THE LIFE OF
SIR TOBIE MATTHEW

ARNOLD HARRIS MATHEW

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The Life of

Sir Tobie Matthew, Knight

Sir Tobie Matthew.

(Frontispiece to the *Collection of Letters*, 1660.)

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THE LIFE OF
SIR TOBIE MATTHEW

BACON'S ALTER EGO

BY HIS KINSMAN

ARNOLD HARRIS MATHEW

(*De jure* EARL OF LANDAFF, OF THOMASTOWN, COUNTY TIPPERARY)

AND

ANNETTE CALTHROP

"*Profectio domini Tobiae Matthaei, qui mihi est tanquam alter ego, ut dominatio tua illustrissima optime novit in illas partes, memoriam mihi renovat eximii tui erga me favoris.*"

(Extract from a letter to the Conde Gondomar by Sir Francis Bacon.)

LONDON

ELKIN MATHEWS, VIGO STREET, W.

M CM VII

PREFACE

THE *Life of Sir Tobie Matthew* was first published by Alban Butler, in the form of a small pamphlet, consisting chiefly of extracts from *The True Historicall Relation of the Conversion of Sir Tobie Matthew*, supplemented by quotations from Anthony à Wood, and a few others. The present volume has been compiled from a vast number of original documents, chiefly letters, which do not appear to have been laid under contribution by any biographer. In order to obtain full and accurate information, extensive searches had to be made in Madrid, Salamanca, Rome, Brussels, Ghent, Douai, Valladolid, Lisbon, the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, Lambeth Palace Library, York Minster Library, the Public Record Office of Ireland, the Public Record Office in London, and in numerous private collections. Much valuable matter was discovered in the Foreign State Papers

relating respectively to Holland, Flanders, Tuscany, the Italian States, Rome, Genoa, Spain, France, the German Empire, the German States, and Venice. The Roman Transcripts at the Record Office, from 1603 to 1660, and the Domestic State Papers, from 1590 to 1660, were also thoroughly overhauled. In the great labour thus involved I have to acknowledge, with sincere gratitude, the efficient assistance given to me by Miss Bluebell Williams.[1] To Miss Annette Calthrop I am indebted for her help in condensing the large amount of matter obtained, which would, unabridged, have made a most interesting book, but too large for the general public, and too costly for the majority of readers. I therefore considered it better to cut down the matter to its least possible proportions, omitting nothing of material interest, but including only a tithe of the correspondence preserved in the depositories named.

To the late Marquess of Salisbury I am indebted for several letters preserved in the Hatfield Archives, and to Monsignor Giles, D.D., Rector of the English College in Rome, for some important

[1] Now Mrs. Hugh Hunter.

documents in his custody. Father J. H. Pollen, S.J., has kindly given me the benefit of his help on one or two points; and Father W. A. Sutton, S.J., in a chapter of his book, *The Shakespeare Enigma*, provided me with the title I have chosen for this volume.

Students of seventeenth-century literature may find some new facts recorded in these pages, and admirers of Bacon, and all persons to whom the Bacon-Shakespeare question appeals, will not fail to be interested in the correspondence between the Philosopher and his *Alter Ego*.

Should this attempt to rescue from oblivion the name of a remarkable personality prove acceptable to the literary world, I shall have no reason to regret the hard work which the undertaking has involved.

That Sir Tobie Matthew was ever a Jesuit has been strenuously denied by some members of the Society. Nevertheless, it may be considered certain that he was a member of it at an early date after his conversion. By his will, dated 1614, the year of his ordination by the great Jesuit, Cardinal Bellarmine, he bequeathed the whole of his earthly possessions

to the Society. This fact by itself would not suffice to prove Sir Tobie to have been anything more than a friend and admirer of the Society. Other facts, however, have come to light. At the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary, at Oulton, in Staffordshire, the ancient English Benedictine nuns, who were exiled during the reign of Henry VIII., are now represented. The community descends from the convent established at Ghent as an offshoot of the community settled at Brussels. In the library at Oulton Abbey is preserved the original MS. of an unpublished work of Sir Tobie's, written by him for the nuns at Ghent, and dated "The first of January, 1652." The MS. consists of a biography of the Lady Abbess Lucy Knatchbull, O.S.B., of Ghent, and is written in a hand which is not Sir Tobie's, probably a scrivener's. The preface, however, is signed by him, and the MS. is corrected throughout in his handwriting. The work is entitled: *A Relation of the Holy and Happy Life and Death of the Lady Lucie Knatchbull, Abbess, and of her foundinge the English Monastery of Benedictines at Ghent; together with some notice which is given of her Religious there, concerning*

both their persons, and particular devotions and Perfections; as also of divers Blessings wherewith they have been enriched from Heaven. This Relation consists of two Parts. By SIR TOBIE MATTHEW, KNIGHT, SOC. JES. Had Sir Tobie not been a Jesuit when he corrected the MS. in 1652, he would assuredly have erased the description, "Soc. Jes.," appended to his name. The author, in the course of his narrative, gives an account of the origin of the Ghent foundation. It appears that the Brussels community were under the direction of the English Jesuit Fathers. The superior, however, with the majority of her nuns, wished to appoint other directors, to the great distress and annoyance of four, and those the most respected and esteemed members of the convent. These four, wishing to remain under Jesuit direction, sought and obtained the permission of the Archbishop of Mechlin to remove and establish a new community of their order at Ghent, where the English Jesuits had a house of their Society.

Chapter III. of Sir Tobie's MS. goes on to relate that the new abbess at Ghent, Lady Lucie Knatchbull, a devoted admirer of the Society of

Jesus, had been "commanded," while yet in the convent at Brussels, to write "an exact relation of her own whole life." She was then certainly under Jesuit direction, and no one, other than her Jesuit confessor, could have imposed the obligation upon her of writing her spiritual autobiography. From the concluding portion of this autobiography it is evident that "the person" to whom she confided it was none other than Sir Tobie Matthew himself, whom she addresses as "dear Mr. Mathew (*sic*), whose soul I tender as my own." The name "Mathew" is scored through in the MS., but is, nevertheless, perfectly legible. At the close of the preceding chapter Sir Tobie writes: "She gave a clear account of all those things which concerned her . . . . to a person whom she might not disobey," i.e., her spiritual director, who was certainly a Jesuit, and evidently himself. The date of the narration written by Lady Lucie Knatchbull is 1623. The house at Ghent was begun in 1624, and the holy abbess Knatchbull died in 1629. The evidence of this, the last work written by Sir Tobie, appears to me conclusive, and leaves no room for doubt that he was a Jesuit in 1623, and that in

1652, the date of the MS., he was still a member of the Society, in which, as the letter to the English College at Rome published in this volume proves, he also died. His death occurred at the house of the English Jesuit Fathers at Ghent, and his remains were buried in the vault underneath the Jesuit church, along with those of other English members of the Society who had died at Ghent.[1]

ARNOLD HARRIS MATHEW.

CHELSFIELD, KENT.

[1] The discovery of this proof of Sir Tobie's connexion with the Society was made after the MS. of his "Life" had been sent to press.

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CHAPTER I

TOBIE MATTHEW'S BIRTH, PARENTAGE AND YOUTH

Tobie Matthew, interesting from many points of view. The connection of his parents with the Elizabethan Establishment. Descent of the family from the Over-King of all Wales. Dr. Matthew's ultra-Protestant views. His controversy with Campion, the Jesuit. His "Conscio Apologetica," answering Campion's "Decem Rationes." Rigorous treatment of Roman Catholics. Polemical atmosphere in which Tobie Matthew lived. His matriculation, oratorical powers, and introduction to Bacon. He takes the part of the Squire in Essex's "Device." Dr. Matthew's promotion to the see of Durham. Tobie's desire for foreign travel. His debts, and his father's indignation. Carleton's intercession.

CHAPTER I

TOBIE MATTHEW'S BIRTH, PARENTAGE AND YOUTH

FROM many points of view, the story of Sir Tobie Matthew's life is one of considerable interest. His chequered career, his conversion to Catholicism, his banishment from England on account of his faith, his employment on foreign missions of great delicacy, his friendship with eminent men—notably with Sir Francis Bacon—and his intimate connection with stirring events in a remarkable period of English history, all point him out as a fitting subject for biographical study.

Sir Tobie Matthew,—destined to become a priest and a Jesuit,—was born at Salisbury, on October 3rd, 1577. No indication of his future career as a Catholic ecclesiastic attended the circumstances of his birth; he was the eldest son of a vigorous Protestant controversialist, Dr. Tobie Matthew, then Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, later to be raised to the dignity of Bishop of Durham, and finally to that of Archbishop of York. His mother's connection with the Elizabethan Establishment was not less intimate; her epitaph in York Minster states that she was "first married to

Matthew Parker, son to Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, afterwards to Tobie Matthew, that famous Archbishop of this See." This lady's father was William Barlow, Bishop of Chichester, the reputed consecrator of Matthew Parker, first Archbishop of the Elizabethan Church, and her epitaph proudly records the fact that "a Bishop was her Father, and an Archbishop her Father-in Law; She had Four Bishops her Brethren,[1] and an Archbishop her husband."

The family of Matthew is an ancient one, and traces its descent from Cunedda, the Over-King of all Wales, ancestor of Guaethvoed Vawr, Prince of Cardigan, the progenitor of Sir David Mathew of Landaff and the Earls of Landaff of Thomastown, Co. Tipperary.

The MS. Life of Archbishop Tobie Matthew, and his diary, abound in interest for all students of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of English history. All through the troublous times of the Reformation, his family had, for the most part, remained true to the old faith, but John Matthew of Bristol, grandfather of our Sir Tobie, conformed to the new religion, under pressure of the Penal Laws of Elizabeth. Whether or not the profession was merely nominal, it is at least certain that John Matthew opposed the ultra-Protestant views of his son, the Anglican divine. According

[1] Husbands of her four sisters.

to Strype,[1] Dr. Matthew first "entered into Anglican orders, by the motion and counsel of Dr. Calfhill,[2] a learned dignitary of the Church of those times, and his cousin; though his father and mother, persons of good quality, who seemed disaffected to Anglicanism, were not inclinable thereto, for Calfhill wrote to Sir William Cecil, that he was bound by all honest means, to prefer his cousin Tobie, as well in respect of his abilities, as that he had followed his advice, in entering into the Ministry, *against the good will of his father, and mother, and others his able friends.*

"Matthew," continues Strype, "was soon sent for, to Court, by the Earl of Leicester, having been recommended to him by his said kinsman (Calfhill) as also the said Secretary Cecil, who by soliciting the Queen, obtained for him the Deanery of Durham, though she stuck for a great while, because of his youth and his marriage." When he departed from Court to Durham, Cecil (now Lord Burleigh), "according to his grave and godly way, gave him much good counsel, for his wise and good behaviour of himself, and discharging of his duty in that place, and the next year sent him a letter of the same import, by Mr. Tonstall, going down thither."

[1] *Annals*. ii., p. 347.

[2] James Calfhill, D.D., Archdeacon of Colchester (died 1570), was author of *An Answere of The Treatise of the Crosse*, by John Martiall, 1565.

Dr. Fuller thus speaks of Archbishop Matthew:—"None could condemn him for his cheerful spirit, though often, he would condemn himself, for the levity of it; yet he was so habituated therein that he could as well not be, as not be merry." Pun and quibble were in high vogue in the days of Euphuism, and "a man was to expect no preferment in Church or State, who was not a proficient in that kind of wit."

As a controversialist, Dr. Matthew won no little reputation, though the single publication which he left behind him, a sermon replying to a statement made concerning him by Father Campion, S.J., is of poor merit. It has been held by some critics that the Archbishop's vigorous measures against Catholics are attributable to his annoyance with Campion and his *Decem Rationes*. The Jesuit was a former fellow-student of his at Oxford, who became a Protestant clergyman, and afterwards embraced the Catholic Faith. For the "offence" of his conversion, he was apprehended in Ireland, but escaped, and retired to the English College at Douai, proceeding later to Rome, where, in 1573, he entered the Society of Jesus. In 1580, Pope Gregory XIII. sent him to England, where he was, after some time, arrested, and conveyed in public procession to the Tower, a notice being fastened to his hat, and inscribed with the words: *Edmund Campion, a most pernicuous* (*sic*) *Jesuit*. Having

been submitted to the formality of a trial, he was found guilty of "high treason," on account of his religious tenets, and was then, with other priests, drawn on a hurdle to Tyburn, where all were horribly done to death, on December 1st, 1581.

The passage in Campion's *Decem Rationes* which is said to have aroused Dr. Matthew's indignation was the following :—

"Once I familiarly questioned Tobie Matthew, now your greatest preacher, whose learning and good disposition endeared him to me, and asked him to tell me how a man, who was such an assiduous student of the Fathers, could take the side which he defended as true. He answered, 'If I believed them, as well as read them, you would have good reason to ask me.' This is perfectly true, and I think he must still be of the same mind."

In his *Conscio Apologetica*, published in Latin nine years after Campion's execution, Matthew denies the accusation in the following terms :—

"Who affirmed it? Edmund Campion, the Jesuit. And who denies it? Tobie Matthew, the Christian. I avouch that neither sleeping nor waking, sitting nor standing, by day or by night, at home or abroad, in jest or in earnest did I ever say it."

Without venturing to decide where the truth lies with regard to this discussion, we cannot overlook the fact that Campion, who made the assertion, was, later, brutally murdered for his faith, while the denier was not only luxuriating in rich benefices, but had also expectations, which might be imperilled by popular belief in the story.

Dr. Matthew was always untiring in his hostility to recusants, and in the preaching of sermons against the tenets of Catholicism, as understood by himself, until his zeal received a severe shock, in the news which reached him of the reception into the Catholic Church, at Florence, in the year 1607, of his eldest son, Tobie, the subject of this memoir. Such books as Morris's *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, and Richard Flotby's *Persecution in the North*, show how rigorously Dr. Matthew instigated and abetted the cruel persecution of Catholics. And when James I., the son of a Catholic mother, published his tract, *An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*, in English, French and Latin, which was directed against those Catholics who refused to take the profanely worded oath, "Dr. Toby Matthews" (*sic*)—to quote Lingard—"threw himself on his knees, to receive his presentation copy, from the King's messenger, and promised to keep it as the apple of his eye, and to read it over and over again."

Sir Tobie's entrance into the world was, then, into the family of an ultra-Puritan, and an ardent controversialist. While he was still a child, it was thought necessary, for the accomplishment of the royal will, to increase the severities already in force. In 1581, a new penal statute proclaimed it to be high treason to attempt the conversion of any person to Catholicism. It was high treason for any

Protestant, unsolicited, to become a Catholic. Aiding such an act, or concealment of the knowledge of it for above twenty days, entailed punishment for misprision of treason. Any priest found celebrating mass, was to forfeit 200 marks, and to suffer at least a year's imprisonment. Every person, of whatever religious opinions, having attained the age of sixteen, was to be fined £20 for every month's absence from the services of the Establishment. In 1585 these rigours were again supplemented by others, directed against the clergy. All Jesuits, seminary priests, and persons in "Holy Orders of the Church of Rome," were ordered to leave England, forthwith. Those who remained were to be treated as felons and traitors, and condemned to an atrociously cruel death.

The fiercely polemical atmosphere in which young Tobie Matthew lived, seems to have affected him but little. We do not find that he possessed strong religious convictions in any direction, during the time of his childhood and youth. But the lad early displayed remarkable intellectual powers. Tobie was Dr. Matthew's favourite child. His brother John, the only other survivor of a family of four, was a source of pecuniary anxiety to his parents, who centred all their pride and affection on this youth of exceptional talent and brilliancy. Tobie matriculated from Christ Church, Oxford, on March 13th, 1589-1590, graduated B.A. June 5th,

1594, and became M.A. July 5th, 1597. Dodd writes of him, in his *Ecclesiastical History* (vol. iii., p. 59), "By the advantage of his pregnant parts, and of a good tutor, he became a noted orator and disputant." Fluency of speech was always characteristic of Tobie Matthew, and his power in this direction showed itself in his college days. To the influence of this gift was, in some measure, due the friendship he formed with Sir Francis Bacon, who always sought the society of men of learning and culture, and who, through the subsequent years of a life-long intimacy, often described the subject of this biography as his *alter ego*. The future held adversity in store for both men; and it is to the credit of both, that through good report and ill report, the fidelity of their attachment remained unimpaired.

In 1595, young Matthew took the part of the Esquire in Essex's *Device*, the dialogue of which was furnished by Bacon. The entertainment took place at York House, in the Strand, the principal residence of the Earl of Essex, then in the occupation of Bacon, during the Earl's absence in Ireland. York House, originally at Southwark, was the town house of the Archbishops of York. On the removal of their residence to the Strand, Archbishop Heath inhabited the new palatial abode for a short time, but from 1561 to 1606, it was generally let to the Keepers of the Great Seal. Here Sir

Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, was living, when, in 1560, his great and famous son, Francis, was born.

The performance of the *Device* was given on Queen's Day, and in the presence of Elizabeth, and was the occasion of Tobie's introduction to Court festivities—an acquaintance to be afterwards extended and cultivated. Rowland White, in a letter addressed on November 22nd, 1595, to Sir Robert Sidney, writes:—"My Lord, of Essex's *Device*, is much commended in these late triumphs." The letter goes on to sketch the plot of the play, and has much to say about the character of the Squire. All the speeches, one of which it was Tobie's part to deliver, were extravagant eulogies of Elizabeth. Rowland White, concluding his account of play and players, writes:—"The old man was he that, in Cambridge, played Giraldy; Morley played the Secretary; and he that played Pedantic was the Soldier; and Tobie Matthew acted the Squire's part. . . . . The Queen said that if she had thought there had been so much said of her, she would not have been there that night, and so to bed."[1]

In 1596, shortly after Dr. Matthew's promotion to the See of Durham, Tobie was seriously at variance with his father, on account of pecuniary difficulties. The Bishop proved unsympathetic and severe towards his son, who was, at this time, in bad health. In fact, when one reads that Tobie was

[1] *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, iii., p. 371.

Dr. Matthew's favourite son, one begins to wonder how more rigorous treatment could possibly have been meted out to the less favoured brother, John. Monetary embarrassments furnished a fruitful theme of dispute between father and son; and when, two years later, Tobie went to France, to visit young Throckmorton of Coughton, a good Catholic, he again aroused parental displeasure on account of his debts.

When Tobie proposed the French expedition, he may possibly have had other intentions than a mere visit of pleasure, since, at this period, it was customary for aspirants to diplomatic, or public service, to spend some time at foreign courts, and to make an especial study of languages, diplomacy and etiquette. Tobie was unquestionably a youth of rare talent, and he probably aspired to a career of honour and of utility to the State. The number of his friends was large, as befitted one, described by Bacon, when writing to James I., in March, 1603, as "a very worthy and rare young gentleman."

Among these friends was Dudley Carleton, with whom he preserved amicable relations till Carleton's decease, as Viscount Dorchester, and Secretary of State, in 1631. At the same time, it must be owned that his society at this period—when extravagance and dissipation were unquestionably among his youthful characteristics—was not always grateful to his acquaintance, for we find John

Chamberlain, the famous letter-writer, addressing Dudley Carleton, in Paris, in 1597, as follows :—

"London. June 11th, 1597.

". . . . I went to Ascot, where I met with y^r^ brother Carleton, who told me Tobie Matthew had showed him a letter from you, wherein you complained much of want, and what narrow straights you were like to be drawn to, marvayling you had toucht no such matter, in yo^r^ letters to him. . . . . I hope it is but a borrowed complaint, to distaste younge Matthew from following you into France, than for any true cause." [1]

In spite of this suggestion of the undesirability of Tobie's companionship, Carleton seems to have exerted himself on the young man's behalf, and he appealed to Bishop Matthew for more lenient judgment, when the son was smarting under the irate father's displeasure. The appeal was unavailing ; Carleton's indignation was aroused by the Bishop's reply, and he indulged in various expletives which have necessarily been deleted from the letter which follows, and which was written by Carleton to Chamberlain, on January 10th, 1598. He writes :—

"The barbarouse Bishopp, after he had detained our messinger, five daies, without wellcom or answear, hath, at last, retorned him, but w^th^ so vnexpected and vnnaturall replies, as the like cannot be imagined. His answeare to the Vice-Chancellor's letter was that he had rather have heard of his sonne's death, then his sicknes, although this doth somewhat please him, in that he sees God hath harkened to his praiers. He begann his letter with what shall I write ? He

[1] *State Papers*, R.O., vol. 263, fol. 99.

saith his sonne shall never recover his favour. He saith he is a reprobate, a castawaie, an example above example, of an irreverent and disobedient child, and, to conclude, One *quem ipsa salus, servare non potest.* He saith he is one who did impiouslie practise against his mother, his deare (and chast) mother, whose life he doth tender above seauen sonnes, yea seauentie seauen sonnes. And, at last, he entreats him to show him no comfort, to undertake nothing for him, nor to be deceaved w^th^ his Hyppocriticall shewes, and malenchollie sicknes."[1]

Within a few days of writing the foregoing letter, Dudley Carleton addressed himself to his friend, Francis Hickes, of Teddington (whose translation of *Lucian* was published, in 1634, by his son, the Rev. Thomas Hickes, chaplain of Christ Church, Oxford), and his letter again reveals the puritanic harshness of Dr. Matthew. It is written from Oxford, and is undated; probably, it was sent early in January, 1598.

" . . . . I had not been heere, at this present, to have receaved y^r^ letter, had not the sicknes of Mr. Tobie Matthew staied me, but now, since I have undertaken the thanckles office of attendinge him, I will not leave him, untill I see him better, w^ch^ I hope will be shortlie, for about the beginninge of Lent, I am necessarilie bound for France. . . . . Yf the recoverie of Mr. Matthew be not speedie, I must be enforced to leave him in that state, w^ch^ I would be loath, for he is one, to whom I am more bound in kindnes, than his common courtesie can make a requital, and therefore if I should leave him, in this state, I feare he will thincke I follow the example of those, w^ch^ should be his neere frendes. But needes I must leave him, who God knowes can as ill spare a frend at this time, as anie, be he most miserable. The desperate

[1] *State Papers*, R.O., vol. 266, fol. 19.

Exerit Hic Sanctos. viva sub imagine vultus
Ecce Senex: Vtinam fas sit et inde loqui:
Qui dum Iclus iners Boreali friget in Orbe;
Emicuit gelidis flamma corusca plagis:
Christiadæ nautæ, Mundi qui fluctuat vndis,
Erranti et dubio Stellæ Polaris adest.
Duplex cum Tibi sit Sanctorum Nomen Vtru
In vitam pariter convenit, Alme, tuam.

DR. TOBIE MATTHEW,
Archbishop of York.

sicknes he was in, is, by help of physick, allaied, though not quite taken awaie, but his mind is desperately sick, broken with inward vexations, and w^th^ the violence of his disease being knowen to me, and onely to me, makes me fear that in him, w^ch^ others can not doubt. If his father (knowing him to be his own sonn) do yet persist in his opinion that these are but shewes and Hypocriticall dissimulations, lett him also know this much from an *unknowen Secretarie*, that the best witt and eloquence he hath, cannot undoe that w^ch^ he hath done. . . . . *Quis nomen ungua sceleris errori impletet?* Who, besides he, that did it, would lay errors of youth, rather committed by indiscretions, than by the default of a good nature, to anie man, for capitall crimes?"[1]

Tobie Matthew highly appreciated Carleton's kind offices, in spite of their lack of success with the Bishop. His father's attitude evidently cost him poignant anxiety, and, on his arrival in London, whither he went from Oxford, on important business, he relieved his mind by communicating with his friend. "How kindlie," he writes, "I take your well meant aduice, my vast sorrow will not lett me shew."[2]

From letters to Carleton, Tobie Matthew's movements may be traced down to the middle of December, 1598, at which time Carleton was on the Continent. On September 15th, in that year, he had written "to mine assured friend Mr. Dudley Carleton at Ostend, a letter full of gossip, matrimonial and otherwise." Five days later, on September 20th, he had informed his friend of improved relations between himself and his mother. "The violence of my

[1] *State Papers*, R.O., vol. 256, fol. 29-30. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. 266, fol. 19.

mother's displeasure," he wrote, "is much abated, and there is hope that her passions will turn into their contraries. Neyther is it likely to be like fayth, without good works, since, for a testimony, shee will begin so well, as I am now put into an assured opinion, that speedily she will pay my debts. My father, in the mean tyme, as a stranger to this accident (for he is a stranger to that w^{ch} he sees and will not see), threatens fire and sword, but I doubt not his storms are such as commonly bring much fayre weather after them."[1]

Later in the same letter, Tobie Matthew remarks, "The Court is at Nonsuch, where on Sunday, my L. Chiefe Justice's expectation of being Councellor was deceaved." It may be interesting here to note that "Nonsuch" was, according to a MS. Life of the Earl of Arundel,[2] "a sumptuous House, evident to be beholden of all strangers, and others, for the honour of this Realm, as a pearl thereof." "Nonsuch" was one of the Royal palaces, and was situated at Ewell, in Surrey. Some account of the venerable pile, which has now vanished, and left few traces behind it, is given by Miss Anna L. Glynn in her book, "A Pearl of the Realm." She introduces as one of her characters "Sir Tobie Matthew, son of the Archbishop of York," but her description of him is wholly fictitious.

[1] *State Papers*, R.O., vol. 268, fol. 61. [2] Sixteenth Century.

CHAPTER II

FROM TOBIE MATTHEW'S ADMISSION AT GRAY'S INN, TILL HIS DEPARTURE FOR THE CONTINENT, IN 1604

Tobie's admission at Gray's Inn, and his intimacy with Bacon. Correspondence with Bacon, and others, in the "Collection of Letters," edited by Dr. John Donne, junr. Tobie Matthew's interest in politics. His election as M.P. for Newport, Cornwall. His life of dissipation. Controversy between secular Catholic clergy and Jesuits. Death of the Queen. Tobie's election as M.P. for St. Alban's. His introduction to the Court of James I. His foreign travel. Grant from the Crown, possibly for some service in connection with Bacon. Blackwell and Garnet insist on denunciation of a conspiracy to the Government. Cruel treatment of Catholic priests. Conference of divines at Hampton Court, Dr. Tobie Matthew being present. Tobie Matthew innocent of any complicity in the frustrated attempt of Guy Fawkes.

