.

The activities of Fr James Ferreyra in the reigns of Charles II, James II and William and Mary serve to indicate not only the continuing cross-association of Catholic priests at the Queen's Chapel and nearby Catholic embassies, but also the continuing importance accorded to the terms of Charles II's Marriage

⁶³²Macaulay, Baron Thomas Babington, History of England from the Accession of James the Second, Dent, London, 1906. (vols) Vol. II, p.169

Treaty of 1661. Appointed in July 1684,⁶³³ Ferreyra continued to officiate at weddings in the Somerset House Chapel long after James II, his son and Queen Consort fled in December 1688, and even beyond the Dowager Queen's return to Portugal at the end of March 1692.

For the Dowager Queen Catherine to have left Somerset House before 1692 with no prospect of return would have been to endanger all manner of Catholic immunities unless King William and Queen Mary were of the opinion that the terms governing her original marriage to Charles in 1662 still must be honoured. This dilemma sat awkwardly with royal propaganda presenting *"the king as a divinely-protected godly magistrate who could both defend the true church against its popish enemies, and restore the original piety and virtue of the elect English nation."*⁶³⁴ The real royal ambition was better expressed in 1693 by Greenville Collins who wrote in his dedication of Great Britain's Coasting Pilot that Charles II had commissioned the surveys in 1682 *"so we may ever be at home Sovereigns of the Sea, and umpires of the differences betwixt our neighbours abroad."*⁶³⁵ To achieve that William and Mary had to acknowledge the royal status, the legal domicile, and the Chapel of the Catholic Dowager Queen, and to counter the obviously threatening imperial designs of Spain and France they still needed to engage Portuguese support against France.

That the Portuguese Embassy retains the Registers of the Queen's Chapel at Somerset House attests to the practical reality of the 1661 treaty and the effectiveness of consistent cross-staffing with the Queen's Chapel from 1662 until 1705. Without a Portuguese Ambassadorial residence in London from 1681 to 1700, if not from 1676, the Portuguese realised the advantages and disadvantages of relying on Catherine of Braganza and special diplomatic privileges to run a Queen's Chapel under the Treaty obligations of 1661. Catherine saw her role as a good shepherd to English and Portuguese sheep, lost Catholic souls, and those cast loose on the sea - the image which Lely painted in 1670.

So conscious of a continuing Bourbon threat of invasion from France and Spain, but bereft of the advantages of a close Portuguese alliance by Catherine's death in 1705, a Stuart Parliament was persuaded to formalise Ambassadorial privileges by statute law as the price for retaining Catholic allies like Portugal.⁶³⁶ Thus the Queen's Chapel's seeming demise as a Catholic institution and its re-use to display of William of Orange's military trophies, belies its contribution to the realisation of the legal concept of extra-territoriality - the most lasting of politico-religious consequences.

⁶³³Weale, J C. M, op.cit., pp.28-33. Joseph Johnston, O.S.B., once of the Queen's Chapel at St. James's, also appears in the having taken weddings in Somerset House on 13 August and 28th November 1695 before being accused of gun-running for the Jacobite cause.

⁶³⁴ Claydon, Tony, William III and the Godly Revolution, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996. cover.

⁶³⁵ Greenville Collins, Great Britain's Coasting Pilot, being a New and Exact Survey of the Sea Coast of England and Scotland....printed by Freeman Collins for Richard Mount, London, 1693, preface, p.2.

⁶³⁶ 7 Anne Cap.12. An Act For preserving the privileges of Ambassadors, passed in 1708-09. Only the legislatures of the Dutch Republic in 1679, and Denmark in 1708 had anticipated Great Britain.

Appendix I

A guide to sources for the complement of the Queen's Chapel, 1626-1688.

Part 1. The Queen's Chapel as permitted by Charles I, 1626-1642.

Post Holder	Name of Post and brief data on holder	Regular Order (where known)	Historical Data Source
-------------	---------------------------------------	-----------------------------	------------------------

Bishops / Grand Almoners of the Queen's Chapel, 1626-1642.

Bishop of Mandes (exiled in July 1626)	Gamache reports he was " <i>sent out of the kingdom, with all the Queen's people, by express command of the King</i> ".	When dismissed he was accompanied by 14 Theatines (and 15 seculars) and 1,100 of the Queen's retinue.	[Birch, p.298.] See too thesis pp.22-23 and 58.
Jacques le Noel Du Perron Also described as " <i>Monsieur du Perron...nephew of the most eminent Cardinal du Perron and was afterwards his successor in the Bishopric of Evreux</i> ".	Grand Almoner for 16 or 17 years. Gamache adds: " <i>France artfully had recourse to compliance for filling that office of Grand Almoner to the Queen and sent M. du Perron</i> " [who Gamache says " <i>performed High Mass with solemnity and granted some Indulgences....</i> "]		[Birch CI. Vol.II.,p.304]
[Abbé] M. Walter de Montagu , (1603-1677). Imprisoned in Tower of London 1643-1647.	"Grand Almoner" 1635-43. From 1649-70 Abbot of St.Martin, Pontoise. Oratorian sympathiser.	In French Secret Service from 1624-1633; only becomes publicly Roman Catholic in 1635.	[Birch I. Vol.II., p.298-9]. Also:BL Add Ms 65,138 for his proposals of 1669 to Charles II. See DNB.
It was planned that the Bishop of Mandes be followed by Bertaut, Bishop of Bazot for " <i>France to appoint him to this post...</i> [Gamache notes before] " <i>refusal of England to receive him</i> ".			[Birch CI. Vol.II.,p.298 and 299]

Oratorians who had the "Confession of the Queen" prior to 1642.

In 1630 "*M de Chateauneuf...caused the two Fathers of the Oratory to remain, though they were to have returned to France...on the arrival of the Capuchins* ." [Birch, CI. Vol.II.,p.301]

Post Holder	Name of Post	Order	Historical Data Source
Two unspecified priests performing: (possibly the same as Frs. Philip and Viette below).	" <i>Confession of the Queen</i> ". ..." <i>under the authority and direction of the Bishop of Mandes, our Grand Almoner</i> "	O.S.B.	[Birch, CI. Vol.II.,p301] [Birch CI., Vol.II.,p.294]
Fr. Robert Philip of Sanquhar Shared quarters with Carmelite Superior (William Pendryck Eliseus of St.Michael)	Although he hailed from Scotland, he was paid by Henrietta Maria as her "Confessor." Active in mail intercepts of 1641 about her position.	O.S.B.	[Henrietta Maria's Establishment Book of 1635, E101/439/3 in the PRO. See too this thesis pp. 68-71.
Pierre Viette Fr.Philip's Oratorian companion.		O.S.B.	

Capuchins formally assigned to the Somerset House Chapel prior to 1642:

	<i>"had the honour to be selected and appointed by the Most Christian King to go to England"</i>		[Birch, CI. Vol. II., p.297]
Fr. Leonard of Paris	Superior 1630 and <i>"previously appointed Prefect of the General Mission of England and Scotland"</i> . Later withdrawn from England and promoted after disobeying the Queen. Replaced by Fr. Joseph (Prefect) and Fr. Pascal Dabouisse, the then Provincial.	O.S.F.C.	[Birch CI. Vol. II., p.305]
Fr. Jean Marie Tresson	A former Knight of Malta, replaced Fr. Leonard.		[Birch CI. Vol. II., p.307]
Fr. Cherubin, of Amiens		O.S.F.C.	
Fr. Ange of Soissons	<i>"Preacher and Reader in Theology"</i> .	O.S.F.C.	
Fr. Lambert of Fliscour	<i>"Preacher"</i>	O.S.F.C.	
Fr. Esme, of Beauvais	<i>"Preacher and Reader in Theology"</i> and <i>"at the same time warden of the convent of Mondidier"</i>	O.S.F.C.	
Fr. Cyprien of Gamache (d.1679)	<i>"Preacher and Reader"</i> Author of Memoirs. (Left England 1669)	O.S.F.C.	[Birch, CI, Vol II]. Noted with Henrietta Maria buying arms 1642-43.
Fr. Blaise, of Paris	<i>"returned to France with the Revd. Fr. Leonard"</i>	O.S.F.C.	Ibid. 307.
Fr. Sebastien, of Bar sur Seine		O.S.F.C.	
Fr. Jean Louis, of Aveney	<i>"Preacher"</i>	O.S.F.C.	
Fr. Ange de Raconis (d. Paris 15.1.1637)		O.S.F.C.	Dictionaire de Theologie Catholique
Fr. Marin of Paris	replaces Fr. Blaise		[Birch p307]
Fr. Joseph de Paris (Joseph de Tremblay) (d.1638)		O.S.F.C.	Ibid.

Before 1642 "all of these [Capuchins] for the service of the Queen; and for the Chapel of the (French) Ambassador, were chosen."

Fr. Basile, of Rheims.	<i>"Preacher"</i>	O.S.F.C.	
Fr. Seraphin, of Compiegne.	<i>"Preacher"</i>	O.S.F.C.	[Birch CI. Vol. II., p.298]
Brother Martin of Paris "a Friar full of fervour in place of Fr. Blaise who had returned to France with Fr. Leonard.		O.S.F.C.	[Birch CI., Vol. II., p.307]
Fr. Charles of Beauvais	Appointed to the French Embassy Chapel.	O.S.F.C.	[Birch CI. Vol. II., p.317]

Franciscans of the English Chapter.

Christopher Davenport (1598-1680), alias "Francis Hunt" and "Francis Coventry".	Chaplain to the Queen. Impeached by Parliament 1641, but not exiled. Resumed as Chaplin to Henrietta Maria, 1660.	Professed at Ypres 1617. Usually known by his professed name of "Franciscus a Sancta Clara, O.S.F."	[Laud, Works IV., p.326 Author of <u>Deus Natura Gratia</u> , 1634. Given immunity by Parliament. Wrote to Cromwell on religious compromise.
Giles Chaissy	"was in good place around the Queen's Majesty at her first coming". Soon came under the protection of the Venetian Embassy.	O.S.F.	[Laud, Works.IV.,p.328],
William Thomson	"a clerke of Her Majesty's Chapel" with the nickname "Cacafugo"	O.S.F	

Benedictines

David Codner (alias "William Savage").	Remained to serve the Queen following the French expulsions in 1625/6. Notary Apostolic and abandoned cover as art expert to Charles I upon Van Dyck's arrival. Arrested three times for priesthood in 1631 alone. Still serving in Queen's Chapel in 1637	O.S.B	[Ellis, H.Original Letters, First Series, London, 1824, Vol.II.,p.243]. [letter of 27th Jan.1637 PRO transcript 31/7/17b]
Thomas Preston	Died in Clink in 1646.	O.S.B from 1591.	See thesis pp.41-44
Michael Godfrey		O.S.B.	ditto.

The Musician Members of the Queen's Chapel of Henrietta Maria.

All these names appear in the context of officers of Henrietta Maria's Chapel under "Fees, pensions and wages of servants and officers" for 1634/56 in PRO E.101/493/3:

Mr. Quirhards (sic) Richards. Note there were other musicians in her Household of the same name in the same accounts.	<i>"Master of the Musick to the King of France."</i> Note: <i>"Philip Burlamachy of London, Marchant, for monie by him paid to one Lewes Richard who breeds boyes for her Majesty's Musick in Paris in France,.... by way of exchange by means of the said Burlamachy as by her Majesty's warrant dated 20th May 1630"</i>		Ibid, f.71. PRO SC6/ChasI/1696] for 1630. Elsewhere in same sequence of accounts he is named as "Master of Musick to the King of France" in receipt of annual £100 pension until 1640. PRO SC6/ChasI/170: accts. His contributions are discussed extensively in the thesis, cited again in appendix III.
Margarett Prevost	Back in France by 30th Nov.1643		[PRO SC6/ChasI/170: accts. for 1640] for 1640]
Pierre De la Mare	ditto		ditto
Nicholas Duvall	ditto		ditto
Anthony Robert	ditto		ditto
Symon de la Gardes	ditto		ditto
Mathurin Marie	ditto		ditto

Richard Durin	"Organist" 1627		[SC6/ChasI/1693]
Andrew Maugard	Musician		ditto
Jehan Prevost	"Back in France 13 Aug. 1645"		{SC6/ChasI/
Michaell Roger	ditto		
Richard Wells	ditto		
Camille Prevost	ditto		
Simon de la Garde	ditto		
Pierre de la Mare	ditto		
Nicholas Duvall	ditto		
Antoine Robte (Roberts)	ditto		
Jacques Gaultier .	ditto		
Derick Stoiffken.	Musician, 1629		[SC6/ChasI/1694]
Rance de Gowges.	"lutrist" 1629		ditto
Daniel Cahill.	"her Majesty's harp" 1629."		ditto
John Burwood.	"tuning her Majesty's organs" 1629 "'mending her Majesty's organ"		ditto also 1630[SC6/Chas/ /1696]
Richard Mico Buried at St.Paul's Covent Garden, 10 April 1661.	"her Majesty's Organist, for one "neue organ to be set up in the Chappell at St,James's: £45as by her Majesty's Warrant, dated 11th May 1630".		
William Drewe	from 1634		[SC6/Chas I/1698]
Robert Vere	ditto		ditto
Richard Grenebury	for " 1636"		[SC6/ChasI /1699]
Edward Fremyn	"in place of Michaell Roger" from 1637"		[SC6/ChasI/1700]
William le Grand	"in the place of William Drewe" from 1638		[SC6/ChasI/1701]
Robert Dallam from 1638	"her Majesty's Organ maker..for making 13 new pipes,,and mending...£107"		[SC6/ChasI /1701]
M. Boucan	"one of the French King's Musicians" Also "£500 as of his Majesty's free gift procured by the Duke of Buckingham, 1625 "		[SO3/8]
Nicholas Picart	Back in France 18th June 1644		
Anthony Roberts Lived in Mayden Lane Covent Garden. Went to France, returned 25th Sept. 1656 Landed at Rye "out of the French shallop Anthony Pulline, Mr. from Diepe and came to London 27th" .			BL.Add.Mss 34015, f.67 Will of 1677 requesting burial at Somerset House Chapel in which he served the deceased Queen for forty years, and if not then "that at least it may be according to the ordinary rites of the Catholiques in this country." [Probate: 25th Aug. 1679, translated from French. PRO E196. 9/259]

Other Members of the Queen's Chapel of Henrietta Maria.

Peter Priott	"Sub Dean"		PRO. E101/439/3 Ms for 16345" f.69.
John Balfour			Ibid. f.69
William Willeson	Serjeant of Her Majesty's Chappell by the appointment of Mons.de Pierre {du Perron}Her Majesty's Grand Almoner, and by authority from him, the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds (being) money in full satisfaction ofthe Alms money allocated by her Majesty for the quarter ended the feast of St.John The Baptist last 1635"		Ibid. f.70r.
Robert Philips (probably the same man as Robert Philip of Sanquhar.)	"Confessor"		Ibid f.69.
Mons. Garnier			Ibid.f.71r
Mons. Gadony			Ibid.f.72r
Mons Tartareau			Ibid.f.72r
Mons Coignet			Ibid.f.72r
Mons Cibet			Ibid. f.72r
Mons John Carmer			Ibid. f.72r
Mons Planry			Ibid.f.75
Mons Aubert			Ibid.f.75r
Bartholomew Montagu			Ibid. f.76
George Harper			Ibid. f.76r
William Petit			Ibid. f.78
Henry and Francis Brown			Ibid. f.76r
Inigo Jones	Architect of the Queen's Chapels at St. James's and Somerset House.		Ibid.f.77
George Gillin Taylor			Ibid. f78r
John Blutsan	"Yeoman"		Ibid.f.78
John Diper			Ibid. f.80
Peter Arnold	"Yeoman of the (Vestry?)"		Ibid. f.80
Mr.Mullins " of Baldwin's Garden".	Mr Samuel Alexander acted as Clerk copying the writings of Mullins, who had served in the Queen's Chapel, and with whom lived the Scottish Minim John Brown, in Three Legged Alley off Fetter Lane		[Innes Review, Vol. 21.,p.168]

Part II. Complement of the Queen's Chapel, 1662 to 1685.

Post Holder	Name of Post	Order	Historical Data Source
The Rt Rev. Lord Louis D' Aubigny Stuart	Lord High Almoner called "Queenes Great Almner" twice in 1664.		Archivium Romanum S.J. Germania 115 Epp. General ad Externos, Germ. 16571663 in a volume marked "D'Aubigny. refs. 18/3, 3/6, 1662; at pages 232239 28/4, 1/5, 1663. at pages 286289. All mounted onto pages of the volume. Returned to France 1665.
Fr. Philip Howard.	Lord High Almoner	OP.	Ms Catharina R., 1671.

10 Ladies Marque[s] de Sande Richard Russell, Manuel Pereira Paulo Almeide Jeronimo de Breu Pedro Antoneo Fernandes Meu	Queen's retinue "Bispo de Portalegre" [Bishop Elect] Almoner [by 1671] Almoner [by 1671] Conde de Pontuel ? Confessor	S.J.	Russell Papers IV/V, 1662 Ushaw College. "A Roll of the Queen's [damaged] as they were to be quartered at P Portsmouth." (in her hand)
Dom Franco de Mello Franco Correa Medico Antonio Ferreira Sorgia Antonio Ferreira Pedro Ferreira By 1671 Timothy Faria. [unspecified by Russell] Marcos de Britto, M Pregadores Dito Cappelais Mais dito Cantores Marta Ponce 3 Duarte de Silva, esen filmo plus5 plus 4. 12 Ouirдор da Capella"	Diplomat ditto ? Doctor "Mestre da Cappella" Master of the Chapel. "Eos dous tipes" i.e Trebles "Tenor" Baiscao" Tangedor de Arpa" [Harpist] dous Mossos de Cap'a dous Sangradores duas Mossos da Cammaro stua' Conserucino stua' Infirmara Mais dous Mossos de Cap'a Tres Mossos de Camera Quatro Reposteiros Tresoureiro del Rey de Portugal.	O.S.B	Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto Catarina R. Russell, op. cit. ditto ditto ditto ditto ditto ditto ditto

Other Priests known to have served in Catharine of Braganza's Queen's Chapel :

Fr.Patricio Ghineo (described by Agretti in spite of his name as "an Irish priest" and friend of the King) and "Of the Society of Jesus who travelled with John Fernandez "a lay brother, and particularly skilled in medicine"... "and companion" of Fr.Anthony Fernandez. "		S.J. Died in England, 23rd April 1674"	Ms. Catherina .R.
--	--	---	-------------------

Thomas Tilden (alias Godden [1622/1688]. P.32 entry records "April 23rd 1660 made April 23rd 1662 left for England with Queen. Made her preacher, after he had dedicated these on Trinity to her Oct. 1661..."	DD & in July tutor in England to Catherine Queen of England. Sept. 10th made archdeacon of London & Essex.		MS L.A 111 "Annales Collegii", Ushaw College:
Abel Death (alias John Barton). P.41 entry reads [President Perrot's last hand entry] " <i>London. Son of Thomas Death. Born Feb. 11th, 1637. Converted by John Williams. July 1660 admitted (on same terms as Robert Hawkins) as Porter and allowed to study Latin. Returned to England: sailed with fleet taking Queen Catherine to her wedding with Charles II, April 23rd 1662</i> "			ditto
Fr. Christopher Rosario		O.S.D.	Ms. Catarina R & Angliae Notitiae
Fr. Hugh Collano	Preacher [by 1671]		MS Catherina R, 16712
Bento de Limes " [Lemos]	Preacher. Fetched last sacrament from Queen's Chapel for Charles II in 1685.	S.J.	["Angliae Notitiae...1684]
Augustine Lorenzo "Preacher"			["Angliae Notitiae..1684]
Sig. D. Giacomo Ronchi	"Tesoriero della capella della Regina"		[Bologna MS M.S.B.344, Item 110]
P. Antoniae Mariae Guidici (alias Galley, Galli),	Confessor to Duchess of York 1678/1685	S.J	19 letters written in 1679..... Archivio Segreto, Rome.
Fr. Beddingfield or Beddingfield (alias Thomas Mumford).	Chaplain to Duke of York. Served the Duke of York at sea and ashore from "end of the summer" 1671 and was recipient of original Oates letters	S.J	[Society of Jesus Provincial Annual Letters 16712]
Fr. Claude de la Colombière , (1675 to 1678 then expelled)	Chaplain to the Duchess of York (Mary of Modena):	S.J	
Fr. Saint Germain , (expelled 1675 for High treason)	ditto	S.J.	