CHAPTER II

FROM TOBIE MATTHEW'S ADMISSION AT GRAY'S INN, TILL HIS DEPARTURE FOR THE CONTINENT, IN 1604

On May 15th, 1599, Tobie Matthew, being then in his twenty-second year, was admitted at Gray's Inn, his description in the Admission Register being, "Tobias Matthew, gent., son and heir apparent of Tobias Matthew, Bishop of Durham." Here he naturally became more intimately associated with his friend, Sir Francis Bacon. From this time, till Bacon's death, their interchange of letters was frequent; the correspondence embraces subjects of deep interest, literary, political and social. Unfortunately, few of the letters have retained their dates, and those contained in Sir Tobie Matthew's "Collection of Letters," edited and published by Dr. John Donne, junr., in 1660, have been deprived of their most interesting details, and, as they appear without their writers' names, they can only with difficulty be identified. If the dates could be fixed with any degree of certainty, many of the letters

would doubtless fill up the *lacunæ* that exist in Tobie Matthew's correspondence between the time of his admission at Gray's Inn and the beginning of the year 1601. It is chiefly by means of letters which have escaped destruction that the career of this remarkable man can be traced. Other records of him are few; and such biographies as have been written, give only scanty details of one of the most eventful lives of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Towards the end of March, 1601, Tobie wrote to Dudley Carleton a letter of some historical interest. That his attention was always occupied by political matters, even at this early period of his career, is evident; in the course of this letter he writes :—

"The Earle of Marr is heer Ambassadour, out of Scotland, to congratulate the Q. deliverance, to desire y^t his master may be the declared Successour, as they say, and to act, as is conjectured some greater business. Like enough, for he is a man, of as extraordinary courage, as place. We say heer, the pope is dead. I looke to heer this newes eyther contradicted or confirmed, and if so, who is his successor."[1]

This letter is endorsed :—"To my very much beloved frend, Dudley Carleton," and beneath is written in another hand, "To my best brother, Mr. Dudley Carleton. I will writ to you by the next messenger."

In *Notitia Parliamentaria* we find that Tobie Matthew was, on October 3rd, 1601, elected M.P.

[1] *State Papers*, R.O., vol. 279, fol. 36. The Pope was Clement VIII. He died 1605.

for Newport, Cornwall, together with Sir John Leigh. He thus became parliamentary representative in an eventful year, which had witnessed the trial and execution of the Earl of Essex, the reprieve of Lord Southampton, and the arrival of Lord Marr with Bruce, on an embassy from the King of Scots. Words, already quoted from Matthew's letter to Carleton, point, albeit in guarded language, to the fact that though the embassy was ostensibly to congratulate Elizabeth on her escape from the designs of Essex and his co-conspirators, it was, in reality, to spy out the land, in the interests of the Scottish successor to the Queen.

A reconciliation between Tobie and his parents was effected when his election as M.P. for Newport, Cornwall, became known to them; and towards the end of October he was staying with them at their London house, on his return from the West of England. In the early part of the ensuing year, Tobie was again suffering from illness, probably the result of the dissipated life which he led, in common with other young men in his station, who gave free rein to their grosser animal instincts, unrestrained by the elevating influence of the Christian religion. It was notorious that the great ecclesiastical upheaval of the sixteenth century produced a very marked increase in profligacy, such as invariably attends a decline in faith. In the case of persons nominally Catholic, decadence in morals is usually the prelude

to loss of belief. If the eldest son of a Puritan Bishop was, at the age of five-and-twenty, no better than his peers, he was certainly no worse than the vast majority of Elizabeth's courtiers. Tobie Matthew was only one of a crowd of gallants whose time was spent within the precincts of the Court in play and feasting by day, and in debauchery by night. Yet he found opportunity to enjoy Bacon's refined and intellectual society, and to peruse and criticize the literary achievements of the great philosopher. In May, 1602, his physical condition is mentioned by Chamberlain, who, in a letter to Carleton, writes:—"Your friend Tobie Matthew is newly recovered of a long and shrewde fit of his old infirmitie." [1]

From his sick bed, or during convalescence, Tobie displays characteristic anxiety for Court gossip, and applies for information to Dudley Carleton, his *fidus Achates*. "*Si no va il otero a Mahomet*," he writes, "*vaya Mahomet al otero*, and if the newes will not come to me, I will shortly come to them, Which I mention, not to discourage or diminish your kindness in sendinge to me, but to let you know y^{t} y^{r} reward, my best thanckes, shall not only not be lost by you, but not long differed, and kept from you."

Sources of information, besides those supplied by Carleton, were, as a matter of fact, open to Tobie; for while Secretary Robert Cecil and the Scottish

[1] *State Papers*, vol. 284, fol. 7.

King were in close secret communication, in view of Elizabeth's increasing age and infirmities, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh, Cecil's strong opponent at Court, were daily meeting at the house of Tobie's father, the Bishop of Durham.

At this time a controversy arose between the secular Catholic clergy who remained in England, and the Jesuits under Father Garnet, their Provincial, respecting the appointment of Catholic Bishops. Instead of the Bishops, Clement VIII. appointed an Archpriest, Father Blackwell, as Superior of the clergy in England, with instructions to place himself in communication with Father Garnet. Friction arose between the secular and the regular clergy, and to the latter the Queen's ministers, from diplomatic motives, showed some apparent favour, making use of Bancroft, then Bishop of London, as their intermediary. Even this semi-toleration, shown to only a small section of missionary clergy, aroused the Puritan zealots, who forthwith brought against the ministry accusations of "secret conspiracies with Papists." According to Lingard, a proclamation was issued in Elizabeth's name, noticing the division of the English Catholic clergy into two parties. The Jesuits were styled by the Queen, "traitors without exception"; of the secular clergy, who were less hateful to her, she nevertheless said that they were "disobedient and disloyal subjects,

who, under the vizard of a pretended conscience, act as banditti, stealing the hearts of simple and common people." She concluded by commanding all Jesuits and their adherents to quit the Kingdom within thirty days, and all secular priests within three months, under peril of suffering the terrible penalties enjoined by law against "persons receiving ordination by authority of the Pope." On January 29th, 1603, a commission, composed of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, and various counsellors and judges, assembled for the express purpose of compassing the banishment of all Catholic priests found within the Realm.

Singularly enough, the secular clergy met the fierce edict by an act of pusillanimity; they drew up, for presentation to Elizabeth, a protestation of their allegiance and devotion; they declared that, in cases of conspiracy and invasion, even under pretence of restoring the Catholic religion, they conceived it to be their duty to reveal to her all plots and treasons which came within their knowledge, and that they should disregard any excommunication issued against them on account of their performance of this duty.

This address produced no effect, for it never reached Elizabeth. She was already nearing her end; and after a period of unconsciousness, she breathed her last at 3 a.m. on March 24th, 1603.

Dr. Tobie Matthew had been one of the Queen's favourite chaplains and preachers; her death could not fail to impress and affect him. In the Bishop's diary we find the following entry:—

"24 MAR. 1603.
SERENISS ELIZ. REGINA MORT.
AT WHITEHALL
EHEU! EHEU!
An° M.DC.III.
Fest: Annunc. Newcastle. Gal. VI., pass: Rumor de Morbo Reginæ Elizabethæ. Eheu!"

It was in Elizabeth's presence that Tobie, the son, had made his first bow to Royalty; the death of the Sovereign would appeal sorrowfully enough to all the family of Bishop Matthew.

Early in the reign of the new King, James I.—i.e. in March, 1604,—Tobie was returned M.P. for St. Alban's, *vice* Sir Francis Bacon, who resigned and sat for Ipswich. Shortly after the King's accession, Tobie was made the bearer of a letter from the Lord Keeper, Bacon, to His Majesty, and this opportunity furnished his introduction to the King's Court. The letter contains a postscript to Bruce Abbot, of Kinross, which runs thus:—

". . . . Since my writing of this letter, I have taken charge to make oblation of my very humble service by letter, unto his Majesty, whereof I send y^r Lp a copy, and shall esteem it an exceeding courtesy, if you will take some speedy and good opportunity to present it to his royal hands; which if y^r L: shall vouchsafe to undertake, I have desired this gentleman, Mr. Matthew, eldest son to my L: Bp of Durham,

to deliver the same unto your L:, desiring y^r L: furder for my sake to show him what courtesies his occasion shall require, which I assure your L: shall be towards a very worthy and rare young gentleman."

"This letter," says Spedding,[1] "at the time when the postscript was written, was evidently intended to be carried and presented by Toby Matthew, a private friend of Bacon's own—the same who acted the Squire in Essex's *Device* on the Queen's Day, in 1595, a man for whom Bacon retained a great personal affection, through much variety of fortune, on both sides, to the end of his life. Upon further thoughts, however, or further news, he appears to have changed his mind again, for he struck out the postscript and transferred it, along with the commission which it carried, to another letter, addressed to another man."

When Matthew set out—on the 28th or 29th of March—charged with Bacon's letter to the King, he took another (enclosing a copy of the King's) to Sir Thomas Chaloner, tutor to Henry, Prince of Wales, his commission being to get it delivered in the handsomest way that offered. The following is an extract from the letter:[2]—

". . . . I do commend unto yourself, and such your courtesies, as occasion may require, this gentleman, Mr. Matthew, eldest son to my Lord Bishop of Duresme, and my very good friend, assuring you that any courtesie you shall

[1] Spedding's *Life of Bacon*, vol. iii., p. 61.
[2] Stephen's *Memoirs of Bacon*, Ed. 1736, p. 4.

use towards him, you shall use towards a very worthy young gentleman, and one, I know, whose acquaintance you will much esteem."

In spite of introduction to the English Court, Tobie Matthew entertained, at this time, a great desire to leave his native country for a while, and to visit Italy. He had some difficulty in obtaining his parents' consent, for they feared that intercourse with Catholics might induce him to change his religion. Finding it easier to gain his parents' permission to go no further from home than France, he secured leave to spend six months in that country, before the re-assembling of Parliament. They complied with some reluctance, expressly stipulating that Tobie should not visit Italy or Spain. He agreed to these conditions, though he did not intend to abide by them: this duplicity cost him some remorse in later life. On July 3rd, 1604, he sailed for France, but within a few weeks returned secretly to England, for some unknown reason; early in 1605 he again sailed for France, and then continued his journey to Florence, where, as we shall later see, he submitted to the Catholic Church. Up to this period his life was that of a gallant and courtier, given over to pleasure and dissipation. His means were now ample, for at the beginning of March, 1604, he received, in conjunction with another, a large grant from the Crown, particulars of which are given in the following extract.

It has not been possible to ascertain the reason for the grant, which, however, accounts for Tobie's good income, and his lavish donations to charitable objects at a later period. The extract is from Hist: MSS., 5th Report, p. 409, and Conway-Griffiths MSS., No. 51, the original MSS. being now in the possession of Lady Reade:—

"March 12, 1604. Patent, under the great Seal, of a grant from the Crown, to Richard Prytherch, of the Inner Temple, London, Esq., and Tobias Matthew, their heirs and assigns, for ever, of the manor of Penryn, Co. Carmarthen, and of the little Forest of Brecon, *alias* the little Forest of Brecknock in the Lordship of Brecon, with lands and tenements in Westminster, viz.:—

"(1) A piece of waste ground, near the stone wall which surrounds the old palace of Westminster, and between the Parliament 'stayres' and the 'sluce' running down from the College of Westminster to the Thames.

"(2) A piece of waste ground, opposite the aforesaid piece, and between the Parliament stairs and another sluice running down from the Parliament House to the river.

"(3) Another piece of waste ground, recently laid out in gardens, between the said wall and the way leading from the inner chort of the said Palace to the slaughter-house.

"(4) Another piece of waste ground, recently laid out in gardens, between the said wall on the east, and the way leading to the slaughter-house on the west.

"(5) Another piece of waste ground, likewise laid out in gardens, between the said wall on the west, and the said way to the slaughter-house on the east.

"(6) A tenement, called the 'Backhouse,' lying near, and within the Palace, called 'Whitehall.'

"(7) A tenement lying within the aforesaid chort of the palace of Westminster.

"(8) A small area opposite the east part of the said

tenement, and enclosed with walls, late in the occupation of Charles Hammer, deceased.

"(9) A piece of waste grounds, lately used for three separate gardens, with the building upon it, called the 'water works,' for conveying water from the river to divers houses and palaces in Westminster.

"(10) All the tenements on the said piece of ground.

"(11) The stable, or 'le coachehouse' on the east of the said piece with the entrance thereto.

"(12) A piece of ground, granted for a garden by letters patent of Queen Elizabeth, and since that concession used as a way to the wood warff.

"(13) A piece of open ground, used by tolerance as a footway to the messuages, lately in the tenure of John Dare and John Bennett.

"(14) The tenement or 'garden house,' lately built in a garden, lately held by Hugh Brown.

"(15) Another garden house, lately built in ground, lately held by William Lancaster.

"(16) A little garden house on ground lately in the occupation of Thomas Hamlett.

"(17) Another small garden house, lately built on ground held by William Carter.

"(18) The little 'shed' or garden house, in a garden lately held by Francis Morris.

"(19) Another shed in a garden, lately in the tenure of John Bennett.

"(20) Another shed in a garden, lately held by Robert Briggs.

"(21) A shed or garden house in a garden, lately held by Ralph Foster.

"(22) And also a piece of open ground, taken out of the river near to the stairs on the north, and to the wood wharff on the south, which was appointed for the convenience and use of le water worke."

The grant points, of course, to some service rendered by Tobie Matthew. We have many indications

of his activity, and in his "Collection of Letters" there is one with the title "Sir Francis Bacon desiring a friend to do him a service." It has no date, and like many others in the "Collection" (*Life of Bacon*, iii., p. 215) appears to have been stripped of all particulars which might serve to fix the occasion. But it probably belongs to the session of Parliament in 1604. The "service" desired is assistance in preparing a "report" of some debate or conference in which Bacon had himself taken an active part; the "friend" has always been supposed to be Matthew himself. Now Bacon was continually employed during this session, both as spokesman for the House, in conferences, and reporter to the House of what had passed. "The attention requisite for taking part in the discussion would, of course, interfere with the attention necessary for remembering passages of it. . . . . As Tobie Matthew was a member of Parliament, and of more than one Conference Committee in which Bacon had a principal part, nothing is more natural than that . . . . he should have had recourse to Tobie. What the occasion was, it is impossible to guess. That it was a matter of importance, which had given trouble, may be inferred from the terms in which it is mentioned:—

"'Sir,—The report of this act, which, I hope, will prove the last of this business, will probably, by the weight it carries, fall and seize on me. And therefore, not now at will, but upon necessity, it will become me to call to mind what passed; and (*my head being then wholly employed upon invention*) I may the

ROBERT DEVEREUX, SECOND EARL OF ESSEX (1567-1601).

One of Queen Elizabeth's favourites. Made Earl Marshall 1597; Lord Deputy of Ireland 1599. Disgraced, tried, and executed. Sir Tobie Matthew acted the Squire in Essex's *Device* in 1595.

worse put things upon the account of mine own memory. I shall take physicke to day, upon this change of weather, and vantage of leisure; and I pray you not to allow yourself so much business, but that you may have time to bring me your friendly aid before night.'"

From Paris, Tobie corresponded with his friend Dudley Carleton, and on December 12th, 1604, he wrote:—"Speedily after Christmas, I purpose to be in Englande, rather to salute it, than to stay in it."

Events and projects of some importance were taking place in England in these early years of the reign of James I. The Catholics had been almost unanimous in supporting the King's succession, and Father Garnet burned the breves, which were drawn in favour of a Catholic successor to Elizabeth. A few discontented individuals remained; and Wright was despatched from England, and Fawkes from Flanders, to discover the real disposition of the Spanish Court. The Duke of Lerma thanked them for their offers in favour of the Spanish succession, but added that Philip had no cause of hostility against James. At this moment, when the enmity between the two Crowns seemed on the point of expiring, it was, in some measure, revived by the detection of a dark and unintelligible conspiracy in England, which came to be known as the "Main" or "Bye" conspiracy. Another equally mysterious plot was hatched by Sir Griffin Markham and George Brooke, their object being to seize the King's person by force. The appointed day for this

purpose was June 24th, 1603, but Lord Grey, being jealous of the number of Catholics associated with the Puritan conspirators, resolved to defer the attempt. Blackwell, the Archpriest, and Father Garnet, Provincial of the Jesuits, insisted on the denunciation of the conspiracy to the Government, and Father Gerard went to London for this purpose. John Gage, of Haling, had, however, been before him, and had already conveyed the intelligence to Bancroft, Bishop of London. All the leading conspirators were arrested, and among those who were tried and condemned to death were two priests, Watson and Clarke. Sir Dudley Carleton, writing to Chamberlain, says:[1]—

"Both were very bloodily handled, for they were both (as was usual in the case of priests) cut down alive, and Clarke, to whom more favour was intended, had the worse luck, for he both strove to help himself, and spake, after he was cut down." They were disembowelled while living, their quarters being set on Winchester Gates, and their heads on the first tower of the Castle. Of the lay conspirators, Brooke only was hanged; the others were pardoned by the King upon the scaffold.

James undoubtedly realized that he was bound by his undertakings to grant some measure of toleration to Catholics, yet he no sooner found himself welcomed by Puritans than he remarked that

[1] Jardine, i., 470.

"since Protestants had so generally received and proclaimed him King, he had now no need of Papists." To every petition for toleration of Catholic worship he returned an indignant refusal, and even committed some of the petitioners to the Tower. Yet, with characteristic inconsistency, he invited Catholics to his Court, and treated them with courtesy; some among them were knighted.

Pope Clement VIII., anxious to propitiate the monarch, issued breves to Blackwell and Garnet, commanding all missionaries to confine themselves strictly to spiritual duties, and to eschew politics. The Pope went so far as to offer to withdraw from England any priest suspected of disloyalty.

The dawn of the year 1604 saw James and his divines assembled at the Hampton Court Conference, at which Dr. Tobie Matthew was present. The result of this Conference was unsatisfactory to the clamorous Nonconformist Puritans, who, by way of retaliation, roundly accused the anti-Catholic James of "papistry"—a charge which he not only resented, but did his utmost to refute. A proclamation was published, ordering the banishment of all Catholic priests; recusants were to be presented, and magistrates were to put the penal laws into immediate execution. In the Star Chamber James raved about his detestation of Popery, and repeated his desire that no child of his, who should quit the Protestant Establishment,

should succeed him. The legal fine of £20 per lunar month for absence from the Anglican services was again enforced, defaulters losing by forfeiture all personal and two-thirds real estate.

The Catholic recusants convict, returned at the summer assizes for 1604, numbered 6,426. The execution of the penalties was extremely profitable to the Crown, as well as to the agents employed in collecting the tax. What wonder was it that some of the hunted and robbed Catholics, driven to desperation, sought to relieve themselves by plots and schemes, such as that which originated in the brain of Robert Catesby, and culminated in the frustrated attempt of Guy Fawkes? With these conspiracies Tobie Matthew, though in later days maliciously accused of participation by the Puritans, had nothing whatever to do.

CHAPTER III

FROM TOBIE MATTHEW'S DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND IN 1604, TO HIS RETURN IN 1607

Tobie corresponds with Carleton from the Continent. Letter from Bacon. Bacon sends Tobie his "Advancement of Learning," and a "relation," probably of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. Tobie writes to Carleton that he is no longer so "errant a raskall" as he formerly was. Extracts from Dr. Matthew's diary, testifying his son's "constancie in Religion." Difficulties in the way of Tobie's acknowledgment of his conversion. Arraignment of the Earl of Northumberland. Correspondence with Carleton. Henry IV. of France remonstrates with the English King concerning the ill-treatment of Catholics. Details of the Penal Code. Reports of Tobie's reception into the Catholic Church. His dissimulation. He returns to England, and, on the way through France, stays at the English College of St. Omer.

CHAPTER III

FROM TOBIE MATTHEW'S DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND IN 1604, TO HIS RETURN IN 1607

THE year 1604 was drawing to a close while Robert Catesby and his associates were maturing their plans for "blowing the Scottish beggars back to their native mountains." Tobie Matthew, though never one of the conspirators, was well acquainted with some of their friends; and his intimate, Dudley Carleton, was probably more or less in sympathy with them. Tobie had, from his earliest childhood, witnessed the grievous persecution of Catholics, and his own father was one of their most determined and unfaltering enemies. Before allowing his son—then already a barrister and a Member of Parliament, in his eight-and-twentieth year—to travel abroad, this vigorous martinet stipulated that he should visit neither Italy nor Spain, because of the danger of infection from the more lively faith of inhabitants of those countries, rather than from the volatile French, who then, as now, exhibited less edifying characteristics in the exercise of religion. The Archbishop

seems to have been somewhat fearful concerning the steadfastness in Protestantism of his son, "who had wit, but not grace." What grounds he had for apprehension of danger for Tobie from "emissaries of Rome" are not apparent; probably there were reasons of a political, rather than a religious kind, for doubting the young man's attachment to the cause of the Scottish King. In later years, after his reception into the Catholic Church, Tobie denounced the Gunpowder Plot without reserve, but his letters written about the time of its discovery, though containing allusions to it, utter no word of condemnation. He writes with some levity to Carleton, as though he desired to congratulate his friend on escape from the rack and the gibbet, to which all persons suspected of complicity in the insane scheme were consigned. Tobie's letters must tell their own story concerning movements which are somewhat difficult to understand and follow. Certain it is that, though he left England in November, 1604, he was no further from home than Paris four months later; he then returned to England, where he spent two months, and in a letter to Carleton, dated from Lyons, May 29th, 1605, he states that he left London on the 1st of that month. This indication of his presence in London explains a statement of Chamberlain, who on April 30th wrote to thank Carleton for his letter "left with Mr. Matthew," and

to state that he had paid Matthew thirty pounds. That Tobie's return to England was kept secret seems certain, but its object can only be matter of conjecture. Extracts which follow from letters of Tobie's cover all that is known of his movements; the letters are themselves of considerable historical interest.

"To Dudley Carleton.[1]

"For newes, I send you worde that there will be this year little good fruite or good wine in France. Never so hot weather in March, as in the middst of this month, nor so cold, as now in the end. This town is growing much fairer than yow have seen it. The Key between the bridge and the Pallace is almost finished. The longe Gallery is within forty paces as farr as it shall go in length. At the corner, by the river near the Twilleries, the Kinge hath given order for a very great pavillion to be erected. Queen Margaret is making a yonge Towne on the other side of the water, with a Garden, whereof I measured one of the Alleys, the other day, to be 12 hundred paces longe. You know the King gives her a C.M. crownes towards the buildinge, and y^t she hath instituted Mons^r le Dauphin her heire. But the wonder of a building is that of the olde marché aux chevaux, now called the place Royalle, which is already half built, with galleries to walk dry, round about a goodly fountaine, in the midst, and a Pavillion on one side of the square to lodge the Kinge. The buildings are all of bricks and free stone. The place must be all pau'd. This must be destined to the sale of those stuffs of silke and golde, w^ch ar already made in great abondance, by Dutch and Italians, who dwell thereby. I forgett to tell you that this costs the King nothinge; men builde to have the profitt that will grow by it, and pay the K. a rent besides. I must fetch yow backe to the new bridge, to show you a street that they are makinge from the end thereof, that must

[1] *State Papers*, Foreign, 1605.

pass through the garden de l'hostel de St. Denis, and render at the Porte Bussy. The pompe or water worke is goinge but castes not enough to cleanse so foule a towne as Paris. The Kinge is goinge to Fontainbleau, whither he will carry the Q. against her will to lie in, who had rather lay her burthen heer. They say he is more enrag'd with love of the Marquise than ever. He is fall'n so foule with the Countess of Morrett, upon great presumptions that shee hath been false. . . . . Here are every day Duells, but more lately between persons of great quality. It is found that the K. hath graunted 1,800 Graces within these two yeer, for men slayn neer Paris. The consideration of it made him enter, this last week, into a purpose to conuene the princes and prime nobilitye at the Augustines, where he would take a solemn oath upon the Evangiles not to pardon heerafter, no not his own blood, in case of Duell.

"Heer is little speech and no certainty of the affairs o Venice. The Cardinal Joyeuse hath been longe there, not as a Cardinal, but as an Embassadour of the Kinge's, and therefore went thither before he had been at Rome."

This letter is endorsed, "Paris, the 16th of March, stilo vetere, since you will needs have it so. To my very good friend, Mr. Dudley Carleton, at Mr. Alexander Williams, his house, over against the redd Harte, without Cripplegate."

From Lyons, Tobie Matthew wrote on "the 28th of May, stilo novo, 1605," to John Chamberlain:—

"I am as neer an honest man as Paris is to Lyons; then I promised, and now I perfourme a letter. Sooner, I had no commodity. For Mr. Saint Sauveur's absence, for a longer time than I could stay there, whereby I was kept from any newes of Mr. Carleton, made me vse it, but like a thoroughfare. Yet I rode not so fast, but y^t^ I marked with how ready handes the masons pulled down that piller, long since erected, before the pallace gate, in hatred of y^e^ Jesuites.

Whereof they say the president is no more glad than the Count Soissons is like to be of his brother's mariadge with Mademoiselle de Guise, the accomplishment whereof depends upon the returne of a messenger from Rome, whose errant is to bringe a dispensation in respect of blood."

The letter is endorsed: "To my good frend, Mr. John Chamberlain."

In the following extract from a letter to Dudley Carleton from "Lyon," "the 29th of May, stilo novo, 1605," Tobie speaks of the termination of his secret visit to London:[1]—

"I left London y^e^ first of May, following y^e^ olde accompt, a fortnight sooner than I intended when we spake last, and therefore I find it nothinge straunge y^t^ I finde not you heer. I know not whether or no I may, with good conscience, persuade you to see me in Italy, hauinge been coniured not to withhold you from returninge speedily into England, but all y^e^ worlde cannot holde me from being glad to see you if you come. And, howsoever, I hope you will acquaint me with your mind, by letter, w^ch^ w^th^ direction at *Signore Thomaso Yonge, mercante inglese in Firenze*, will find me out."

The letter contains much Court gossip, and concludes with personal news. "Tomorrow," writes Tobie, "I goe for Florence, by the way of Avignon, Nisa and Genova."

The following undated letter from Bacon must have been received by Tobie about this period.[2] In any case it must have been written during an absence of Tobie from England, and not very long after the death of Elizabeth.

[1] *State Papers*, Foreign, vol. 132.

[2] Tobie Matthew's *Collection of Letters*, p. 23.