Benedictines appointed to the Queen's Chapel in 1661/2.

Three Committee Members "to make laws for the governance of the Chapel constituted its moderators" although they did not "intitulate a Prior, or a Conventual Prior": Many of their individual acts are mentioned in the Marriage Register of the Catholic Chapels Royal and Portuguese Embassy. For a transcript see: Weale, Op. cit.

Fr. Augustine Hungate Fr. Paul Robinson	(President at the time) (former President General, travelled in company with Charles II in exile and highly favoured at Court)	O.S.B. O.S.B.	From Benedictine "Obit Book" and "MS Catherina R An Establishment of ordinary wages...1671. Signed R. Bellings"
Fr. Anselm Crowder (whom Lunn connects with Confraternity of the Holy Rosary)		O.S.B.	The thesis includes amendments by Hugh Connolly in "An Unregistered Gregorian", Downside Review, April 1939, to incorrect surmises by Msgr. Barnes, Gillow, Allanson and Dom G.E. Hind:
Fr. Bennet Stapylton	until 1675; Also President General of the English Congregation from 1669/1680.	O.S.B.	

Fr. Lionel Sheldon	Chaplain to the Duchess of York until 1675.	O.S.B.	
Fr. Anselm Touchet (until 1675) described as George Touchet in the 1678 Act of Parliament, but as Fr. Anselm Touchet by the Papal Internuncio who wrote on 22nd March 1682. Died 1688.		O.S.B.	See textual notes for details of his publications . Also: 29/30 Car. II. 17 Enrolled as a Private Act , wherein George Touchet is cited on fols 3839 " serving beyond the Seas".
Fr. Placid Adelham	(formerly a Church of England minister, later implicated by Titus Oates)	O.S.B	
Fr. Joseph Martin (died at St. James's on 15th Sept.1662).just before first Mass there since Civil War,	later replaced by Fr.Austin Latham who was replaced after 1670 by the Portuguese D. James Ferreira)	O.S.B.	
Fr. John Huddleston (also Hudleston) (who Benedictine Lay Brothers chosen to serve at the Queen's Chapel from 1661:	He had hidden Charles II following defeat at the Battle of Worcester, appointed specifically to serve at the Queen's Chapel in 1661.		That agreement was always honoured by Parliament , and he was exempted from measures against Catholics as his reward.

Benedictine Lay Brothers chosen to serve at the Queen's Chapel from 1661:

Br. Bennet Hankinson	"a most curious embroiderer", replaced after 1672 by Br.Thomas Pickering, later implicated by Titus Oates.		
Br.Austin Rumley			

Franciscan Friars

Note there were also of the Order of St.Peter of Alcantara (Arabadoes) attached to the Queen's Chapel described as follows:

<i>"To the Syndick of our Fathers Arabadoes, to be spent for them the manner we have commanded 1000.l." "Eleven Franciscan Friars. See Angliae Notitiae... 1684."</i>			[MS Catherina R, 16712].
In 1685 "the Royal Chapel of St.James (the Franciscans being placed with the Queen Dowager at Somerset House) came into the Benedictines"			[Weldon's "course and rough first draft" of history of James II, BL Add.MS, 10118]ven <i>Franciscan Friars</i> ". See"Angliae Notitiae...1684".

Musicians and others appointed to serve at the Queen's Chapel in the reign of King Charles II.

	"Divers Persons belonging to the Musick of the Chappel"		["Anglia Notitiae, or the Present State of England", editions 1669/1672]
Matthew Locke "	Our Organist 100.£"		[MS Catherina R, 16712]
	"Organist 150.£"		[BL Add.MS 15897, f.33.v, 1677]
John Baptista [Draghi]	"Principal Organist...that admirable Master of musick"		Angliae Notitiae...14th Ed.1682]
Sig.Giovanni Battista Draghi	["maestro di capella della regina"		[Bologna MS 344, Item 75, post 1674]
Paul Francis Bridges	" Who playeth on the violin, 100£."		[Ms. Catherina R. 16712].
Timothy Faria	"als Tiple 150.l."		[Ms. Catherina R, 16712]

Manoel Dias Lived in quarters adjacent to the Queen's Chapel: detailed in Streater's building accounts, 1674.	"one of the clerks of our chapel 150.l." later "tesoriero della capella della Regina" c.1674; and later "Portughese elemosiniere della capella della Regina". "for Five Boyes of ye Chapple".		[Ms. Catherina R, 16712], as in Baldwin, D. op.cit, p.144] [Commissions by Benegetto Gennari the Younger, Court Artist, in Bibliotheca Communale dell'Archiginnasio at Bologna, MS M.S.B.344, Item 26, 51 and 101]. [MS. BL Add.MS 15,897, f.33.v, 1677]
Mr. Clement Rocke	"For four boyes of the chapel at 40.£ each"		[MS Catherine R, 16712]
	"Boyes of the Chapel":		"Angliae Notitiae, or the Present State of England" The editions from 1672 add "4 Clerkes of the Chappel, and 4 boyes"
Richard Bryan Andrew Bryan Thomas Wilcox Joseph Harris John Crispe	"Five Boyes of the Chapple": Each paid £40.		[BL Add.MS.15897,f.33.v, 1677]

Those paid for maintenance of the Royal Instruments in the Queen's Chapel.

John Hingeston	"pay 155.l. to John Hingeston, keeper and repairer of his Majesty's organs and other instruments, for organs and harpsichord for the Queen's private Chapel"		[PRO Warrant Lord Chamberlain to Treasurer of the Chamber, Warrant 7419, 5/137, April 19th 1662]
Mr. Richard Micoe. Buried at St.Paul's Covent Garden, 10 April 1661.	"pay 67.l.11s to John Hingeston...for removing and setting up an organ in her Majesty's Chapel at St.James', for removing another organ from Whitehall to St.James' for the French music, and for portage of a larger organ from Mr. Micoes to St.James's and setting up there"		Warrant Lord Chamberlain to Treasurer to the Chamber PRO Warrant 7419, 5/137 April 1st 1663]
Segnior Francisco	"Two double curtolls...given to Segnior Francisco for his service of the Queen's Majesty"		[Lord Chamberlain to Treasurer of the Chamber, PRO Warrant 7715, 5/13, Nov.30th 1669]

The complement of the Queen's Chapel in the reign of James II.

For its costs see: Queen's Chapel Expenses in 1685: [BL.Add.MS 15,897] The broad aggregates were:

"to the Chappell Salaries: £2392.10s.0p" and "to the Chappell Extraordinary £2012.10s.0p"

Benedictines:			Weldon, BL. Add. Ms. 10,118 details its sixteen Benedictine residents in 1685 .
<p>(1) V.R.F. Augustine Howard, (2) V.R.F. Francis Lawson, (3) F. Maurus Nicholls alias Poss (4) F. Joseph Aprice, (5) R.F. Philip Ellis of Waddesdon in Buckinghamshire, professed at Douay the 30th Nov., 1670.</p> <p>(6) R.F. Thomas [Ildefonsus] Aprice, (7) R.F. Bennett Gibbons, (8) R.F. Maurus Knightley, (9) V.R.F. Bernard Gregon, (10) F. Cuthbert Parker, " whom the King ordering to be otherwise disposed of, the V.R.F. Augustine alias (10)Thomas Constable, of the Castle called Eagle in Lincolnshire, professed at Douay the 22nd August, 1649, came in his place;" (11) F. Bernard Lowicke de Humill Visitatione B.M.V., (12) R.F. Joseph Johnston. (14) F. Gregory Timperley, (15) Br. Thomas Brabant,</p> <p>(16) Br. Austin Rumley,</p>	<p>Bishop of Auriopolis, as from 6th July 1688.. "<i>whom the King, before the Revolution, honoured with a mitre in this Chapel of St. James, 1688</i>".</p> <p>"a pious, industrious, laborious lay brother of Douay House, deceased not long ago at London, to the great grief of all that knew him.."</p> <p>Lay-brother of Dieulwart."</p>	<p>O.S.B. O.S.B. O.S.B. O.S.B. O.S.B. O.S.B. O.S.B. O.S.B. O.S.B. O.S.B. O.S.B. O.S.B. O.S.B. O.S.B.</p>	
Franciscans: Order of St. Peter of Alcantara.	Weldon wrote in 1685 " <i>Thus the Royal Chapel of St. James (the Franciscans being placed with the Queen Dowager at Somerset House) came in to the Benedictines.</i> "		BL. Add. Ms 10,118.

Jesuits: The College Jesuits, of whom seven were in residence, included those who joined soon after May 1687: quartered in the College buildings at the Savoy by Fr Thomas Parker , S.J. were required to serve at the Queen's Chapel, St. James's Palace, comprising three Jesuit lay brothers plus:			Foley, op. cit, vol V, p265.
Charles Palmer (alias Poulton)	Rector	S.J.	Ditto
John Keynes	Provincial	S.J.	Ditto
William Mumford	Socius	S.J.	Ditto
Thomas Green	Minister	S.J.	Ditto
Edward Tidder	Procurator. Provincial.	S.J.	Ditto
John Pearsall	Preacher to the King	S.J.	Ditto
Edward Hall	[Savoy School] Master	S.J.	Ditto
Andrew Poulton	[Savoy School] Master	S.J.	Ditto
John Dormer , whose real name was Huddleston (Hudleston).	said to be a Jesuit Preacher to King James, of the College of the Holy Apostles, or the Suffolk District"		Ditto

Note too: **Edward Petre**, must have visited Mary of Modena's Queen's Chapel as its Clerk of the Closet. The matching Clerk of the Closet in the Chapel Royal was then **Thomas Spratt**, Bishop of Rochester.

Table of the Musicians belonging to Her Majesty's Chapel in 1687:

Six boys of the Chapel			from <i>Angliae Notitiae</i> , 1687
Mr. Purcel	Sacristan.		Ditto
Mr. Morton	Sacristan.		Ditto
Mr. Baillon	Organist.		Ditto

Table of other Office Holders belonging to Her Majesty's Chapel in 1687.

Mr. Galley (Galli)	Confessor and First Almoner. (charged to bestow £500 on Pensioners)		Ditto
Mr. James Ronchi	Second Almoner and Treasurer.		Ditto
Mr. Bellegrine Ronchi	Almoner.		Ditto
Mr. Francis Sachelli	Almoner.		Ditto
Mr. Masuet	Preacher.		Ditto
Mr. La Croix	Chaplain		Ditto
Mr Bernardine Sachelli	Chaplain.		Ditto
Mr. Charles Ronchi	Chaplain.		Ditto
Mr. Blance	Chaplain.		Ditto
Richard Crump	Porter.		Ditto
John Martin	Porter.		Ditto

Appendix II.

The international form of the music of the Queen's Chapel.

The form of music accompanying the Latin Mass was developed quite rapidly in England during the reign of Philip and Mary, and even during Elizabeth I's reign. The form of the music sung then by the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal is known today through fragments in the British Library but also through a substantial body of composition copied by John Baldwin into a part-book preserved at Christ Church, Oxford (Ms 977-13), a work which also reveals what was sung at St George's Chapel, Windsor, from 1560 to 1579. Joseph Kerman's study of part-books and motets,¹ and of Elizabeth I's personal liking for the Latin musical form, explains why William Byrd, as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1569, was subsequently to engage with the Queen's indulgence in a dialogue of musical exchange with Phillipe de Monte of the Capilla Flamenca from 1583.² Musical training continued thereafter to be subject to international exchange even though increasingly polarised European religious politics precluded the English Court from more obviously Catholic practice.

The continental dimension of music and chant at the Queen's Chapel was evident from its very inception. Among the "Queen's servants who came over with her" to serve in 1625 were eleven "musitions" and "3 little singing boyes". These musicians escaped the expulsion of the rest of the French retinue in 1625/6 and continued to serve until the Civil War, their number increasing to fourteen by 1629. The link with European Catholicism under Henrietta Maria was direct to the Court of the King of France. Loys Richards as "Master of Music to the King of France"³ was paid throughout the 1620s and 1630s and as late as 1642 to "breed boyes for Her Majesty's Musick in Parris in France"⁴. Music at the Queen's Chapel therefore did not undergo the hiatus in musical continuity and tradition experienced by the King's Chapel Royal as a result of the Civil War.

Upon Charles II's marriage to Catherine of Braganza, the reconstituted Queen's Chapel was served immediately by a host of musicians who sailed with her fleet to England. By contrast, matters were different in the ranks of the Chapel Royal where Capt. Cooke, new Master of the Children was faced with need to train up choristers afresh, because the recent dominance of the Puritan influence which came with the Civil War and its aftermath, and which saw attention transferred away from the liturgical service resulting in a almost complete suppression of choirs, organs and the ransacking of Cathedral libraries. Thus Pepys records of music at the Chapel Royal in Whitehall on 14th October 1660 "an anthemne, ill-sung, which made the King laugh".⁵

¹Kerman, Joseph, The Masses and Motets of William Byrd, Faber and Faber, London, 1981, pp 22-38 and 42-54.

²Baldwin, David, Chapel Royal, p.91.

³(SC6/ChasI/1698 Accts. 1634)

⁴New Year's Gifts for 1630 are given in SC/6/ChasI/1635.

⁵Pepys, Vol.X, p.264)

Crux fidelis

(Cross most faithful)

Words attributed to Venantius Fortunatus (c. 530-609)
Translation by John Rutter

JOHN IV, King of Portugal
(1604-56)

SOPRANO

Crux fi - de - - lis, in - - ter o -
Cross most faith - - ful, high ex - alt -

ALTO

Crux fi - de - - lis, in - ter o -
Cross most faith - - ful, high ex - alt -

TENOR

Crux fi - de - - lis, in - ter o -
Cross most faith - - ful, high ex - alt -

BASS

Crux fi - de - - lis, in - ter o -
Cross most faith - - ful, high ex - alt -

(for rehearsal only)

p *cresc.* *mp*

6

-mnes, Ar - bor u - na no - - bi - lis: Nul - la
- ed, No - ble tree be - yond com - pare: Neu - er

-mnes, Ar - bor u - na no - - bi - lis: Nul - la
- ed, No - ble tree be - yond com - pare: Neu - er

-mnes, Ar - bor u - na no - - bi - lis: Nul - la
- ed, No - ble tree be - yond com - pare: Neu - er

-mnes, Ar - bor u - na no - - bi - lis: Nul - la
- ed, No - ble tree be - yond com - pare: Neu - er

cresc. *mf* *p*

The lack of choral continuity led to the necessity to stick largely to verse anthems, aided by cornets, for nearly half a decade whilst the Chapel Royal choristers struggled to satisfy the wishes of the King who did not want continental influence confined to the Queen's Chapel. Thomas Tudway put it thus: "His Majesty, who was a brisk and airy prince, coming to ye Crown in ye flow'r and vigour of his Age, was soon, if I may so say, tired with ye grave and solemn way, and ordered ye Composers of his Chappell to add Symphoneys, Etc., with instruments to their Anthems, and thereupon established a select number of his Private Musick to play ye Symphoneys and Ritornelles which he had appointed....The old Masters, Dr. Child, Dr. C. Gibbons and Mr. Lowe, organists to His Majesty, hardly knew how to comport themselves with these new fangled ways..."⁶ The subsequent history of the boys who rose to this challenge, such as Pelham Humphrey, John Blow, William Turner and Michael Wise, was to become the history of church music for the next fifty years.

While the church musicians of the Anglican Chapel Royal were to a great extent emulating the continental influence so richly present throughout at the Queen's Chapel they were also addressing the reality of a serious interest in music shown by both Charles II and Catherine of Aragon. One of the family threads involved in this evident continental influence came directly from Catherine of Braganza's own family, for her father was an accomplished composer being as keen on music, especially devotional music, as on his other major leisure pursuit, hunting. Richard Flecknoe, an Irishman who visited King João IV 's court in 1648, reported that he was an honest plain man, as meanly clad as any citizen whose ordinary exercise is hunting and music. King João IV was the composer of some rather doleful but moving music set to choral parts after the ancient text of "Crux Fidelis" written by Venatius Fortunatus (530-649). Just as Catherine would adopt several features from her childhood experience of the Chapel at Estremoz, so she almost certainly had her late father's own musical work, "Crux Fidelis" adopted into the repertoire of choir of the Queen's Chapel during Holy Week.

Pepys became most impressed with what he experienced of the continent's musical traditions there, for after initial reservations, he wrote the following in his Diary for 15th April 1666: "Walked into the Park to the Queen's Chapel, and there heard a good deal of their mass, and some of their musique, which is not so contemptible, I think, as our people would make it, it pleasing me very well, and, indeed better than the anthem I heard afterwards at Whitehall, at my coming back" and later on 22nd March 1668: "to the Queen's Chapel, and there did hear the Italians sing; and indeed their musick did appear most admirable to me, beyond anything of our's: I was never so well satisfied in my life with it".

Several of the Queen's Chapel musicians including James Martin, Nicholas Kennedy, William Hollyman, and John Baptista Draghi, were retained for Catherine of Braganza's service in the complement of "the Queen Dowager's Chapel" at Somerset House until at least 1694 according to the 18th edition of the Angliae Notitiae.

⁶BL. Harley Ms 7388, Thomas Tudway's prefatory letter to Lord Harley.

Appendix III.

LIST OF SELECTED FURNISHINGS FROM THE STUART COURT ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE THESIS.

Some 17th Century Paintings still in the Royal Collection.

Queen Henrietta Maria by Van Dyck (now in the Royal Closet at the Queen's Chapel).

Queen Catherine of Braganza by Sir Peter Lely. (Buckingham Palace).

Charles I by Jacob van Doordt, circa 1624-25.

A View of Greenwich in 1632 by Adriaen van Stalpent and Jan van Belcamp. (now in the Queen's Chapel).

Michael Alphonsus Shen Fu-Tsung, (The Chinese Jesuit convert) by Sir Godfrey Kneller, 1687.

The Liberation of St Peter, 1619 by Henri V Steinick (van Steinwijk). Note there are a series a six oil paintings on copper by Steinwijk on this theme in the Royal Collection. The collection was probably started in Anne of Denmark's last year as a Catholic devotional aid. At least two more of the same subject were inventoried as among Charles I's additions. Stalpent stayed in London from 1617 to 1637.

17th century Tapestries.

Five Mortlake Tapestries depicting the Battle of Solebay, 1672, Royal Collection and Department of the Environment, Hampton Court Palace, Prince of Wales staircase.

They include "The Dutch Fleet Appearing at Dawn", "The English Fleet Attacked by the Dutch", "Ships Engaged in Action".