"Sir,—The reason of so much time taken before my answer to yours of the fourth of August was chiefly by accompanying my letter, with the paper, which here I send you; and again, now lately, not to hold from you to the end of a letter, that which by grief, may, for a time, efface all the former contents, the death of your good friend and mine, A. B., to whom, because I used to send my letters for conveyance to you, it made me so much the more unready in the dispatch of them. In the meantime, I think myself, howsoever it hath pleased God otherwise to bless me, a most unfortunate man, to be deprived of two—a great number in true friendship—of those friends whom I accounted as no stage friends, but private friends, and such as with whom I might both freely and safely communicate, him by death, and you by absence. As for the memorial of the late deceased Queen, I will not question whether you be to pass for a disinterested man or no; I freely confess myself am not, and so I leave it. As for my other writings, you make me very glad of my approbation, the rather because you add a concurrence, in opinion with others; for else I might have conceived that affection would, perhaps have prevailed with you, beyond that, which, if your judgement had been free, you could have esteemed. And as for your caution touching the dignity of ecclesiastical persons, I shall not have cause to meet with them any otherwise, than in that some schoolmen have, with excess, advanced the authority of Aristotle. Other occasion I shall have none. But now I have sent you that only part of the whole writing, which may perhaps have a little harshness and provocation in it; although I may almost secure myself that, if the preface passed so well, this will not irritate more, being indeed to the preface but as *palma ad pugnum*. Your own love sent to me I heartily embrace, and hope that there will never be occasion of other than intireness between us, which nothing but *majores charitates* shall ever be able to break off."

Bacon's work on "The Advancement of Learning" appeared in October, 1605. In sending a copy

to Matthew in Italy, Bacon enclosed a "relation," which was apparently a short account, drawn up by himself, of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. The letter "from Mr. Bacon to a friend and servant of his" (Matthew) is taken from Spedding's *Life of Bacon*:—

"Sir,—I perceive you have some time, when you can be content to think of your friends, from whom, since you have borrowed yourself, you do well, not paying the principal, to send the interest at six months day. The relation which I send you inclosed, carries the truth of that which is public; and though my little leisure might have required a briefer, yet the matter would have endured and asked a larger.

"I have now, at last, taught that child to go, at the swadling whereof you were. My work, touching the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning, I have put into two books, whereof the former, which you saw, I count but a page to the latter. I have now published them both, whereof I thought it a small adventure to send you a copy, who have more right to it than any man, except Bishop Andrews, who was my inquisitor."

From the end of May till the beginning of the following January (1606) no records of Tobie Matthew's doings have been discovered, excepting his narration of the circumstances attendant on his conversion, in a letter to Dame Mary Gage not written till 1611, and repeated in the MS. composed by him for publication in 1640.[1] Some brief extracts from that account will be given in a subsequent chapter, but would hardly be in

[1] Published by Messrs. Burns & Oates, in January, 1904, entitled *A True Historical Relation of the Conversion of Sir Tobie Matthew.*

place here, since his correspondence gives no record of his reception into the Church. The only reference to that event is in a letter to Carleton, wherein, as we shall presently see, he states: "without vaunting," that he is "no longer so errant a raskall as he was."

Meanwhile stirring events had taken place in England. The discovery of the Guy Fawkes plot aroused popular indignation against all inoffensive Catholics, though it only revealed the rash and abortive crime of a few. Renewal of bloodthirsty reprisals upon Catholics followed. In a letter to Carleton, dated from Florence, January 13th, 1606, Tobie Matthew indicates that that gentleman had been in danger of suspicion.[1] "It is more," he writes, "than a month since I wrote to you from Rome, accordinge to the direction you gave me, by your letter, sent by S^r^ Charles Morrison. At that time I acquainted you so at lardge with whatsoever had hapned to me, between that time and my beinge at Lyons, that it deserveth the name rather of a discourse than a letter. So, as there is nothinge left me to say, when I have desired you to congratulate with me a safe returne from Rome, and when I have likewise congratulated with you (I say not the recovery of my L. Norreys) but the sicknes, whereby I presume it was made impossible for you to be in England time enough to receave

[1] *State Papers*, Foreign, xviii., 9.

any aspersion, by meanes of the imputation upon your noble Lord."

Tobie visited Rome; he writes to Carleton of his return thence to Lyons, "by way of Perugia," and after attending Lenten sermons in Florence, he made up his mind to become a Catholic. Of this resolution, however, he gives no hint in his letters to Carleton, though his correspondence is always in terms of intimate affection.

Writing from Pistoia on July 22nd, 1606, he concludes a long letter thus:—"I beseech our mercifull God to bless vs both with as much happiness as your selfe desires, and me with so much love of Him, that for His sake I may be content to forego all worldly happiness."

From Bacon, Matthew received many interesting letters; in one, probably written at this period, the philosopher takes advantage of his friend's stay in Italy to discourse on astronomical delusions in that country. "I wish," he remarks,[1] "that you would desire the astronomers of Italy to amuse us less than they do, with their fabulous and foolish traditions, and come nearer to the experiments of sense; and tell us that, when all the planets, except the moon, are beyond the line in the other hemisphere, for six months together, we must needs have a cold winter, as we saw it was the last year. For, understanding that this was general all over these

[1] Sir Tobie's *Collection of Letters*, p. 25.

parts of the world, and finding that it was cold weather with all winds, and namely west wind, I imagined that there was some higher cause of this effect, though yet, I confess I thought not that ever I should have found that cause so palpable a one as it proved ; which yet, when I came quickly afterwards to observe, I found also very clearly that the summer must needs be cold too ; though yet it was generally thought that the year would make a shift to pay itself, and that we should be sure to have heats for our cold. You see that though I be full of business, yet I can be glad rather to lay it all aside, than to say nothing to you. But I long much more to be speaking to you, and I hope I shall not long want my wish."

Extracts from Archbishop Matthew's diary, quoting Tobie's letters, show that till the last week in May, 1606, the young man was still a Protestant. Subsequent letters, apparently written to allay the apprehensions of his parents, do not deny that he had taken the step, for which he had to pay so dearly. His actual reception into the Church cannot have occurred before the month of June, 1606 ; and his return to England must have taken place in the spring of 1607.

The extracts from Dr. Matthew's diary, from the Lansdowne MSS. (89, No. 107), are here given :—

An abstract out of sundry letters from my Sonne, Tobie Matthew, the originalls whereof remayn in my custodie,

Sr. Francis Bacon.

testifying his constancie in Religion, since his departure out of England.

"ffrom Lyons, 26 May, stilo novo, 1605." "As I came by Paris, I sawe that which was both contrarie to my opinion and my affection, the pulling down of that famous Pyramid, w^ch^ in contempt and hate of the Jesuites, was erected by this Kinge, long since, and placed before the Pallace gate. Yo^r^ ho: will imagine that the p'ties interested did no more triumphe for this abolition of their infamie, than others are wounded by it."

"ffrom Reismes, in Languedock, 10 Jany., stilo novo, 1605." "Yesternight I mett w^th^ one that came out of Italy who bringes the newes that Parsons is returned from Naples to Rome, and that there he is in greater creditt than ever, under this Pope last made, who was y^e^ Protectour of y^e^ English fugitive nation, and chiefly of Parsons. He saith that the English in those p'tes are not verie glad to see him, being a man of that arrogancie and austeritie, as they cannot safely support, with all he tells me that even in Rome the reputation of Pope Clement is wonderfully controverted, some magnifyging his memorie, but the greater some ignoring it, for many his misgouernments, but chiefly for having indebted his See to many millions, as will not be satisfied in the tyme of the next Pope, though he be a younge one."

"fflorence, 28 August, 1605." "I assure myself it will not be offensive to y^r^ Lp. that I have made choice of these partes, to spend this little meane tyme in, it when I retorne you finde me as good a subiect, as obedient a sonne, as intire in Religion and more reformed in maners, than when I went out of England."

"fflorence, 18 January, stilo novo, 1606." "ffor my person (no waie worth the care yo^r^ Lp. is pleased to take thereof) in Rome was not for ought I know, endangered, unless it were by the Ayre, w^ch^ is the most pernicious, and for my reputation I hope it shall suffer verie little in England, since I am able to give so good an accompt of myself to be retorned

from thence of the same Profession in Religion that I made when I came out of England. And yet there wanted not men that were keen enough in labouring me to the contrarie (notwithstanding that I holpe myself both little creditt w ' this bruit hath left me) that it is as false, as touchinge both the Papists and the ffryer, as God is true."

"fflorence, 22 May, stilo novo, 1606." "Touching my religion, I have already saied so much in both my l'res of Januarie, by waie of purgation, and since in others of the beginninge of this month, by waie of prevention, that I neede but to referr myself in that pointe to them."

"fflorence, 7 August, stilo novo, 1606." "I humbly beseech yo^r Lo. to doe me the favour as to impute my absence thus longe to the right cause, and not either to want of obedience or the conscience of hauing done anything, since I came into these parts, w^ch I shall be ashamed to give accompt of, when I come home."

"fflorence, 7 August, 1606, to his mother." "I would I were as sure to deserve the continuance of yo^r fauor and care, as I shall easily overcome all such imputacons as have been laied upon me, by such as either know me not, or care not for me."

"Paris, 28 December, stilo novo, 1606." "I have nothing at all to advertize, nor more to saie when I have humbly besought your Graces blessing, and so much fauour, that you will be pleased to iudge of me, according to what yo^r Grace shall knowe, and not according to such rumo^rs, either malicious or vaine, that you maie heare."

"Paris, 28 December, 1606, to his mother." "Only let me obtayne this fau^or of you (togeather w^th your daily blessing, w^ch in my heart I daily craue, though I cannot otherwise deserue) that you will showe as much wisdome in despising the vaine reports you have heard of me, as the world discouers in all the rest of yo^r actions."

The foregoing extracts are endorsed:—

"1605 and 1606.

"An abstract of Several Letters of Mr. Tobie Matthew

iun^r^, testifying his established adherence to y^e^ Church of England."

It is, of course, impossible to justify Tobie's attempt to induce belief in an "established adherence" which did not exist. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that there was great danger to an Englishman in open profession of the Catholic faith. Guy Fawkes and his associates had paid the death penalty; Garnet, the Provincial of the Jesuits, had suffered the customary butchery; and now the Earl of Northumberland was committed to the Tower. After a delay of seven months, the Earl was arraigned in the Star Chamber on the following charges:—1. That he had sought to place himself at the head of the Papists, and to procure toleration for them; 2. That he had admitted Percy to be a gentleman pensioner, without exacting from him the Oath of Supremacy; 3. That after his restraint, he had written two letters to his agents in the North requesting them to take care that Percy did not carry off his money and rents, and. in this, had committed a three-fold offence:—i. In presuming to write letters without leave; ii. In preferring the safety of his money to the safety of the Sacred Majesty of the King; iii. In giving warning to Percy to take care of his own person.

Northumberland was adjudged to pay a fine of £300,000,[1] to be deprived of all his offices, to

[1] He is said to have compounded for £11,000.

be held incapable of any such offices, and to be imprisoned for life in the Tower. For sixteen years he was kept in durance in the Martin Tower, Sir Walter Raleigh being at the time a prisoner in the Bloody Tower.

The references to the Earl of Northumberland made by Tobie Matthew in his letters, and those to the hapless Arabella Stuart (who was to have been committed to the custody of Bishop Matthew had she not escaped from that frying-pan into a hot fire), displayed veiled sympathy with both; and not till after the lapse of several years is it possible to discover in him any sentiment of loyalty towards the Scottish Sovereign.

In August, 1606, Tobie Matthew, still at Florence, wrote to Carleton in reference to some of the events which had taken place. The letter runs as follows:—

"The last time, as I remember, that I wrote to you, I tolde you you were to expect a short letter, and it prov'd a longe one; that was a faile that now I shall make amendes for. I am come, some few daies since, from the fresco of the mountaines, to the heate of this valley; and am goinge shortly to Siena, where I shall find the commodities of both places, without the inconveniences. What I shall do with my selfe afterwards, I know not yet, but whatsoever it be, I will not depart hence in that fury, but that I may advise you thereof, a month before, and therefore lett not that doubt stand between you and your purpose of wrightinge weekly. I have heard, to my exceeding wonder, of the £300,000 fine, wherein they say the world was no more deceaued than in the partie's defendinge him selfe so weakely; I desyre you to acquaint me

with the charge and prootes, as also how glad or sorry I am to be, accordinge to the quality of the imputation, for good Sir Allan Percyes restraint. Whether ar the late made lawes against Recusantes executed and how far? What new lady Courtiers, and who in most greatnes? What was the reason that drove my La. of Bedford thence, and particularly how thrives shee, whom they would needes persuade me, I was in love withall? Is S^r^ Thomas Lake in his ancient credit? and whether the vertuous Lady hath founde any receyt for her iealousie? What is the mistery of my L of Dunbar's leauinge the Court? Did I not tell you that little Harry would play him a tricke? S^r^, I may ask you what I will, but I have nothinge to tell you. The Venetian business is in *statu quo prius*, and although they speak bigg, yet the matter is likely to come to a quiet end. S^r^ Thomas Shirley hath longe since shaken off his fetters and lives in Naples like a gallant, his brother is in Barbary, and in greater show than he was in Persia. I trust, though I have said nothinge to that purpose, you have not failed to commend me to all your frends of Creplegate, whom I account mine. The God of heauen bless them and us.

"Yours, yours,
"Tobie Matthew.

"Florence,
"8 August,
"1606.

Endorsed:—
To my good frende,
Mr. Dudley Carleton."

Tobie must have felt far more apprehension concerning his new co-religionists than he allowed his letters to betray. James had, on the decease of his predecessor, secured the support of Catholics by dint of promises which he had no intention of keeping. His own royal words were:—"I will dare to say no more, but it were pity to lose so good a kingdom for not tolerating mass in a corner, if upon

that it resteth." Yet he had not long ascended the throne when he declared that he "had now no needs of Papists." Away with them, then, to the gibbet and the block!

The grand *coup* of exterminating Catholics was to be made in the name of mercy and humanity. Recent conspiracies furnished a pretext for action, and a bill was introduced into Parliament dealing with the revision of the Penal Code, and fresh oppressive enactments were described as "excessively indulgent." So shocking were the anti-Catholic sentiments expressed in Parliament, that Henry IV. of France ventured to offer, by the mouth of Boderie, his ambassador, a respectful remonstrance, which, however, was unheeded. The new Penal Code received the Royal Assent. None of the existing laws were repealed, but their severity was augmented by the two new bills, containing over seventy articles, inflicting dire penalties on Catholics in their several capacities of masters, servants, husbands, parents, children, heirs, executors, patrons, barristers and physicians. Catholic recusants were forbidden, under special penalties, to appear at Court, to dwell within ten miles of the boundaries of the City of London, or to remove more than five miles from their homes, without a special license, signed by four neighbouring magistrates. They were debarred from practising surgery, medicine, or in law; from acting as judges, clerks, or

officers in any court or corporation; from presenting to the livings, schools, or hospitals in their gift; or from performing as administrators, executors or guardians. Husbands and wives, unless married by a Protestant minister, forfeited every benefit to which either might be entitled from the property of the other, and unless their children were baptized by a Protestant minister within one month after birth, each omission entailed a fine of £100. If, after death, their remains were not buried in a Protestant cemetery, their executors were liable to a fine of £20 for each offence.

Other oppressive regulations, too numerous to mention, were included in the Act; but that which broke the back of the Catholic party, and divided it for a time into two hostile factions, was the enactment of a new Oath of Allegiance, for the avowed purpose of drawing a distinction between Catholics who denied, and those who admitted, the authority of the Pope in temporal concerns. The former were made liable by law, provided they took the Oath, to no further penalties than those enumerated in the Penal Code; the latter were subjected to perpetual imprisonment, forfeiture of personal property and of rents. The task of framing this precious *juramentum* was committed to two notoriously bitter bigots, Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the reputed atheist, Sir Christopher Perkins, a man of loose morals, who had seceded from the Jesuits, and be-

come an ostensible Conformist. These men were not satisfied with a disclaimer of the deposing power of the Pope; they added a declaration that to maintain it was "impious, heretical and damnable." In this form the Oath was approved by the Legislature.

Pope Paul V. contrived to send a secret envoy to England, who obtained admission at Court, leaving two letters, one to the Archpriest Blackwell, instructing him to prohibit seditious practices, and the other to James, expressing the Pontiff's detestation of the Plot, and entreating his protection for innocent Catholics. The King gave an unsatisfactory reply, and Fr. Holtby, who had succeeded Fr. Garnet as Provincial of the Jesuits, obtained from Rome a Papal brief condemning the Oath, "because it contained many things contrary to faith and salvation." Blackwell, in fear of consequences, refused to notify the brief officially to Catholics, but set it aside as a mere personal *dictum*, and not an authoritative utterance of Paul V. But in spite of this defiance of the Pope, and although he took the forbidden Oath, and administered it to many Catholics, Blackwell was arrested and confined in the Clink. He was not, however, tried on the capital offence of receiving ordination beyond the seas, but was imprisoned until his death in 1613, at the age of 76. The Pope now issued a second brief, condemning the Oath in more precise terms, which so irritated

James that he shortly afterwards published a polemic,—entitled "An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance"—in English, French and Latin. Six priests were immediately arrested, one being executed at York, and two at Tyburn. The other three were sent to the Tower dungeons. Many persons, including all the remaining Catholic Peers (over twenty), except Lord Teynham, were terrified into subscription.

It has appeared necessary to enter at some length into these details, in order to demonstrate the extraordinary attraction which the Catholic Faith must have possessed for Tobie Matthew, to cause him to abandon the life of a libertine courtier, and Member of Parliament, and to become one of the hated and ever-diminishing band of recusants, thereby running the risk of degradation and beggary, if not of the block or the hangman's rope.

Tobie was extraordinarily active; and, considering the difficulties of locomotion, it is not easy to understand the rapidity with which he moved from one country to another. He often adopted the alias of "Mr. Cansfield," and his letters were frequently enigmatical—comprehensible only to his correspondents. Writing to Dudley Carleton from Florence, "the 17th of 8ber, 1606," he says:—"Whatsoever (after my arrival eyther in Paris or Bruxsells) I shall tell you of Mr. Cansfield, you shall understand to be myselfe, for so I mean it,

provided alwayes that in your awnswear to this, you tell me of the receyt hereof, without all suspition to have been opn'd." Again, on the "30th of 10ber, 1606," he writes from "L'Hostell de Venice," "I deseyre to hear from you wheather you have received that letter of mine concerninge Mr. Cansefielde, without suspition of being opened. If any of my money be come to your handes, I cannot receive it; for besides that, I am in ragges, the Lacquis laugh at me, as I goe in the street, for the fashion. . . . . Eliott hath been the factour in all that business of Sir Robert Dudley." The Dudley to whose "business" Tobie here refers, was a son of Robert, Earl of Leicester, by Lady Douglas Sheffield, as was alleged, and he is supposed to have been born at Sheen in 1573. By some, he was believed to be a son of Queen Elizabeth. Leicester, though treating him as illegitimate, left him the bulk of his estate. In 1605—the year in which Tobie's letter was written—he commenced a suit to prove his legitimacy, but the Dowager Countess filed an information against him and others for conspiracy. He then went to Florence, where he afterwards assumed the title of Duke of Northumberland. He died near Florence in 1639.

In September, 1606, Tobie Matthew, having become a whole-hearted and fervent Catholic, determined to return to his native land to confess his faith

and, if need be, to suffer for it. He left Italy; and in February, 1607, was in Paris, and apparently in some trepidation; he stood especially in awe of both parents. On February 6th, 1607, he wrote to Carleton from Paris, "I have twice written to you, and I dye till I have answear. When you wrighte, direct *à la rue de la vielle monnaye à l'image de Saint Michel auprès de St. Jacques à la boucherie*. . . . . I dye for lack of money; if you have mine, send it, if not, give me present for 200 Crownes." Tobie's anxiety concerning his parents betrays itself in a letter to Carleton, dated from Paris, on February 19th:—

"I would be glad," he writes, "of a letter from . . . . Bacon[1] in answear of one I wrote to him, but I would not seem to desyre it. I pray you cast yourselfe in his way. See if you can learn and send me worde in what termes I stand with my father and mother, for I know not. . . . . I beseech you write often, lett that be your penaunce, this Lent. In the end of Aprill, or beginninge of May, I will be with you. God be with us both, till then, and ever.

"Your most assured
"Tobie Matthew."

The letter is endorsed, "To my good frend, Mr. Dudley Carleton, at Mr. Williams his house, without Creeplegate. Speed."

By the beginning of March, his enemies had circulated a report of his conversion; this—with strange inconsistency in one who had already determined to state the truth when he reached

[1] A portion of the MS. is torn away; probably the missing words are "Sir Francis."

England—he denied. On the 8th of the month, we find him thus addressing Carleton—still from Paris:—

"I will answer in few, the longe advice you send, concerninge my selfe, with tellinge you I am that I am. And so are you, and not that men say you are. The Jesuit and Priest I perceaue ar vanished, and therefore I thincke I am an honest man, since so great a man hath saide and sworn it. For my being a desperate Catholique, it must weare itself out, as it may, which I am not like to do, whilst I am in Fraunce, since I cannot but bestow the hearinge of Gontier, who talks almost at my chamber door, and yet to scatter those mistes of errour, I have him, divers times at the Embassadour's, at as faithfull sermons as a cart loaded with iron bars makes ill musique. I have frequented his service, eaten his flesh on fasting daies. What do you lack, what ist that you lack, and yet for all this forsooth, I am a Catholique. I know not what cause I give to be so thought, except it be a course that I have taken with my selfe to . . . .[1] no more, nor detract, nor lye, nor blasphem. The Church of England is given to a very extravagant kind of purity and reformation, if it cannot endure a man, for a member thereof, that hath no dessein but to save his soule. That's my religion, but for my beinge a Papist, I beseech you controule and quench the bruite, so as, at my return, I may be so freed, even from the verye imputation. In the meane time I would it were not true that the greater part of them that have maliciously voysed me, and simply beleeued me to be a Papist, ar much worse than Papists, and little better than Atheists. . . . . Concerning Sanders, I had forgotten to tell you that in my conscience, I think he is a Catholique in his, there is no dealing to alter him, he is so well founded. The matter is whether that religion do binde him, under pain of mortall sinne (as he calls it) to abstaine from Protestant churches, etc., for which I see no sence, or, at least, no authority, even of his owne church, and as I tell him, for that no generall counsaile hath ever determined it, no, nor any Pope, definitely."

[1] Word omitted.

The "Mr. Sanders" of whom we find Tobie thus writing was a cousin of Carleton's, who, greatly to the annoyance of the latter gentleman, had become a Catholic. On April 6th, 1607, Tobie writes of him again to Carleton. In the course of his letter he remarks :—

"For your cousin Sanders, what shall I say? I have made him the remonstrance of your reasons that I can, and have assisted yours with mine. But that All is less than nothinge. If I represent to him the abuses in the Church of Rome, he confesseth abuses personall, but none of doctrine. For the latter fabrique of their religion which you speake of, he answers the later and former to be all one, and that there is, nor ever was, but one. O, but, say I, the Scripture is that must trye you. Not so, saith he, but the Church which delivered the Scripture, and whereof St. Augustine vseth these words, *Non crediderem Evangelio, nisi me commonisset authoritas Ecclesiæ.* But, saith he, if I would be iudg'd by Scripture, you gaine nothinge by it. For the question will then be who shall interpret the scripture. For every man pretends that he hath the assistance of the spirit of God to that purpose, and there was never heresy since Christes time which hath not founded it selfe thereopon. I, saith he, belieue the scriptures, interpreted by the Apostles successours, to whom Christ promised that he would send the holy ghost, and that he should remaine with them to the end of the world. And *qui vos audit me audit* and *qui vos spernit me spernit*, etc. *Si sermonem meam seruauerunt, et vestrum seruabunt ec. Non pro eis rogo tantum sed pro illis, qui crediturі sunt per verbum eorum in me.* Note that *verbum eorum*, saith he, which if you will needs understand to be the scripture, you have yet more reason to take the interpretation thereof at the handes of their successours than of Caluin or Luther, or any such like poore companion (that was his very worde) who hath no callinge, neyther extraordinary by way of miracles, nor ordinary by way of succession, or conuaiance of the holy

ghost, by imposition of handes. . . . . My father hath written reasonable kindly to me, but peremptorily to be at home before Easter."

Reading between the lines of this letter, we realize that Tobie Matthew is really arguing by the mouth of "Mr. Sanders." But the time was soon to come when he would more fearlessly disclose his own convictions. Meanwhile he had some thought of being naturalized in France, so that he might claim the protection of the Court of France from the operation of the Penal Laws. But there were difficulties in the way of the execution of this design.

On his way through France, Tobie stayed at the English College of St. Omer; and on reaching Calais on June 19th, 1607, he addressed the following words to Father Robert Persons in Rome, whom he describes as "the Father of my soul":—

"In my return, I have seen this no small and very famous city, but it contains within it nothing so admirable as the seminary of St. Omer. Amongst all that I have seen in my life, I have never met with a place more like to that which I hope one day to see in Heaven, such great devotion, such great regularity, such great joy, a Superior worthy of such subjects, and, on the other hands, subjects corresponding to so worthy a Superior.[1] I know not whether they hold themselves more bound to him, for his paternal love of them, or he to them, because by how much the more they progress in virtue, by so much the more do they advance in his esteem and praise."

Matthew embarked on one of the small cross-channel sailing vessels that plied between Calais and Dover, arrived at Dover, and proceeded *viâ* Canterbury to London.

[1] Father Shondorich, S.J.

CHAPTER IV

TREATS OF EVENTS RELATING TO TOBIE MATTHEW'S RECEPTION INTO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Tobie relates details of his conversion to Dame Mary Gage, by means of a letter. The Gage family. Fate of the Original MS. of the narrative. Story of Tobie's arrival in Italy—his father's anxiety concerning his religious views—his occupation with theological matters—his acquaintance with Father Persons—the kindness of his treatment by Cardinal Pinelli in Rome—his attendance at sermons by Fr. Ptolomei, S.J.—his consultations with that priest—his reception into the Church.

CHAPTER IV

TREATS OF EVENTS RELATING TO TOBIE MATTHEW'S RECEPTION INTO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

It has already been indicated that Tobie Matthew was received into the Roman Catholic Church in June, 1607, and that he vaguely refers to that event in a letter to Dudley Carleton, when, writing from Pistoia, he states, "without vaunting," that he is "no longer such an errant raskall as he was." It now remains to give, with necessary brevity, a more circumstantial account of what took place. A "True Historicall Relation" of the matter has lately been printed for the first time, at full length. The account of his change of religion was first written by Sir Tobie, in the form of a letter to his friend, Dame Mary Gage, a nun at the English Benedictine Monastery at Brussels. It is dated from Paris in 1611, and was the original draft of the MS. prepared for publication, nearly thirty years later.