17th century Bed.

Mary of Modena's bed in which she was confined for the 'birth' of James Francis Edward, the 'Old Pretender', at St.James's Palace. Displayed at present in Kensington Palace.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Original Documents and Artefacts.

Archivum Romanum Societas Jesu, Borgo S. Spirito, Rome.

Opp. NN 164-175 B:

"Litterae Christine Reginae..." comprising 13 1/2 folios written on 7 folded sheets, beginning with Queen Christina of Sweden's "Litterae Secretissima" correspondence of 1651, in her own handwriting.

Uncatalogued letter from Queen Christina of Sweden, dated 1666.
Ten strip width paper with Queen Christina's paper imprint signet seal.

Uncatalogued letter from Queen Christina of Sweden to Fr. Antonio de Macedo, undated, ending "Monsieur mon Pere Tres affectionat a Vous" and signed "Christine".
On cross-meshed paper otherwise unidentified but with Royal Water Mark surmounted by crown.

Germania 115 Epp. General ad Externos, Germ. 1657-1663:

including the following original correspondence mounted upon pages headed as below:

Sueciae Reginae Christinae 7/6, 1661, fol. 197.

" " " 6/5, 1662, Hamburg, fol. 236.

Stuart, Lord D' Aubigny 18/3, 3/6, 1662, ff. 232, 239.

" " 28/4, 1/5, 1663, ff. 286, 289.

Rheni Palatino Guli Wilhemo 24/6, 1662, fol. 245.

Londini Dr. Beling. Ani Richard Bellings, Rome, 1 May 1663, fol. 289.

Opp. NN 174/175 D:

"Acta circa Matrimonium Catherinae Reginae Angliae cum Carolo II Rege Angliae", a deposition by Bellings describing the marriage of "Caterina regina d' Inghilterre". Water Mark of encircled fat dove with capital letters 'A' over back and 'N' below chest.

Letter by Martinus di Esparza SJ about the controversial nature of the matrimony to a non-catholic and the need for papal dispensation for it.

Opp. NN 174/175 E:

"Litterae Caroli II Regis Angliae de filio suo naturali Iacobo de la Cloche, qui Domum Probationis S. Andreae anno 1668 ingressus est. Testimonia et informationes variae de eodem valde ambiguo viro". The cover correctly adds that this contains also "litterae de unione Anglia cum Catolica Romana":

First Document signed by Henry Bennet "Secretarius", undated.

Second Document in Latin, containing encryptions, signed by Thomas Gordon, dated Edinburgh 20th September 1683.

Third Document, comprising six large folio pages all in Latin recording Charles II's views on the "perturbationem ac Babyloniam confusionem in Ecclesiasticis".

Fourth Document, contemporary printed pamphlet entitled "Memoires Escries de la Propre main De Charle Second Roi D'Angleterre D'heureuse memoire reimprimez et publiez a Londres".

Elaborate "M" Water Mark. Also "Declaration de feu Madame La Duchesse D' Jorck, Mere de la Moderne Princesse d' Orange...A Saint James le huitieme Aoust mil six cens sioxante-dix".

The fifth Document in the sequence is (Opp. NN 174/175, DII, 1-5):

A folder marked "Litterae et testimonia Caroli II Reg. Angliae de quodam filio suo naturali sub nomine Jacobi de la Cloche qui Societati in nomen dederat".

Anchor encircled with surmounted star Water Mark.

- 1) Letter dated "a wthall ce 4 d'aust 1668", signed "Charles roy d'anglett de Fr d'ec et d'hy", and addressed "Pour nostre sues-honore fils le prince stuart demeurat entre les reverends peres Jesuittes sous le nom du Sr. de la Cloche, a rome"
- 2) Letter to "Monsieur et reverend pere", signed "a wthall Charles - roy d'angleterre a Londres ce 18 novembre 1668".
- 3) Letter to "Monsieur et Reverendissime pere", signed "a wthall Charle roy d'angleterre ce 3 d'oust 1668"
- 4) Letter to "Monsieur et reverendissime pere", signed "Nous Sommes Charle - roy d'angleterre", undated.
- 5) Letter to "Monsieur et reverendissime pere", signed "a wthall ce 29 d'aoust 1668 Charle - roy d' angleterre"
- 6) Folder of letter wraps:
 - a: "A Monsieur le reverendissime pere general de Messieurs les reverends peres Jesuites a Rome". Three signet seals of Charles II.
 - b: "d' Inghilterra De Charles Roy 'angl, Monsieur le reverendissime pere general des Messieurs les reverends peres Jesuites a Rome, recommande en main de Monsieur de la Cloche Jesuite a Rome". Five signet seals of Charles II.
 - c: "A Monsieur le reverendissime pere general des reverends peres Jesuites a Rome". Three signet seals of Charles II.
 - d: "Roy d'angleterre. Monsr le reverendissime pere general des Messieurs les reverends peres Jesuittes a Rome. Two signet seals of Charles II with light orange ribbons.
- 7) Document of Shiny parchment reading "Charles par la grace de Dieu Roy d'Angleterre de France, d' Ecosse et d' Hibernie Msieur Jacques Stuart...nostre fils...le somme de £500 Sterling, signed "a wthall le 7 Febu.1667 esry et seelle de nse main propre Charle". Paper imprint of signet seal of Charles II.
- 8) "Copie de la Letter de la Regne 1667, 2 novembre", signed: "Jacques Stuart nommine De la Cloche Du Bourg de Jause novice de la compagnie de Jesuit". Water Mark of dove standing on three stones with letters 'A' and 'C' either side.
- 9) Queen Christina of Sweden's letter of attestation of James la Cloche's (Stuart) royal birth, including the description; "filius naturalis Caroles: regis angliae..." and signed "Christina Alexandra". Unidentified Water Mark with signet seal of Queen Christina covering bottom arms of the letter 'A' of Alexandra, indicating it was applied afterwards in the conventional manner.
- 10) Document of shiny parchment beginning "Charles par la grace de Dieu Roy d' Angleterre de France, d' Ecosse et d' Hibernie", signed: "A wthal le 27 de Septembre 1665 escrits et signe de nostre maine cachete du cachet ordinaire de ns lettres sans autre facon Charles". Well-preserved signet seal of Charles II with no ribbon.

11) Two letters from Charles in French dated respectively (and written on same page following one another) "18 de novembre 1668" and "18 de Novembre a wthall", both signed "Charle".

But on the inside on the right hand side, Italian text addressed to "Sacra Maesta, Dal Latore di questa...", signed "Livorno 14 di Ott 1668", thereby suggesting Oliva was the recipient. Two signet seals of Charles II. Water Mark of Anchor encircled surmounted by star.

12) Letter in Italian to a priest from Livorno, 29 October 1668.

Opp NN 174/175 F:

"Litterae P.Belluamo et P.Ant.Mariae Guidici qui sub nomine Equitis Galli versabatur in aula Dulcis Eboracensis uti confessor Ducissae Eboracensis, 1678-1685", containing:

1) Letter by Gottando Belthasar written to Jesuit Fathers in Rome from Brussels, November 1679.

2) Letter by Marco Anobius Galli to Oliva in Rome "Dalla Hage 23 March 1679. Half a seal comprising heart encircled by stars.

Water Mark of massive crown surmounting badge containing three fleurs de lis and the whole surmounted by two rampant winged griffins.

3) Letter written by Galli to Jesuits in Rome, from Brussels dated 8 April 1679 discussing Duke of Buckingham and Parliament. Water Mark as above.

4) Letter written by Galli to Jesuits in Rome, dated 23 May 1679, regarding cause of the Duke of Monmouth. Water Mark as above.

5) Letter written by Galli to Jesuits in Rome, from Brussels dated 3 June 1679, but with encoded Water Mark of a word incorporating heart symbols in place of certain letters, the text regarding the dissolution of Parliament and the prospects for the Duke of York assuming the Throne also being intermittently encyphered.

6) Letter from Galli to Jesuits in Rome, from Brussels dated 10 June 1679, using same encypherment code as previous letter, concerning the Duchess of York's circumstances. Water Mark as above.

7) Letter from Galli to Jesuits in Rome, from Brussels dated 5 August 1679, concerning "Oats" and "il Medico Weakman".

Watermark MCMD and Seal of unidentified cypher involving the letters 'D','V' and intersecting 'V's.

8) Letter from Galli to Jesuits in Rome, from Brussels dated 7 February 1679. Water Mark "MCMD".

9) Letter from Galli to Jesuits in Rome, from Brussels dated 7 February 1679.

10) Riccardo Langhorn's protestation of innocence, dated 14 July 1679.

Water Mark "MCMD" + symbol of 'WR' surmounted by double ended bent arrow.

11) Parlatta del fre. Waitbred a luogo del supplicio. Water Mark "MCMD".

12) Protesta del Fenwik + Discorsa del Gaven.

13) Note sub giudicio di Mr Langhorn all Ould Bayley, Sabbato 14 June 1679.

14) Letter from Galli to Jesuits in Rome, from Brussels dated 7 September 1679, being discussion about the Duke of Buckingham and return of the Duke of York.

15) Letter from Galli to Rev. Padre & Confessor, Levu, "Il ritorno del Sig. Duca di Yorcka a Brussels none e stato".

Germania Epp.General ad Externos 1686-1713:

For "*A Supplement to the History of the Province or a brief narrative of some events that happened especially to the members of the English Province at the time of the lamentable overthrow of the Government in England, both sacred and profane, at the end of the year 1688*".

English Province of the Society of Jesus Archive, Farm Street, London, W1.

B13, 5,7 and 9, "Scarce Tracts" 1687-8.

Annual Letters series.

Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Rome.

VA Inghilterra

Mss:1071-

- 3A - Panzano G, Diario del Negotio dell' Inghilterra, 1634-1637.
- 4 - Frammenti di maneggi di Monsignor Rossetti in Inghilterra et alia scritture de med m.(1639/81).
- 5 - Inghilterra Sign. Gregorio Panzani 1635-6
- 6 - Inghilterra Sign. Coneo 1635-1636
- 7 - Inghilterra Sign. Coneo 1638-1639
- 10 - Lettere di Monsig. Nuncio in Londra 1685
- 11 - Altre dell 1686
- 12 - Altre dell 1687
- 13 - Altre dell 1688
- 14 - Altre dell 1689
- 15 - Adda Nuncio a Londra dal 1688-a Lutto il 1689
- 16 - Registro di lettere scuttere a Monsig. Nuncio in Inghilterra del 1686-1689.

Nunziatura di Spagna
Mss, 25, ff. 375-376.

The Nuncio's correspondence and map of Smerwick, 1580.

Public Record Office, Kew, London, TW9 4DU.

Lord Chamberlain's Office:

LC5/138. Details of travelling arrangements for those serving the Queen's Chapel to accompany Queen and to avoid the Plague.

LC Warrant 5.147 & 148. "Mr.Peter's Lodgings" ... "Rooms over Gate in Whitehall", 25th April 1687.

SC6/Chas.I/1696 Details of the Queen Henriatta Maria's Household and Chapel for 1630.

Exchequer records:

E30/310 Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt. Treaty of Windsor, 1386. Also in Chancery, C76/ 71 No.9.

E101/439/3. "Fees, pensions and wages of servants and officers" of Queen Henrietta Maria's Household for 1634-5, including Inigo Jones and Quirhards, Master of the Music to the French King.
E.403/ 2758 Payments to Marie de Medici in 1639-40 of £100 a day plus about £1,600, a month for food.

E 101/ 674/31. Christopher Wren's approval for payement to Jacob Huysman for a painting for the Queen's Chapel, 1685.

Portuguese State Papers (SP89 series):

SP89/5:

Briefing about Portuguese diplomatic priorities in 1661, especially fol.15 advocating giving all Indian colonies to Charles II if necessary to avoid the possibility of the proposed marriage to Catherine of Braganza being broken off.

SP89/6 :

Bishop Russell denounced for causing bad blood between Portuguese and English Courts.

SP89/7:

Note especially fols.65 and 91 about Bishop Russell's remit to assist De Mello the Portuguese Ambassador to the Court of St James's, London. Written in Portuguese.

SP89/7:

Russell's journey to Portugal made at de Mello's request, 1666, and the allegation that Richard Russell was the creature of Marquez de Sande, whom de Mello had replaced.

SP89/8:

Note here fol.53 which comprises notes of a meeting between Conde de Castelmelhor, Richard Russell and Sir Robert Southwell, regarding Anglo-Portuguese and French negotiations and the course of the Anglo- Dutch War.

SP89/10:

Note folio.89, notice of publication of a Book on the Deposing of Alfonso VI, [1664] expressed as the "Catastrophe de Portugal".

SP89/11:

Note here fol.127 Maynard to Arlington, regarding "implacable malice of the English Seminary [at Lisbon] to our Religion", 1671.

SP89/11:

Richard Russell's appointment as Bishop of Portalegre (previously Bishop designate) 1671.

SP89/12:

Maynard in Lisbon to Henry Bennett, First Earl of Arlington, enclosing copies of privileges granted to the English under the 1654 Treaty, comprising data taken down from "official Archives" in Portugal .

SP89/12:

Note here fol.72, confirmation that English privileges in Portugal stemmed from Treaties of 1654 and 1642 rather than 1661.

SP89/13:

Francis Parry to Joseph Williamson, [Keeper of Charles II's Library and the State Paper Office from 1661, later Secretary of State and Privy Councillor, 1674-78] with information that no printed copies of the Treaties with England exist in Book form.

SP89/14:

Fols.105 and 107 detail terms of the 1654 Anglo-Portuguese Treaty otherwise unknown in England..

SP89/15:

Folio 166 records the Bishop of London asking for an English translation of Article 14 of the 1654 Anglo-Portuguese Treaty securing freedom of conscience and practice of Protestant religion in Lisbon private houses, and its subsequent transmission home by frigate in 1676.

Other State Papers Domestic

SP8/3. King William's Chest, formerly Queen Mary of Orange's Chest prior to 1695..

SP 14/113/33. Sir Francis Nethersole to Sir Dudley Carleton from Whitehall 21 March 1620

SP 14/116/61, A sermon given at the Chapel Royal on 4th August 1620.

SP 14/118/103. Briefing about Thomas Scott's pamphleteering over the Spanish Marriage, 1618-20.

SP/16/149/57 and 79. Details of Preston's imprisonment in the Clink.

SP29/409/2, Letter dated Sept 27th 1678

SP94/1/151 and SP63/79/103. Accounts of battle at Smerwick Bay, 1580.

MPF74 and 75 Maps of the Battle at Smerwick Bay, 1580 extracted from the above texts.

Official Registers (RG series):

RG8/76 Whitehall Register of the Chapel Royal, 1660-1728.

RG 8110 (filmed as ERD/1120):

Register of the Chapel Royal, St James' Palace, 1647-1709, containing reference to the ordination of "Monsieur Lucanzy" to deaconate in 1675, and to James II attending Roman Catholic Mass with the Queen in "a little Chappell Closet" in his lodgings on 15th Feb. 1684/5.
(Copy at Chapel Royal).

RG4 4574:

Register of Admissions, Baptisms, and Marriages at the Dutch Chapel Royal, formerly the Queen's Chapel, 1688/89- 1743.

Royal Palaces, Works Series files (now for the sake of computerised format called WORK) :

Works, 5/3. St James Palace Works, 1662-1703.

Works 5/4. Extra-ordinary Works.

Commissioned transcripts held by the Public Record Office, (actually called PRO series):

PRO MS 31/7/17b - Letter indicating Codner was still serving Queen's Chapel in 1637.

PRO 31/9/18-23 - Transcripts of Carlo Rossetti's letters from England and Cologne 1639-44.

PRO 31/9/124 - Transcripts of George Conn's correspondence with Ferragalli.

PRO 31/9/126-9 - Transcripts Du Perron's letters.

PRO 31/9/140 - Transcripts of letters from Barberini to Panzani, Jones and others.

PRO 31/9/173 - Transcripts of Gregorio Panzani's letters from England 1634-37.

Documents available as Beretta's transcripts (see below) from the Archivo General, Simancas.

Inglaterra, Estado 841, Francisco de Jesus, 1 Sept. 2/12th 1604. Francisco de Jesus, 1 Sept. 2/12th 1604.

Inglaterra, Estado.2592, April 29/May 9th, 1623. Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, Conde deGondomar to Philip III.

Ushaw College, Durham, Lisbon Room & Big Library, Durham, DH7 9RH.

MS "Old Chapter", 23/04/1662(313):

Copy made in 1831, contains information that Dean Humphrey Ellis gave faculties to Lord Aubigny for the marriage of Charles II to Catherine of Braganza, together with a note on the implied acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Chapter of London

MS "Annales Collegii", LA.111: Velum bound, Lisbon Room, Ushaw College. Initially compiled by President Perrot until 1667. This volume continues until 1813.

MS "Debtors to College", Vol.13, Lisbon Room, Ushaw College.

Russell Papers 1660-1686, Lisbon Room, Ushaw College. Of especial importance are:

Russell Papers XI, 1661: "From some Irish Lords"

Russell Papers 8.x.1662: "Copia de Proposicao del Rey de Portugal, Oct.8, Nov.12, 1662"

Russell Papers, 10, viii,1663: "Articles of High Treason and other haynous 'misformancy' against Edward Earl of Clarendon" signed by the Earl of Bristol, 10th July 1663.

Russell Papers, Bound MS Vol.149 - Lisbon Room:
1679 record of "Popish Plot Trials" with red ink emphases and titles.

House of Lords Record Office, London SW1A 0PW.

29/30 Car. II. 17. An Act for the restoring of the Honour of Baron Heley to James Lord Audley and others herein mentioned. And also for restoring them in blood.

House of Lords Journal, Vol. 13, 27 Chas II, 1-33, 1675 - Chas II, 1681.

Manchester's True Relation a manuscript of 1629's proceedings which are otherwise summarised in the **House of Commons Journal, Vol 19, for 1629.**

House of Commons Manuscript Journals from Volume 11, 26th November 1621 - 18th December 1621 to Volume 23, 11th April 1642 - 8th Septemebr 1642. Also Volumes 33 and 34, from 14th June 1649 - 5th June 1650, including Cromwell's Irish military correspondence; and Volume 84, " Journal of the Assembly" covering December 1688, but left unnumbered when re-bound in 1742.

Bodleian Library, Oxford, OX1 3BG:

Clarendon Mss, Vol.74.

Rawlinson MS 987, Queen's Household Account, 11th August 1686.

Rawlinson MS A 268, Maria Beatrice, Letters to France, 1682-1684.

Rawlinson MS C.687, Household Bills and Papers, 1685-1688.

Rawlinson MS D.318, Chapel Royal Register.

Printed Tracts, C.613, "State Tracts: being a Collection of Several treatises relating to the Government. Privately Printed in the reign of King Charles II, London 1693.

Guildhall Library, London EC2P 2EJ.

Manuscripts:

Ms 7382, a Dutch copy of the Dutch baptismal register of the Chapel Royal and other sources.

Wine-stained sketch of "St. James's Palace", but in fact the Queen's Chapel from the South, also showing some exterior of the Royal bedchamber range, probably early 18th century, unreferenced, undated and unsigned, found, identified and interpreted by author in Guildhall Library's Manuscripts Department, now in the Prints and Drawings Collection, City of London, Aldermary, London EC2.

17th century Pack of Playing Cards:

City of London Guildhall Library: Playing Cards Pack 237, entitled "The Pretended Popish Plot of 1678", depicting Pickering on the Knave of Clubs.

British Library, Manuscripts Room, London, NW1 2DB.