Tobie's correspondent, Dame Mary Gage, was a member of the old Catholic family of the Gages

of Firle, Sussex, and sister of George Gage, who became Tobie's most intimate companion and friend, second only to Bacon in his esteem and admiration. It was, as we shall see, with George Gage that Tobie Matthew was ordained priest in Rome, by Cardinal Bellarmine, in May, 1614. At the Revolution in 1798, the community of which Dame Mary Gage had been a member in Brussels returned to England, and are now represented at the Abbey of East Bergholt.

The preface to the recently published letter of Sir Tobie contains the following remarks :—

"The original MS. of the following narrative by Sir Tobie Matthew belonged, for more than a century, to Sir Tobie's kinsfolk, the Catholic family of Mathew, resident in County Tipperary. By them it was lent to the Rev. Alban Butler, who embodied extracts from it in his *Life of Sir Tobie Matthews* (*sic*), published in 1795. After Alban Butler's death, the MS. disappeared, having, apparently, been stolen. Some years later, it was discovered by the Rev. W. C. Neligan of Cork, in the possession of a Catholic family in that city, from whom he purchased it. In 1852, Dr. Neligan resigned his preferment, and became a Catholic, and sent many of his rare books and MSS. to London to be sold—among them Sir Tobie's MS., which was, by mistake, included in the sale. In 1860, Dr. Neligan recovered the precious MS. He had previously, in 1856, published extracts from it, which were printed by W. H. Smith, in *Bacon and Shakespeare*. For some years it had been in the possession of Mr. Joseph Lilly, the bookseller, who valued it at a high price. On the death of Dr. Neligan, it appears to have come into the market again, and, after passing through various hands, eventually became the property of Professor Dowden, who now kindly permits its publication. In 1861 the Surtees Society

THE REV. FR. ROBERT PERSONS, S.J.

Born at Nether Stowey, Somerset, June 24th, 1546. Fellow and tutor of Balliol College, Oxford; studied medicine and civil law. Made a pilgrimage to Rome on foot, and entered the Society of Jesus, July 4th, 1575. Was sent with Fr. Campion to England, 1580. Fled, to escape death, and founded a school at Eu, in Normandy, 1582; also the English Colleges at Valladolid, 1589; Luear, 1591; Seville and Lisbon, 1592; St. Omer, 1593. Appointed Rector of the English College at Rome, where he died April 15th, 1610. Author of *The Three Conversions of England*, and numerous other theological and polemical treatises.

endeavoured to obtain a transcript of the MS., but failed to do so. In 1900 the late Mr. Kegan Paul recommended its publication. The spelling has been modernized by Professor Dowden."

The letter—comparatively short extracts from which must serve our purpose here—is not a little interesting and touching. Tobie's apprehension of possible results attending his conversion seems altogether excusable, when it is realized what these results might have been. And it compels our especial admiration to remember that Tobie, in spite of his fears, did follow his conscience, and embrace the Catholic religion, at a time when many Catholics had been driven by persecution to desert the cause.

"When I came to have almost seven and twenty years of age," says Tobie, addressing Dame Mary Gage, "I determined to put in execution a purpose, which I had long entertained, of seeing, and spending some years in Italy, a country whereof I had heard and read so much, and knew to be so remarkable for the delicacy of its situation, the fertility of its soil, and the beauty of its cities, and the polity and civility of its people. Between me and this design, there had formerly interposed themselves many impediments, sometimes of studies, sometimes business at the Court, sometimes suits in law, and sometimes other and idler entertainments, which then were diminished in my

estimation, if not wholly removed, and I found them to be resolved into that only difficulty of obtaining the consent of my parents. . . . .

"My father gave way at last, to my earnest solicitations, though withal, he charged me, upon his blessing, that I should not transport myself so far as Italy or Spain; and my mother also was drawn to yield to my importunity, though greatly against her mind, for the excessive love she carried towards me, and the fervent desires, wherewith her tender heart was overflowed, to see me settled at home, in marriage; in which case she had often assured me that her whole estate, which was no ill one, should be entirely at my commandment.

"I made a promise to my father that I would walk within the limits he had prescribed, and to my mother, that her desires concerning me should not long be frustrate, for which purpose I would certainly return, after a short time, though I confess I meant nothing less than what I said. But God, I hope, hath forgiven me that and greater sins, Who afterward, with infinite power, and unspeakable goodness, did call my soul to the knowledge of his truth, by the occasion of this dissimulation of my tongue, and the childish curiosity of my vain and wandering mind. . . . .

"For want of a better bridge, I leapt into the first boat which I found, which had no sooner delivered me into France, than I committed myself

to the speediest conveyances of that country. Soon after I arrived in Italy, and never rested till I came to Florence, a town which I can never think of without tenderness, since God, in His good time, did there vouchsafe to call me to the communion of His Church, and to open the eyes of my dark soul, which had never been able, till then, to see the face of truth, so mightily had they been overshadowed with the clouds of heresy and sensuality. His Holy Name be praised for ever and ever. Amen." . . . .

Matthew proceeds in his letter to say that his father peremptorily recalled him to England, the reason for this command being, as the son judged, "a violent and general report of my being already grown a Catholic." Dr. Matthew conjured Tobie to be "constant in the Protestant religion," "upon which condition"—so Tobie continues his letter—"he offered himself to me in terms which might not only become an indulgent father, but even an affectionate and equal friend. The while I was most glad to see that my fault was not only remitted, but my leave to stay abroad (and that in Italy), by a kind of connivance, enlarged. And for the matter of my being a Catholic, I was very well able to bid him set his heart at rest, for that God knoweth I had no more inclination, at that time, to profess the Faith, than now I have to forsake it." . . . .

Matthew goes on to relate how God "stirred up divers Catholic gentlemen of his acquaintance," who used "divers discourses to me, in favour of the Catholic religion." "But," he says, "I would not hearken to those inspirations, which He sent me, by the ministry of His servants my friends. The ears of my soul were made deaf with the noise of vanity, and I had a much greater ambition to speak like an Italian, than to believe like a Christian."

At length, an almost miraculous preservation from death through an accident, when going towards Naples, led Tobie to think seriously. He relates—as he pursues his account to Dame Mary Gage—that, "Every day under my windows (at Naples) and sometimes oftener, there passed a procession of children, singing the litanies of our Blessed Lady, and I know not by what chance, or rather providence of Almighty God, the tone of that sweet verse, *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, came so often into my ears, and did so extraordinarily delight me, that at last my tongue took it up, not as a prayer (such was my misfortune, for it is a misery to have been, at any time, any other than our Lady's humble servant), but as a song, whose ditty fell sweetly to the ear; and so, when I found myself alone, my ordinary entertainment was to sing, '*Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*,' in the tune of those babes and sucklings who showed forth her praise."

Matthew relates how his mind became occupied

with theological subjects. Especially he concerned himself with the doctrine of penance. "As in nature," he writes, "*Non datur transire ad extrema nisi per media*, things cannot pass from one extreme to another, without touching upon the mean, so, in things which supernaturally concern the soul, it is a profane and gross conceit that men may proceed from the carnal pleasures of this life, to the spiritual and immortal joys of Heaven, unless first they become subject to the state of Penance, which either must be suffered in this, or the other life, and may serve both for the purification, in respect of the sensualities which are past, and for the preparation for the glory of immortality which is to come. To return to myself, whilst I was in Rome, and a Protestant, the good and prudent Father did work so powerfully upon my understanding, that if I had not industriously drawn the curtain between it and my will, and made myself more incapable of so great a mercy, by a dissolute and careless life, I am verily persuaded that I had departed thence as true a Catholic, as it is certain I was, by that time, no perfect Protestant. . . . .

"Father Persons never urged me to any alterations of my opinions, but exhorted me only to resign myself into the Hands of God, beseeching Him, by often and earnest prayers, that He would enable me to find and follow that Faith, which was only able to save my soul. I will not omit to speak of

another diligence, which I used for the safety of my person, immediately upon my arrival at Rome. I caused myself to be conducted by a great friend of mine, to a certain Cardinal[1] whom I understood to be the chief in that congregation, which is called of the Inquisition."

Matthew's desire was to gain, as an Englishman, the great ecclesiastic's protection, and this was freely accorded him. The Cardinal placed his palace and coach at the young man's service. "And though," adds Matthew, "he did oblige me to nothing, yet he would request me, for mine own sake, that since I was a traveller, and had suffered my curiosity to lead me thither, I would be careful not only to view the antiquities of the decayed Roman Empire, but of the Catholic Roman Church, which were there, to be read in a fair letter, and a large volume, that if men should endeavour to conceal the antiquity and excellence of the Roman Church, the very stones might serve for preachers, and not only the buildings above ground, but even the very vaults and caves under it. He recommended to me particularly those at St. Sebastian's and St. Pancratius, which I went into, soon after, with extraordinary curiosity.

"And I must confess, as in the Presence of God, that the sight of those most ancient crosses, altars,

[1] Pinelli.

sepulchres, and other marks of the Catholic Religion, having been planted there in the persecution of the Primitive Church (which might be of more than 1,500 years' age, and could not be of less than 1,300), did strike me, with a kind of reverent awe, and repressed my insolent discourse against the Catholic Religion ever after."

On his return from Rome to Florence, Matthew, as he informs his correspondent, frequently attended sermons "out of curiosity, and settling myself into a more virtuous, moral course of life, and recommending my soul to God by prayer (though it were but seldom and faintly made), it pleased His Divine Majesty to change the object of mine eyes, which, till then, had wandered throughout the corners of the world for *occuli stultorum finibus terræ*, and to turn them inward, by causing me to consider what I was, how I lived, what I believed, what account I were able to make, if then I should be called to give it up."

Earnest considerations did "cast" Matthew, as he writes, "into so great a perplexity and anxiety of mind, as drew me, in a short time, to ask that question, *Domine, quid me vis facere?* I knew that Religion was the foundation of all Christian life, and that without Faith it was impossible to please God."

Matthew reflected much on the divisions of opinion on the Christian faith, and on the fact

that "though falsehood might be infinite, Truth could be but one." He was much moved by studying that "excellent tract of St. Augustine, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, where I found that the Donatists pretended to defend their errors, not only by texts of Scripture, as the Protestants do, but even by many of the self same texts of Scripture, and that on the other side, that holy Father did confute them, and prove the Catholic to be the true Church of Christ, by the universality thereof, with the very same passages, which the Catholics do bring, at this day, for that purpose, against the Protestants."

All the arguments which Matthew represents as influencing his mind, in favour of Catholicism, cannot be given at length here, though they are very fully treated in this letter to Dame Mary Gage. Soon the assurance came to him that he might safely "trust his soul in her hand whom Christ Himself did make the judge of our controversies," promising that "the gates of hell should never prevail against her." Then followed sore and grievous temptations to avoid the loss and sacrifice entailed, for an Englishman, in the adoption of the Catholic Faith. But eventually the young man determined that "come life or death, riches or poverty, honour or shame, the grief of friends or contentment of such as were not so, I would instantly humble myself to the yoke of Christ."

"And so," writes Matthew, "I went to a good religious Father of the Society of Jesus,[1] by whose sermons also I had been greatly edified, telling him, that as I had been bred in Protestancy, so now, by the grace of God, I had discovered the danger and falsehood of that religion, that I was already resolved that the Catholic Church, communicating with the Bishop of Rome, was the only true Church and Spouse of Christ, purchased by His Blood, adorned with infinite privileges, and assisted by the infallible Spirit of His Truth, out of which there was no salvation. I did therefore crave at his hands, that with all convenient speed, he would inform me what I was to do, before I might be incorporated into that Church, and that he would satisfy, in the mean time, some few doubts which I conceived, concerning the manner wherewith the Saints are said to hear our prayers, and the divers terms wherewith Images are said to be 'worshipped,' and the great number of years which are contained in some grants of Indulgences.

"The Father did first congratulate with me, in respect of the great mercy wherewith Almighty God had preferred me, in His vocation to the Catholic Faith, before so many thousands of my fellow-heretics, and then exhorted me to give unto His Divine Majesty most entire and humble thanks for so inestimable a benefit; he said that although

[1] Fr. Lelio Ptolomei, S.J.

I had a strong purpose to become a Catholic, and that, upon the day following I might be received into the bosom of the Church, yet I should do well in the mean time to recommend myself, with much instance, to our Saviour, that He would give me grace to put my holy purpose in practice, forasmuch as it is the Devil's common use to assault men with his most importunate and powerful temptations, when he findeth them nearest to their conversion, that concerning those things, wherein I desired to receive satisfaction, he was ready to give it then, if I would persist in my demand, but he rather advised me that since I did believe concerning the Church of Rome, as I had formerly expressed (namely that she could not err, and must therefore necessarily intend that she did not err in these particulars), I should not diminish the virtue and merit of my faith, by not believing all her doctrines till my understanding were absolutely convinced, but rather that I should *captivare intellectum in obsequium fidei*, according to the counsel of St. Paul, till such time as I should be received into the Catholic Church. And that afterward I might, with less dangerous curiosity (and rather for the explicating than the actuating of my faith, or indeed for the instruction of others, rather than for the information of mine own conscience) both seek and find solutions of all objections, both concerning these, and whatsoever other articles are

professed and taught by the Holy Catholic Roman Church. His discourse seemed to me so reasonable, that I thought myself bound to yield unto it, and agreed to his appointment of a certain hour, which he named of the next day following; at which time he conducted me to the Inquisitor, by whom I was embraced with all charity and courtesy, and instantly absolved from all heresies. Neither can I forget an accident which happened at the instant of my reconciliation, for that fair day did suddenly change itself into such a dark tempest of rain and thunder, as the eldest of us had not seen a greater, whereat the Inquisitor, smiling, said that the Devil was angry to see a soul return to God.

"The Father of the Society carried me immediately to the *Annunciata*, which is a Church of great devotion in Florence, where our Blessed Lady is much honoured. There did he offer me up to her gracious intercession, and advised me to continue in her devotion. And so, for that time, he dismissed me from his presence, but not from his care. For I was almost daily with him for the space of a month, in which time I made my general confession, and he received me to the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, by means whereof (be it spoken to God's immortal honour) I have found myself free, by the space of some whole years, from so much as the thought

of some one particular sin, to which, until I had been nourished with that Bread of Angels, I was so abandoned, that I remember well, when I have apprehended it, as the sentence of death to be restrained from committing it, I say, not for the space of years or months, but even of two or three days."

After relating experiences following his reception into the Catholic Church, and his return to England, Matthew says:—"The only thing which threatened me, by way of hindering my conversion, and which still doth urge me, is that consideration of my parents, though it touch me now in a different kind what I thought of at that time. For although I be as sensible of their grief, as it beseemeth a most obedient and humble son, yet I am chiefly to be sorry then, for their sorrow when it groweth upon them, through my fault.

"The greatest cross which I bear concerning them, is to see the little use they make of the conversion of me, their son; whereby, howsoever they may esteem but lightly, I pray God that it lie not heavily upon their souls in that fearful day of Judgment. Well, yet they are both alive. As the trees fall, so they shall lie, but as long as they stand upon their roots, I will hope, even beyond hope, and pray both by myself, and all the charitable friends I have, that they may fall on fair ground."

"To what end have I troubled you, my Reverend and in Christ, most dear Dame Marie Gage,"—so Tobie concludes his long letter—"but to let you see, and make you feel, the extreme necessity which I have, of your holy prayers. Then lift up those clean hands of yours, and that heart, which you have so long espoused to the great Son of God. Give thanks to His Divine Majesty in my behalf, and beseech Him to perfect His own good work. . . . . What then remaineth, but that you beg more and more grace for me, that I may, once for all, endeavour to make recompense for my coldness in God's service, and not only grow to an understanding of what He expecteth at my hands (for this alone would but help me to a whipping with many stripes), but that I may have the courage, both instantly and cheerfully, to follow His calling. *Non contemplans ea, quæ videntur sed ea quæ non videntur; quæ enim videntur temporalia sunt quæ autem non videntur æterna.* For this is the true way into that happy journey's end of Heaven, and he that loseth it, is likely to have an ill night's lodging, and so long a one as eternity can make it. . . . . I pray Christ of His infinite mercy, deliver us from that fearful state, and keep you with all your monastery in His gracious favour. And I beseech the Blessed Virgin to make intercession for you all, as I earnestly desire that all of you will intercede both with the Son and

Mother, that I may continue their servant, as I have cause to remain

"At your commandment,

"In Christ Jesus,

"Tobie Matthew.

"Paris, the 16th of August, 1611."

NOTE.—At the time the above was written, Tobie Matthew was living in exile on account of his faith. He had not yet made his studies for the priesthood, though he had attained his thirty-fourth year. Consequently he wrote as a layman to Dame Mary Gage, but was evidently well instructed in, and imbued with the true spirit of, the Catholic religion.

CHAPTER V

FROM TOBIE MATTHEW'S RETURN TO ENGLAND IN 1607, TO HIS ORDINATION IN ROME IN 1614

Tobie Matthew imprisoned for his religion. Released on parole, and detained in Bacon's house. Appeals to the Earl of Salisbury. The faithfulness of Bacon's friendship. His desire for Tobie's advice on literary matters. Tobie refuses to take the Oath of Allegiance, and is confined in the Fleet. Bacon intercedes. Dudley Carleton somewhat estranged—writes of Tobie to Sir Thomas Edmondes—attempts to win his friend back to Anglicanism. Tobie quits the Realm. Travels to Brussels and Madrid. Obtains indulgences for friends. Goes to Spain. Corresponds with Bacon, who sends him the "Cipher." Letters from Tobie's "Collection." His benefactions. His desire for leave to return to England. Receives Bacon's works. Travels with George Gage. Corresponds with Carleton on theological matters. Is ordained with George Gage in Rome, and makes a deed of gift to the Jesuits. His will. A letter to Fr. Persons, S.J.

CHAPTER V

FROM TOBIE MATTHEW'S RETURN TO ENGLAND IN 1607, TO HIS ORDINATION IN ROME IN 1614

THE autobiographical letter, extracts from which form the foregoing chapter, does not contain the many interesting details given in the fuller version of 1640. Tobie's intercourse with Bacon, who acted as intermediary between him and Robert Cecil, is hardly touched upon; nor does the writer describe his imprisonment in the Fleet (at the instance of Bancroft, then Archbishop of Canterbury), the outbreak of the plague, or his own ineffectual petitions for release. From his letters, preserved at Hatfield, he appears to have been confined in the Fleet for a period of sixteen months, until at length, on the intercession of Bacon and Cecil, he was released on parole, and allowed to remove to Bacon's house, under the care of a messenger of State. Here he remained two months, arranging business matters, and was then ordered to quit the Realm. His parents were not reconciled to him, and all that his father seems to have done was

to endeavour to prevent his banishment, wishing to have him detained in custody at home. The Earl of Salisbury, writing to the Archbishop of York concerning Tobie, "who hath so wholye given himself over to the Church of Rome, as he will not take the othe of allegeance," says sympathetically: "When I consider the greate cause you have to be grieved, as well out of Naturall as Christian considerations, I should wrong myself, if I should not expresse unto you how much I suffer with you, professing one and the same religion which you do, and having made both the worlde and yourself knowe that I esteeme of you, as my verie good friend; this being an addition of troble to my minde, that I wryte to you, how well I wisshe you, I must, at the same time let you knowe I cannot help you."

Bacon wrote to persuade Tobie of the error of his ways, but without effect. The letter follows, together with those written from the Fleet prison by Tobie Matthew to Robert Cecil. These original documents tell their own story.

"A letter to Mr. Tobie Matthew, imprisoned for Religion."[1]

"Mr. Matthew,—Doe not think me forgettful, or altered towards you, but if I sholde say I colde do you any goode, I sholde make my power more than it is. I doe heare y^t w^ch I am n^t sorry for, y^t you growe more impatient, and busy than at first, w^ch makes me exceedingly feare the issue, of y^t w^ch seemeth not to stand at a stay.

I, my selfe, am out of doubt y^t you have beene miserably abused, when you were first seduced, & y^t w^ch I take in

[1] *Bibl. Birch.* 4108.

Sr ROBERT CECIL *EARL of SALISBURY*

From a Drawing in the Collection of E. Malone Esq.r

Born 1550. Educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was introduced into political life by his father, Lord Burghley. Principal Secretary of State under Elizabeth after Walsingham's death, and succeeded his father as Prime Minister. Created Earl of Salisbury by James I. in 1605 Was the bitter opponent of Essex and of Raleigh. Died May 24th, 1612.

compassion, others may take in seuerity. I pray God, y^t^ understands all better than wee understand one another, confine you, as I hope hee will, at the least within y^e^ bounds of loyalty to his Ma^tie^, and naturall pity towards yo^r^ Country. And I entreat you much, sometimes to meditate upon the extreame effect of superstition in this last powder treason, fitt to be tabled and pictured in the chambers of meditaçon, as another hell, above the ground, and well iustifienge (justifying) y^e^ censure of y^e^ heathen. That superstiçon is farr worse than Achism (atheism?) by how m^ch^ it is lesse euil, to have noe opinion of God at all, than such as are impious towards his divine Ma^tie^ and Goodnes, goode Mr. Matthew, receive y^or^ selfe backe from these Courses of perdition. Willing to have written a great deal more.

"I continue

"Yo^r^ etc.,

"ffran Bacon."

Copied from a letter book of Lord Bacon's.

Tobie Matthew to the Earl of Salisbury.[1]

"May it please your Honnour.

"I have indured seaven months imprisonment for a cause, which, in others, is not severelye punished. And althoughe I be farr from repininge or ympatience, yet I am not grown senceless, or so inconsiderate as not to covet the less evill. Your Honour was pleased the last time that I preasumed thus to trouble you, to make me know that I was not then, to thincke of libertye, but that, if I woulde dispose myselfe to live out of the realme, your Honour woulde favour me therein with your assistance. I see I am but where I was, and that my yeares increase, but not my hopes to chaunge my habitation; and therefore I shall imbrace the condition of living abroad, with the same resignation of minde that a marchant threatned with ship-wracke hath, in the casting his wares over boord. The rather, because of the promise I make myselfe, in that my absence, to give your Lp. so infallible testimonye of my dutifull and

[1] *Cecil Papers*, 193, 63.

most loyall minde, as may better plead for my restitution to my countrye, than now I can, for my libertye. For this cause I prostrate my selfe, in all humilitye before your Honour, intirely beseechinge you, that, in this course, some droppe of your benignitye may fall upon me, which so many tast of; and that you will vouchsafe to make some signification of such your pleasure. And I shall ever beseech the divine Majestye to bless your Lp. with a longe and very happy life.

"Your Honour's most humble servant,

"Tobie Matthew.

"from the Fleet, the 4th of Februarye, 1607."

Addressed: "To the righte Honorable, and my most honoured Lord, the Earle of Salisbury."

Tobie Matthew to the Earl of Salisbury.[1]

"May it please your Honour.

"The same dutye that bounde me to do your H. the great service that I coulde, and the least that I oughte in tendringe to your H., by the meanes of Mr. Johnes, the first offer, in the interest that I had in the Gatehowse and Stable row of Duresme house, makes me present your H. with my humblest thanckes for your so gracious acceptance of so poore a testimonye of the observant respect that I must ever carry to your H. But now I finde myselfe awakt not only by your benignitye but by your bountye, in that you are pleased to come to so high a rate as twelve hundred pounde, which I cannot but acknowledge to be a very full valew of this particular in question, and confess to be a price rather to your H.'s disadvantage than otherwise, when I consider your H.'s present possession of some parte thereof, and the chardge you have been at in the buildinge. So that my conclusion must be, not onlye to profess that I have made a verye provident and savinge bargaine, but that I have receaved a great deale of undeserved favour in the manner of it. I praesume still to importune your H. with the intire offer of my

[1] *Cecil Papers*, 120, 94.

humblest services, beinge unfainedlye sorry that I can but say so, and remaine your H.'s unprofitable, but most humble servant Tobie Matthew.

"The 24th of February, 1607 (1607/8)."

Addressed: "To the Right Ho: my very goode Lorde, the Earle of Salisburye."

Endorsed: "Mr. Tobie Mathewe, about Durham house."

Tobie Matthew to the Earl of Salisbury.[1]

"May it please your Honour.

"Whereas upon my humble petition for inlardgement, I perceave it standes not with his Matiee pleasure, nor your Lps. of the Privy Counsayle that I should obtaine that favour; but that I shall sue for libertye to live out of the realme, your Lps. shall not finde that request unreasonable; my first dutye is to your Lp. in rendringe yew all humble thanckes, for vouchsafinge favour in any degree; my next to my selfe in makinge choyse of the less inconvenience. For though I love my countrye, as well as an honest man ought, yet do I not love a prison in it, as well as all the worlde besides, especially since the affliction of bodily restraint is, and is like to be, accompanied with want of comfort to the conscience. And, therefore, since my case is come to so ill an issue, I most humbly desyre the liberty of withdrawinge my selfe out of this realme, till such time as his Matie will licence my retourne. I cannot despair, but that it will be, er longe; for I honnour and admire his Matie, and most humbly and intirely love the state, and the ministers thereof. If God give me the opportunity of puttinge my honest desyres into effect, the fruite thereof, I hope, will be some favour towardes me. In the meane time, I will praesume to add this clause to my suite; that I may have some reasonable respite given me to settle my poor estate; whereof I can promise my selfe no more, but that it shall keep my honesty from being

[1] *Cecil Papers*, 193/127.

corrupted, whilst I shall remaine abroad. It is now the longe dead vacation ; a circumstance that begges a little the longer time for me. I praesume not to trewble your Lp. with any other request but that yow will do me the favour and honnour of accomptinge me

"Most desyrous to do your Lp. all humble service,

"Tobie Matthew.

"from the Fleet, the 23 of July, 1607."

Addressed: "To the R. Ho: my singular good Lord, the Earle of Salisbury."

Tobie Matthew to the Earl of Salisbury.[1]

"May it please your Lp.

"I receaved and sent longe since your Lp.'s letter, written in my favour to my L. of Canterbury. I know not what the fruite thereof will be ; neyther must my humble thanckes depend upon my knowledge thereof. Whether or no, my suite be graunted, I shall not want cause of comfort as often as I shall reflect upon your L.'s favour therein. I am not able to serve your Lp. ; I wish I were. This desyre shall be both alive and awake in me, as long as I shall be so.

"I most humbly take my leave.

"Your Lp.'s most humble servant,

"Tobie Matthew.

"from the Fleet, this 29 of August, 1607."

Addressed: "To the R. Honorable my singular goode Lorde, the Earle of Salisbury."

Spedding, in his *Life of Bacon*, thus refers to events which in this and preceding periods affect Tobie Matthew:—"At this time, Bacon's young friend, Toby Matthew, for whom he seems to have had a strong personal affection, heightened by sympathy in intellectual pursuits, and respect for his

[1] *Cecil Papers*, 193, 146.

judgment and abilities, had left England in 1605, to travel in Italy, where he . . . . became a convert, was absolved from his heresies, and reconciled. Though he continued to correspond with Bacon, while the progress of conversion was going on, he does not appear to have consulted him, or admitted him into his confidence in that matter. But, on his return to England, apparently in the summer of 1607, when his licence to travel expired, Bacon was the first person of note with whom he sought communication. What passed between them we are not told, but the advice he received would probably be that he should lay his case before the Archbp. of Canterbury, as the man who had authority to deal with such cases; and he accordingly visited Dr. Bancroft. The result of this visit was that he was 'detained in safe custody' . . . . while his case was under consideration. And this was in Aug., 1607, for it is stated in a letter from Carleton to Chamberlain, of the 27th of that month, that 'Tobie Matthew hath leave to go as often as he will, with his keeper, to Sir Francis Bacon, and is put in good hope of further liberty.'"

A letter in Matthew's *Collection*, entitled, "Sir Francis Bacon to a friend, about reading and giving judgment upon his writings," was, no doubt, addressed to himself. It seems that Bacon had been expecting a visit from him, and being called away on business, wrote to put him off. What the

"writing" was, to which it refers, it is impossible to infer from the terms. It may have been the *Cogitata et Visa*, or it may have been a first sketch of the *In felicem memoriam Elizabethæ* (which we know that Bacon did show to Matthew when he was in England on this occasion), or the *Imago Civilis Julii Cæsaris*, or both :—

"Sir,—Because you shall not lose your labour this afternoon, which now I must needs spend with my Lord Chancellor, I send my desire to you, in this letter, that you will take care not to leave the writing which I left with you last, with any man so long as that he may be able to take a copy of it; because, first, it must be censured by you, and then considered again by me. The thing which I expect most from you is that you would read it over carefully by yourself, and then to make some little note in writing, where you think (to speak like a critic) that I do, perhaps, *indormiscere;* or where I do *indulgere genio;* or where, in fine, I give any manner of disadvantage to myself. This *super totam materiam* you must not fail to note; besides all such words and phrases as you cannot like, for you know in how high account I have your judgment."

Matthew's case being in the meantime laid before the King, it was thought expedient to offer him "the oath," which the King thought he would not refuse to take. This, it seems, he did refuse, whereupon he was committed to the Fleet prison by the Archbishop, and there visited by various people of various kinds, among the rest by Bishop Andrews, with a view, we suppose, to his conversion.

Such power as Bacon had, he used, it seems, with better effect than he had ventured to promise. For

we find from the note of the contents of Dr. Neligan's MSS., that before Matthew was delivered out of the Fleet prison, "Sir Francis Bacon interceded for him." With whom he had used his influence, and how much his intercession had to do with what followed, the note does not say. But of the circumstances and conditions of his liberation we have the following account in a letter from Chamberlain to Carleton, dated February 11th, 1607-8.

"Your friend, Tobie Matthew," writes Chamberlain, "was called before the Council table on Sunday, in the afternoon, and after some schooling, the Earl of Salisbury told him that he was not privy to his imprisonment, which he did no ways approve, as perceiving that so light a punishment would make him rather more proud and perverse. But, in conclusion, they allotted him six weeks' space to set his affairs in order, and depart the realm, and in the meantime willed him to make choice of some friend, of good account, and well affected, where he may remain. He named Mr. Jones, who has accepted, and is not a little proud of his promise."

Of Bacon's action at this time, Hepworth Dixon, in his *Personal History of Lord Bacon* (p. 144), speaks thus: "When he (Tobie Matthew) comes from Italy to London, having given up his old delights—cards, wenches, wine and oaths—some, who are not themselves saints, would fling him into

the Tower, and leave him there to die. . . . . James is bitterly incensed against him, looking on his fall as that of a column of his Church; his father drives him from his heart with a curse; yet when his whole kin spit on him and cast him forth, Bacon, strong in his sympathy for a scholar and a man who has lost his way, takes this outcast and regenerate pervert to his house. Though he fights against his friend's new doctrines, he never will consent, with the less tolerant world, to hunt him down for a change in his speculative views, which every eye can see has made him a better and a happier man. The philosopher may not be always able, by any sacrifice of name and credit, to shield this enthusiast from the rage of sects, but he comforts him, when in jail, procures leave for him to return from exile, softens towards him the heart of his father, and obtains for him indulgences which probably save his life."

The constancy of Bacon's friendship makes the bright spot in the gloom of Matthew's life at this period. Even so kindred a spirit as Dudley Carleton was unquestionably somewhat estranged by his formerly devoted friend's conversion. On July 11th, 1607, he wrote to Sir Thomas Edmondes:[1]—

"Our late returned traveler is welcomed home with the fleete, where he hath bin prisoner these fower dayes. I wisht him better entertainment, but I cannot say he deserued better,

[1] *Edmondes' Papers*, vol. 169, f. 84.

considering his manifestaçon of his falling away frõ our church to all cumers, and thereby bringinge himself into a needles truble. This open profession of his prevented the moderat course y^r^ Lp. aduised, w^ch^ otherwise, in all likelihoode, would have been taken w^th^ him. He hath bin some few times, with the Arch. B. of Canterbury, and there being little hope of reducing him by conference, the oth sett downe in the last statutes against recusants was tendered vnto him, w^ch^ he, refusing this restraint was layde vpon him. What fortune he shall now run, I know not, the best will be a banishment, and some such course (as I heare) will be taken with him and Henry Constable, who vppon this occasion, is more looked into, and it is fownd that he hath done much harme amongst our women, and this gentleman being of general acquaintance, and able to help that owt with witt, w^ch^ the other hath in subtilitie of disputes and controversies, may be as dangerous to reside here amongst us. I need not tell y^r^ Lp. how much his fall hath greeued me, but yf he fall alone, I shall greeue the less, and therefore the sooner his friends are rid of him the better. His father he hath not seene, who has gone downe into Yorkshire, to his mother, to comfort her, who is little less (as they say) then dead for griefe. He doth acknowledge much obligation to y^r^ Lp. for your harty good vsage of him ; and truly I thincke (by that he hath sayde to me) you come neerer the quick with him, for his conscience, with y^r^ reasonable discourse, than the B. of Canterbury, with his which he calls vnreasonable dealing, but who can call it so, besides himself, considering he refuseth to take that oth, w^ch^ Blackwell, the Archpriest, hath both sworn and subscribed."

On October 14th, 1607, Carleton wrote again of Matthew, to Sir Thomas Edmondes :—"My olde friende, and one whom y^r^ Lp., I am sure, did love, Toby Matthew, he is now so peremptorily and superstitiously popish, that I give him for gon without recovery, and his labor is not little to carrie

others with him, as the resort is very great to him, and others of that sort in the fleete, where is surely the Visible Church they speak of yf there be any in England."

That Carleton made some attempt to win back his friend to the Anglican Communion, the following letter, written by Tobie from his prison, on October 19th, 1607, gives some indication. Addressing "my good friend, Mr. Dudley Carleton," he says:—

"I have read and read againe the discourse you sent me, and vpon your request, am content to thincke the author of it honest and learn'd, Though, to be plaine with you, he hath shewed neyther of both, in this worke of his. His grounde is not onlye false, but ridiculous where he saies y^t^ the Catholique Church of Christ doth consist only of the Elect, and therefore y^t^ it is invisible. I do willingly auoyd all Conference, whilst I am in prison, yet rather than a man whom I love so deerlye as your selfe, should be abused with so idle a conceyt, I offer my selfe to confer with him, whosoever he be, vpon y^t^ pointe, if he will take the paines to come hither."

Whether Tobie's challenge to the disputant was accepted, we have no means of knowing. With his liberation from the Fleet came the obligation to leave England. The *Dictionary of National Biography* relates that upon quitting the realm, Tobie "seems to have first gone to Brussels, then to Madrid." The statement, however, lacks corroboration, for in a letter written by George Carew to Sir Thomas Edmondes, in April, 1608, there occurs the remark that Tobie was then in Paris, *en route* for Florence. If any reliance can be placed on the

statements of so discredited a writer as the apostate Gee, we may infer that Tobie went to Italy on behalf of some of the Faithful in England, to obtain for them Indulgences and other spiritual blessings. Gee records the results of this journey as follows:[1]—

"Indulgences granted to the Family
of the Lord M. in England,
at the intercession of Toby Matthew,
Anno Domini, 1608.
("This is an indulgence, granted to Lord M., for the help he had given to Catholics, also for his bounty in Brussels and Lisbon, and to Churches in Rome. Made partaker of all prayers, offered at the Stations at Rome, etc.")
"Indulgences very Large, granted to the Family of the Lord W., at the Intercession of the said T. M."
(Not specified.)
"Indulgences granted to the Family of the Lord Va. at the Intercession of T. M."
(Not specified.)

In spite of the strained relations, which Tobie's change of religion caused, as we have seen, between himself and Carleton, the exile corresponded with his old friend, on terms of apparent intimacy. From Florence, which he calls "an excellent cool *terreno*," where one can "eate good melons, drincke wholesome wines, looke upon excellent pictures, and heer choyse musicque," he wrote a long letter to Carleton.

[1] Gee's *New Shreds of the Old Snare*, 1624.

Here he candidly reviews their relative positions.[1] "Your letter," he says, "came safe to me on the 15th of August, and it was much the more welcome, because (besides the notice y^t it gave me of my Ladyes health and yours) it cheer'd it, in a matter y^t I doubted of w^ch was y^t you durst not wrighte to me. For me thoughte you vsed much reseruation towardes me, in y^t kinde, while I was yet in the Fleet, but it may be I was deceaued then, as much as I am now glad to see myself thought by you no dangerous person. And yet (though I can truly protest y^t there is no man in England whose letters I desyre more) I renounce mine owne contentment, whensoever you shall finde or feare y^t it may be prejudiciall to yourselfe."

After describing his environment in Italy, Matthew goes on to say:—"If my sowle do not serue God daily, I am very inexcuseable, for I am neyghboured not only with fayre churches, fild with excellent sermons, and other spirituall exercises, but with Churches of another kinde, temples of the holy Ghost, men of admirable example, both for charity and humilitye, w^ch I protest to God, I speak not out of any vaine respect, but y^t beinge most true, and you beinge so much my frend, I thought it fitt to make yow this parte of my comforts. When I goe out of Italy, it is like to be into Spaigne, rather to see it, then to *soggiorne longe*. . . . .

[1] *Tuscan Papers*, 1608.

Till then, I am not like to change this towne for any other. For though I love Rome in winter, I dare not trust my enemyes so much as to live there."

Tobie fulfilled the intention mentioned in this letter "of seeing Spaigne." After a brief sojourn in his beloved Florence, he joined the party of Mr. Shirley, on its expedition to the Spanish Court.

On January 7th, 1609, O.S., Francis Cottington wrote from Madrid to Mr. Trumbull, Resident at Brussels:[1]—

". . . . Mr. Robert Shirley is not yet come to thys Court, but remains at Alcala (six leagues hence) attending leave from hence, to deliver his Embassaye. He wears, as I understand, a Turbant on his head. Mr. Toby Matthew ys with him, as a Gentleman of his Trayne."

On March 7th, Cottington wrote again to the same correspondent:—

". . . . Mr. Robert Shirley is not yet dispatched from hence, but (as I understand) holds still his Resolution to go from hence into England. Mr. Toby Matthew ys in thys Court, but I do not understand that he hath Pretension or intent to stay here longer than tyll he hath gotten the language."

It was during Tobie's stay at the Spanish Court, that Bacon sent him his *Advancement of Learning*, and the Key to his famous Cipher. Meanwhile, his seat was declared vacant and a writ issued for a new election at St. Alban's. The Journals of the House of Commons contain this entry:—

[1] *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. iii.

"Mercurii, 14° Die Februarii, 1609. Toby Matthewe, by Act of Council, banished upon direction from his Majesty, not to return till his Majesty's pleasure be known. Opinion of the Committees that a warrant from hence—The Judgment of the House whether to be removed.

"A new writ for Toby Matthewe."

The following undated letter of Bacon's to Tobie belongs to this period :[1]—

"To Mr. Mathew.

"Sir,—Two letters of mine are already walking towards you ; but so that we might meet, it were no matter, though our Letters should lose their way. I make a shift, in the mean time, to be glad of your approaches, and would be more glad to be an agent for your Presence, who have been a Patient for your Absence. If your body, by indisposition, make you acknowledge the healthful air of your Native Country, much more do I assure myself, that you continue to have your mind no way estranged. And as my trust with the State is above suspicion, so my knowledge both of your loyalty & honest nature will ever make me show myself your faithful friend, without scruple : You have reason to commend that gentleman to me, by whom you sent your last, although his having travelled so long among the sadder nations of the world makes him much the less easie upon small acquaintance to be understood. I have sent you some copies of my book of the *Advancement*, which you desired, and a little work of my Recreation, which you desired not. My *Instauration* I reserve for our conference, it sleeps not. These works of the Alphabet [2] are in my opinion of less use to you, where you are now, than at Paris, and therefore I conceived that you had sent me a kind of tacite Countermand of your former request. But, in regard

[1] Stephen's *Memoirs of Bacon*. *Bacon's Letters*, 1736, p. 36.

[2] An allusion to the Cipher.

RICHARD BANCROFT, D.D.

Born September, 1544. In 1586 beeame a commissioner for causes eeelesiastical, and evineed uniform hostility towards both Puritans and Catholics. Detected and sent to the Star Chamber the publishers of the Marprelate traets. Chaplain to Arehbishop Whitgift, 1592. Instigated the proceedings against Barrow, Cartwright, Penry, Udall, and others, who were hanged for unorthodoxy and sedition in 1593. The differences between the Jesuits and the seeular clergy are attributed to him. Elected Bishop of London, April 21st, 1597. Appointed Arehbishop of Canterbury by James I., October 6th, 1604. Died November 2nd, 1610.

The Authorized Version of the Bible was begun under his auspices.

that some Friends of yours have still insisted here, I send them to you ; and, for my part, I value your own reading more than your publishing them to others."

Before reaching Spain, Matthew had written to Carleton a letter which again has a tone of remonstrance. He said :—"I perceaue that your letters come hardly from you towardes me, since in some twelve months I have receaued but two from you. To be plain, I have taken it a little unkindly at your hands, neyther can you excuse yourselfe by the example of my silence, for it is I that am sicke, and therefore look that my frendes should visit me, by theyr letters."

In a later letter he speaks of his desire to return to England. "Concerning my iorney into Spaigne" he writes :[1]—

"I am resolued vpon it, I will be as honest and intire there as heer, and shall be no cause, why y^t should hinder my return into England. But y^t is a thinge of so great uncertainty, that though I do much desyre it, yet I am not so mad as to make any desseign upon it, nor in contemplation thereof to omitt any course of honest contentment that I can thincke vpon."

Ill health brought with it fits of depression ; and Tobie seems to have sometimes failed to discover any "course of honest contentment." The following letter indicates the writer's state of mind at the time. It is undated, but internal evidence shows that it was written from Spain during the winter, and to a friend in Florence. The mention of

[1] *Tuscan Papers*, July, 1609.

"Relicks" points to the probability of that friend being a Catholic, while the mention of the "marriage at Florence" certainly places the date somewhere in 1609, in which year Cosimo II. married Mary Magdalen of Austria.

"*One dear Friend to another. This Letter is long and kind and sad, and full of familiar Advertisements and Opinions.*[1]

"Sir,—I have three of your letters upon my hands, at this time, to answer.

"Beyond this Line, I was not able, for my heart, to get yester night, though I protest to you, I have been biting my pen, and scratching my head, above an hour. I have sometimes such fits of melancholy, and to speak truly, I have seldom any other thing, that when they take me, I become as if I had been bitten with the Torpedo, and my wits fall withall into such restive tricks, as no spurring can get them on, to make one pace in the right way. I speak not this by way of aggravation, but as it fares with me in very deed; and I do the more willingly let you know my infirmity, that if at any time I should chance to fail in complying with you, as duly as I ought, and as you have a million reasons to expect, I might yet the more easily find some excuse, if I may not be so happy as to get your pardon.

"I come this morning a little, and yet but a little, discharged of that weight, under which I went to bed last night; and still I have almost as much indisposition to write upon other reasons. For I have an extream paine in my necke, and withall an eye, so newly and imperfectly recovered of a Catarrhe, that I pray God I prove free from it this Winter. For indeed, God Almighty seldom scourges me, though it be with the gentlest of his Rods, but there useth to remain some shrewd mark behind, to keep me, as I understand it, the better in awe of him, who am apt enough of myselfe to

[1] Sir Tobie's *Collection*, p. 151.

consider him less than any body else. . . . . I see nothing before me but miserie, and behind me nothing but matter of penance; and as for my present life, it is but a verie dreaming away of my time, for I do nothing in it, like a man awake; and this is that which of all other things doth most afflict me. For whereas it was not my hope onlie, but the scope and the very end of my comming abroad, to have redeemed so manie lost years, whereof Ordinaries, Plays and Prattle had robbed me, with the industrious expence of those that are left, I now find myselfe sometimes so full of indispositions, and sometimes so ill-used about my Estate, that I am forced to let the care of all that knowledge goe, which doth *versare circa bene esse*, and to attend chieflie to that which hath, in consideration, *esse simpliciter;* and, to speak it in plain English, how to have health in my bodie, and monie in my purse, which, upon the matter, is no more than to maintain a kind of scurvie life, whereof beasts are more naturallie capable than men can, by art, tell how to make themselves. . . . .

"Now here you may perhaps require more faith at my hands, and send me to the birds of the aire, or to the lillies of the field, or to yesterday, and the last week, and I know not what, and so that I must learn to have more assurance in God's Providence for the future; or at least, you may require in me so much discretion against my indispositions, as to consider how we are taught by God, that Sufferance is the way to Ease; and against my anxietie about plentie of means, that our Saviour Christ told Martha that she must not be *sollicita circa plurima, quando unum est necessarium*. . . . .

"The truth is, something I aile, but I know not what I would have; and though I did, yet I find that there goes more to the cure of a man's Fortune, than the knowledge either of the cause of the weaknesse or of the remedie. For the Cripples that came to the *Probatica Piscina* to be made whole, found that it imported them little to know both where their infirmitie lay, unlesse they had either so much

strength to be able of themselves to get into it when the opportunitie was offered them, or else brought some means with them, which might cast them in. . . . . I pray you give me leave to talk with you thus in Parables; I mean that the rest shall be the subject of my last to you out of Spain. . . . ."

"Your second letter obliges me onely to thanks, for the contents of it being nothing but a well drawn prospective of the Preparations for the marriage at Florence, accompanied with the picture of the Princess, which now it seems that in your last you had not formerly taken by so true a light, because you have now mended something of the first copie. . . . .

"God send our two dear friends in *England* good speed in their wooing; yet when they shall have sped, they will, perhaps, scarce thank us for our prayers. I beseech you tell me by the next, who is the Saint that the younger of them serves; as for the other, I know her a little. I am sorrie for the broken head, which you tell me you got, by falling down into a Cellar, to look upon your cold Melons there. And I am glad that in so great a hazard you met with so little harm. For falls into Cellars use to be so dangerous to the head, that they often cost Dutchmen their wits; of which sort of people, if you had been, it is likelie that you had been out of the protection of your Relicks; for they, I think, do rather co-operate than work any great effect of themselves."

In Tobie Matthew's *Collection* is a letter which is difficult to place, but which probably belongs to this period. Its title is, "*The joy of one dear friend in another.*"

"*This letter congratulates the arrivall of his friend in foreign parts; advertises many familiar occurrences, and makes a kind of description both of the country and people of Spain; but expresseth, now and then, the melancholy of the writer.*"

The "melancholy writer" is obviously an Englishman who addresses a fellow-countryman. Allusions to "the marriage" appear to date it somewhere in 1609. Probably it was written to Sir Tobie Matthew by a friend who induced his first visit to Spain. We know that on his exile 1607-8, Sir Tobie went first to Florence, and we find from a letter of that period to Carleton, that his life there was pleasant and peaceful. This fact seems to explain allusions in the letter, and the writer's mention of his friend having found "happiness in a Prison."

The letter begins with a remark which now seems enigmatical: "The first news," it says, "that came hither, of your being come out of Germany into Italy, was brought by one who had the luck to find innocence a sufficient protection for him, from the pretended imputation of treason." The reference may possibly be to Carleton, who was in 1606 accused of being implicated in the Gunpowder Plot, on account of his connection with the Earl of Northumberland. He was in prison for some time, but eventually succeeded in proving his innocence. The writer goes on to say:—"I understood first of your being in Florence by a letter from the wisest man that ever I have known in my whole life, who, before I go any further, I must tell you doth so much love you, as though it be your right, yet you are not without obligation to him for it; . . . . he hath

failed in no part of love towards you, neither in sorrowing for your misfortune, nor in extolling your courage, nor in praysing your discretion, nor in joying for your conquest, nor in publishing your merits, everie way; thereby to draw other men to give you, in like manner, your owne. And, believe me, there is no man's love alive, within the narrow circle of my knowledge, which is more worthy to be cherished than his, whether you respect his great Wisdome, his incomparable zeal, or his singular vertue in all kinds."

The person spoken of in these high terms is most probably Fr. Persons, S.J.

After a few more observations, the writer goes on to discuss various compensations for the misfortunes which had attended Tobie's conversion. He says :—

"In the account which you give me of the manner how you were secured from what you feared most, there is much of instruction, many wayes, and this much of comfort too, that though Almightie God have not easilie a mind to work an outright miracle for a man, yet he will make second causes serve him, when he lists, be they never so contrarie to the end. For who would have thought that they who desired nothing more than to see you miserable, would not onlie have consented, but even co-operated towards the making you so happie as now we see you are. I am heartilie glad to hear that so many of your old friends stuck so fast to you. Wherein I know not whether I should speak well of the times, or rather of yourself, who have, in so ill times, so good fortunes. But that which you tell me of your two old merry friends, and mine, I cannot but wonder at, till I may know some ground for

it. The likeliest that I can show my selfe is that their Malice may have his root in Envie, that one man should get more opinion and reputation, for suffering upon good reasons, than they in so many years doing of ill, have been able to compasse; and that one should be able to find that in so melancholie a place as a Prison, for which they have left no Ordinarie, nor Playhouse, nor Lord's table, nor Lady's lap, unsought. And who knows but that the Devill may have put some such spirit of pride into their hearts, as to make them hate others, because they have given a good example. For pride had better go out of the way, than come behind."

With regard to Tobie's projected Spanish tour, his correspondent says :—

"I am most heartilie sorrie that I have said anything in my Letters to our fellow-Travellers, which should discourage your cumming into this Countrie. It is true, that for delicacy and delight, *Spain* is not another *Italy*, nor *Madrid* another *Florence;* but yet there are certain massie and solid Braveries belonging to it, and to know it will be of great use. And commonly we draw most profit out of things which least abound with pleasure. Besides that from Comparisons, as Philosophers say, ariseth the greatest Part of our knowledge. And therefore, to be the better able to judge of other Countries, it will be necessary that you see this. The Country you will find to be a great and goodly Body, able enough to maintain itself, but starved through the nourishment which it gives to so many and so great Limbs abroad. Besides that by this means, the want of men at home makes the ground to be uncultivated, partly through the paucity and partly through the pride of the People, who breed themselves up at bigger thoughts than they were born to, and scorn to be that which we call Plowmen and Peasants, when they have hope, either by the sword or gown, to be as great as any fellow subjects they have. The Government I hold to be happier in the Justice and Fortitude of them that command, than in their Temperance or

Prudence. The State in generall is like a great man's Palace ; the rooms near the Lord richly furnished, and kept with much cleanlinesse and care ; the rest is bare walls, save that the common people is so sluttish, as scarcely to let them be bare. The Persons, the greater they are, the more humbly and the more nobly do they carry themselves ; and they be ordinarily of most vertue, who have most knowledge. . . . . In the Church you shall see more greatnesse than anywhere, but whether more goodnesse than in Italy I cannot so easily tell, for those qualities are not ordinarilie so very compatible with one another. In the Cities you shall find so little of the *Italian delicacie* for the manner of their buildings, the cleannesse and sweetnesse of their streets, their way of living, their entertainments for recreation by Villas, Gardens, Walks, Fountains, Academies, Arts of Painting, Architecture and the like, that you would rather suspect that they did but live together for fear of wolves. . . . . Methinks that not onely in their sports of *Cannas* and *Toros*, but even in some more solemn and serious than those, they are not free from having still somewhat of the Moor. . . . . They are of a grave and sober carriage, and as far from insolencie as that usually they are civil towards strangers in courtesie, wherein the meaner sort, both of the French and our own English, are wont so much to fail. They have in Excellencie, Water, Silver, Women, Bread, Wine, Horses, Mutton, Bacon, Kid, Hens, Onyons and Reddish-roots. It is time that I make an end. I know, as I said, you will see this countrie, and I hope and beg that you will do it quickly, that so there may be but a very little time in the matter of our seeing one another."

Tobie himself seems to have communicated to his correspondents but little of his own impressions of that country, of whose "excellencie," in "Water, Silver, Women, Bread, Wine, &c.," his friend writes in so oddly arranged a list. His movements were frequent, and he seldom remained long in any one city

or country. In 1610 he returned from Spain to Italy, then he went to Belgium, visiting several families of exiled Catholics, and communities of nuns, as also the English Jesuits at Louvain, Antwerp, Ghent and Brussels. In the "Benefactors' Book" at St. Augustine's Priory of the Canonesses Regular at Newton Abbot, are two entries of benefactions received by that community when in exile at Louvain:—

"1610-11. Mr. Tobie Matthew, 120 guilders.
"1611-12. „ „ 100 guilders."