Harleian MS.122, Fr. Tremblay, "Evangellicall Fruct of the Seraphicall Franciscan Order".

Lansdowne Ms 93/53 Proceedings at the Ile de Ré of the King's fleet under Buckingham, 1627.

Lansdowne Ms 93/57, Parliament's petition to the King for suppressing Jesuits, Recusants and others supposed to be penned by Dr Haresnett, Bishop of Norwich, 1628.

Add. Mss., 1,927, The draft Anglo-Spanish treaty of 1623.

Add. MS. 2,542 fol.19. Ammunition sent by Christina of Sweden to aid royalist cause, 1649.

Add. MS. 37,047 ff.204-7. Papers relating to the loss of a trunk of papers at Jersey 1653.

Add. MS. 4,157, fol.7r. Copy letter to Charles II from Queen Christina of Sweden, 1655.

Add. MS. 8,641, fol.278. Opening of a new Spanish Embassy Chapel in 1637 described. [See too Salvetti H., at fol. 86 for the opening of a Florentine Embassy Chapel.]

Add. MS. 22,062. Account of Lord St. Albans, Treasurer to Henrietta Maria, 1662, 1663.

Add. MS. 27,402, fol.153. Papers of Charles II on the Roman Catholic Religion, found after 1685.

Add. MS 42,774, fol. 241. French copy of the terms of the Secret Treaty of Dover of 1670.

Add. MS. 15,897. The Queen's establishment, revenues and expenses between 1677 and 1686.

Add. MS. 43,688 fol.137. On the Roman Catholic Church (attributed to Charles II). Undated copy by James II 1685.

Add. MS. 385 fol.31. Dr. Burnet's remarks on two papers on religion by Charles II, 1687.

Add. MS. 32,518 fol.144 and 32,520 fol.207. Material for a history of the Popish Plot by Lord Keeper Guilford.

Add. MS. 21,483 ff.1-8. Anonymous political letters in cypher 1669.

Add. MS.42,774 fol.241. Treaty of Dover, 1670, French Copy made in the 19th century.

Add. MS.119 fol.18. A draft royal Declaration of Indulgence.

Add. MS. 8,643.

Add. MS. 15,391 ff.239-283.

Add. MSS. 63,752 to 63,781. Manuscript papers formerly at Netherby Hall were catalogued in the 7th report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, including those relating to Sir Richard Graham, 1st Viscount Preston's position as Envoy Extra-ordinary to Paris, 1682, as Chamberlain to Catherine of Braganza from 1685, as a Privy Councillor 1685-1688, latterly Lord President of the Council, and as Secretary of State in 1688 with copies of Royal letters including invitations to the Christening of James Francis Edward Stuart in October 1688, plus additional papers to the defence case he prepared after his creation as a British Peer at Saint Germain a claim examined when he was summoned to the House of Lords on 9th November 1689 to disallowance of the peerage, and later arrest on a fishing smack carrying treasonable papers. Sir Richard was pardoned on account of material contained in his confessions implicating Penn and translations of Boethius with politico-religious comment, 1689-95.

Add. Ms. 65,138 Papers from the collection of Baron Clifford of Chudleigh, Devon. The main series comprises thirty items listed below to show their considerable significance for this thesis, as a shorter and different version to the BL's published catalogue where those parts transcribed by Hartmann are identified *, others only summarised by him as seen at Ugbrooke Park, Devon.

Add. Ms 65,138/fols. 1-3. Letter of Louis XIV to Charles II of 18/28 June 1669.*

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols.4-29 Three groups of proposals written in French as if from Louis XIV to Charles II in the hand of Walter Montagu Abbot of St. Martin de Pontoise, formerly Grand Almoner to Henrietta Maria's Chapel Royal in the 1630s, but sent first to Lord Arundell of Wardour as a fellow Catholic, the third set being a translation (almost complete) in the hand of Lord Clifford.

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols 30-34. Answers to the above ideas on possible re-Unification of the Churches of Rome and England in Clifford's hand with notes added by Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, in August 1669.

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols.35-36. Letter of Louis XIV to Charles II 31st August/10th September 1669. *

Add. Ms 65,138/fols 37-42v Answer as if from Louis XIV in Montagu's hand, with translation by Clifford.

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols.43-55. Letter of Henrietta, Duchesse d' Orleans, 31 Aug. 1669/10 Sept. 1669 to Arlington enclosing a letter to Charles II of 11/21 September 1669.

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols. 56-57. Instruction from Lord Clifford to Arlington on his return to France, Sept. 1669.*

Add. Ms.65,138/fols 58-59r. Letter from Charles II to Louis XIV to be taken to France Sept/Oct 1669.*

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols 60-66. Louis's reply in Montagu's hand. (translation at fols. 63-66).

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols 67-70. Letters public and secret from Louis XIV to Charles II approving Charles Colbert as his representative to negotiate treaty terms 11/21st October 1669, with an English translation by Sir Richard Bellings at fols 71-74.

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols.71-74. Letter from Charles II appointing Arlington Clifford and Bellings as his negotiators to deal with Colbert for the French, dated 15th December 1669.

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols 75-76. "The Scheme etc.," as proposed by Clifford for implementing the conversion of England to Catholicism, 1670. *

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols 77-82. " A proposal of Secret Treaty between the King of Great Britian and the Most Christian King " in Clifford's draft with additions by Arlington, (at f.82) and a claim concerning William of Orange written in December 1669.*

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols 83-84. Paper by Clifford concerning posible English engagement in war with the Dutch endorsed by him " sent to Madame Jan. 24 1669/70 to be translated by Mr Montagu and deliver'd [to Louis XIV] . *

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols 85-109 Final Protocols for the Secret Treaty of Dover, with Bellings' incomplete translation fols 95-100, and with two supplements of the secret articles at fol. 101, with final addenda by Colbert appended at its end. Folios 103-109 are a translation in Clifford's hand.

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols 110-111. Letter from Colbert concerning the signing of the Treaty, May 1670 in French..

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols. 114-115. Declaration of the Articles of the Treaty by Charles II 4/14 June 1670 in French.

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols. 116-121v. Letter by Henrietta Duchesse D' Orleans, 12/22 June 1670, to Anne Princess Palatine with a translation and annotations by Clifford. *

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols 122 -124. Letters of Charles II authorising Buckingham, Lauderdale, Arlington, Ashley and Clifford to negotiate with France in "*Traite simulé*. i.e appointments to negotiate a Treaty intended to cover the existence of the agreed secret one with its clauses concerning Roman Catholicism and the appointment of commissioners in circumstances unknown to Buckingham and other Protestants with ultimate Parliamentary approval in mind for a Treaty shorn of its religious elements.

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols 125-131. Papers by Louis XIV concerning the negotiation with the Pope over Charles II's conversion to Catholicism to Roman Catholicism. October 1670 with a translation by Sir Richard Bellings at pp.128-131. *

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols 132-136v. Instructions drawn up by Clifford for Dr. John Leyburn, of the Queen's Chapel to go to Rome on Charles II's behalf. *

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols 137-138. Queries by Leyburn as to the details and form of his likely brief .

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols 138-141. Secret declaration by Charles II acknowledging payment of "2,000" livres then sum mentioned the both in the Secret Treaty, (to be paid so that he could declare himself a Catholic) and in the *Traite Simulé* of 21/31 December 1670 as signed by the second set of Commissioners.*

Add. Ms. 65,138/fol.142. Declaration by Buckingham, Lauderdale, Arlington, Ashley, Clifford, and Colbert acting for Louis concerning the titles of the two Kings as given in the "*Traite simulé*" 21/31 Decembre 1670 ,as signed and sealed by all the Commissioners appointed and known to be correct .*

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols143-144. Letter from Louis XIV to Charles II concerning the rate of exchange to be applied and methods of payment of the 2,000 livres remaining, in French only, 1670.

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols 145-154. Authorities from Charles II to William Chiffinch Keeper of His Closet, to receive payments in acordance with a timetable to be drawn up by Colbert, 1671, with a copy of the translation provided to Clifford by Bellings.

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols155-160. Records of payments made, 1671-1672.

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols 161-162. List of Secret Treaty of Dover papers compiled by Clifford, 27th May 1671.*

Add. Ms. 65,138/fols 163-193. List of correspondence about the Secret Treaty series by Linguard, Hartmann, Hutton, etc. with some printed abstracts.

NOTE. Add. Ms. 65,538. was bought through Sotheby's manuscript Sale of July 23 1987 as lot 243, with NHMF grant aid were some of the **Clifford Papers** (i.e. those of the Thomas Trumbull, Baron Clifford of Chudleigh. (1630-1673) later exhibited at the British Library in 1988 in an exhibition called "All the King's Men", known as "the English negotiators' protocol of the Secret Treaty of Dover, 22nd May/1st June 1670", by which Charles promised to announce his conversion to Catholicism. All these papers were once at Ugbrooke Park. In 1987 with a NHMF grant, the National Maritime Museum acquired lot 244, comprising Clifford's maritime and diplomatic correspondence up to 1672 also kept hitherto at Ugbrooke. Acquired later from Burgess Browning were items from that same Sotheby's sale of 1987 (formerly lot 245) as Add. Ms 61,139, for the British Library:

Add. Ms 65,139/fols. 1-38 Papers by Hugh Paulinus Serenus Cressy, a Benedictine of the Queen Dowager's Chapel at Somerset House who stayed to 1674, concerning the proposed Re-Unification of the Churches of Rome and England. Items of 1669-1670, with replies letters, first drafts etc., sent by Cressy to Clifford, 1669-1671, cited in Hartmann's biography of Clifford, pp.186-201 and 326-332.

Add. Ms. 65139/fols 38-47. Notes on Parliamentary affairs, questions etc, mostly in the hand of Clifford, concerning the authority of the King in ecclesiastical matters.

Add. Ms. 61540. Details of the Tresorial business of Clifford 1662-1672, as Treasurer of the Royal Household; and as Comptroller and Lord Treasurer, 1667-1673 while Lord Ashley Cooper, 1st Earl of Shaftsbury was 1st Lord of the Treasury. See Chandaman, op.cit., pp. 44-45, 62-63, 230-231.

Add Ms 65,541/fol.104. Once an item formally catalogued by Burgess Browning in 1988 catalogue No 2, Item 30, it covers Clifford's Tresorial business up to his being succeeded by the Earl of Danby but not the change-over statement of position which is in BL. Add Ms. 28,078 fols 65-90.

British Library, Map Room,

Maps 14280 (29). "La France et les conquestes...par Pierre Mouillart-Sanson, 1695", showing France and the security zone, beyond its frontiers, which represented Louis XIV's wishes.

Archive of Her Majesty's Chapel Royal.

The Old Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal, 1559-1720, Chapel Royal, Old Safe.

Short Prayers for the Use of all Good Catholics in the Hearing of the Holy Mass, Printed by Henry Hills, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty for his Household and Chappel.... 1688.
Facsimile Copy.

The Compleat Office of the Holy Week with Notes and Explications, translated out of Latin and French, Published with Allowance. London 1687.

Copy addressed to "The Queen" and embellished with the emblem of the Society of Jesus., but clearly a facsimile Copy.

Cathedral Church of St.Thomas of Canterbury, Portsmouth.

Marriage Register entry of "*Our most Graciously Sovereign Lord Charles the Second*" and the "*Most Illustrious Princess Dona Caterina, Infanta of Portugal*", dated 22nd May 1662.

Dryden, John, The Spanish Fryar, or, The Double Discovery. Acted at the Theatre Royal. Second Edition. Printed for Richard Tonson and Jacob Tonson, within Gray's-Inn-Gate, next Gray's Inn Lane, and at the Judge's Head in Chancery Lane, 1686.

This 17th century Printed Book bearing unequivocal evidence of contemporary censorship, consulted at Henry Sotheran Ltd, Piccadilly, duly lacked certain passages ordered to be struck out by King James II from the First Edition of 1681. References deleted here are not to Mr. Thynne as had been thought by earlier scholars but rather to Godfrey and Arnold.

Brotherton Library, Leeds.

MS.Dep., 1984/2/5 entitled "A True and Just Inventory indented and made this five and twentieth day of July in the yeare of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Three and in the seconde year of the Reign of our most dear Son James The Third..."

Old Brotherhood Archives, (Benedictine) East Ardsley, Yorkshire.

Vol.II, Micro Methods:

Letter from the Papal Inter-nuncio to Fr. Anselm Touchet, 22nd March 1682, loaned on microfilm.

Carisbrooke Castle Museum, Isle of Wight.

Eikon Basilike.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Rue de Richelieu, Paris. (Map Room)

Jacques Callot et al. *The Seige of La Rochelle, 1627, La Rochelle and the Dike, 1627, and Isle de Ré, 1627.* forming vast panoramic wall maps.

Cartes et Plans, Service Hydrographique no.12.

Hydrographic Description of France", by Jean Guérard, 1627. Two vellum leaves, coloured MS assembled into a chart, 1250 x 810mm.

Ms. Français, 20122, fol. 3,

Part of a chart of the North Atlantic showing by Augustin Roussin, 1633, showing the arms of the Admiral of France, Cardinal Richelieu and Henrietta Maria's brother, King Louis XIII. From a volume of three vellum leaves, the chart measures 277 x 394 mm.

BN, Paris, Cartes et Plans, Service Hydrographique Archives No. 15.

Carte Universelle Hydrographique; faite par Jean Guerard, L'an 1634

A world chart showing top right the arms of Cardinal Richelieu and his red cardinal's hat over the interior of "Amerique Septentrionale Incognue" The chart measures 369 x 479 mm

Cartes et Plans, Service Hydrographique No.39. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Hydrographic Description of the Northern Ocean by Jean Guérard, 1628.

Chart measures 860 x 1280 mm.

Cartes et Plans, G.E. DD. 2887 (No 9648)

Manuscript chart of the Northern Atlantic Ocean by Hessel Gerritsz, 1628.

Part of large chart measuring 1120 x 870 mm.

Richard Hatchwell, Old Rectory, Little Somerford, Chippenham, Wiltshire, SN15 5JW.

Girolamo Soranzo, "*Relatione delle cose di. magg. considerat, ne di tutta la corte di Spagne fatta nell'anno 1611*".

Photographic facsimiles of manuscripts used by the author for comparative palaeographic studies.

Facsimile examples of Christina of Sweden and King Charles II's handwriting, and those of his courtiers, taken to Rome for direct comparison with examples in the Jesuit Curia Archive:

Christina's of Sweden's two page signed letter in French to her cousin, Karl Gustav, of 18th December 1653 from Upsala. - Christina's of Sweden's signature on the Treaty of Westfaliska.

Charles II's signed letter as Uncle to Prince Rupert from Hereford on 14th September 1645, following the loss of Bristol. - Charles II's promisory note signed and sealed by him during exile.

Charles II's signature on the Secret Treaty of Dover, 1670, ex. Ugbrooke Park/ Hartmann, op cit..

Charles II's detailed instructions to Preston as Envoy to France, 1682, ex Netherby Hall.(Sotheby's)

Signed letter of Halifax as Lord Privy Seal to Preston, 1684, ex Netherby Hall. (Sotheby's)

Signed letter of Robert Spencer, Second Earl of Sunderland to Preston, ex Netherby Hall.(Sotheby's)

Two letters of James II to Preston, Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of France and who supported James II in the Exclusion crisis, undated but written as King and signed 'James R' in one case and monogrammed 'JR' in the other,

Photographs of items in James II's hand by Sir Charles Graham of Netherby Hall, at Sotheby's 11th July 1986, although erroneously described in the sale as letters written when he was Duke of York. Sotheby's London, Manuscript Auction Catalogue, 10th and 11th July, 1986 as the Property of Sir Charles Graham of Netherby Hall, Cumbria, and known as the Preston Archive.

(Note there are full transcripts of this material, some cited in this thesis. These transcripts were published in the 7th Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1879.)

Facsimile copies of 19th century correspondence in the Archive of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, Farm Street, London.

Fr Tom McCoog's personal collection: Copy of letter of Dr Lingard to the Revd R. Sythgoe, concerning copies of documents purporting to relate to Jacques de la Cloche - a natural son of Charles II.

Fr Tom McCoog's personal collection: Copy of letter of 29 Oct. 1864 from Fr Russell of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, to Fr French in Rome disagreeing with Dr Lingard's dismissal of the De la Cloche collection as forgeries.

Fr Tom McCoog's personal collection: Copy of letter of 6th November 1864 with further thoughts dismissing Charles as author of letters in the de la Cloche collection purporting to be written and signed by him.

Provincial Archives of the Capuchins, Dublin.

These contain transcripts of Nicholas Archbold's "The History of the Irish Capuchins" (the original MS of which is to be found in the Bibliotheque de Troyes as Cabinet des MSS., No.1103), his "Evangelicall Fruct of the Seraphicall Franciscan Order" (B.L. Harley MS 122, d.2, No.3888), Robert Connley's "Historia seu Annales missiones Hibernicae" (Cabinet des MSS., No.706, Bibliotheque de Troyes), and Fr. Bernardine O'Ferall's "Little Notes for the helpe of my memory", concerning the English mission (MA Archives de L'Aulie)

English and Swedish 17th century sigillography:

Royal Collection, Windsor Castle:

Gold and Steel Signet Ring of King Charles II engraved with the Arms and Motto of Charles II and Garter Motto, the shoulders cast with Lion and Unicorn supporters, Van Vienen Style c.1660. [Diameter 2.2 cms. [Previously attributed incorrectly to King Charles I] Retained in the Old Safe. Note these are items with an important bearing upon the veracity of the de la Cloche Collection.

British Library Manuscript Room; seals and associated works of reference:

xxxvi.38 - Impression of Recognizance Seal of Charles II.

Add. Ch.6075, Box 39 - Charles II's 'Third Seal' used on a document dated Whitehall 1672 also displaying Charles II's signature.

Add. Ch.9462, Box 63 - Charles XI's Royal Seal of Sweden, used for its form of Sweden's Crown.

Sources for study of seventeenth century seal wording, transcripts and photographic facsimile reproductions of seals in the BL and PRO and Swedish Riksbankens arkiv.
(Used alongside facsimiles and images of 17th century seals apposite to the de la Cloche collection).

Birch, W de G., Catalogue of Seals in the Dep. of MSS in the British Museum, Vol.I, Longmans, London, 1887, depicting Charles II's 'First Seal' of 1649-1653.

List of impressions of seals presented by Mr. John Doubleday to the Department of Manuscripts [of the BM], 1837.

Tonnochy, A.B., Catalogue of British Seal Dies in the British Museum, 1952, Location 29C.

Jenkinson, Guide to the Seals in the Public Record Office, HMSO, London, 1968.

Catalogue of the Seals in the Public Record Office, HMSO, London, 1978.

Catalogue of the Seals in the Public Record Office, Vols I and II, HMSO, London, 1981.

Farquhar, Helen, "Portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs on their Coins and Medals", including signet arms badges, in The British Numismatic Journal and Proceedings of the British Numismatic Society, First Series, Vol.V, Harrison, 1909.

Sveriges Historia intill tjugonde seklet (utgifven af Emil Hildebrand), Riksbankens arkiv, Stockholm, especially Drottning Kristinas stora sigill (p.464).

Kristina mindre sigill under de sista åren, and the sheaf emblem used upon her signet seal also appearing on a bookbinding captioned "Vasavapnet på ett af Kristinas bokband (p.482).