When in Brussels in 1611, Matthew wrote urgently to Cecil for leave to return to England. The pleading proving ineffectual, he resumed his wandering life, and in the same year travelled to Venice, with his friend George Gage. From Venice he accompanied Gage to Rome, to study for the priesthood. Both friends were ordained by Cardinal Bellarmine, S.J., in 1614. Then came visits to Madrid and France, and it was not till 1617 that it was possible for Tobie to re-appear in his own country. Through these years of his first exile, he kept up his correspondence with English friends. With Bacon, especially, his communications were frequent. We have already seen that the philosopher sent Matthew his *Advancement of Learning*, and the Key to his famous Cipher. Later came his *De Sapientia Veterum;* and on

February 27th, 1610, Bacon addressed to Matthew the following letter:[1]—

"Mr. Matthew.

"I do very heartily thank you for your Letter of the 24th of August from Salamanca; and in recompense thereof, I send you a little work of mine that hath begun to pass the World. They tell me my Latin is turn'd into Silver, and become current. Had you been here, you should have been my Inquisitor, before it came forth. But I think the greatest Inquisitor in Spain will allow it. But one thing you must pardon me, if I make no haste to believe, That the World should be grown to such an Ecstacy as to reject Truth in Philosophy, because the Author dissenteth in Religion; no more than they do by Aristotle or Averroes. My great work goeth forward. And after my manner, I alter ever when I add, so that nothing is finished till all be finished. This I have written in the midst of a Term and Parliament, thinking no time so possessed but that I should talk of these matters with so good and dear a friend. And so, with my wonted wishes, I leave you to God's goodness."

With regard to the reference here made by Bacon to his "great work," it may be noted that the *Novum Organum*, which appeared in 1620, had, during the twelve preceding years, been twelve times re-written after revision. Bacon probably refers to this work; if not, he must have had in his mind some other composition, which he regarded as of considerable importance. Supporters of the "Baconian theory" might suggest that the philosopher may then have contemplated and

[1] *Letters from Sir Francis Bacon*, 1736, *p.* 47. *To Mr. Matthew upon sending his book "De Sapientia Veterum."*

begun the preparation of the Shakespeare Folio of 1623.

Matters literary and theological, rather than personal, occupy a leading place in Tobie's correspondence. In a letter written to Carleton from Italy in July, 1609, he has something to say about his religious beliefs. He writes;—

"And now, good Mr. Carleton, give me leave to speake to you, and speake plainly; A preface y^t^ methinckes I have need to make, when I consider how warm you grew in your last, without cause, as I conceaue, but vpon occasion of a sentence, y^t^ I cited to you, out of St. Bernard, which yet in good fayth I did not *ex professo*, but fallinge upon that passage at that time, when I was disposinge myselfe to wrighte to you from Milan, it was easy for me to make y^t^ digression. But, on the other side, I pray you patiently to consider whether you have not putt yourselfe into a strange Alarme, where no ennemy was at hand; why do you but hope (wherein there is necessarily included a feare or doubt) y^t^ I will be persuaded that you may continue an honest man. I, whom you may know to have lou'd you as unfainedly since I was a Catholique as before? who persuaded you to be led away with shews and ceremonies? or if I persuaded you not, why do you tell me y^t^ I must not condemn you for not being ledd away with them? Indeed I represented to you the point of Intercession to Saints, and especially to the glorious and most blessed Virgin, but do you call that a show or ceremony. Your Caluin sayth in more places than one that it is a matter of such substance, as he y^t^ uses it is a superstitious creature, and one y^t^ derogates from God, in y^t^ honour which is only due to him. And if that be true, how then can St. Bernard be a Saint or holy father whilst he approues and practices and magnifies, in so choyse and high terms, a point of doctrine, y^t^ is so superstitious and derogatory to y^t^ honour of the Almighty and Everlasting God?

"Againe, who knows not y^t St. Bernard was a man & might err; as if you were not a man and might err much more easily than he, who have not eyther y^t Sanctity and purity of Will, not y^t illumination of vnderstandinge, by learninge y^t he had which ar the greatest and securest preseruation frõ errour y^t can be thought of, but heer, the question is not whether he might err or no, but whether he did err or no, and y^t in a point so capitall as this. And yet againe to what purpose serues the protestation to *remaine constant in y^t beleefe, wherein you were bred, y^t a harty prayer to God in the next parish Church is as effectual in God's sight as an Ave Maria in Loreto!* Did I minister you any occasion of making this comparison? Do not I know y^t a prayer to Almighty God is acceptable, so y^t it be truly harty, and made by a person y^t is in good disposition to pray (for of some the Spirit of God sayth *Bellatores autem Deus non exaudit*, which I conceiue to be spoken of obstinate and malicious sinners), or can you prove y^t if a man goe to Loreto, in deuotion to ye Mother of God, and recomment himselfe humbly to her gratious intercession, that this intercession of hers will not be accepted before the throne of God? As for your *erroris propria*, which it seems you like so well; I pray you is it not as *propria veritatis* to seeke the reformation of another man's errour, as it is of errour to indeauour the depravation of truth? And if it be, as you say, y^t a man in errour was to be offended with those opinions y^t are contrary to his, how much more justifiable is his opposition to errour, whose hart is settled in the only truth. So y^t although I know you to be as discreet and iudicious a frend as any I have, yet I find y^t when you come to talke of relligion, you ar lost, like other men. For truly in my opinion, you have in a few lines made many *pas de clerc*, in one sence, and none in another sence. I sende you backe y^t part of your letter which concerns this subject, y^t you may see y^t I doe not counterfayte your coyne, but pay you in that you send me. You may not be offended with me herein. I am so far frõ louinge you less dearly than I was, that if I had not rather

grown herein, then decayed, I would not have sayd this much ; nor any thinge at all of this argument, but vpon occasion ministered by your selfe."

To Bacon, Tobie wrote less than to Carleton on controversial theology; Bacon was an even less willing listener: "I see," he writes, when sending Tobie part of his *Instauratio Magna*, "that controversies of Religion must hinder the Advancement of Sciences. Let me conclude with my perpetual wish towards yourself; That the approbation of yourself by your own discreet and temperate carriage may restore you to your country, and your friends to your society. And so I recommend you to God's goodness."

Interchange of ideas on matters literary was never lacking between the friends. The following letter from Bacon to Tobie is interesting as indicating the great author's position with regard to his readers[1] and critics :—

"I thank you for your last, and pray you to believe that your Liberty in giving opinion of those Writings which I sent you is that I sought, which I expected, and which I take in exceedingly good part ; so good that it makes me recontinue, or rather continue my hearty wishes of your Company here, so that you might use the same liberty concerning my Actions, which are now your exercise concerning my writings. For that of Queen Elizabeth your judgement of the temper & truth of that part, which concerns some of her foreign proceedings, concurs fully with the judgment of others, to whom I have communicated part of it ; and as things go, I suppose

[1] *Bacon's Letters*, 1736.

they are more likely to be more and more justified and allowed. And whereas you say for some other part that it moves and opens a fair occasion and broad way into some field of Contradiction, on the other side it is written to me from the Leiger at Paris,[1] and some others also, that it carries a manifest impression of truth with it, and even convinces as it goes. These are their very words which I write, not for mine own Glory, but to shew what variety of Opinion rises from the Disposition of several Readers. And I must confess my desire to be that my writings should not court the present time, or some few places in such sorts, as might make them either less general to persons, or less permanent in future Ages. As to the *Instauration*, your so full approbation thereof I read with much comfort, by how much more my heart is upon it, and by how much less I expected consent and concurrence in matter so obscure. Of this I can assure you, that though many things of great hope decay with Youth (and multitude of Civil Businesses is wont to diminish the Price, though not the delight of Contemplations), yet the proceeding in that work doth gain with me, upon my affection and desire both by years and businesses. And therefore I hope even by this, that it is well pleasing to God, from whom and to whom all good moves. To Him I most heartily commend you."

Tobie's correspondence naturally contains no reference to his ordination, as the matter was kept secret. Biographers have been in doubt on the subject, and we read in Wood's "*Athenæ Oxonienses*":[2] "Leaving the Church by the persuasions of Father Persons, the Jesuit, to the great grief of his father, he (Toby Matthew) entred himself into the Society of Jesus, but whether he took

[1] Sir Geo. Carew.

[2] Vol. ii., p. 120.

holy Orders is to me uncertain." Dodd, on the other hand, writes in his *Ecclesiastical History*:[1]—

"Sir Toby retired from the world, and ended his days among the Jesuits at Gaunt, Oct. 13, 1655, having, for a considerable time before, been in Orders and a member of that Society."

There is really, however, no question upon the matter. In Rome, Tobie did not enter the English College, though he was in constant communication with the Jesuit Fathers there. Where he actually studied cannot be ascertained, and doubtless he was careful that it should not be known. He received all the orders, minor and major, at the hands of Cardinal Bellarmine, during the month of May, 1614, and the register of these ordinations is preserved at the English College in Rome. The entry with regard to Matthew and signed by Cardinal Bellarmine runs as follows:—

"*Ego, Robertus, Divina miseratione tituli Sanctæ Mariæ in Via Cardinalis Bellarminus, Archiepiscopus Capuanus auctoritate Sanctissimi Domini Nostri PAULI, Papæ V., vivæ vocis oraculo mihi concessa, contuli primam tonsuram, Ordines præterea omnes tum minores tum sacros, mense Maio proxime elapso anni millesimi sexcentesimi decimi quarti videlicet Primam tonsuram & omnes minores die quarto, Subdiaconatum undecimo, Diaconatum* 19^mo^, *& Presbyteratum* 20^mo^ *perillustri viro Domino TOBIÆ MATHÆO Anglo. In cujus rei testimonium hisce præsentibus literis manu mea propria Subscripsi & sigillum apposui, Die primo Junii* 1614.

L. ⊕ S. *R. Card^lis^ Bellarminus.*"

[1] Vol. iii., p. 59.

Within a few days of his reception of Holy Orders, Tobie Matthew signed a deed of gift of his property to the English College. He also made a will. Both documents are preserved at the English College at Rome. Tobie did not, however, join the Society of Jesus at this time, as has been alleged. He was ordained as a secular priest on his own patrimony, but joined the Jesuits at a later date.

The deed of gift to the Society of Jesus is here given:—

"Be it known unto all men by these presents that I, Toby Matthew of Grayes Inne, near London, in the county of Middlesex, Gentleman, resolving for the more perfect imitation of my Saviour Jesus Christ, to despoyle myself of all worldly commodityes and encumbrances, and to dispose of all such temporall goods as his Divine Majesty hath been pleased to give me, and such as he shall enable me to have hereafter to his greater honour and glory, of whom I have received them, by this present writing subscribed with myne owne hand, and signed with my owne seal, in presence of the underwritten witnesses, doe, in consideration of the spiritual benefits which I have received of the fathers of the Society of Jesus, and especially of the experience I have of their integrity and zeale in God's cause, which, in these wretched tymes is so much abandoned, freely give and wholy transferr to the College of the English fathers of the Society of Jesus now at St. John's, in Louvayn, for the good of the whole English mission of the aforesayd, according to the disposition of the Reverend and my very deare father ffa. Thomas Owen, at this present prefect of the sayd English mission of the aforesayd fathers, or of any other hereafter, that shall succeed him in the same office of prefecture or superiority of the whole mission, my whole estate, both that which I am possessed of, or have right unto, namely upon the Montes and censes at or near to Rome, nyne hundred crownes

John Donne, D.D.

Born of Catholic parents, 1573. At the age of 19 he abjured Catholicism. Married a niece of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. Having failed to obtain secular employment, he took Anglican Orders. In 1620 was appointed Dean of St. Paul's, and Vicar of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West. He died March 31st, 1631. He ranks at the head of the metaphysical class of poets, and his satires are of high merit. His works were published by his son, John Donne, LL.D., who was much esteemed by King Charles II. Anthony à Wood describes John Donne, Junior, as "an atheistical buffoon." He edited Sir Tobie Matthew's *Collection of Letters*, 1660.

by the yeare ; in money, fyve hundred crownes in the handes of Mr. Samuell Allen at Naples ; and a thousand, three hundred ducats of Venice, to be recovered by Sig^re^ Girolamo Francesco Ticci, a rent charge in England, of fourscore pounds by the yeare, defeasible uppon the payment of eight hundred pounds, in the hands of Sir Henry Goodyear of Polesworth, and the assurances are taken in the name of Syr Edward Easton, and since were made over by him to Sir Edward Hales of Tenterden in Kent, and it is to be considered that besides the Eight hundred pounds which is due unto me, Sir Henry Goodyear is also in arrears unto me, for the rent of a yeare and a half, which comes to a hundred and twenty pound ; a good title to a lease of threescore years of a place called Sudbury, in the bishoprick of Durham, to the value of fourscore pounds by the yeare ; and that also which by my father's or my mother's death or donation, or by any other way, whatsoever, may accrue unto me, whether it be in lands, leases, houses, tenements, rent charges, profit of Montes or Censes, moneys, debts, legacyes, fruites, ... goods moveable or immoveable whatsoever, together with the propriety of all the premisses, as also all titles to landes, leases, houses, tenements, rent charges, profit of Montes or Censes, moneys, debts, legacyes, fruites, actions, chattells, and all goods moveable or immoveable whatsoever, with power to receive the same, and, in case they be withheld, to sue, arrest, release, recover, and houlde to their owne use, whatsoever may be due, or prove due unto me, and to doe all actes to these purposes, which myself might have done ; requiring the said R^d^ Father, ffa. Thomas Owen, now prefect of the sayd Mission, and all other prefects or Superiors of the same Mission, which hereafter shall succeede him, to retayn all my present estate in a yearely rent, for the use of the mission, and whatsoever may be receyved heareafter for me, to invest it, likewise for the encrease of the sayd rent or revenue. This is my deed of guift, which fully and wholly I make to the foresayd Colledge and Mission in the manner aforesayd, which I intend to be of force, by all possible meanes, excluding all cavillations or interpretations that might be made to the contrary, by such

as are of my blood, or any others, as on the other side, I take Almighty God to witnesse, that I have never been sollicited or induced, by any of the Society or any other, eyther directly or indirectly, to make this or any other donation of my estate. In witness whereof I have set to my hand and seal this 5th of June, 1614.

" Tobie Matthew. (seal)

" Sealed, signed and delivered in the presence of
" T. Fitzherbert.
" George Gage.
" Matthew Wilson.
" Edward Coffyn, and of
" Edward Proharde."

TOBIE MATTHEW'S WILL, DATED 1614.

In nomine Sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis. Amen.

I, Tobie Matthew, of perfect memory and health, but misgiving the frailty of this life, have thought it fit for many reasons to make my last will and testament in manner and form following.

First I bequeath my soul into the hands of God the father, who created it, God the Son who redeemed it, and God the holy Ghost who sanctified it, three persons and one God, beseeching him by his infinite mercy and the merits of my only Saviour, Jesus Christ, in whom I repose all my confidence that he will receive and save it. Commending myself also for this purpose to the potent intercession of the most glorious and blessed Virgin Mary, my cheefe patroness to the prayers of my Angelus Custos, of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John Baptist, St. John Evangelist, St. Augustin, St. Thomas of Canterbury, Blessed Ignatius of Loyola, St. Mary Magdelen, St. Catherin the Virgin, St. Monica, and all the other glorious Angels and Sayntes in heaven and beseeching them all, although I cannot do it sufficiently, to thank the majesty of Almighty God for the infinite Benefits which he has vouchsafed to pour upon me, as namely my creation, redemption, preservation, and especially for my vocation to be a

member of the holy Catholique Apostolique Roman church, without which all other benefits had been but to my greater condemnation. And therefore I do protest to live and die in the unity of that holy Church, my mother, believing constantly whatsoever she propoundeth to be believed, and detesting and abhorring from the bottom of my hart all heresies and schisms, and whatsoever opinions which she impugneth and condemneth. I bequeath my body to the earth to be buryed in holy Christian buryall in that house of the Society of Jesus which shall be next to the place of my death, or to which I shall then declare myself to have most devotion.

AND before I go any further I will and do hereby revoke and make voyd all other former wills and testaments whatsoever that I have made at any time either in England or on this syde of the sea, and namely that which I made in Fflorence immediately before my going into Spayn, which I take to have been more than foure years since, about the feast of St. Michael, as that also which I made in Rome the thirteen of May, 1613, and I will that this only be reputed for my true and last will, and that if there should want in it any formality to make it good, I do desire and ordayne as much as in one lyeth that it have the force of a Codicil or Donatio mortis causa, or of any other act whatsoever which may give it most effect and power towards the accomplishment of that which I intend and will here set down.

Touching the poore estate which God has given me (for debts I have none that I know of), I will first set down for more clearenesse what it is, and then proceed to the disposition thereof. I have upon the Montes and Censes at Rome about nyn hundred crowns by the year. I have in money five hundred crowns in the hands of M^r^ Samuel Allen at Naples, and a thousand 2 hundred ducats of Venice to be recovered by Sig^re^ Girolamo e Francesco Ticci. I have also a Rent charge in England of fourescore pounds by the year, defeasible uppon the payment of eight hundred pounds, in the hands of Sir Henry Goodyer of Polesworth, and the assurances are taken in the name of Sir Edward Easton and synce

were made over by him in confidence to Sir Edward Hales of Tenterden in Kent ; and it is to be considered that besydes the eight hundred pound which is due unto me, Sir Henry Goodyeer is also in arreares unto me for the rest of a yeare and a half, which comes to a hundred and twenty pound. All which moneys, Rent charges, and Montes and Censes have grown unto me by the sale of that estate which I had in England, having never enjoyed anything by vertue of any Ecclesiastical lyving, pension or provision from any prynce or prelate whatsoever. Lastly I have a good title to a lease of threescore yeares of a place called Sudbury in the Bishopric of Durham, to the value of fourscore pounds by the yeare, which being in suit commensed when I was a protestant cannot now through the iniquity of the tymes be prosecuted, so that I am still out of possession thereof, but the evidences concerning the same are in the handes of Mr. Richard Best, a Catholique of whom they may be called for. And as for the trust which is betweene Syr Edward Eston and me of his being seased of that Rent charge only to my use, it appears by many letters both of Syr Henry Goodyeare and Sir Edward Easton to me which are in my hands, which I mention not as if there were any neede thereof so long as it shall please God to give him life, but in case that he should dye or his estate fall into the hands of strangers.

NOW by this my last will and testament I give and bequeath unto my dearest and most entyre frynd Mr. George Gage during his life the sum of foure hundred crowns of gold per Annum, to be payable unto him half yearly uppon such days and in such places as he shall demand of the executor of this my will, which legacy I allot to him for the great kindness and affection which he hath expressed towards me uppon all occasions, and for having abandoned so many other better fryndes for my company, and also for the good example and edification that he hath always given me and the confident persuasion I have that God will serve himself greatly of him to his glory ; and this legacy excepted I give and bequeath my whole estate both that which I have and am

possessed of, and that which by my father's or my mother's death or donation or by any other way whatsoever may accrue unto me whether it be in lands, leases, Rent charges, legacys, profit of montes, censes, moneys, debts, fruites, actions, chattells, goods, moveable or immoveable whatsoever, titles to lands, leases, Rent charges, legacys, profit of montes, censes, and all goods moveable or immoveable whatsoever, with power to receive, hould or occupy, and enjoy the same, to the Colledge of the English fathers of the Society of Jesus now remaining at St. John's in Louvain, leaving neverthelesse to the Reverend father ffa. Thomas Owen, at this present prefect of the whole English Mission of the aforesayd Society, and to his successors in the sayd prefecture or superiority whatsoever of the whole Mission, full power and authority to dispose of all my foresayd estate in such manner as he or they shall judg most convenient for the general good of the whole mission, and tending most to God's honour and glory.

ONLY whereas my inclination hath always been towards the welfare of our afflicted lay Catholiques in England for the experience which I have had of their often falling to heresy for the want of temporal means, therefore I requyre (request) that so farre as the necessary good of the English Mission of the fathers of the Society shall permit, a special care may be had for the relief of such lay Catholiques as shall be in prison for the confession of theyr faith, and chiefly of them that are restrayned in parts which being far removed from London, as in the North or West or Wales, be out of the way of common charity, to the end that both by the profitable actions of these holy and learned fathers and the cheerful suffering of our poore afflicted Catholique bretheren God's name may be glorifyed and his mercy obtayned to the benefit of my soul by the prayers both of the one and the other.

AND my desire and meaning is that whensoever it shall please God of his mercy to restore our country to the Catholick religion, that the profits of the whole estate shal be converted and applyed towards the erecting in England of a Novitiate or Colledge of the foresayd Society, as the

Superior for the time being shall judg most fit. Moreover my full meaning and will is that all my estate aforesayd which I have or may have hereafter shall be settled into a certayn yearly revenue in what place or places the aforesayd prefect *pro tempore*, shall think best, and that so it shall continue; except it shall be thought necessary at any tyme to sell any part thereof, I requyre that it be settled in some other purchase in the form of a yearly revenue so to continue.

SO that my last will is that the foresayd college of the English Mission of the Society of Jesus be and remayn always my whole and total heyre of my whole estate (the foresayd legacy excepted) which at the present I have or which may hereafter appartayn to me, to the good of the whole body of the sayd English mission of the Society of Jesus in manner aforesayd according to the judgement and disposition of the prefect of the said mission *pro tempore*, whom I will not have accountable upon any pretence whatsoever eyther for the imploying of my foresayd estate to the benefit of the mission, or to the releefe of the lay prisoners, to any man whether he be of my blood or otherwise, more than the Institute of the aforesayd Society doth necessarily obblige him unto.

AND I do also name and constitute the Reverend my dear father, ffa. Thomas Owen, or whosoever else shall be prefect of the English mission *pro tempore*, the Sole Executor of this my last will.

AND if for the validity, or for the execution of this my last will and testament it should be judged any way necessary or expedient to ordayn in any manner any other supervisor or executor one or more of this my testament, my will is that the sayd prefect himself *pro tempore*, or other superior in his place, shall have the free liberty and full power to ordayne him or them, or cause him or them to be ordayned by any other whom he or they shall think best. And whosoever shall be so ordayned I doe approve and allow of him or them, as if he or they had been ordayned by myself in this my will, and doe *ex nunc pro tunc* approve him or them when he or

they shall be so ordayned, and nominated by the sayd prefect or by others by him appointed.

AND this legacy and this disposition of my estate which I have made to the Colledg of the English fathers of the Society of Jesus now remayning at St. John's in Louayn for the benefit of the whole English mission of the foresayd Society to be employed according to the direction of the Reverend Father, ffa. Thomas Owen, or any other prefect or Superior of the whole foresayd mission *pro tempore*, I doe protest by that tribunall at which I am to give account of all my thoughts, wordes and actions, to have done voluntarily and by my own election, without having ever been solicited or any way persuaded thereunto, by any of the fathers of the sayd Society, which clause I have thought fit to add by reason that I have found them unjustly taxed of thirsting after theyr own benefit in this kind.

AND I further take God to witness that I have been moved thereto by the judgment which I have made of the sincerity and zeale of the sayd fathers in converting of soules at this tyme when God's cause is so much abandoned. And yet agayn, that if I had conceived that I might have gloryfyed God more by disposing of my poore fortunes otherwise they should as willingly have been so employed.

THIS is my last will and testament. In witnesses whereof I have set to my hand and seale in the presence of the witnesses underwritten the 7 of June, 1614.

Tobie Matthew.

L. S.

Sealed, syned and delivered
in the presence of

T. Fitzherbert.
Edwardus, alias Matthias Wilsonus.
Edouardus Coffynus.
Joannes Clarus.
Thomas Bouorogt.
Johannes Colinus, and of
Edward Purham.

In nomine Domini Amen fidem facio per presentes ego

notarius publicus infrascriptus qualiter die 7 mensis Junii 1630 superscriptus adm. Revd. Thomas Fitzherbertus, Societatis Jesu, Rector Ven. Collegii Anglorum de Urbe, et R.p. Edoardus Princiardus, ejusd. Societatis Jesu, med. tacto pectore et Scripturis . . . . ricognoverem superscriptam eorum manum litteras caracterem et personam necnon subscriptionem caracterem et personam superscripti Tobiæ Matthew, Eduardi Coffyni, Joannis Clari et Thomæ Bouorogt necnon sigillum in forma non solum sed omnes superquibus. Datum Romæ hac die, mensa et anno supradictis.

Jacobus Angelus . . . . Civis Rom. et Not. P. Almæ Urbis Vicarii. L. ⊕ S.

TOBIE MATTHEW TO FATHER PERSONS, S.J.

"Right Reverend Father.

"By the grace of God I shall set forth to-morrow towards Genoa; And you must consider that a little business in a little brayne keeps as great a coyle as a great deale in a great one; and therefore in this coniuntura you must be content to take things as I can give them, that is disorderedly.

"You see that I have written to my L^d^ Treasurour as you advised, and I send you the copy thereof *ad verbum*. And because upon your declaration which doth accuse him, I may happen to be calumniated in England, and therefore I must humbly pray you to looke carefully to my credit in that pointe.

"On Wensday last I went out of toune for 3 or 4 days and left Mr. Platt in as little show of danger as I could have desyred, but at my retourne I found him dead. He left his money and papers in Mr. Ingrams hande, who I doubt not will give you good account thereof. For myselfe I can say nothinge but that I am very much afflicted with the consideration of his desolate family.

"I have lately made my last Will and Testament authenticall; and thought once to have sent the copye of it to Rome, but the charge would have been great, and it will suffice that it be known that it is in the Archivio heer of Florence, from

whence I desyre that you will take it after my death. I have presumed so far upon your charity and love to me as to make you the Executor thereof in case I dye before you, and in case you dye before me I shall have meanes to take some other order.

"These two letters to Mr. Eske I desyre may be kept very safe and secret. One of them you may keep in your owne handes, and the other may be left in some other confident frends custody (as Mr. Thomas Fitzherbert), whereof you may serve yourselfe after my death if the first should chance to miscarry.

"I have read over and over your booke. I leave it with M. L. of Warwick. I cannot stand to discourse upon particulars now. In generall I will assure you, *bona fide*, that in my poore opinion you have not written any book that, in the matter questioned, doth more convince the adversary; and so convince him, that you have anticipated and avoyded any reply that it is possible for him to make thereto. And though I doubt not that great profit will grow to the cause thereby in regard of many things that ar handled collaterally, yet I am nothinge glad to see so worthy a penn as yours to be so necessarily imployed upon the layinge open of such a palpable companion as Mourton is. And in good faythe, the very indignation of it made me weary as I was readinge of the first chapter considering what hath he trowbled you withall. You have also drest Mr. Cooke in his kinde, but upon none have you better bestowed your charity than upon D. Kinge, who was famous when he was a boy for actinge in certayn playes, at Christ Church in Oxford. An occupation that me thinkes stickes by him still; for I never saw such fustian termes as you charge him with, which savour strongly of the parasite and bragging souldger.

"I have left heer, where I am lodged in Florence, a Cabinett full of papers, which will infallibly be sent unto you, when it shall be known that I am dead. The papers you may burne at your pleasure.

"I looke for letters from you at Genoa under the name

Domenico ecc. raccomandata al Collegio loro, and I will take order with the . . . editore [1] that in case I should be gone from thence before they arrive, that they may be sent you backe againe, or else that they may follow me to Madrid.

"And what remayns for me to say now, but humbly to thanke you for all favours, and cordially to offer myself to you and yours in all uttmost service, and to beseech you will hold up your laborious hands to God Almighty, for me and my poore mother. And so expecting your benediction in this my longe iorney I humbly take my leave and ever rest

"Intirely at your command,

"Tobie Matthew.

"Florence, this 5th
of 8ber, 1609."

"When thinke you that the Cardinal's book will be printed? By this letter that I send you inclosed for him I take my leave of him. I humbly desyre you to salute for me all your good freynds to whom I am so much bound."

Endorsed :—"Al M. Rev. Roberto Persons,
Roma."

[1] MS. illegible.

CHAPTER VI

TOBIE MATTHEW'S RETURN TO ENGLAND IN 1617, HIS SECOND BANISHMENT, AND HIS LIFE ABROAD TILL 1621

Tobie's endeavours to return to England. Described as "il vecchio," and "broken with travel." He writes "Reasons which may facilitate my return." His services requisitioned in connection with Rubens. Through Buckingham's influence, gains permission to go to Eng'and. Is welcomed to London by Bacon, who undertakes to be answerable for him. He visits Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador. He writes to the Pope. His Italian "dedication" to a translation of Bacon's "Essays." Tobie's mother endeavours to reclaim her son; she is alarmed at the prospect of his second banishment. He corresponds with Bacon, Dr. Donne and others. Is again compelled to leave England. Goes to Flanders. Writes to Lord Doncaster, who suspects that he is a Jesuit. He denies the charge that he is the Prefect of the Sodality of Our Lady at Brussels. Writes on political affairs to Lord Doncaster and Carleton. Negotiates with Rubens for pictures required by the Prince of Wales.

CHAPTER VI

TOBIE MATTHEW'S RETURN TO ENGLAND IN 1617, HIS SECOND BANISHMENT, AND HIS LIFE ABROAD TILL 1621

It has been seen that Tobie Matthew's ordination took place in 1614, and that he did not return to England till 1617. But all this time he was extremely anxious to visit his own country. Soon after taking holy orders he went again to Madrid, where he spent some time in perfecting his knowledge of Spanish. His friend Digby was still English Ambassador there, and Tobie may have been his guest, though it is more likely that he stayed at the house of the English Jesuits. Tobie's arrival could hardly, however, have taken place before autumn, for on July 15th, 1614, Carleton wrote to Chamberlain from Venice: "Our English swarme at Padoua, whither is come my Lord Cromwell, with Captain Pinner, and Mr. Brent out of France, Toby Matthew, George Gage and some others of that stamp from Rome and Florence." And, as late as September in the same year, Carleton again wrote to Chamberlain: "Toby Matthew

and his companion Geo. Gage goe by Grats, Vienna and Prague to Paris, from whence I doubt the former will steale into England yf he fayle of leave."

"Leave" was, in spite of Tobie's strenuous efforts, difficult to obtain; his friend George Gage could not help him, though he happened to be then in favour with the English King. Gage's ordination, like Tobie's, was kept secret, but he, too, was doomed to fall, later, into the royal displeasure; in 1640 he was apprehended by the pursuivants and condemned to death; he died in prison. He is often mentioned in connection with Tobie, and, two years previously, in 1612, Dudley Carleton had written to John Chamberlain:[1] "We have at this present (at Venice) a great confluence of English from all parts. . . . . Toby Matthew, who is so broken with travel, that Gregorio, not knowing his name, terms him *il vecchio*, and one Gage, a sworn brother of the same profession."

That "*il vecchio*" had a natural taste for travel, is certain, but compulsory absence from England was justly regarded by him as a hardship. An undated paper (probably written in 1616) sets forth Tobie's *Reasons which may facilitate my Returne to England*. He says:—

"Some nine years since, I was not banished, but absented only, with this clause, that I was not to returne, till his Mat^ies

[1] *Court and Times of James I.* A Collection of Letters.

pleasure were first knowne. The Lords of the Councell were pleased to promise to this effect (as appeares by the order itself), that they would move his Majesty, for my returne upon notice had of my dutifull behaviour abroade. I have lived so, these nine years, without any touche of disloyaltie. I have never accepted from any Prince or Prelate, one pennyworth of interteynmente or pension. I have, vpon all occasions, published myself, for the instance of his Ma^tyes great clemencie and goodnes towardes me, in suffering me to injoy my poore fortune; I have liued abroade, w^th much satisfaction of the great persons of my Nation, and his Mat^yes Ambassadours and Agents, whom I have had the honour to conuerse with all (wherein I remitt my selfe to their testimony). My estate in England is much entangled, partly by a suite in the Chancerie, and partly by debtes whereby (without my presence there) I am not able to make benefit of my estate, accordinge to that graunte w^ch his Ma^tie hath been pleased to make me. I have offended only in the errour of my judgment, and no otherwise than thousandes of my profession in England, who yet are suffered to breath in the ayre of theyr Country; nay, I may be accounted to deserue more favour then they, rather then less, because I have made so long a probation of my fidelity, and loyal affection to his Ma^ties sacred person and the State, in places of temptation and daunger. If it should be doubted, if in England, I shall carry myselfe with such modestie and disposition as is requisite, it is to be answered that I may instantly be sente out againe, with so much shame, as I would rather die than deserue."

Much difficulty and weary correspondence ensued before Tobie's wish was granted to "breath in the ayre of his own country." From a long letter, written from Louvaine, as late as April 24th, 1617, we find that he was then still abroad, and that his services—as indeed again occurred a year or two later—were requisitioned in connection with the

great master, Rubens. Tobie relates his experiences thus:—

"May it please your Lp.

"At my return from Paris, I finde a letter of y^r Lp., concerninge y^e Pictures, wherein the paines that Mr. Gage hath already taken dischargeth mine. He went to Antwerpe to see them all in hand, and I dare say, by his report, who hath seen the beginninge of them, that they will be to yo^r Lp.'s contentment. If anythinge should occurre, concerninge this matter, I will adde it, by way of postscript, if the Physicke w^ch he is takinge will not give himself leave to write, at this tyme.

"I performed my french jorney very fortunately, I thank God, in all respects. The dangers of the way were great, but I had more feare then hurt. I stayed all that day, whereupon Sir Bernard Benhurst went from Amiens, in that towne, and I counted it then a great misfortune that I was forced to doe soe, though it was indeed a happie errour, for whilst I was gone abrode to looke companie, others came to looke me, and being uncertaine of my return to my lodginge, beganne their iorney towardes Paris, and the next day, when I put myselfe vpon that way, I found that many of my forerunners had been robbed the day before. In my life I have mett with more than twenty accidents, w^ch have made me know that I was more bound to God, for his frustratinge of my desires, then for grauntinge them, accordinge to that excellent obseruation of the great S^t Augustine, speakinge to God of a prayer that his mother made concerning him, which was less perfect. . . ."

Later in the same letter, Tobie refers to Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, whom he met in France, with whom he formed a lasting friendship, and through whose influence James I. consented to allow him to set foot in England. He writes:—

"My Lord of Buckingham is very much my good Lord, and speaketh publickly and earnestly in my advantage. He

hath resolued to move the Kinge againe earnestly for me ; but I have not so great hope in that (now that once he hath been denied) as in another accident which happened lately, though I shall not know the issue of it for some months. The care is already taken. There ar wagers laid in England, and by noe fooles, that before his Mat[ie] returnes to London, there will be a Scottish favorite. Whatsoeuer become of me, I will procure to doe y[r] Lp. my best service, soe, in some hast, I humbly kisse y[r] Lp.'s hand, and rest,

"Your Lp.'s ever at commandment,

"Tobie Matthew."[1]

At length Tobie was able to write with confidence concerning his future movements. In a letter written from Louvain on June 3rd, 1617, after an allusion to the pictures mentioned in the preceding letter, he announces :—

"About my goinge into England for a tyme, I thinke it be as good as graunted, vpon the earnest motion, whilst he was at York, of Buckingham, my L. Chamberlaine, my L. of Arundell, and M[r] Secretary Lake, with whom alsoe my mother joyned, and from whom my father disclaimeth not. But my condition of beinge there is like to be soe hard, through confininge, and conferringe, that I am not yet resolued to take speedy hould of the fauour, unlesse I maie understand, as I am procuringe to doe, that it is such as I may quickly be a gainer by, in all likelihood."[2]

Dudley Carleton wrote to John Chamberlain from the Hague, in June, 1617 :[3]—

". . . . Mr. Toby Matthew, being crazy at Louvain, goeth to the Spa, before he lay hold of his leave to go into England."

[1] *Holland Correspondence*, R.O. 1617.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1617.
[3] *Court and Times of James I.*

And again in July, he thus addressed the same correspondent:—

". . . . Toby Matthew hath written vnto me, that the earnestness of his friends in England hath drawn him from his intended journey to the Spa, and that in all haste he then sets forth towards England, which was the 8-18 of this month. You have great part in his letter, and in these words:—'Another suit I have to make is that you will seriously intreat your good wise friend, Mr. Chamberlain, to let me clearly and infinitely know, from time to time, what errors I shall be thought to commit in my behaviour, that I may mend that ere it be too late. It is not in matters of my conscience, that I make him my judge, or therein to trouble himself, but in matters of my conversation, whereof he will be sure to hear much, and I know, can judge discreetly, and I much desire to profit by his good counsel. *Hæc illa.*'"

One pleasant fact, gathered from Tobie's correspondence at this time, is that, as he says, his mother "joyned" in intercession for him. It would be strange indeed to believe that the maternal heart had no soft spot for a son so long absent; and it may well be supposed that her desire to accomplish his reversion to Anglicanism, sprang from the sincerest motives. Chamberlain, in a letter to Carleton, written from London on May 10th, 1617, says: "I heare that the Archbishop of Yorke (or at leastwise his wife) hath obtained of the Kinge that theyre sonne, Toby Matthew, may returne, but yet so that he is to be vnder some restraint."

Carleton's letter—already quoted—written from the Hague in July, 1617, shows that the *Dictionary*

THE CONDE DE GONDOMAR,
Spanish Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, *temp.* James I.

of National Biography is in error in fixing Tobie's return to England as early as May in that year, and in stating that he was seen at Winwood's house on the 18th of that month. The letter proves that he had not left Belgium as late as July 18th, but it does also state that Tobie was about to "set forth in all speed towards England." He was probably in London by the end of the month. At any rate, Chamberlain, writing to his frequent correspondent, Carleton, from London, on August 9th, 1617, says:—". . . . I have not seen Mr. Matthew since I wrote last, but once in St. Paul's, when we dealt as confidently one with another, as need to be, and so I will doe, whensoever he shall give me occasion."[1]

A summary of what passed at the time is correctly given by Spedding and may be quoted here:—"About this time, Bacon had the pleasure of welcoming his old friend, Toby Matthew, back to England. He had always kept up a correspondence with him . . . . and on both sides there had been a continuance of a very warm interest and affection, stimulated by common studies and mutual services. The services had been hitherto, from the nature of the case, all on Bacon's side. For Matthew was still an exile longing to return; and as there was no reason for keeping him in exile, except the

[1] The Cathedral was a favourite lounge at this time.

supposed necessity for making him take the oath of allegiance (for, though inexorably faithful to his new religion, he appears to have continued perfectly loyal to England), all the influence that Bacon had was used in his favour. This, by itself, was not very much. But in 1616, fortune presented Matthew, then in Brussels, with a new chance. After his banishment, in February, 1607-8, he had gone into France, and there made the acquaintance of Mr. Villiers. Mr. Villiers, who was then nobody, had suddenly become the most powerful instrument in England for overcoming a scruple in the King's mind, and Matthew took advantage of this opportunity to press his suit. As a mediator both with Villiers, the Archbishop and the King, Bacon could be of great use . . . . and it is plain that Matthew attributed the success of the mediation . . . . in a great part to Bacon's zeal and judgment.

. . . . . .

"The difficulty seems now to have been with the King. Chamberlain, who had an interest in Matthew, as a friend of Carleton's, spoke to Winwood in favour of his suit, on October 11th, who told him plainly that the King would not hear of it; and yet he had both moved it himself, and got the Lord Villiers, for the acquaintance he had abroad with Mr. Matthew, to move it likewise; but with the like success. Yet he says that 'if he could be brought to take the oath of allegiance,

he would not leave urging it till he had effected it.' In the beginning of December, Bacon was again employed in the negotiation, as I gather from an entry in Stephen's Catalogue (December 9th, 1616), beginning: '*The Only Cause Why. Subject: About suing for his return.* Address Mr. Matthew,' but in what way, or with what success, it is impossible to say. All we know is that Matthew obtained leave to return (though subject to some conditions of restraint) in May, and that towards the end of July he arrived in England. During that month, Chamberlain saw him at Winwood's house, treated him kindly, and dealt earnestly with him to take the oath of allegiance, but this seems to have been lost labour, though he told Matthew that without doing it he was 'verily of opinion that the King would not long endure him.' Bacon probably had undertaken to be answerable for his conduct, for it was as his guest that Matthew remained in England. George Gerrard, writing to Carleton, July 22nd, 1617, says:—'Toby Matthew is received with great grace by the Lord Keeper, and resides a kind of prisoner with him, until the return of the King.' Chamberlain adds:—'Perhaps he presumes upon my Lord Keeper's favour, which indeed is very great now at first, if it continue, for he lodgeth him in York House, and carries him, the next week, along with him to Gorhambury, by St. Alban's.' . . . . Writing again, three weeks

later, Chamberlain reports him still at Gorhambury, 'being so exceedingly favoured and respected by that Lord, that it is thought *aliquid nimium* that a man of his place should give countenance to one so affected. And some stick not to say that former private familiarity should give place to public respects.'"

Clearly Bacon was no fair-weather friend. He did not share the narrow-minded scruples—or perhaps the timidity—of Carleton, Chamberlain, Winwood, and other intimates, who now that the *quondam* courtier had renounced his life of dissipation, seemed to hold that "former private familiarity should give place to public respects." On July 26th, 1617, we find Secretary Winwood thus writing to Carleton :—"Yo^r old ancient friend, Toby Matthew, is returned, and gone into the country w^th my Lo. Keeper (Bacon). He once came to visitte me, and intreate my favour, w^ch if he receave not in that plentifull manner, as perhaps he may expecte, it is not to be imputed to want of kindness or affe̅on in me, for I love his person, & the good partes that are in him, but I must not be false to that duety I owe to the service of the King, and to that trust the State doth repose in me, to both w^ch nothinge can be more dangerous than that such menne, who professedly refuse the oath of allegiance, should be cockered or countenanced."

On his way home, Matthew had sent to Bacon

an appreciative letter, which is called in his *Collection*, "a kind letter of one friend to another, relating some passages of a great lady":—

"I am now in the heighth of Dunkirk. My journey hath yielded nothing of myself worth your knowing, but this much of my companie worth my learning, thrift and love of myself. We have here chosen to hire a ship at a dear rate, rather than to venture upon the change of the wind, by expecting to do it at a cheaper. And besides, our bargain is somewhat mended by this, that we have gotten such a master as we desired, who will be carried as well by us, as we by him. I visited the great Lady at Antwerp, and presented your service to her, and I found that you were much in her favour, though I could scarce get so much as to see her in her chamber, for that was so much darker than her little close room at the Spaw that I could not half discern how she looked, which put me besides the only compliment, wherewith I came armed towards her, namely, that she had the sunbeams in her eyes. Her stay at Antwerp, I conceive, will be prolonged. . . . . And they tell me that . . . . she hath not so much fruition of the town as the most retired nun hath of her cloister. Fare you well, till the next week, and let this help you to believe that you shall never be able to live four hours out of my memorie, when I shall be awake, though you should live four score years out of my sight."

According to Mr. Seccombe, Tobie was entertained in August of this year (1617) by Thomas Wilbraham at Townsend, near Nantwich, where he met the sovereign who so greatly feared him. It has not been possible to find any contemporary records of this alleged visit, and the statement is mentioned only for what it may be worth.

By October, Tobie had returned to London, and

was observed to pay nightly visits to the Spanish Ambassador, Gondomar, "no doubt," adds Mr. Seccombe, "to assist in religious services." Now this is precisely what the object of these visits could not have been, since no "religious service" would be held at night in the Embassy Chapel. Had Tobie been noticed going there at an early hour of the day, it might have been supposed that his purpose was to celebrate mass. It is possible that he occasionally stayed for the night with his friend, Gondomar, in order that he might say mass at dawn, secure from the vigilance of the pursuivants. His life depended upon the effectual concealment of his priesthood, and few even of the Catholics with whom Tobie was intimate, were aware of it. All priests at this period were obliged to appear in public in the dress of the laity; and Tobie seems so thoroughly to have observed this rule, that Chamberlain remarks in a letter written from London to Carleton, on October 18th, 1617: ". . . . I hear he (Tobie Matthew) is grown very gay or rather gaudy in his attire, which I should not have expected of his years and judgment." At this time, according to Anthony à Wood, Matthew was generally regarded as a person of wit and polite behaviour, remarkable for his knowledge of the courts and politics of foreign nations. His acquaintance with foreign languages was considerable; and an Italian letter of his, written from London on September 29th, 1617, to the

Pope, has been preserved. In the course of this letter, which is a long one, he says :—

". . . . Quanto alle condizione che toccano alla Religione e refugio dei Cattolici Inglesi son rimessa all' Ambassadore qui residente, dalla Spagna, al quale il Re prometti in termini generali quanto si puo desiderare, come fece quando si fece la pace tra Spagna ed Inghilterra. Pero venendo ai particolari, ed alla sicurita che, sono necessari, non danno sodisfazione alcuna. Certo, la persecuzione che tuttavia va innanzi, mostra ben poca disposizione nel Re in questa parte. Credo di poterlo dir sicuramente avendolo d' uno dei primi Consiglieri e da persona molto intendente del umor del Re, che quanto ai Cattolici Inglesi se non stanno molto su l' avviso diquello che tratta questo punto, la condizione loro sara molto peggio succedendo il parentado, di quello che e adesso, che il Re ha tante gelosie della Spagna e dei Cattolici per amor' loro che avranno maggiori difficulta che adesso. Ho detto all' Ambassadore della Spagna, quanto m' occuro e lo trovo come desideranno che importare, assai che da parte di S. S^{ta} gli sian raccomandati i Cattolici Inglesi e che la condizione siano quali conviene, e che non si contentano con termini generali, ne si fidino senza sicurita certa. Al mio giudizio è cosa certa che il Re non para mai parentado colla Spagna se a questo non sara necessitato per liberarsi dalla paura che ha di Puritani, e del Parlamento ò per supplire sua necessita che son' grandissime e in tali suenti e certissimo se il negozio sara ben portato ch' il Re verra à buonissimo condizioni se Piacesse a Dio che S. S^{ta} potesse render' quanto questi poveri Cattolici patiscono per la professione di nostra santa fede, e per la divotione della Sede Apostolica, s' è certo che gli giudicarebbe degni d' ogni amico."

Tobie concludes his letter with every sign of devotion :—

". . . . Se S. S^{ta} sara serenita commandarmi alcuna cosa desidero che la lettera per mezzo di che dara queste a S. B^{ne}

che si mandino sotto nome di Giovanni Ascanio se sara tutta via libera dal giuramento spero di porter' servire la Sua B^ne^ e di darli conto di cose di considerazione. Chièdo humilmente la santa benedizione sua, e con ogni riverenza la bacio i sacri piedi.

"Londra il 29 di Settembre, 1617,
"di Vra. Sta.
"l' umile servitore,
"Tobia Mathei."[1]

Tobie Matthew's linguistic powers were also used at this time in the composition of a dedicatory preface to an Italian translation of Bacon's Essays. This book was published in London, and was dedicated to Don Cosimo de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, whose acquaintance Matthew had made in Italy. Literary occupations did not, however, engross the whole of his time; and sometimes his amusements formed a theme for satirical comment. In any case, we find Chamberlain writing to Carleton, on February 7th, 1618: "... Yesterday I met Mr. Tobie Matthew, whom I had not seene these 6 months, since w^ch^ time, to my seeing, he is much defeated. He told me he was going to a play at the Blackfriers, but mee thinckes playeing and fridays fasting, agree not so well together as prayeing, in a man of so much profession."

It would be very interesting to discover what play it was which Matthew saw on February 6th, 1618. Shakspere, who had been, until his retirement from

[1] Transcripts Borghese, corr. 121.

the stage, in 1604, part owner of the Blackfriars Theatre, died on April 23rd, 1616.

"Playeing and fridays fasting," in combination, were not long to provide occasion of criticism for Chamberlain. Tobie was not permitted to remain in London. The King was angered by his refusal to take the obnoxious oath; and he was ordered to go into his father's custody at York. Chamberlain writes again to Carleton on March 27th, 1618: ". . . . I heare that Tobie Matthew is gon downe to his father, where some say he is to continue as confined, but he hath too many frends in Court to be put to any pennance more than he list."

There is but little indication of what took place during Tobie's visit to his parents, but it is clear that Mrs. Matthew had not wholly abandoned hope of her son's return to Protestantism. She was greatly disturbed by rumours which reached her of a proposed second banishment. And when, somewhat later, her fears were just about to be realized, she wrote from Bishopthorpe on September 29th, 1618, to Buckingham, to express her conviction that "this sudden sending for her son arises from malice, for that his sickly weak body is not able to endure the seas, tho' hopes in time he may be brought from this enemy." In August, Tobie was at Nottingham, whence he wrote to Bacon. A letter in the *Collection* was probably also addressed to him at this time by his old friend and admirer, Dr. Donne,

Dean of St. Paul's, whom he had doubtless been visiting, when met by Chamberlain in the Cathedral. The two letters are given below; the one to Bacon shows how much Matthew must have been tried by the prospect of banishment, since he was engaged in legal processes regarding the disposition of his estate:—

Tobie Matthew to Bacon.[1]

"Most honourable Lord.

"Herewithal, I presumed to send a note inclosed, both of my business in Chancery and with my Lord Roos, which it pleased you to demand of me, so that you might do me good in *utroque genere*. It may please your Lordship, after having perused it, to commend it over to the care of Mr. Meautys for better custody.

"At my parting last from your Lordship, the grief I had to leave your Lps. presence, though but for a little time, was such as that, being accompanied with some small corporal indisposition that I was in, made me forgetful to say which now for his Majesty's service, I thought myself bound not to silence. I was credibly informed and assured when the Spanish Ambassador went away, that howsoever Raleigh and the prentices[2] should fall out to be proceeded withal, no more instances would be made hereafter on the part of Spain, for justice to be done even in these particulars, but that if slackness were used here, they would be laid up in the deck, and would serve for materials (this was the very word) of future and final discontentments. Now, as the humour and design of some may carry them towards troubling of the waters; so I know y^r^ Lp^s^ both nature and great place require an appeasing them, at your hands. And I have not

[1] Spedding's *Life of Bacon*, p. 552.

[2] On July 12th, 1618, the prentices had insulted the Spanish Ambassador, on account of a boy being hurt by him, when he was riding. (*Camden's Annals.*)

presumed to say this little, out of any mind at all that I may have to meddle with matters so far above me, but out of a thought I had, that I was tied in duty to lay thus much under your Lp^s^ eye, because I know and consider of whom I heard that speech, and with how great circumstances it was delivered.

"I beseech Jesus to give continuance and increase to your Lp^s^ happiness; and that if it may stand with his will, myself may, one day, have the honour of casting some small mite into that rich treasury. So I humbly do y^r^ Lp^s^ reverence and continue

"The most obliged of y^r^ Lp^s^
"Many faithful servants,
"Tobie Matthew.

"Nottingham, August 21, 1618."

The letter from Dr. Donne is undated; the probable date is August, 1618.

"Doctor Dunne (*sic*) with a kind of laboured compliment to a friend of his":—

Dr. Donne to Sir Tobie.

"Sir.

"There is a dangerous rule in law, *socius socii mei non est socius meus*. If it extend to friendship as well as to familiarity, I, who can pretend no other title to your friendship than that I am allowed some little interest in them, who have more in you, may well account myself to be within the danger of it. But, as in divine, so in moral things, where the beginning is from others, the assistance and co-operation is in ourselves. I, therefore, who could do nothing towards the begetting, would fain do somewhat towards the breeding and cherishing of such degrees of friendship as formerly I had the honour to hold with you. If letters be not able to do that office, they are yet able, at least, to testify that he who sends them would be glad to do more if he could. I have a great desire,

not without some hope, to see you there,[1] and I have more hope and more desire to see you this next winter here; and have abundantly more of both, that at least we shall meet in heaven.

"That we differ in our ways, I hope we pardon one another. Men go to China both by the Straits and by the Cape. I never misinterpreted your way, nor suffered it to be so, wheresoever I found it, in discourse. For I was sure you took not up your Religion upon trust, but paid ready money for it, and at a high rate. And this taste of mine towards you, makes me hope for, and claim the same disposition in you towards me. I am sure this messenger bears so many letters to you, as if this of mine (which is written upon the first day of my coming to Town) should offer at anything of the times, it might perhaps shake your belief from somewhat, expressed in some of your other letters, by my relating them diversely.

"For it is but early days with me here, and I see not things so distinctly yet, as to lay them under such eyes as yours. This letter doth therefore only ask your safe conduct, for those others of mine, which are to follow, as the most constant testimonies of my love."[2]

Whether Dr. Donne realized his desire to see Matthew "in the winter" is doubtful, for on December 17th his second banishment was ordered. The Rev. Thomas Larkin, writing on December 18th, 1618, to Sir Thomas Pickering, says:— "Toby Matthew was yesterday, now a second time, banished the land, as a dangerous man for our

[1] If the date of this letter is rightly given as August, 1618, Matthew was in Nottingham, as his letter to Bacon, just given, shows.