National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, (Permanent Exhibition Catalogue No.122). "Allons Mon Prince Nous Sommes En Bon Chemin" wording around 1689 silver medal depicting the flight of Prince James Francis Edward, carried in the arms of a Jesuit priest [ie. Petre], mounted on a lobster in the company of a French ship.

British Museum, London, Department of Coins and Medals, Medal, 1837, -10-30-72. A mob rejoicing at a bonfire of Roman Catholic paraphernalia in Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1688. Its legend reads: "NEC. LEX. EST. IUSTOR ULLA"

Stuart Roman Catholic Plate.

Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace:

'Dux Jacobus' set of silver gilt Plate of c.1661, made by Robert Smithier and others, comprising two Candlesticks with greyhound sejant maker's mark and London Date 1661.

also at Buckingham Palace Domestic Chapel.

Two Flagons with greyhound sejant, one Alms Dish by Robert Smithier, three Chalices with Cover Patens displaying incurved hexafoil feet with cherub finials.

Two 'feather pot' Flagons [retained at Jewel House, H.M. Tower of London].

The National Museum of Scotland, Chambers Street, Edinburgh:

The Holyrood Altar Plate 1686-7,

lent by the Mother Superior, St. Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh, and the Scottish Roman Catholic Hierarchy. The set comprises a silver gilt Monstrance and Ciborium with maker's mark 'WF', silver Thurible and Incense Boat with maker's mark 'GC' of London, silver Incense Spoon by William Scott of Edinburgh, silver and gilt Chalice and Paten with no maker's mark, a Sanctus Bell by Zacharias Mellinus of Edinburgh, all bearing James VII's royal cypher, except the spoon.

Unique 17th century Prints and Drawings:

British.Museum. Crowle Pennant IV, No.165.

Two Drawings by Francois Gasselien of the south exterior of the Queen's Chapel from the Friary arden, c.1687.

Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

Engraving of interior of the Queen's Chapel, 1687.

Chapel Royal Archive.

"St.James's Palace", by P. Stent, c.1650

Originals long since lost, but copies are held in the Chapel Royal Archive.

Architectural Plans:

Burgis,[Burgess] Simon, " A full answer to the depositions and to all other the Pretences and Arguments whatsoever concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales. The Intrigue thereof detected, the whole design being set forth, with the way and manner of doing it. Whereunto is annexed a map or Survey engraven of St.James's Palace, and the Convent there. Describing the place wherein it is supposed the true mother was delivered: with the particular doors and passages through which the child was conveyed to the Queen's Bed chamber". Printed in London, 1689.

Copy of the 1727 plan of St. James's Palace by Flitcroft. Coies in the Archive of H.M.Chapel Royal, and English Heritage Central Survey, Fortress House, London WC2.

Architectural "Record Drawings" of original 17th century constructional features revealed during external repairs to Queen's Chapel fabric, drawn by Martin Ashley Associates, 1996.

Published transcripts and calendars of 17th century manuscripts.

Anon. Monita Secreta, English translation published by Walthoe, J., Cornhill, 1746.

Ashbee, Andrew: (ed.) Records of English Court Music, Vol.I, 1660-1685. Calendar of material from the Lord Chamberlain's Office; including establishment lists; debenture books for liveries; papers relating to the Great Wardrobe, privately published by Andrew Ashbee, 1986.

Ashbee, Anthony, (ed.) Records of English Court Music, Vol.II, 1685-1714. Calendar of material from the Lord Chamberlain's Office; establishment lists; declared accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber; debenture books for liveries; papers relating to the Great Wardrobe; Jewel House material concerning trumpets; Exchequer records of arrears from Charles II's reign, Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1987.

Ashbee, Anthony, (ed.) Records of English Court Music, Vol.III, 1625-1649. Calendar based on material from the Lord Chamberlain's Office, the Signet Office and Lay Subsidy Rolls; declared accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber; Exchequer payments; Household of Queen Henrietta Maria, Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1988

Ashbee, Anthony, (ed.) Records of English Court Music, Vol.IV, 1603-1625. Calendar based on material from the Signet Office, Lord Chamberlain's Office and Lay Subsidy Rolls; declared accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber; Exchequer payments; music in the Households of Queen Anne of Denmark, Princess Elizabeth, Prince Henry and Prince Charles, Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1991.

Ashbee, Anthony, (ed.) Records of English Court Music, Vol.V, 1625-1714., Accounts of the Receivers General to Charles I, Queen Henrietta Maria, and the Committee of the Crown Revenues during the Commonwealth, calendar based on material from the Signet Office, Exchequer and Lay Subsidy Rolls; declared accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber (1660-1685), Exchequer payments (1660-1685); samples of material from the Lord Steward's department (1660-1714); Secret Service Payments (1679-1710); material concerning the Corporation of Musick (1635-1710); Establishment Lists from Chamberlayne's Angliae Notitiae (1669-1710), Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1991.

Baker, Augustine, Memorials of Father Augustine Baker, in Catholic Record Society, Volume XXXIII, London, 1933.

Bedoyere, Guy de la, The Diary of John Evelyn, Headstart History, Oxford, 1994.

Bennet, John, John Bennet's Narrative, 1621, Miscellanae XII, Catholic Record Society, London, 1921.

Beretta, Antonia Ballesteros and Navarette, Fernando, (eds), Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1842-96. Reprinted and re-edited 1936-1945 within which see Correspondencia oficial de...Franciso Javier, Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar. Volumes III (1944) ,and IV, (1945) Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

Berington, The Rev.Joseph, The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, giving an account of his Agency in England in the years 1634, 1635, 1636, translated from the Italian Original, and now first published, to which are added an Introduction and a Supplement exhibiting The State of the English Catholic Church, and the Conduct of Parties, before and after that Period, to the present Times, Robinson and Faulder, London, 1793.

Birch, Thomas, The Court and Times of Charles the First ; Illustrated by Authentic and confidential Letters, from various Public and Private Collections, Henry Colburn, London, 1848, Volume II.

This includes specifically *"Memoirs of the Mission in England of the Capuchin Friars of the Province of Paris, from the year 1630 -1669, By Father Cyprien de Gamache, one of the Capuchins belonging to the Household of Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I"*.

Boxer, Charles, R., Descriptive List of the State papers, Portugal, 1661-1780, in the Public Record Office, published by the Academia de Ciencias de Lisboa on the occasion of its bicentenary in 1979 collaboration with the British Academy and the Public Record Office, Academia de Ciencias Lisbon, 1979, Vol 1. of 3 vols. (The third, 1725-1760 is still in progress).

Bryant, Arthur (ed.), The Letters Speeches & Declarations of King Charles II, Cassel, London, 1935.

[Catherine of Braganza], "Catherina R. An Establishment of ordinary wages, fees, allowances and pensions, yearly allowed by us unto our officers and servants of our revenue,viz. from the feast of st.Michael the Archangell, in the yeare of Our Lord, 1671, unto the feast of St.Michael the Archangell, in the yeare of our Lord, 1672, that is to say for the space of one whole yeare...R.Bellings". Reprinted in "The Catholic Miscellany", Vol.II, Feb. and March, 1823.

Bickley, F. and Daniell, F.H.B. (eds), Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Reign of Charles II, HMSO, London, 1931-47 , comprising: Vols. 23-28:

T. Birch (ed.) A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe Esq., Secretary, First, to the Council of State, and afterwards to the Two Protectors, Oliver and Richard Cromwell In Seven Volumes containing Authentic Memorials of the English Affairs from the Year 1638, to the Restoration of King Charles II, published from the Originals, formerly in the Library of John and Lord Somers, Lord High Chancellor of England; and since in that of Sir John Jekyll, Knt., late Master of the Rolls, including also a considerable number of Original Letters and Papers, communicated by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury from the Library at Lambeth, the Right Honourable the Earl of Shelburne, and other Hands, the Whole digested into an exact Order of Time, to which is prefixed The Life of Mr.Thurloe, London, 1742, Volumes I, III and IV.

Brown, H.F., (ed.) State papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy, HMSO, London, London 1900-1905, comprising: Vols10-12.

Chalmers, Alexander, A Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other Powers, Vol II, London, circa 1815.

Clarendon, The Earl of, The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England Begun in the Year 1641, with the precedent Passages and actions, that contributed thereunto, and happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the King's blessed Restoration, and Return upon the 29th of May 1660, written by the the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Clarendon, Late Lord High Chancellor of England, Privy Counsellor in the reigns of King Charles the First and the Second, Volume Three, Oxford, 1704.

Clarke, Rev. J.S., (ed.) Life of James the Second: Collected out of Memoirs writ of his own hand, , Vol.I.

Colombière, Claude de la, OSJ., Oeuvres Completes du Ven. P. de la Colombiere, Vols.I-V, Grenoble, 1900-01.

Colombière, Claude de la, OSJ., Principi di vita cristiana dagli scritta del Beato a cura di Don Giovano Barra, Gregorianna Edition, Padova, [Padua]1961.

{Commons}, House of Commons Journals, 1547-1761, Volumes 1 to 28. Printed by Order of the House of Commons, London, 1742 -1762. Luke Hansard prepared a further edition between 1803 and 1825.

Cornely, Edouard, (ed.) Les Secrets Des Jesuites - Monita Secreta, Paris, 1901.

Daniell, F.H.B. (ed.), Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Reign of Charles II, HMSO, London, 1894-1933, comprising Vols 11-22..

Daughters of St.Paul, Boston, (eds) Jesus Reveals His Heart - Letters of Saint Margaret Mary Alacoque, translated by Herbst, Clarence A., S.J., authorised by the Monastery of the Visitation, Paray-le-Monial, printed by Daughters of St.Paul, Boston, 1980.

G.R. Elton, The Tudor Constitution, Cambridge University Press, 1965

Filosomi, Luigi, Lettere Spiriuale, Segretariato Nazionale Dell' Apostolato Della Preghiera, Rome, 1990.

Gennari, Benedetto, "*Nota Alfa quadri fatti in Londra pricipiando dall'anno 1674 ali 8 ottobre A 24th settembre 1674 in giorno di lunedì arrivassimo in Londra*". the original in the Bibliotheca Comunale dell' Archiginnasio at Bologna, MS. M.S.B.344, covers the period 1674-1688. A typescript copy is held by the Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures), Royal Collection, St.James's Palace. Another typescript copy is in the Library of the National Portrait Gallery.

Green, Mrs Everett, (ed.) Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Reign of James I, Longman/HMSO, London, 1858-1872, comprising Vols 9 to 12.

Green, Mrs.Everett. (ed.), Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Reign of Charles I, HMSO, London 1858-1897, comprising Vols 1-23.

Green, M.A.E.: (ed.), Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Reign of Charles II, HMSO, London, 1860-1895, comprising Vols 1-10.

J.H.Hessels, (ed.) Register of the attestations or certificates of membership, confessions of guilt, certificates of marriages, betrothals, publications of banns etc. etc. preserved in the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars, London, 1568-1872, Frederick Muller and Co., Doelenstraat, Amsterdam, 1892.

Hinds, A.B., (ed.) State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy, HMSO, London, 1907-1940, comprising Vols. XIII-XXXVIII, 1603-1675.

Historical Manuscripts Commission, Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. HMSO. (All available on microfilm at the Institute of Historical Research).

John Paul II, Totus Tuus - Pope John Paul II Speaks on Devotion to the Sacred Heart at Paray-le-Monial, the City of the Sacred Heart, printed by Cronin, Fr. Denis, Paray-le-Monial, 1986.

Kirk, John, (ed.), Roman Catholic Principles in Reference to God and King, John Kirk, London, 1815.

Latham, Robert and Matthews, William (eds) The Diary of Samuel Pepys, Volumes I to XI, Bell and Hyman, London, 1970-1983.

Latham, Robert (ed), The Shorter Pepys Bell and Hyman, London, 1985.

Laud, William, The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud DD, Vol.IV. History of Troubles and Trial, John Parker, Oxford. 1695-1700.

Locke, Matthew, Anthems and Motets, transcribed and edited by Peter le Hurray (Musica Britannica 38), Stainer & Bell, London.

(for musical liturgical compositions which may have been intended to use in the Queen's Chapel of Catherine of Braganza.)

Macray, W.D.(ed.), Notes which passed at Meetings of the Privy Council between Charles II and the Earl of Clarendon 1660-1667, Roxburghe Club, Edinburgh, 1896.

[Mary of Modena's Chapel and Household], The Compleat Office of the Holy Week with Notes and Explications, translated out of the Latin and French, published with Allowance, London, 1687.
Photographic copy held at the Archive of H.M.Chapel Royal.

[Mary of Modena's Chapel and Household,] Memoires historiques relatifs a S.M. la Reine d'Angleterre, femme de Jacques, Vol.II, 1713.

[Mary of Modena's Chapel and Household], Stuart Papers, House of, relating chiefly to Mary of Modena and the exiled court of James II, 1889: London Library.'Safe 4':

[Mary of Modena's Chapel and Household.] Short Prayers for the Use of all Good Catholics in the Hearing of the Holy Mass - permissu superiorum, Society of Jesus, London, 1688. Dedicated to the Queen and intended for her use. Photographic copy held at Archive of H.M.Chapel Royal.

Neville-Williams, E. The Eighteenth Century Constitution, 1688-1815, Documents and Commentary, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1960.

Notestein, Wallace, and Relf, Frances Helen, Commons Debates for 1629, University of Wisconsin Press, Minneapolis, 1921.

Ogle, Octavius, Bliss, W.H., Macray, W.D.(eds.) Calendar of Clarendon State Papers, Vol.III, Clarendon Press Oxford, 1896.

Owen, G. Dyfnault, (ed.), Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire, Volume V: Papers of William Trumbull the Elder, September 1614-August 1616, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, HMSO, 1989.

Parry, Clive, (ed.), The Consolidated Treaty Series, Vol.7, 1661-1663, Oceana, Dobbs Ferry, 1969.

Penfold, Peter A., (ed.) Acts of the Privy Council, June 1630-June 1631, HMSO, London, 1964.

Petrie, Charles, (ed.), Letters, Speeches and Proclamations of King Charles I, Cassell, London 1935.

Relf, Frances Helen, Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords, officially taken by Robert Bowyer and Henry Elsing, Clerks of the Parliaments, 1621, 1625, 1628...., Royal Historical Society, London, 1929.

Rymer, Thomas, (ed. Sir T.D. Hardy) Rymer's Foedera, 1066-1654 :Syllabus in English, Vol. II 1377-1654, HMSO, London, 1873.

Sainsbury, W.N.,(ed.), Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Papers, Vol. IX, America and West Indies 1675-1676 with Addenda 1574-1674, HMSO, London, 1894.

Sharratt, M., (ed.), Lisbon College Register, 1628-1813, Catholic Record Society, 1991.

Sharratt, Michael, "Lisbon College Catalogue of Archives, Part 1, Correspondence", Ushaw College, 1986.

Sharratt, Michael, "Lisbon College Catalogue of Archives, Part 1, Manuscripts", Ushaw College, 1987.

[Sharratt, M] and the Library Staff, "Ushaw College Bindings ", 1968,
A typescript catalogue retained in the Big Library, Ushaw College.

Smith, Richard, Papers Relating to Dr Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon, and his Jurisdiction 1625-33, in Catholic Record Society Miscellanea, XII, London, 1921.

Somer, J.S., Baron, Collection of Tracts, Vol.XIII, 1752.

Sisters of the Visitation, (tr.) The Autobiography of Saint Margaret Mary Alacoque. Translation of the Authentic French Text by the Sisters of the Visitation, reprinted by Tan Books, Rockford, Illinois, 1986.

Parry, Clive (ed.) Treaty between Great Britain and Portugal, signed at Whitehall, 23rd June 1661, in The Consolidated Treaty Series, Vol.6, 1660-1661, Oceana Publications, New York, 1969.

Warner, John, The History of English Persecution of Catholics and the Presbyterian Plot, Parts I and II, edited by Birrell, Professor T.A. & Bligh, John, S.J., Catholic Record Society, London, 1953.

Wheatley, H.B., (ed.), The Diary of Samuel Pepys, Vol.II, George Bell and Son, London, 1893. (part of a ten volume edition, with very few passages omitted, completed in 1899).

Wren Society, "Schedule of the Receipts & Payments by Henry Guy Esq for the Secret Services of his late Majesty Charles II and the late King James II successively between Lady Day 1679 & Christmas 1688 to wit for the time of nine years and 3 quarters", in The Seventh Volume of the Wren Society - 1930 - The Royal Palaces of Winchester, Whitehall, Kensington, and St.James's, 1660-1715, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1930.

Primary Printed and Secondary Works.

Abernathy, G.R., English Presbyterians and the Stuart Restoration, Transactions of the American Philisophical Society, Vol.LV, Part II, Philadelphia, 1965.

Abernathy, G.R., "English Presbyterians and the Stuart Restoration", in Nuttall, G.F., and Chadwick, O., (eds), From Uniformity to Unity, 1662 to 1962, SPCK, London, 1962.

Acton, Lord J.D., "Secret History of Charles II", The Home and Foreign Review, Vol. II, Williams and Norgate, London, 1862, pp.146-174. (Bodleian Library has the only known original copy, of which the British library has a microfilm.)

Adair, A.E., The Extra-territoriality of Ambassadors in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Longmans, London, 1929.

Adams, S., "Foreign policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624," in Sharpe, K., (ed) Faction and Parliament: Essays in Early Stuart History, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1978.

Ainsworth, W.R., Twin Saints? Francis de Sales and John Bosco, Catholic Truth Society Publications, London, 1991.

Airy, Osmund, Charles II, Longmans, London, 1904.

Albion, Gordon, Charles I and the Court of Rome, Burns & Oates, London and Louvain, 1935.

Alden, Dauril, The Making of an Enterprise. The Society of Jesus in Portugal. Its Empire. and Beyond, 1540-1750, Stanford University Press, 1996.

Anstruther, Godfrey, O.P., A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales 1558-1850, II, Early Stuarts 1603-1659, Mayhew de Crimon, Great Wakering, 1975.

Anstruther, Godfrey O.P. Saint John Southworth Priest and Martyr, Catholic Truth Society, London, 1981,

Ashbee, Andrew, Records of English Court Music, Volumes i, iii, v, Ashbee except Vol. v. by Scholar Press, Snodland, Kent, 1986.

Ashley, Maurice, Charles II The Man and the Statesman, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1971.

Assay Office, British Hallmarks, Assay Office, Goldsmiths Hall, London, 1970.

Aveling, John C.H., The Jesuits, Blond & Briggs, London, 1981.

Bagni, Prisco, Benedetto Gennari e la Bottega del Guercino, Nouva Alfa Editoriale, Bologna, 1987.

Baillie, H.M., Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces, Society of Antiquaries, Oxford, 1967.

Bainvel, The Revd J.V., Devotion to the Sacred Heart - The Doctrine and its History, Burns, Oates & Washbourne, London, 1924.

Baldwin, David J.P., Chapel Royal Ancient & Modern, Duckworth, London, 1990.
Contains the only published catalogue of H.M. Chapel Royal's Archive.

Baldwin, David J.P., "S. Claude de la Colombière", in Butler's Lives of the Saints, Burns & Oates, Tunbridge Wells, 1998.

Baldwin, David J.P., Regular and Secular Orders and Confraternities attached to the Queen's Chapel, St. James's Palace, 1623-1688, Text to be published in 1999 as the Proceedings of The Society for Court Studies, 1997, by the Historic Royal Palaces Executive.

Baldwin, David J.P., Stuart Roman Catholic Almoners, Paper Delivered at Royal Maundy Feast, 1992, copy in H.M.Chapel Royal Archive.

Baldwin, David J.P., "The Chapels Royal, St. James's Palace", in Purcell in Westminster 1659-1695, City of Westminster, 1995.

Baldwin, Olive, and Wilson, Thelma, "Who can from Joy Refraine? Purcell's Birthday Song for the Duke of Gloucester", in Musical Times, September, 1981.

Baldwin, Robert C.D., P. Giovanni Maria Cassini, CRS 1745-1824, Der Globusfreund, No.43/44, Vienna, Dec. 1995, pp.201-218.

Barber, Peter, Diplomacy - the world of the honest spy, British Library, London, 1979

Barclay Squire, W., Letter to Editor arguing that John Abell was not Roman Catholic either by persuasion or profession, The Church Times, 1st March 1927.

Barnes, A.S., "Catholic Chapels Royal - St. James's Palace and Catherine of Braganza", in The Downside Review, New Series, Vol.I (Vols XIX and .XX) 1900 and 1901, Mendip Press, Weston-super-Mare, 1901.

Barlow, William, The Summe and Substance of the Conference..att Hampton Court, London, 1604.

Batterel, L., Memoires domestiques pour servir a l'histoire de la Congregation de l'Oratoire, edited by Ingold, A.M.P. and Bonnardet, E., Five Volumes, Paris and Geneva, 1902-11,

Batterel, P. Louis, Essai de Bibliographie Oratorienne par Le Pere A.M.P. Ingold, Paris, 1880-1882.

Batterel, P. Louis, The Papal Nuncio (Archbishop Rinnucini) among the Irish Confederates, 1645-1649, (translated by Rev. W. McLoughlin), Catholic Truth Society, Dublin, 1908.

- Bellesheim, Alphons, History of the Catholic Church in Scotland, translated by Sir Daniel Blain, Vol.IV, Edinburgh, 1890.
- Bernard, George, "The Church of England c.1529-c.1642", in History, 75, 1990, pp.183-206;
- Bickersteth, The Rt. Rev. John and Dunning, Robert W., Clerks of the Closet in the Royal Household, Alan Sutton, Gloucester, 1991.
- Bill, E G.W., A Collection of Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library, MSS 1222-1860, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1972.
- Bill, E G.W., A Collection of Manuscripts at Lambeth Palace Library, MSS 1907-2340, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1976.
- Bill, E.G.W., A Collection of Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library, MSS 2341-3119, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1983.
- Binney, Marcus, Art Scholars find altar that shocked the Pope, in The Times, Monday 28th August 1995.
- Birch, Thomas., The Court and Times of Charles I, Henry Colburn, London, 1848, published with Vol I, Birch, Thomas, The Court and Times of Charles II, Henry Colburn, London, 1848.
- Black, Jeremy, A System of Ambition ? British Foreign Policy 1660-1793, Longman, London, 1991.
- Boero, Fr Guiseppa S.J., Istoria della Conversione alla Chiesa Cattolica de Carlo II., Re d'Inghilterra, cavato do Scritture authentiche ed originale per Guiseppa Boero, D.C., D.G., col Tipi della Civitta Cattolica, Roma, circa 1860.
- Bolton, Arthur, and Hendry, H., (eds) The Seventh Volume of the Wren Society, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1930.
- Bond, Maurice, Guide to the Records of Parliament, HMSO, London, 1971.
- Bosher, R.S. The Making of the Restoration Settlement, : the influence of the Laudians 1649-1662, 1951.
- Bossy, John, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850, Darton Longman Todd, London, 1975.
- Bossy, John, "The English Catholic Community, 1603-1625" in Smith A.G.R. (ed.) The Reign of James IV and I, Macmillan, London, 1973, pp.
- Bossy, John, "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism," in Aston, Trevor, (ed.) Crisis in Europe, 1560-1660, Routledge Kegan Paul, London, 1965, pp.223-246.
- Bougaud, Most Rev.Emile, The Life of Margaret Mary Alacoque, Tan Books, Rockford, Illinois, 1990.
- Bowen, Marjorie, The Third Mary Stuart (Mary of York, Orange and England being a character study with memoirs and letters of Queen Mary II of England, 1662-1694), Bodley Head, London, 1929.
- Boxer, Charles.R., English Shipping in the Brazil Trade 1640-1665, in Mariner's Mirror, Volume XXXVII.
- Boxer, Charles R., The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, Hutchinson, London, 1969.

Brisbane, St Aubyn, If Stones Could Speak - The Old City of London Churches, Their Ancient and Romantic Traditions, Customs, and Legends from Earliest Days, Alexander Ouseley Ltd, London, 1929.

British Library, "All the King's Men..." personalities and power in the Revolution of 1688, British Library Exhibition Notes, 1988.

Brown, H.F., Studies in the History of Venice, Vol.I, 1907.

Brown, Louise Fargo, The First Earl of Shrewsbury, D. Appleton Century, New York, 1931.

Browning, A, and Milne, D.J., An Exclusion Bill Division for 1679, Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Vol. XIV, 1936.

Browning, A., English Historical Documents, Vol VIII, 1660-1714, Eyre and Spottiswoode, Edinburgh and London, 1953.

Burgess, Simon, A full answer to the depositions and to all other the Pretences and Arguments whatsoever concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales. The Intrigue thereof detected, the whole design being set forth, with the way and manner of doing it. Whereunto is annexed a map or Survey engraven of St James's Palace, and the Convent there. Describing the place wherein it is supposed the true mother was delivered: with the particular doors and passages through which the child was conveyed to the Queen's Bed chamber", London, 1689.

Burnet, Rev. Gilbert [supposedly the translator for William, Prince of Orange of], "A Declaration of the Reasons Inducing him to Appear in Armes in the Kingdom of England for the Preserving of the Protestant religion and for Restoring the Lawes and Liberties of England, Scotland and Ireland." In the British Library, Printed Books 8132.h.8

Burnet, Rev. Gilbert, Bishop Burnet's Proof of the Pretender's illegitimacy extracted by G. Wilson, M. Smithson, London, 1724.

[Bishop] Burnet, Gilbert, History of my own Time, Vol. I., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1723-34. Later republished as Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Times (with notes by the Earls of Dartmouth and Hardwick, etc.) edited by M.J. Routh in Six Volumes, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1833.

[Bishop] Burnet, Gilbert, History of my own Time, (ed. Stackhouse, Rev. Thomas), J. Allen, London, 1724.

Campbell, Margaret, Henry Purcell, Glory of His Age, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995.

Carlton, Charles, Going to the Wars: The experiences of the British Civil Wars 1638-1651, Routledge, London, 1993.

Carlton, Charles, The Dream Life of Archbishop Laud, History Today, XXXVI, 1989, pp.

Carlton, Charles, Archbishop William Laud, Routledge Kegan Paul, London, 1987.

Carte, Life James, Duke of Ormonde. A new edition carefully compiled with his original manuscripts, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1851.

Carrafiello, Michael L., "Robert Parsons' Climate of Resistance and the Gunpowder Plot", The Seventeenth Century, Vol III, No.2, pp.115-134.

Cartwright, W.C., The Jesuits: Their Constitution and Teaching - An Historical Sketch, John Murray, London, 1876.

Cavalheiro, Rodriguez, Temas De Historia - Prefacio do Prof. Edgar Prestage, Livraria Civilização, Porto, 1938.

Cesinale, Rocco de, Storia della Missioni dei Cappuccini, Vol.III.

Chandaman, C.D., The English Public Revenue, 1660-1688, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1975.

Chaney, Edward, "Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel by Francois Dieussart, in Apollo, August 1996, pp.49-50.

Chamberlayne, Richard, Angliae Notitiae, or the Present State of England, 1669, (2nd edition). Also: 1682, (14th edition), 1684, (15th edition). 1687, (16th edition) All at Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

Champion, J.A.I., The Pillars of Priestcraft shaken. The Church of England and its enemies, 1660-1730, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992.

Charrier, P.Pietro S.J., Vita del Ven. P.Claudio de la Colombière D.C.D.G. scriturra con l'aiuto di documenti inediti. Traduzione Italiana, Prato, Giachetti, 1900.

Charrier, P.Pierre S.J., Histoire du Ven.P.Claude de la Colombière D.C.D.G, Paris, Lethielleux, 1904.

Cheney, C.R., Handbook of British Dates for Students of English History, Royal Historical Society, London, 1979.

[Church of England] , Book of Common Prayer, 1619, (see here the version with Cosin's notes of 1661, Bishop Cosin Library, Palace Green, Durham University, as 'Cosin D.3.5.')

[Church of England], Black Letter Prayer Book, with the Manuscript Additions and Alterations of 1661, Facsimile, HMSO, London, 1871.

[Church of England] , Book of Common Prayer, 1662. See particularly the Preface.

Clancy, T.H., "English Catholics and the Papal Deposing Power, 1570-1640", Recusant History , No. 6 1961-2.

Clark, G.N., The Later Stuarts, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1934.

Claydon, Tony, William III and the Godly Revolution, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996.

[Coad., Jonathan, ed. for English Heritage,] The Royal Garrison Church, Governor's Green, Old Portsmouth Guide, undated.

[Coad, Jonathan, ed.] The Royal Garrison Church, English Heritage Guide, undated.

Cogswell, Thomas, "England and the Spanish Match," in Cust, Richard, and Hughes, Anne, (eds) Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642, Longmans, Harlow, 1989, pp.107-133..

Cogswell, Thomas, "Foreign Policy and Parliament: the case of La Rochelle, 1625-1626, English Historical Review, 99, 1984, pp.

Cogswell, Thomas. " Prelude to Ré: The Anglo-Spanish Struggle over La Rochelle, 1624-1627" History, 71, 1986, pp.

Cogswell, Thomas, The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989.

- Collinson, Patrick, English Puritanism, Historical Association, 1983.
- Collinson, Patrick, Prelate as Pastor. The Episcopate of James I, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990.
- Collinson, Patrick, The Religion of Protestants; The Church in English Society, 1559-1625, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1982. (Originally given as a series of lectures in Oxford.)
- Collinson, Patrick, Godly People, A Collection of Essays, Hambledon Press, London, 1983.
- Collinson, Patrick, The Puritan Character: Polemics and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century English Culture, W.A. Clarke Memorial Library, Los Angeles, 1989.
- Colonia, Fr, Histoire Litteraire de la ville de Lyon, avec une bibliothèque des auteurs Lyonois sacrés et profanes, Lyons, 1728. Vol.II.
- Colvin, Howard, History of the King's Works, Vols III and IV, 1485-1660. HMSO, London, 1982. published with supplementary parts containing plans of the Royal Palaces.
- Colvin Howard, History of the King's Works, Vol. V, 1660-1782, HMSO, 1976.
- Cooke, Peter, Arraignment, Tryal and Condemnation of Peter Cooke, gent. for High Treason..in...the deposing of His sacred majesty King William, perused by Lord Chief Justice Treby, Benjamin Tooke, London, 1696. (BL 6497. dd. 6(6).)
- Corp, Edward T., "Further Light on the Career of 'Captain' Francois de Prendcourt", in Music & Letters, Vol.78, No.1, February 1997, Oxford University Press, Oxford., 1997.
- Corp, Edward T., "Saint-Germain-en-Laye: La cour anglaise et anglicane en France, 1689-1712", in Cahiers Saint Simon - Frontiers de la Cour, No.24 - Année 1996, Societé Saint-Simon, Paris, 1996.
- Corp. Edward T., (ed.), La Cour des Stuarts a Saint-Germain-en-Laye au Temps de Louis XIV, Musée des Antiquites nationales de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1992.
- Coward, Barry, The Stuart Age - England 1603-1714, Longmans, London and Harlow, 1994 .
- Cowie, L.W., Blackfriars in London - For three hundred years associated with the Dominicans and, after the Reformation, with the theatre, History Today, December 1974, p.851.
- Crawford, Patricia, Women and Religion in England 1500-1720, Routledge Kegan Paul, London, 1994.
- Cox, Montagu, and Norman, Philip, (eds.) Survey of London, Volume XIII, The Parish of St Margaret, Westminster, Part II, (Neighbourhood of Whitehall, Vol. 1), published by B.T Batsford for the London County Council, 1930.
- Croft, Pauline, "Tabloid Smears at the Stuart Court: The Reputation of Robert Cecil", in History Today, Vol XLXXX, November, 1993, pp.43-47.
- Crooks, P and D, The Guides' Guide to the Cathedral Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Portsmouth, Portsmouth Cathedral Council, 1996.
- Cuddy, Nicholas, "Revival of the Entourage" in Starkey, D, English Court,
- Cunningham, Fr Kit and Nibbs, Rosemary, St.Etheldreda's, Ely Place, Pitkin Guide, Norwich, 1992.
- Cust, Richard, and Hughes, Anne, (eds) Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642, Longmans, Harlow, 1989.

Cuthbert, Fr O.S.F.C. The Capuchins - A Contribution to the History of the Counter-Reformation, 2 Vols, Sheed and Ward, London, 1928.

D' Auvergne, Edmund B., The Bride of Two Kings. A Forgotten Tragedy of the Portuguese Court, Hutchinson, London, 1910.

Dan, J., (tr.) The History of the revolution in Portugal in the years 1640, or and account of the revolt from Spain and the setting of the crown on the head of Don John of Braganza, Father to Dom Pedro and Catherien, Queen Dowager of England. (Translated from the French of R. de Verlot.), Military Church Office, London, 1813.

Sir John Dalrymple, Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland from the Dissolution of the Last Parliament of Charles II until the Sea Battle off La Hogue, (2 Vols) London and Edinburgh, 1771 and 1773.

Davies, Julian, The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism 1625-1642, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993.

Dedouvres, Louis, Le Père Joseph devant l'histoire, l' eminence grise, Angers, 1872 and 1932.

Dedouvres, Louis, Vie du R.P. Joseph de Paris du Père de Hautebresche, Paris, 1889.

Dedouvres Louis, Le Père Joseph Polemiste. (Capuchin). Ses premiers écrits 1623-1625 de Francois du Clerc de Tremblai, Paris, 1895.

Dedouvres, Louis, Le Père Joseph et le siège de la Rochelle. étude d'Après des documents inédits, J. Sirandean, Angers, 1901.

Dedouvres, Louis, "Le Père Joseph de Paris" in Etudes Franciscaines XXXIII, Paris, 1921 p.78 et seq..

Delacroix, S., (ed.) , Histoire Universelle des Missions Catholiques, Vol. 2., Les Missions Modernes, Librairie Grund, Paris, 1957.

Defoe, Daniel, A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain, edited by Furbank, P.N., Owens, W.R., and Coulson, A.J., Yale University Press, London, 1991.

Dietz, Frederick Clarke, "English Public Finance", Vol. II, New York, 1932, and Frank Cass, London 1964.

Dockery, J.B., Christopher Davenport, Friar and Diplomat, Burns and Oates, London, 1960.

Dolan, Gilbert, "James II and the Benedictines in London", in The Downside Review, Volume XVIII, March-July-December 1899, Weston-super-Mare, 1899.

Duffy, Eamon, "A Rubb-Up for Old Soares: Jesuits, Jansenists and the English Secular Clergy", in The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXVIII, 3rd July, 1977, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Dunne, George H., Generation of Giants - The First Jesuits in China, Burns & Oates, London, 1962.

Durkan, John, "The Career of John Brown, Minim", in The Innes Review, Scottish Catholic Historical Studies, Volume Twenty-First, Burns, Glasgow, 1970.

Durkan, John, "Miscellany", being an analysis of "John Brown to Ingoli, Secretary of the Congregation de Propaganda de Fide, seeking financial assistance...Antwerp 9th April, 1642 in Prop.Fide Archiv., Scritt.rif.nelle congreg. generali, 141," in The Innes Review, Volume Fifth, The Scottish Catholic Historical Committee, Glasgow, 1954, and "The Scottish Mission, 1623-1670", in

The Innes Review, Scottish Catholic Historical Studies, Volume Fifth, Scottish Catholic Historical Committee, Glasgow, 1954.

Edwards, Francis, "Most Incomparable Lady: English Catholics and French Marriage of 1625", The Month, a Catholic Magazine, 210, 1960, pp.164-178.

Edwards, Francis, The Jesuits in England from 1580 to the present day, Burns & Oates, Tunbridge Wells, 1985.

Edwards, Francis, Robert Persons - The Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit 1546-1610, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, St.Louis, Missouri, 1995.

Elliot, John H. The Count-Duke Oliveres, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1986.

Elton, Geoffrey R., Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government, Vol. IV, Papers and Reviews, Vol.4., 1983-1990, Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Emmerson, Robin, Church Plate, Church House Publishing, London, 1991.

Esna, Hebe, Catherine of Braganza, Charles II's Queen, Robert Hale, London, 1967.

Exwood, M, and Lehmann, H.L. (eds), The Journal of William Schellinks' Travels in England, 1661-1663, Camden Fifth Series, Royal Historical Society, Vol. I, London, 1993.

Feiling, Keith., British Foreign Policy 1660-72, Macmillan, London, 1930.

Ferrell, Lori Anne, Government by Polemic: James I, the King's preachers and the rhetorics of conformity, 1603-1625, Stanford/Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Fincham, Kenneth (ed), The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642, Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1993.

Fincham, Kenneth, Prelate as Pastor, The Episcopate of James I, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990.

Fincham, Kenneth (ed), Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church, Vol.I., Church of England Record Society, Boydell Press, London, 1994.

Fincham, Kenneth, and Lake, Peter, "The ecclesiastical policy of James I", Journal of British Studies, XXIV, 1985, pp. 169-207..

Fiocchi, Ambrogio M., S.J., Vita Bel B.Claudio de la Colombière, D.C.D.G., Isola del Liri, 1929.

Firth, Sir C.H. and Lomas, S.C. Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England and France, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1906.

Fitzhagen, E., Truth vindicated, a declaration of Acquittal .. of Sir R. Clough and Sir George Treby, Justices:....., Richard Baldwin, London, 1681.

Foley, Henry, Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, Vols.IV and V, Burns & Oates, London, 1879.

Ford, Alan, "Dependent or Independent? The Church of Ireland and its colonial context", 1536-1649, Seventeenth Century, Vol. No. X, 1995, pp.163-187.

Forrest, Denys, St. James's Square, Quiller Books, London, 1986.

Foster, Andrew, The Church of England, 1570-1640, Seminar Studies in History Series, Longman, 1994.

- Foster, Andrew, "Conflict in Early Stuart England ", in Cust, Richard, and Hughes, Anne, (eds) Conflict in Early Stuart England, 1603-1642, Longmans, Harlow, 1989.
- Foster, Andrew, "The Clerical Estate Revitalised." in Fincham, Kenneth, (ed.) The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642, Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1993.
- Foster, Elizabeth Read, The House of Lords, 1603-1649, Structure, Procedure and the Nature of its Business, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1983.
- Fraser, Antonia, King Charles II, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1979.
- Friedman, Jerome, Miracles and the Pulp Press During the English Revolution: The Battle of the Frogs and Fairford's Flies, UCL Press, London, 1994.
- Friends of Tyburn, The Crown and the Papal Tiara, The permanent exhibition guide at Tyburn Shrine.
- Gardiner, Stephen R., Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage 1617-1623, Hurst & Blackett, London, 1869.
- Gaunt, Peter, Oliver Cromwell, Blackwell, Oxford, 1996.
- Gerard, John: "History 'ex Hypothesi' and the Popish Plot"; "The Jesuit "Consult" of 24th April 1678"; "Young Jesuits"; "Titus Oates at School"; all in The Month - a Catholic Magazine, Vol.II, July-December, 1903, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1903.
- Giblin, The Rev. Cathaldus, "The 'Acta' of Propaganda Archives and the Scottish Mission, 1623-1670", in The Innes Review, Scottish Catholic Historical Studies, Volume Fifth, Scottish Catholic History Society, Glasgow, 1954.
- Gibson, A., The Face in the Corner. Animals in Portraits from the Collections of the National Portrait Gallery, National Portrait Gallery, 1998.
- Goldie, M., Harris, T., and Seaward, T, (eds) The Politics of Religion in Restoration England, Blackwell, Oxford, 1990.
- Gow, Ian, The Palace of Holyroodhouse, Royal Collection Enterprises, Penguin, 1995.
- Grattan Flood, W.H., "John Abell: A Forgotten English Musician", in The Musical Times, 1st November 1926,
- Green, Dom Bernard, The English Benedictine Congregation, Catholic Truth Society, London, undated.
- Green, Ian M., The re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663, Oxford Historical Monographs, Oxford, 1978.
- Greenblatt, Stephen, Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture, New York, 1990.
- Greenblatt, Stephen, Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World, University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Gregg, Pauline, Free Born John - A Biography of John Lilburne, Harrap, London, 1961.
- Guillery, Peter, "The Broadway Chapel: A Forgotten Exemplar", London Topographical Record, 1990.
- Guitton, George, Messenger du Cœur de Jesus, Toulouse, 1929.

- Guitton, George, Perfect Friend - Le B. Claude La Colombière son milieu et son temps, Hereder, Lyons and Paris, 1943.
- Habakkuk, H.J., The land settlement at the Restoration of Charles II., Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th Series, XXVIII, 1978, pp.201-221.
- Hale, John, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance, HarperCollins, London, 1993.
- Haley, Kenneth H., The First Earl of Shaftesbury, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1968.
- Harris, John, and Higgott, Gordon, Inigo Jones, Complete Architectural Drawings, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1980.
- Harris, John, Inigo Jones and his French Sources, Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, Vol. XIX, May 1961, pp.253-264.
- Harris, William, Lives and Writings of James I and Charles I, and Oliver Cromwell and Charles II etc., 5 Vols, London, 1814.
- Harney, Fr Martin, S.J., The Jesuits in History, America Press, 1941, and Loyola University Press, 1962.
- Harting, Johanna H, Catholic London Missions - from the Reformation to the Year 1850, Sands & Co., London, 1903
- Hartmann, Cyril Hugh, The King My Brother, Heinemann, London, 1954.
- Havran, M. J., A Caroline Courtier, The life of Lord Cottington, Macmillan, London, 1973.
- Hay, Malcolm V., The Jesuits and the Popish Plot, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London, 1934.
- Head, R.E., Royal Supremacy and the Trials of Bishops 1558-1725, S.P.C.K. for Church Historical Society, London, 1962.
- Hearsley, John E.N., Bridge, Church and Palace in Old London, John Murray, London.
- Heylyn, (or Heylin), Dean Peter, Cyprianus Anglicus, or History of the life and death of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, Also the Ecclesiastical history of England Scotland and Ireland from his first rising till his death, London, 1668. Also a 1719 edition published in Dublin with a dedication by Peter Heylin.
- Hibbard, Caroline, Charles I and the Popish Plot, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1983.
- Higham, Florence, Catholic and Reformed - A Study of the Anglican Church 1559-1662, S.P.C.K., London, 1962.
- Higham, Florence, Lancelot Andrewes, SCM Press, London, 1952.
- Hill, Bridgette, and Hill, Christopher, "Catherine Macaulay's History and her Catalogue of Tracts", in The Seventeenth Century, Volume VIII, No.2, Autumn 1993, Durham University.
- Hill, Christopher, The economic problems of the Church from from Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament, Clarendon Pres, Oxford, 1956.

- Hill, Christopher, Society and Puritanism in pre-Revolutionary England, Secker and Warburg, London, 1964.
- Hill, Christopher, The Century of Revolution, 1603-1714, Cardinal Books, London, 1972.
- Hill, Christopher, The English Bible and the Seventeenth Century Revolution, Allen Lane, London, 1993.
- Hill, Christopher, Collected Essays, Vol. I. Writing and Revolution in Seventeenth Century England; Vol. II, Religion and Politics in Seventeenth Century England; Vol. III. People and Ideas in Seventeenth Century England; Harvester Press, Brighton, 1986.
- Hind, A.M., Engraving in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Part II, The Reign of James I, and Part III, The reign of Charles I, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1952.
- Historical Manuscripts Commission/ Public Records Office, Guide to the Location of Collections Described in the Reports and Calendar Series, Guide 3, HMSO, 1982.
- Hobson, G.D., "A Seventeenth Century Monogram", in Journal of the Society of Antiquaries, Vol.XV, 1935.
- Holmes, John, "Catalogue of French Ambassadors to England" in Gentleman's Magazine, Vol.XIV, 1840, pp.483-7 and 608-610;
- Holmes, Peter, Resistance and Compromise. The Political Thought of Elizabethan Catholics, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982.
- Holt, G., (ed)The English Jesuits 1650-1829, Catholic Record Society, Vol.LXX, 1984.
- Holt, G., (ed) The letter Book of Lewis Sabran, Catholic Record Society, LXII, 1971.
- Hooper, Paul, "Our Island" in War and Commonwealth - The Isle of Wight 1640-1660, Cross Publishing, Chale, 1998.
- Horle, Craig, The Quakers and the English Legal System, 1660-1688, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1988.
- Hoskins, Charles II in the Channel Islands, Vol.II, Bentley, London, 1854.
- Howarth, Mary, A Plain Man's Guide to the Glorious Revolution, Regency Press, London, 1988.
- Hutchinson, Lucy, "Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson", ed. N.H. Keeble, Dent, London, 1995.
- Hutton, Ronald, Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland and Ireland, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989. (Also available in paperback by Oxford University Press from 1991.)
- Hutton, Ronald, The Restoration, A Political and Religious History of England, 1658-1667, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1985.
- Hutton, Ronald, "The Religion of Charles II" in Smuts, R., (ed.) The Stuart Court and Europe, Cambridge University Press 1996, pp.228-246.
- Hutton, Ronald, "The making of the Secret Treaty of Dover", Historical Journal, XXIX, 1986, pp.297-318.
- Hutton, Ronald, The Royalist War Effort, 1642-1646, Longman, London, 1982.

- Imbert-Terry, H.M., A Misjudged Monarch, Heinemann, London, 1917.
- Ingold, Augustine, M.P., Essai de Bibliographie Oratorienne par le Père A.M.P. Ingold, Bibliothèque de l'Oratoire, 1880-1882, republished by Gregg International Publishers, Farnborough, 1988, together with Supplement a l' Essai de Bibliographie Oratorienne, Ex-Libris Oratoriens, Farnborough, 1968.
- Jackson, B., Papal History and the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, Public Record Office, London, 1993.
- Jebb, Dom Philip, "The Archives of the English Benedictine Congregation Kept at St. Gregory's, Downside", in The Downside Review, Volume One Hundred and Thirteen, No.393, October 1995, Downside Abbey, 1995.
- Jenkins, Wilberforce, London Churches Before the Great Fire, SPCK, London, 1917.
- Jordan, W.K. The Development of Religious Toleration in England, 1603-1640. London, 1936.
- Jones, J.D., Isle of Wight and the Armada, Isle of Wight County Council Cultural Services, Newport, 1988.
- Jones, J.R., Charles II - Royal Politician, Allen & Unwin, London, 1987.
- Jourdin, Michel and Roncière, Monique, and Azard, Marie-Madelaine, and Raynaud-Nguyen, and Vannereau, Marie-Antoinette, Sea Charts of the Early Explorers, 13th to 17th Century, Thames & Hudson, New York, 1984, pp.78 and 254-5.
- Kamen, Henry, Philip of Spain, Yale University Press, 1997.
- Kenyon, J.P., The Stuart Constitution, 1603-1688, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986.
- Kerman, Joseph, The Masses and Motets of William Byrd, Faber and faber, London, 1981.
- Kitching, Christopher, Survey of Historical Manuscripts in the United Kingdom - a select bibliography, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, HMSO, 1989.
- Ladame, Jean, Saint Margaret Mary and the Visitation in Paray, translated by Dubois, Mrs. Elfrieda T., University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1977.
- Lake, P.G., Anglicans and Puritans. Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker, Allen and Unwin, London, 1988.
- Lake, P. G., Calvinism and the English Church, 1570-1635, Past and Present, 114, 1987, pp.61-69 and 201-229.
- Lamont, W.M., Godly Rule, Politics and Religion, 1603-1660, Allen and Unwin, London, 1969.
- Lang, A, "The Master Hoaxer James de la Cloche", in The Fortnightly Review, (ed. Courtney, W.L.), Vol. LXXXVI, New Series, July-December, 1909, Chapman, London, 1909.
- Laud, William, Works, John Parker, Oxford, 1695-1700, Vol IV, as republished in an edition by Bliss, J.E., and Scott, W., John Parker, Oxford, 1847-1860. Reprinted in 5 volumes by Olms, New York, 1977.
- Lasocki, David and Prior, Roger, The Bassanos Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers in England 1531-1665, Ashgate, London, 1995.

- Le Jeune, Fr. Paul, Relation de ce qui s'est passe en la Nouvelle France en l' année 1633, Sebastien Cramoisy, Paris, 1634.
- Le Jeune, Fr. Paul, Breve relation du voyage a Nouvelle-France, Sebastien Cramoisy, Paris 1634
- Legg, L.J., English Coronation Records. Offprint held at H.M.Chapel Royal Archive.
- Legg, J.Wickham, English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement, considered in some of its neglected or forgotten features, Longmans, London, 1914.
- Lenman, Bruce, and Gibson, Jane, The Jacobite Threat, J. Donald, Edinburgh, 1990.
- Levron, J., La vie quotidienne à la court de Versailles aux XVII et VIII siècles, Paris 1965.
- Lewis, J.M., Llanfechin - The Jesuit Connection in The Montgomeryshire Collections, Transactions of the National Museum of Wales, Volume 72, Aberystwyth, 1984.
- Lingard, John, DD. History of England.. to the revolution in 1688, Vol.IX. Mawman, London, 1823-1831.
- "The Lisbonian", Dec 1933, 11-16.; July 1934, 9-16; Dec 1934, 11-21.; July 1935, 12-16; Dec.1935, 17-22; June 1936, 17-20. Bound as the "College Magazine 1930-1937", and to be found in Ushaw College Library, Lisbon Room.
- Liujma, A., "Claudio De La Colombière", in Dizionario Enciclopedico di Spiritualita, Citta Nuova, Rome, 1990.
- Livermore, H.V., A History of Portugal, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1947.
- Loades, D.M. Politics and the Nation, 1450-1660, Fontana Collins, London, 1974.
- Lockyer, R, Buckingham, the life and political career of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1620, Longmans, London, 1981.
- Loomie, Albert, S.J., "King James I's Catholic Consort," Huntington Library Quarterly, 34, August 1971, pp.303-316.
- Lorencot, Joseph P, Le ven. P. Claude de la Colombière, sa causae de Beatification, Paray-le- Monial, 1899.
- Louise-Marie, Sister, Saint Claude la Colombière, Monastery of the Visitation, Paray-le-Monial, 1995.
- Lossky, Nicholas, Lancelot Andrewes, The Preacher, 1555-1626, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991.
- Lunn, David, The English Benedictines 1540-1688, Burns & Oates, London, 1980.
- Macaulay, Catherine, A Catalogue of Tracts, 1790. [BL 126 a (15)]
- Macaulay, Baron Thomas Babington, History of England from the Accession of James the Second, Dent, London, 1906. (Also London editions of 1848-56 , and Macmillan's, 1914)
- McCulloch, Peter E., Sermons at Court. Politics and religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998.
- MacKay, Janet, Catherine of Braganza, John Long, London, 1937.

- Maguire, Nancy Klein, "The Duchess of Portsmouth: English royal consort and French politician, 1670-1685", in R. Malcolm Smuts, The Stuart Court and Europe, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, pp.247-273.
- Magalotti, (ed.) Travels of Cosimo, Duke of Tuscany, through England, Florence, 1821, (See Crino)
- Maitland, The Rev.S.R., A List of some of the Early Printed Books in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, London, 1843.
- Maitland, William, The History and Survey of London...in two volumes, Vol II, Osborne,T, Shipton, J., and Hodges, J., London, 1754.
- Maltby, W.S., The Black Legend in England. The development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1588-1660, Harper Torchbooks, London, 1970.
- Manning, Brian, "The Nobles, the People and the Constitution", in Aston, Trevor (ed.) Crisis in Europe, 1560-1660, Routledge Kegan Paul, London , pp.247-269.
- Manning, Brian, 1649: The Crisis of the English Revolution, Bookmarks, London, 1994.
- Marshall, Alan, Intelligence and Espionage in the reign of Charles II, 1660-1685, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1994.
- Marshall, Alan, "To Make A Martyr - The Popish Plot and Protestant Propaganda", in History Today, March 17th, 1997, pp.
- Marshall, Rosalind K., Henrietta Maria, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, 1990.
- Marshall, Rosalind K.(ed) Dynasty: the Royal House of Stewart, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1990.
- Mattingly, Garrett Renaissance Diplomacy, Peregrine Books, London, 1965.
- Martin, Malachi, The Jesuits. The Society of Jesus and the Betrayal of the Roman Catholic Church, Simon Schuster, New York and London, 1987.
- McCullough, Peter, Sermons at Court, politics and religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, Cambridge University Press,1998.
- Mears, Kenneth, The Crown Jewels of England, Department of the Environment, London, 1986.
- McGee, J.S., The Godly Man in Stuart England: Anglicans, Puritans and the Two Tables 1620-1670, Yale University Press, New Haven ,1976.
- McGrath, Patrick, "Elizabethan Catholicism: a reconsideration", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol.XXXV, Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- McGrath, Patrick, Resistance and Compromise. The Political thought of Elizabethan Catholics, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982.
- McMurdo, E., The History of Portugal from the Reign of D. João II to the reign of D. João V (compiled from Portuguese histories), Sampson Low Marston, Searle and Rivington, London, 1889..
- Meskins, A., "The Jesuit Mathematics School in Antwerp in the early seventeenth century", The Seventeenth Century, Vol XII, No.1, Spring 1997, pp.11-22.
- Middleton, Thomas, A Game at Chaess as it was acted nine days together at the Globe on the bank's side, London, 1625.

- Miller, John, Charles II, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1991.
- Miller, John, Charles II's Foreign Policy, Royal Stuart Society, Huntingdon, 1991.
- Miller, John, A Caricature: Religion in the popular prints, 1600-1832, Chadwyck & Healey, Cambridge, 1986.
- Milton, Anthony, Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995.
- Milton, Anthony, and Walsham, Alexandra, "Richard Montagu: 'Concerning Recusancie of Communion with the Church of England'," in Taylor, Stephen (ed) From Cranmer to Davidson: A Miscellany, Church of England Record Society, Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1999, pp.69-102.
- Monconys, Michel de, Journal des Voyages de M. de Monconys, enrichi de figures en taille douche fut en Sieur de Liergues, Paris, 1665, later republished in 3 Parts, Delaulne, Lyon and Paris, 1695.
- Monier-Vinard M., "Claude De La Colombière", in Dictionnaire de Spiritualite, Vol.II.
- Montfort, St.Louis de, The Secret of the Rosary, reprinted by Montfort Publications, Bay Shore, New York, 1988.
- Moorman, Bishop John H.R., The Franciscans in England, Mowbrays, London and Oxford, 1974.
- Morrill, John, (ed), The Impact of the English Civil War, Collins & Brown, London, 1994.
- Morrison, Richard, "Hidden Codes from the Renaissance", in Classical Music, 28th August, 1982.
- Morris, C. (ed.), The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, first published by Richard Hooker in five books between 1593 and 1597, Everyman, London, 1965.
- Mossiker, Frances, The Affair of the Poisons - Louis XIV, Madame de Montespan and one of History's great unsolved mysteries, Gollancz, London, 1970.
- Muddimann. J.G., "The Death of King Charles II", in The Month - a Catholic Magazine, 160, 1932.
- Munby, Lionel, Reading Tudor and Stuart Handwriting, British Association for Local History and Phillimore, Chichester, 1988.
- Nauman, Emil, (ed. Rev Sir F.A. Gore Ouseley), The History of Music, Cassel and Co, London, and New York, Vols. II and III, published by subscription with no date, circa 1900.
- Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Drottning Kristina Av.Sverige, La Reine Christine de Suede. Exposition sous les auspices du Conseil de l'Europoe, 1966, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.
A copy of this work and correspondence concerning the lending of Christina'a original letters is held in the Archives of the Jesuit Curia, Rome.
- Neal, Daniel, History of the Puritans, or Protestant Non Conformity from the Reformation to the Act of Toleration in 1689, Vol.II of four, London, 1732.
- Needham R.W. , & Webster A., Somerset House Past and Present, Fisher Unwin, London, 1905.
- Neill, Stephen, Anglicanism. An explanation, in the light of history and theology, of the nature and working of the Anglican Communion, its relationship with other Christian groups, and its part in the movement for Christian Union, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1958.

- New, J.F.H., Anglican and Puritan: the Basis of Their Opposition, 1547-1603, Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1990.
- Nuttall, G.F., and Chadwick, O., (eds), From Uniformity to Unity, 1662 to 1962, SPCK, London, 1962.
- O'Ferrall, R., and O'Connell, R., Kavanagh, S, (eds.) Commentarius Rinnucinianus de sedis apostolicae legatione ad foederatos Hiberniae catholicos per annos, 1645-1649, (6 vols) Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin, 1932-1949.
- Oldmixon, John, Secret History of Europe, Part I, Charles II, 1792. Second Edition, London, 1792.
- Oldmixon, John, The Critical history of England, Ecclesiastical and Civil, To which are added some objections made to Bishop William Burnet's History of His Own Times, London, 1724.
- Ollard, Richard, The Image of the King: King Charles I and King Charles II, Pimlico Books, London, 1979.
- O'Malley, John W., S.J., Catholicism in Early Modern History - A Guide to Research, Volume 2, Reformation Guides to Research, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Oman, Carola, Mary of Modena, Hodder and Stoughton, 1962.
- Oman, Charles, English Church Plate 1597-1830, Oxford University Press., London, 1957.
- Orme, Nicholas, Review of "Philip of Spain", by Henry Kamen, Yale University Press, 1997, in Church Times, 24th October 1997.
- Ornsby, G., (ed.) of "Selections from the Household Books of Lord Howard of Naworth Castle". The Surtees Society 68, Durham, 1878. (A revised and reprinted edition of 1977 was prepared after these papers were deposited at the instance of Professor H.S. Offler in the Dept of Palaeography and Diplomatic, at Durham University, and catalogues of them were published accordingly by the University in 1967, 1968 and 1970.)
- Ornsby, G., (ed.) Correspondence of John Cosin, Surtees Society, Vols, 53, and 55, 1869-70.
- Palmer, Fr C.F.R., The Life of Philip Thomas Howard, O.P., Cardinal of Norfolk, Grand Almoner to Catherine of Braganza...and restorer of the English Province of the Friar-Preachers or Dominicans. Compiled from original manuscripts. With a sketch of the rise, missions and influence of the Dominican Order, and of its early history in England, 1867.
- Parker, Geoffrey, "The world beyond Whitehall: British historiography and European Archives", in R. Malcolm Smuts, The Stuart Court and Europe, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp.274-282.
- Parker, T.M., "The Papacy, Catholic Reforms, and Christian Missions", in Wernham, R.B., (ed) The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol. 3, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, pp.44-71.
- Parker, Tony, Charles II: Portrait of an Age, Cassell, London, 1979.
- Parmentier, J., De Patris Josephi capucini Publica Vita qualis ex ejus cum Richelio commerciis apparet, Paris, 1877.
- Parrot, Cecil, "Review of Music in Croatia by Josip Andreis", in British-Croatian Review, No. 13, Vol.IV, October 1977, for reference to Ivan Sibencanin (ie.Giovanni Sibenco).
- Parry, Clive, (ed), The Constitutional Treaty Series, (edited and annotated) Vol. 6. 1660-1666, and Vol.7. 1661-1663, Oceana Publishing, Dobbs Ferry, New York, 1969.

- Paton, Henry M Imrie, John, Dunbar, John G, (eds) Accounts of the Masters of the Works for Building and Repairing Royal Palaces and Castles, (2 Vols) Edinburgh, 1982.
- Pawley, Bernard and Margaret, Rome and Canterbury Through Four Centuries - A study of the relations between the Church of Rome and the Anglican Churches 1530-1973, Mowbrays, London, 1974..
- Pearson, Heskett, Charles II - His life and Likeness, Heineman, London, 1960.
- Pennant, Thomas , Some Account of London, R. Faulder, London, 1790.
- Peres, Damiao, Historia de Portugal Edicao Monumental Comemorativa Do 8 Centenario Da Fundaco Da Nacionalidade, Vol.VI, Portucalense Editora, Barcelos, 1934.
- Perroy, P. Louis, (ed), Le Bienheureux Pere Claude de la Colombiere de la Compagnie de Jesus, 1641-1682, P. Lethielleux, Paris, 1931.
- Peters, Henrietta, Mary Ward - A World of Contemplation, Gracewing, Alcester, 1994.
- Petrie, Charles, King Charles, Prince Rupert, and the Civil War from Original Letters, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1974.
- Philip, Sister Mary, A Jesuit at the English Court - The life of the Venerable Claude de la Colombiere, Burns Oates & Washbourne, London, 1922.
- Philips, Philip S.S., "John Cooqus, Silversmith", in Journal of the Society of Antiquaries, Vol.XVI, 1934.
- Plowden, Charles, Remarks upon a book entitled Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, Liege, 1794.
- Podmore, Colin, "Our pro-European Past: Colin Podmore on how the Laudians changed the Church", in the Church Times, 30th June, 1995.
- Pollock, Sir John, The Popish Plot - A study in the history of the reign of Charles II, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1944.
- Ponlevoy, Fr, Life of Bortaloue, Vol. I.
- Porter, Carolyn, "Are We Being Historical Yet ?", in Carroll, David, (ed), The States of 'Theory': History, Art and Critical Discourse, New York, 1990..
- Powell, J.A. The Navy in the English Civil War, Archon Press, Hamden and London, 1962.
- Powicke, Maurice F., and Fryde, E.B. (eds), Handbook of British Chronology, Second Edition, Officers of the Royal Historical Society, London, 1961.
- Powley, Edward, B., The Naval Side of King William's War, Curwen Press, London, 1972.
- Prestage, Edgar, "The Diplomatic Relations of Portugal with France, England and Holland, 1640-1668", Voss & Michael Ltd., Watford, 1925.
- Prestage, Edgar, (ed.) "Chapters on Anglo Portuguese Relations". Voss & Michael Ltd, Watford, 1935. Esp. Chapter IV on the Treaties of 1642, 1654 and 1661.
- Prestwich, Michael, Cranfield: Politics and profits under the early Stuarts, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1976.

- Price, David C., Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance, Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Price, Norman, Somerset House A Biography of a building, Board of Inland Revenue, London, 1970.
- [Public Record Office], Guide to the Records of the Lord Chancellor's Department, HMSO, 1988.
- Public Record Office, Papal History and the Public Record Office - An Exhibition to mark the Centenary Year of the publication of the first volume of the Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, published by the P.R.O., March 1994, as guide to the PRO Exhibition in Chancery Lane.
- Pulver, Jeffrey, "Elway Bevin", in The Musical Times, August 1936.
- Quinn, D.B. "James I and the beginnings of Empire in America", in Explorers and Colonies, Hambledon Press, London, 1990, pp.321-339.
- Quintrell, B., Charles I and his Navy, The Seventeenth Century, Vol. III, No.2, pp.159-179.
- Ranger, Terence, "Strafford in Ireland: A Revaluation", in Aston, Trevor, (ed) Crisis in Europe 1560-1660, Routledge Kegan Paul, London, 1970, pp.271-293.
- Ranke, Leopold Von, History of England in the Seventeenth Century, Vols I-VI, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1875.
- Rapin, M. de Thoyras, The History of England, written in French By M.Rapin de Thoyras, translated into English with Additional Notes by N.Tindal, Vol.VIII, 1603-1636, London, 1755; Vol.IX, 1636-42, London, 1759; Vol.X, 1642-48, London, 1760; Vol.XI, 1649-1685, London, 1760; Vol.XII, 1685-1688, London, 1762.
- Rapin, Fr, Reflexions sur l'Eloquence, XVI.
- Rau, Virginia, Inventário dos bens da rainha da Grañ-Bretanha D. Catherina de Bragança, Centro de Históricos Ultramarinos, Univesidade de Coimbra, Coimbra, 1949.
- Ravier, A., Bienheureux Claude La Colombière, Maison la Colombière 19, Paray-le-Monial, 1982.
- René, Richard "Histoire de la Vie du R.P. Joseph de cleric du Tremblay",
- Renehan, L.F., Collections on Irish Church History, from the manuscripts of the late L.F. Renehan, (ed.) Bishop D McCarthy, Vols I, II, III, Duffy and Son, Dublin, 1861-1874.
- Restalrig Church, (The King's Chapel. and St.Triduana's Aisle), A booklet to mark the 500th Anniversary of the King's Chapel, October 1977, Restalrig. unpaginated.
- Rhodes, J.T., Ushaw College Library, Ushaw College, Durham, 1994.
- Rodriguez-Salgado, Mia, and Adams, Simon, England Spain and the Gran Armada. Essays from the Anglo-Spanish Conferences, London and Madrid, 1988, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1991.
- Rodriguez-Salgado (ed.), Armada - 1588-1988 An International Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum to Commemorate the Spanish Armada, Penguin, London, 1988.
- Royal Library, Windsor, A Royal Miscellany from the Royal Library Windsor Castle, Queen's Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, 1990.
- Roseveare, Henry, The Financial Revolution 1660-1760, Seminar Studies in History Series, Longman, 1991.

Rushworth, John, Historical Collections of Private Passages of State beginning in the sixteenth year of St. James, Anno 1618 ... and in Five Parliaments, Vols I to VII, London, 1682-1721.

Russell, Conrad, The Causes of the English Civil War, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990.

Russell, Conrad (ed), The origins of the English Civil War, Macmillan, London and Basingstoke, 1973.

Russell, C., Parliaments and English Politics in the 1620s, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1979.

R.C.W., "The Religion of Charles II", in The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review, New series, Vol.I., January - June, 1866, Bradbury Evans & Co., London, 1866.

S....., W.B., "John Dowland", in The Musical Times, 1st December 1896 and 1st February 1897.

Salmon, W.A, Churches and Royal Patronage - A History of the Royal Patronage in the Churches of England and Wales, D.Brown & Sons, Cowbridge, 1983.

Sanchez-Canton, Francisco Javier, Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar, 1567-1626, Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, 1937.

Schunck, Christine, "The lost Catholic Houses of Prayer of Curaçao," in Coomans, H.E., and Newton, M.A., Coomans-Eustatia, M, (eds.) Building up the Future from the Past. Studies on the Architecture and Historic Monuments in the Dutch Caribbean, Jutphen, 1990, pp.128-135.

Schwoerer, Lois B., Declaration of Rights, 1689, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1981.

Scott, Dom Geoffrey, O.S.B., "A Benedictine Conspirator: Henry Joseph Johnston (c.1656-1723)", in Recusant History Reprint, Catholic Record Society, 1992.

Scott, Dom Geoffrey, O.S.B., "Benedictines and Jacobites", typescript monograph, Douai Abbey, 1980.

Scott, Dom Geoffrey, O.S.B., Gothic Rage Undone - English Monks in the Age of Enlightenment, Downside Abbey, Bath, 1992.

Scott, Thomas, Vox Populi or Newes From Spayne which may serve to forewarne both England, and the United Provinces, how far to trust Spanish Pretences, London, 1618.

Seaver, Paul, The Puritan lectureships: the politics of religious dissent, 1500-1662, Stanford University Press, California, 1970.

Settle, Elkanah, The Character of a Popish Successor, London, 1681, being an assertion that a catholic prince would inevitably rule in an absolute, unconstitutional manner if permitted to become King, BL Printed Pamphlets, 102.,i.24.

The Seventeenth Century, Journal of the Centre for Seventeenth Century Studies, Durham University, Vol.XI, No.2, Autumn 1996.

Sharpe, Kevin, "Archbishop Laud", History Today, XXXIII, 1983, pp.26-30.

Sharpe, Kevin, The Personal Rule of Charles I, Yale University Press, London, 1992.

Sharpe, Kevin, and Lake, Peter, Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England, Macmillan, London, 1994.

- Shaw, W.A., "The Beginnings of the National Debt", in Historical Essays, Owens College, Manchester., 19
- Shell, Alison, "On Jacobean Lines", in the Church Times, 2nd September, 1994.
- Shell, Alison, "Review" in the Church Times, 29th October, 1993.
- Sheppard, The Rev. Edgar, Memorials of St. James's Palace, Vol. II, Longmans, London, 1894.
- Shorney, David, Protestant Nonconformity and Roman Catholicism - A Guide to the Sources in the Public Record Office, PRO Readers Guide No. 13, Kew, 1996.
- Shorthouse, J.H., John Inglesant in England, SCM Press, London, 1961.
- Sitwell, G. First Whig, An Account of the career of William Sacheverell, the origin of the two great parties and the events... up to the Revolution of 1688, private printing Scarborough, 1894.
- Sitwell, G., "Leander Jones's mission to England, 1634-35", in Recusant History, 5, 1960 pp..
- Skinner, J., Dean of Aberdeen, Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. II, London, 1788. (British Library, Printed Books 489.d.9.10.)
- Sotheby's staff for, Sotheby's London Auction Catalogue of Printed Books and Manuscripts, 19th July, 1994, Lot 270. This contains a useful discussion of Water Marks within a broader discussion of Abraham Cowley's Autograph manuscript elegy on the death of the poet Richard Crashaw, 1658. It bears similar royalist water-marks of 1649-50 as those which appear in paper used by Ormonde, Jermyn and Charles II, and on other documents to be found in the Louvre.
- Smith, Thomas, A Pacifick Discourse of the Causes and Remedies of the Differences about Religion, London, 1688. Copy once in Sion College Library, London EC4, now at Lambeth Palace.
- Smutts, R. Malcolm (ed.), The Stuart Court & Europe - Essays in Politics and Political Culture, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996.
- Somerville, Robert, The Savoy - Manor:Hospital:Chapel, Savoy Chapel, London, 1960.
- Spencer-Smith, Jennifer, & Guy, Alan (eds) Glorious Revolution? 1688 - The Fall and Rise of the British Army 1660-1704, National Army Museum, 1988.
- Spurr, John, The Restoration Church of England 1646-1689, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1991.
- Starkey, D., (ed.), A European Court in England, Collins and Brown, London, 1991.
- Stephan, Dom John, The 'Adeste Fideles' - A Study in its Origin & Development, Buckfast Abbey, 1947.
- Stoneyhurst Asnflia VI, For "Rationes propter quas expediat Benedictiniorum missionem in Angliam prohiberi" , Stonyhurst.
- Swift, Jonathan, {ed.} The Works of Sir William Temple (1628-1699), Vol. I., Dublin, 1740.
- Tanner, J.R., (ed.) Constitutional Documents from the Reign of James I, Cambridge University Press, 1930.
- Taylor, Gordon, The Sea Chaplains - A history of the Chaplains of the Royal Navy, Oxford Illustrated Press, Oxford, 1978.

Taylor, Stephen, (ed.) From Cranmer to Davison: A Miscellany, Church of England Record Society, Boydell Pres, Wodbridge, 1999.

Thurston, The Rev. H.C, The Coronation Ceremonial Revised for the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, Catholic Truth Society, London, 1953.

Tindal-Robertson, T., Sister Mary of the Divine Heart, translated from *La Messagere du Sacre Coeur*, Augustine Publishing Co., Chumleigh, 1988.

Tomlinson, Howard, "Commemorating Charles I - King and Martyr?" in History Today, February 1995, Vol. 45 (2) pp.

Tonnochy, A.B., "Jewels and Engraved Gems at Windsor Castle", in The Connoisseur, (ed.) Wenham, Edward, Vol.XCV, January-June 1935, published by The Connoisseur, London, 1935.

Touchet, George (Fr Anselm), Historical Collections out of several grave Protestant historians, concerning the change of Religion, 8 Vols., [sine loco, but presumably from the evidence of the Lord's journal, London] 1674. Subsequently republished with parts of Sir William Dugdale's, Monasticon Anglicanum, as published in London, 1655, Vol. 1, Vol. 2, 1661, and Vol.3. 1673..

Touchet, James, the 3rd Earl of Castlehaven. The Earl of Castlehaven's Memoirs from the year 1642 to the year 1651, London, 1680, and Memoirs, vol. II, 1652-1678, London, 1685. Republished by C. O' Connor, Waterford, 1753.

Treby, Sir George, A collection of the letters and other writings, relating to the horid Papist plott, printed from originals in the hands of George Treby, Samuel Heyrick, London, 1681. (Contains the text of some of Edward Coleman's letters of 1674-77).

Treby, Sir George, Compleat Catalogues (and continuation of Compleat Catalogues) of all Books and single sheets printed since the discovery of the P. Plot, Sept. 1678 (Jan 1679/80 and Jan.1679/80 - June 1680). 1680 (Old Safe London Library.)

Trevor-Roper, Hugh, Archbishop Laud, Macmillan, London, 1940, revised editions 1962 and 1965.

Trevor-Roper, Hugh, (Baron Dacre of Glanton), Catholics, Anglicans And Puritans: Seventeenth Century Essays, Secker and Warburg, London, 1987.

Trevor-Roper, Hugh, (Baron Dacre of Glanton), From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution, Pimlico Books, London, 1993.

Trevor -Roper, Hugh, "King James and His Bishops", History Today, No.5, Sept, 1955, pp.571-581.

Trimble, William R., "The Embassy Chapel Question, 1625-1660" in Journal of Modern History 18, 1946, pp.97-107;

Tyacke, Nicholas, Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism 1590-1640, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987.

Tyacke, Nicholas, "Debate: The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered", in Past and Present, 115, 1987, pp.201-229.

Tyacke, Nicholas, "Puritanism, Arminianism and the Counter-Revolution" in (ed.) Russell, Conrad, The Origins of the English Civil War, Macmillan, London 1973.

Tyacke, Nicholas, and White, Peter, "Debate: The rise of Arminianism reconsidered", Past and Present, 115, 1987, pp.201-229.

Venn, Captain, A True Relation of the Most Wise and Worthily Made Speech made by Captain Ven to the apprentices of London December 29th 1641... with a description of the state of Ireland. A printed tract now in the British Library, E.181 (21).

Veevers, Erica, Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and court entertainment, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989.

Yeomans, D., "Inigo Jones's roof structures", Architectural History, xxix, 1986, pp.85-101.

Walsh, Peter, History of the Loyal Irish Formulary and Remonstrance (Appendix of Instruments)

Walsh, Walter, The Jesuits in Great Britain - An Historical Inquiry into their Political Influence", George Routledge, London, 1903.

Walsham, Alexander, Church Papistry, - Catholics, Conformity & Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England, Boydell Press, 1993.

Washington, George, S.H.L., King Charles II's Jesuit Son, privately printed, Cambridge, 1966.

Weale, J.C.M. (ed.) Register of the Catholic Chapels Royal and the Portuguese Embassy Chapel, 1662-1829, Vol. 1 Marriages. Catholic Records Society, London, 1941

Webb, W.K. L., "Thomas Preston, O.S.B. alias Roger Widdrington", Biographical Studies 2, 1954, pp.216-268.

Weinreb, Ben, and Hibbert, Christopher, The London Encyclopedia, Macmillan, London, 1983.

Weldon, Dom. R. Bennet, O.S.B., (ed.) Dolan, Gilbert, Chronological Notes, containing the Rise, Growth, and Present State of the English Congregation of the Order of St Benedict, drawn from the archives of the said congregation at Douay in Flanders, Dieulwart in Lorraine, Paris in France, and Lambsring in Germany where are preserved the authentic acts and original deeds etc., 1707. The Abbey of Our lady of Consolation, Worcester, 1881.

Welsby, P.A., Lancelot Andrewes 1555-1626, S.P.C.K. London, 1958.

Welwood, Dr. James, Memoirs of the most material transactions in England for the last hundred years preceeding the revolution in 1688, Tim Godwin London, 1700.

Wernham, Robert B., After the Armada, Elizabethan England and the struggle for Western Europe, 1588-1595, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1984.

Wernham, Robert.B., Before the Armada: The growth of English Foreign Policy, 1485-1588, Knopf, New York. 1966

Weston, Fr W., Autobiography of an Elizabethan. A chapter from this is reprinted as Midnight in the Clink by the Clink Prison Museum, 1 Clink Street, Southwark, 1997.

Wheatley, H. B., Round About Piccadilly and Pall Mall, Smith Elder, London, 1870, p.358.

White, Peter, Predestination, Policy and Polemic, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992.

White, Peter, "The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered, Past and Present, 101, (1983) pp.34-54.

Whiteman, Anne, The Re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th Series, , Vol.V. 1955.

Williams, Barrie, The Franciscan revival in the Anglican Communion, Darton Longman & Todd, London, 1982.

Wilkinson, Alan, Forever Building. Essays to mark the completion of the Cathedral church of of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Portsmouth Cathedral Council, Portsmouth, 1995.

Wilson, Charles, and Proctor, David, (eds), 1688 The Seaborne Alliance and Diplomatic Revolution, Proceedings of the International Symposium on "The Seaborne Alliance and Diplomatic Revolution" held in 1988 and published by Trustees of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, 1989.

Wilson, Michael I, Nicholas Lanier Master of the King's Musick, Ashgate, London, 1994.

Wood, Anthony a, Athenae Oxoniensis, Volumes I-IV, London, 1813-20.

Woodfill, Walter L, Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I, Da Caop, New York, 1969, p.196.

Worden, Blair, Stuart England, Phaidon, Oxford, 1986.

Wright, Archdeacon, The Story of the Domus Dei, reprinted as The Royal Garrison Church, Old Portsmouth, The Printing Office, H.Q.Portsmouth Group Royal Marines.

Wright, Pam, "A Change in Direction: the Ramification of a Female Household, 1558-1603" in Starkey, D, English Court,

Yeo, Margaret, Claude de la Colombière - Apostle of the Sacred Heart, Burns, Oates & Washbourne, London, 1940.

Young, William, Perfect Friend - the Life of Blessed Claude la Colombière, S.J. 1641-1682, Herder Books, 1956.

Zimmerman, Franklin B., Henry Purcell 1659-1695 - his life and times, Macmillan, London, 1970.