[2] Donne was born and brought up a Catholic, but he seceded about the age of twenty-one, and joined the Elizabethan religion. Eventually he became Dean of St. Paul's. His son, who edited Sir Tobie's *Collection*, was a sceptic.

collapsed ladies." With regard to this odd pretext for the order of exile, it may be remarked that Tobie went much into the society of such old friends as were not too bigoted to receive him, or were secretly inclined to the Old Religion. Among these, he was certainly instrumental in making many converts, in spite of the difficulties and dangers which such a proceeding involved to all persons concerned. It seems, in fact, difficult to believe that one so zealous for the propagation of the Faith, should not have sought to bring Bacon—the friend whom he so greatly admired—to his own way of thinking. But there is no record of his efforts towards the conversion of the man who spoke of Tobie as his "other self."

On October 1st, Tobie, writing to Buckingham, expresses himself as "surprised at the Message from the King, by Secretary Naunton, to depart the Kingdom in 20 Dayes," whereas he "had now four chancery suits." He begged that no administration should be fixed, "unless he stay next term," and asked that a "billet" enclosed may be delivered to the King "at a time when it may be read."

This "billet" is endorsed, "The K. would not receive it." It runs :—"If y^e^ command to depart England within 20 days and not return arises from malice of Enemies. Others not dealt so, knowing no man (unless esteemed a Traiter of y^e^ Lawes) been banished for meer matter of belief. Begs to

be admitted once into the Kings presence to make his defence, to live in any corner of y^e^ Kingdom, to take some compassion on his little health and poverty."

No "corner of the Kingdom" was, for the present at least, to hold Matthew. Compelled to leave England, he set out for Flanders, where he interested himself in the exiled English religious orders. From Brussels he wrote to Bacon on Spanish affairs, and his letter proves that two of those in the *Collection*, referring to "Padre Lerma" and his "sermons," relate to the Duke of Lerma, who had disappointed the party in England, opposed to the Scottish, and in favour of the Spanish succession to the British throne. Matthew encloses a "paper concerning the Duke of Lerma," and says, "I have out of a ragged hand in Spanish translated it, & accompanied it with some marginal notes for your Lps. greater ease." He remarks, "I think it not altogether unpleasing to your Lp. . . . . my friend, Mr. Gage, sent it me lately out of Spain," and adds, "Before the departure of the Duke of Lerma, there was written upon the gate, a pasquinade that the house was governed *Per il Padre y el Hijo, y un Santo*, as in Paris, about the same time, was written upon the Louvre gate, *C'est ici l'hotel des trois Rois;* for Luynes' brother is almost as great as himself." A postscript to this long letter on Spanish matters contains these words:—"I should be glad to re-

ceive some of y^r^ Lps. philosophical labours, if y^r^ Lp. could so think fit. I do now receive a letter from the Conde de Gondomar, who, thinking that it should find me in England, saith thus: *Beso las manos mil vezes a mi sennor, el sennor Gran Chancilor, con my coracon; como estoy in su buena gracia.*"

Another letter, written from Flanders, by Matthew to "my good deere Lord Ambassadour" (no name is given, but that of Gondomar is probably correct), has a high tribute to Bacon. The reference to the *Essays* is, no doubt, to the Italian translation, for which Matthew wrote a "Dedication."

"I am ashamed that your Lordship hath wonne me by the hand, for I meant to have prevented you. I am exceedinge glad that the Essayes are soe well liked, but I beseech y^r^ L^pp^ conceaue rightlie that the dedicatour was not the Translatour, for I have not humilitie enough to auow a thing of another man's soe vilely done, but howsoeuer I will send my Lord Chancellour that excellent Elogium w^ch^ you send me, in soe few words of this letter, and I will saie I had it of y^u^, wherein I know I shall doe your L^pp^ noe wronge. There was never man more bound to man then I am to him, and I saie well then I am, for I am euen now more bound, then when I was with him. He makes me still keepe my lodginge in his howse, w^th^ the keys of it, in hope to see me, there againe, ere longe, whereof as I shall be exceedinge glad *suo tempore*, so in the meane while, I humblie thanke allmightie God, I am verie free from the heats, or colds of hope or fear either in this or anie other worldlie thinge. But to be true to y^r^ L^pp^, I am euen sicke againe of my Lord Chancellour, and am now translatinge the aforesaid booke into Spanishe, and that I will neither be ashamed to auow nor forgetfull to send your L^pp^ of the first coppies, when they shall be redie.

"Concerninge my comminge ouer, it is of a mixt nature, beinge neither a banishment, nor yet a more voluntarie action of mine owne, but I findinge that his Ma^tie would take contentment that I should retyre my selfe, came over (after I had settled some of my buisnesses) vnder this faire and honourable Licence, whereof I send your L^op here a coppie. His Ma^tie was diuerse tymes incensed against me, by my L^o of Canterburie, and some other Bishops, who (out of an opinion that I was *able* to do some hurt in the cause of Relligion) would needs conclude me to be *willinge*. Yet, in truth, my Lord's Grace did euer vse me w^th much exteriour favour, when I had occasion to wait upon him, though I know he doth cordially not loue me, through an unjust surmise he hath, of my procuringe to auert some great men in England, to have friendship w^th him, wherein I can saie much, w^ch is not fitt for paper, and I will speake clearly to your L^op, both of this, and manie other thinges when I shall chance upon the honour to see y^r L^op."

The following letters from Tobie to Bacon—the second of them written during an illness—are dated from Brussels in 1619. These documents constitute all that can be found relating to Tobie in this year, excepting two letters to Lord Doncaster, which follow them :—

Tobie Matthew to Bacon.[1]

"Most honoured Lord.

"I do even now receive this letter from the Conde de Gondomar, with direction I should send it, since I am not there to deliver it, to Mr. Wyche, that he may present it to y^r L^ps hand at such time as it may be of most use to him. He commands me besides, that, for his sake, I should become a humble solicitor to y^r L^p for this friend of his; which I presume to do, the more willingly because this party is a great friend of mine, and so are also many of his friends

[1] Spedding's *Life of Bacon*, p. 580.

Sr. Dudley Carleton

Viscount Dorchester.

Born 1573. Educated at Christ Church, Oxon. Ambassador to the United Provinces, and took a distinguished part at the Synod of Dort. Created Baron Carleton, 1625; Viscount Dorchester, 1628. Died February 15th, 1631-2.

my friends. Besides, he wills me to represent his great thanks to y^r L^p for the just favours you have been pleased to vouchsafe Mr. Wyche already, the rather in contemplation of the Conde, as he has been informed. And if, in the company, or rather in the attendance of so great an intercessor, it be not an unpardonable kind of ill manners to intrude myself, I presume to cast myself at y^r L^ps feet with protestation that I shall be very particularly bound to y^r L^ps goodness for any favour, with justice that he shall obtain.

"I beseech Jesus to keep y^r L^p ever entirely happy, and so doing all humble reverence, I take leave.

"Y^r L^ps most humble
"and most obliged servant,
"Tobie Matthew.

"Brussels, this 26th
of Feb., 1619."

Tobie Matthew to Sir Francis Bacon.[1]

"Most honourable Lord.

"It may please your Lordship there was with me, this day, one M^r Richard White, who hath spent some little time in Florence, and is now gone into England.[2]

"He tells me that Galileo had answered your discourse, concerning the flux and reflux of the sea, and was sending it unto me; but that M^r White hindered him, because his answer was grounded upon a false supposition, namely, that there was, in the ocean, a full sea, but once in 24 hours. But now I will call upon Galileo again. This M^r White is a discreet and understanding gentleman, though he seem a little soft, if not slow, and he hath in his hand all the works of Galileo, some printed and some unprinted. He hath his

[1] Spedding's *Life of Bacon*, vol. vii., p. 36.

[2] Thomas White, known as *Albius* or *Anglus*, son of Richard White, by his first wife, *née* Mary Plowden. He was ordained priest at Douai in 1617, and became Rector of the English College at Lisbon. In 1650, he returned to England and devoted himself to scientific pursuits and literature. He was an intimate friend of Sir Kenelm Digby, Descartes and Tobie Matthew.

discourse of the flux and reflux of the sea, which was never printed, as also a discourse of the mixture of metals. Those which are printed in his hand are these: the *Nuncius siderus;* the *Macchi solari;* and a third, *Delle Cose, che stanno sull' acqua,* by occasion of a disputation that was amongst learned men in Florence, about that which Archimedes wrote *de insidentibus humide.*

"I have conceived that your Lordship would not be sorry to see these discourses of that man, and therefore I have thought it belonging to my service to your Lordship to give him a letter of this date, though it will not be there as soon as this. The gentleman hath no pretence or business before your Lordship, but is willing to do your Lordship all humble service; and therefore, both for this reason, as also upon my humble request, I beseech your Lordship to bestow a countenance of grace upon him. I am beholden to the gentleman; and if your Lordship shall vouchsafe to ask him of me, I shall receive honour by it. And I most humbly do your Lordship reverence.

"Your Lordship's most obliged servant,

"Tobie Matthew.

"Brussels, from my
bed, the 4th of April, 1619."

With regard to Matthew's references to Galileo, it may be noted that in Stephen's Catalogue are two letters from Tobie Matthew, one dated October 1st, 1615—beginning, "After a year's silence," and described as "a compliment, with some account of a Conference with Galileo"—and the other dated April 21st, 1616, beginning, "The notice I have"; and described as "sent with one enclosed to the Archbishop, touching his case," and "a piece of a letter of Galileo's about the text in the book of Joshua, of the sun standing still."

Tobie's correspondence with Lord Doncaster is of some importance, though Mr. Seccombe does not allude to it. James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, came to England with James I. He was created Baron Hay in 1606, and Lord Hay of Lawley, in 1615. He was many times employed in foreign political missions from 1616 to 1624, when he became Ambassador at Paris. Lord Hay was created Viscount Doncaster on July 5th, 1618, and Earl of Carlisle in 1622; he died in 1636. From the legal and diplomatic training of his youth, and from the excellence of his memory throughout life, Tobie Matthew was able to impress ministers—albeit he was out of the King's favour—with a sense of his usefulness. His letters to Lord Doncaster show that he was in a position to communicate interesting information. From them—as from much of his correspondence—may be gathered his anxiety to return to the land of his fathers. For this end he was ready to undertake anything, short of the renunciation of his Faith, implied by taking the Oath of Allegiance. That some suspicion of his being a priest and a Jesuit had crossed Lord Doncaster's mind when he elicited Tobie's emphatic denial of his prefectship of the Sodality of Our Lady at Brussels, is evident. The denial proved satisfactory, and the correspondence continued. It was a prelude to a matter which, at this time, Tobie Matthew had in his mind, namely, the attempted union of the Courts

of England and Spain, by the marriage of Charles, Prince of Wales, to the Infanta, Donna Maria, who was offered to the Prince by the Spanish Minister, the Duke of Lerma, often mentioned—and sometimes, as we have seen, in a disguised reference—in Matthew's correspondence.

Tobie Matthew to Lord Doncaster.

"Most Noble Lord.

"Want of memory is none of y^e^ miseries y^t^ I am most subject to, and I hope I shall be able, after a much longer tyme than is incurred, since I had y^e^ honour to apear last in y^r^ L^ps^ presence, to represent y^r^ noble favours to my mind, in fresh collours. I would to God my abilityes were as well able to overtake my desyres to do y^r^ L^p^ some real seruice; but these have wings to flye, and those have not so much as legges to goe. But, howeuer, I vow to y^r^ L^p^ y^t^ my hart is well awake towardes you; and not only wakinge, but watchinge; nor only y^t^ but prayinge also, for some good occasion, whereby y^e^ world might see y^t^ I have witt enough to discouer, and worth enough to admire, y^e^ plenty of y^t^ which lies in your deep head and tardye hart.

"This Archduke is crept up, into such a proportion of strength, as is strandge, consideringe y^t^, within this moneth, he looked as if he had been within an inch of nothinge. He is here within four days to beginne a pilgrimage to a place of devotion in y^e^ land of Leedge (Liège); and y^e^ circumstances of this tyme makes men thincke y^t^ it is not all devotion. The Conde de Gondomar hath receaued a kind of late order, out of Portugall, y^t^ he should prepare for towardes England about y^e^ end of August. But y^e^ newes thereof is accompanied w^th^ y^e^ notice of some such other particulars, as make me thincke y^t^ howsoeuer this business doth still moue, it is rather with the motion of a febricitant in a bed, then of a sound man in an open field.

"There is a heape of money upon Calderon,[1] and he must see it, in despight of his hart; for after y^t he grew to be of great hopes, his keepers have been changed to y^e worse, his diett is diminished; and his fatt limmes loaden with yron. I beseech God I may be so and worse used, when I by my thoughts shall once harbour y^e least disloyall purpose towardes my Kinge; yea, or when I fayle of a most ardent and reverent affection to y^r L^ps person or fortunes. I begg y^r L^ps hand to kiss, and continue,

"Most noble Lord,

"Y^r L^ps most humble

"and most faythfull seruant,

"Tobie Matthew.

"Brussels, this
6^th of July, 1619."

Three weeks later, Matthew wrote the letter denying the charge that he was Prefect of the Sodality of Our Lady at Brussels:—

"Most honoured Lord.

"For y^r L^ps noble letter, and more noble fauour you expressed therein, you may be pleased to make your selfe your owne courier of my humblest thanckes, for y^e treasures of my hart ar poured out before y^r L^p. For I see that you are pleased, not only to haue me y^r seruant, but you ar takinge care to keepe me so; and so to keepe me, as not to haue the least cause to disavow me; and therein I hope I shall ever be answerable to myne owne duty, and y^r L^ps designe.

"Certainly my Lord, he y^t made y^e information agaynst me, for seekinge y^e Prefectship of y^e Sodality call'd me dogg, by craft; for otherwise he would never have procured

[1] Don Rodriguez de Calderon, Count d'Oliva, was the son of a poor Spanish soldier. He entered the service of the Duke of Lerma, and rose high in his favour. He was loaded with riches, and appointed Secretary of State, under Philip III. of Spain. When the Duke of Lerma fell, in 1618, Calderon was charged with murder, witchcraft and extortion, and with poisoning Queen Margaret. His trial dragged on for two and a half years, and though he was not found guilty, he was executed on the charge of murder, October 21st, 1621.

to beate me, with such a staff, w^ch^ he did not only find easily, but first he made it, with strandge folly. I beseech y^r^ L^p^ loose so much tyme as may lead y^r^ wise eye to y^e^ discovery hereof in this particular; concernynge w^ch^ I am not lyable in effect to any more blame, then if he would have accused me, for goinge to mass. For first, the Sodality and the like are free from all collour of State and practise, and are only inducements of men towardes an increase of deuotion in relligion, and especially towardes y^e^ immaculate Mother of God. So is also y^e^ Rosary, and so are diuers others, whereof I also am a member. As for this of y^e^ Sodality, I send y^r^ L^p^, heer inclosed, the rules thereof, to y^e^ End, that since I must needs be a Party, I may receaue the honour to have y^r^ L^p^ for my judge. Or else, supposinge y^r^ infinite business of y^r^ L^p^, I craue leave to putt my selfe upon y^e^ ingenuity and prudence of Doctor Dunne,[1] whether in being of y^e^ Sodality, I deserve to be any otherwise obnoxious, then for y^e^ exercise of my relligion, since this is no property of an English Catholique, but common to all y^e^ countryes and kingdomes of y^e^ world, who embrace y^t^ Communion, whereof I am. Now if the Sodality it selfe be meerly an inducement to deuotion, ye Prefecture thereof cannot be faulty, otherwise then as there is fault in y^e^ thinge it selfe. But yet, though it should, my selfe have nothinge at all to awnser for therein, for I vow to God y^t^ when I was named to it, I did so vehemently disclayme therein, as y^t^ it serued my turne; and another was made, and I am no more y^e^ Prefect, then M^r^ Trumble is. And if such trifling imputations as these be able to give me preiudice in England, it is not in my power to auoyed it; and I were too miserable if I should place my felicity upon impossibilityes. But if honesty and perfect loyalty will have y^e^ turne, I am so rich in these commodityes, and so resolued y^t^ I will neuer putt them out upon trust, as y^t^ all y^e^ world cannot make me banckerout. Yet neyther will I be so much as honest out of interests of hope or feare, but only because God and his Lieutenants & y^e^ nobility of

[1] Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's.

man's nature inclyne me to it. And because y^r L^p hath in my conscience as much of that as any creature y^t I haue the honour to know, give me leaue, my Lord, to say y^t you shall defend my innocency, who protest to God y^t under Him, my selfe, as poore a man as I am, cannot find in my proud hart, to hould by any other tenure but y^t.

"Lett not this discourse of mine, w^ch is only putt into y^r L^ps care, be interpreted eyther to audacity or vanity; but lett a beggar be pardoned if he speake well of himselfe, when he deserues not ill, because he cannot buy y^e tongues of others. And lett God neuer prosper me, if I do not highly honour and cordially loue y^r L^ps noble ayre which I know will keep you from euer hauinge a worse passion towardes me, than pity.

"Your Lordship's most deeply
"obliged seruant,
"Tobie Matthew.

"Namur, on my way to
y^e Spaw, 27^th of July, 1619."

During the following year—1620—Tobie conducted a vigorous correspondence with Lord Doncaster, to whom he proved very useful. He was able also to commend to the great man's notice, his friend and fellow-priest, George Gage. He mentions Gage in a postscript to a letter written from Brussels, on February 6th, 1620, and says:—"My Lord, as much as Mr. Gage is my friend, he is y^r L^ps most humble seruant. This once, I haue sayd a greate in a little."

A letter, dated March 18th, 1620, discusses the possibility of Tobie's return to England. He says:—

"By mine to your Lo^p of y^e last weeke, it will appear to your L^p, y^t I am not ignorant of those great offices of fauour w^ch you were pleased to desygne towardes me, in case my father

should have dyed. Now, I have cause to note y^t y^r L^p is not so valiant as you ought to be; since your selfe durst not tell me, by yours of y^e 28^th of y^e last, how infinitely I was bound to you, for those so faire offers, w^ch were made by that vouchsafing goodness and friendship to this your seruant. This very day y^e rumour of my father's death is come agayne upon me, by way of re-nye; and though I believe it not, yet because it must one day happen, and may perhaps before I be out of y^e world, I thought fitt to lett y^r L^p understand y^e state of my desyre concerninge a returne into England, w^ch would be very necessary for y^e hindringe me fro' great preiudices in case y^e other accident should arriue. My lord, do not start when I name returninge into England; for I meane not (so much as in my desyne) to turne your face towardes so paynfull a business; neyther shall I need to do it; in case y^r L^p may, of your selfe, discern a good opportunity to mooue in it, whereof some ouverture may chaunce to be one day made. . . . . I profess to y^r L^p that there is nothinge in this world, y^t I covett, in any comparison with my country. And this not for y^e reasons y^t have been suggested to his Ma^tie for mis-information: namely, practise and persuasions against y^e religgion there professed, but meerly, I protest to God, for my health (w^ch ye Doctour knowes not to be very prosperous) . . . . for y^e expectation of some fortune f^rom my father (if I were in place where I might deserue it of him) and especially y^t I might have the ayre of my compatriots sowles breath sweetly vpon me, and so be as happy in such conuersation as this world can tell how to make a man. . . . . Y^r L^p shall have all power to dispose of me. . . . . Y^r L^p is already ye Kinges Master of y^e Robes; you shall be myne; and since the mind, for as much as concerneth morality, will giue it selfe away, to be fashioned by you, there can be no question of y^e body. And whensoeuer y^r L^p might discouer the least errour in my carriadge (w^ch yet I am sure would be involuntary), a shaddow doth not more diligently wayte vpon y^e body, then my reformation should do vpon your admonition."

In a postscript to this long letter, Tobie Matthew writes :—

"My Lord, I begg y^t this letter may be kept very safe, as well as secret, to y^e end, y^t if euer I see my country, and y^t I should swerue from y^t w^ch heer I have protested, it may be both a witness, and an executioner, agaynst me, in y^r handes, & if y^t hope shall fayle me finally and y^t I resolue vpon liuinge and dyinge on this side of y^e sea, I will presume to call for this letter agayne, least after you, it might survive to y^e sight of others, who might thincke that I would have ever brought my country . . . ."

(The paper is somewhat frayed at the edge, and the end of the postscript is difficult to decipher.)

Extracts from certain other letters from Tobie to Lord Doncaster will suffice to indicate the confidential nature of the political correspondence.

Writing on March 19th, 1620, Tobie says :—

"Till y^e uttermost dilligence be vsed, both at Leedge (Liège) and Mastricht, I would not have y^e letters to Spinola[1] and Annour[2] delivered, nor Mr. Trumbull to speak with them, and y^e Governour of Mastricht, in y^e strengthe whereof, we might still be kept in y^e darke. But then they may be deliuered. Spinola hath no more ability to beleeue a protestation agaynst an impression of his nature then a deafe man, nor no more latitude or tenderness then a tooth-picke. But as for Annour (?) I would fayne have liberty of M^r Trumbull (and so I will tell him *suo tempore*) to speake w^th him as of my selfe about y^r L^p ; as I have done upon occasions already, but not indeed in this business. . . . . In ye meane tyme, I will tell y^r L^p of a letter, y^t I saw and read, within this señight. Your L^p shall promise me not to take notice of it, without my consent, but if you shall

[1] Marquis Ambrose Spinola, General of the Spanish forces in the Netherlands.

[2] This name may be Acunas : the MS. is illegible.

desyre it (w^ch^ yet I thincke you will not) I will present you with some ouverture (if it be in my power) how you may do it. This letter was written unto this Court by one, whom I know to be a very confident friend of one of the two, of whom I spake to y^r^ L^p^ heer in the tennice court. The words ar these: The Kinge sent the Lord of Doncaster, since his returne, to Padre Maestro [1] to lett him know what paynes he had taken to accommodate the Emperour's affayres. Padre Maestro replyd, That formerly, vpon his own protestations, he had assured the King of Spaigne his master, much to his owne shame, which proued altogether contrary; and y^t^ therefore now my Lord of Doncaster must pardon him if he refused agayne to giue his King assurance of my Lord's good meaning, w^ch^ Padre Maestro sayd was an office fitter for M^r^ Cottington to perform, than him."

On March 26th, Matthew writes in the course of a long letter:—

"The opinion which is held of y^r^ L^p^ in this Court is, as I will tell you, and I know it to be so, in many wayes, That you are a worthy, a wise, and a noble hearted man. That yet you are mightily franck in your affection. That, in your particular, you were much disgusted with the Emperour's first awnswear to you, before he was Emperour (wherein they thincke you had no reason, because you came infinitely too late to comply with y^t^ proiect w^ch^ had passed between our Kinge and the Kinge of Spaigne) That our Kinge's carriadge is very different f^ro^ his presence in this business; and that so he meant it f^ro^ the beginninge; and y^t^ he made choyse of you, as so confident a Minister, as by who^m^ he might negotiate what he listed. That you did what you could neer Franckfort, for y^e^ puttinge of y^e^ election of an Emperour. That first you sought to putt it out of y^e^ house of Austria; next from y^e^ person of Ferdinand,[2] and they haue your negotiation at Bavaria for a very suspected piece of work."

[1] The principal chaplain at the Spanish Embassy in London.

[2] King of Bohemia and Hungary, Emperor of Germany.

This letter, which is subscribed, "From you Lp^s^ true and faithfull seruant, who loves and honours you, beyond all expression," has the following post-script:—"The letter written to me fr^o^ Mastricht, w^ch^ I sent y^r^ Lp. in ye other packett, comes indeed fr^o^ ye Rectour of y^e^ Jesuits' Colledge, who^m^ you saw, though I only tould M^r^ Trumbull y^t^ he was a priest of y^t^ towne of good credit. But in y^e^ mean tyme, you may be satisfyed y^t^ the thinge contayned there, concerninge what y^e^ Governour sayth, is true, and y^t^ it will be justified by me. And if, for y^e^ declaringe thereof, you will have me send you a *fede*, in any languadge, under mine owne hand, hold you up y^e^ finger of yours. I keepe a copy of y^e^ letter. My friend, Mr. Gage is your faythfull seruant."

Of this "faythfull seruant" Tobie writes, on May 5th, to Lord Doncaster from Brussels :—

"This goes to y^r^ L^p^ by that thing, of y^e^ whole world w^ch^ I loue most. It is M^r^ Gage, whom already I have taken from beinge a strandger to your L^p^. I knew not how to commend my iudgement better to you, then to let you see and know, whom I had chosen for a frend, and I presume to buyld so stronge upon y^r^ L^ps^ noble loue and fauour to me and mine; as y^t^ I have transferred as much of it vpon him, as he can need, and y^r^ L^p^ can impart. Be you y^e^ iudge of whether I make myselfe sure I mean what I say, since I do not so much as begg it of you."

Matthew expressed himself as "sadd at hart" at separation from this friend. Apparently Gage had recently recovered from a severe illness, for

on April 24th, 1620, Matthew had written to Carleton:—

"My friend Mr Gage hath been once or twice . . . . even at ye gates of death, and his risinges and fallinges have putt me so out of order, as scarce to haue been mayster of my selfe. . . . . Mr Gage bidds me kiss your hand, with humble and sincere affection. He is now instantly goinge into England, where if he be able to do you any faythfull seruice, I vndertake for him as for myselfe."

Political matters—such as a record of the receipt of "news out of France, that the Prince of Condy was arrested by order of the King, at the Louvre"—provide Matthew with themes for his communications to Carleton. But we again find him considered an authority on matters artistic. In the autumn of 1620 he was called upon by Trumbull to negotiate, on Carleton's behalf, with no less a master than Rubens, for pictures required by the Prince of Wales. Trumbull wrote to Carleton on Nov. 6—16 from Brussels:—"For yr Lo. picture, Mr Mathewe and I will joyne our cares, creditt & dilligence to procure it, at ye best and easyest rate. And ether jointly or severally, wee will repaire thither (I meane to Antwerpe) to gett yor Lp. contentment." About a fortnight later, Trumbull addressed Carleton on the same subject. "Sigr. Reubens," he said, "hath finished yor Lp.'s picture. . . . . Mr. Matthew, before this time, is gonne to Antwerpe, to view it, and at his retourne (if he wryte not himself) I will acquaint yor Lp. with his reporte."

Matthew did "wryte himself," to give his "reporte." The following is his letter, addressed from Antwerp, November 25th, 1620:—

"I have receaved y^r L^ps of y^e 12 of y^e last, and as soone as I found by Rubens y^t y^e Caccia ('Hunt')[1] was ended, I came hither to serue y^r Lp. I have seen both y^e Creation & y^e Caccia; they are just of a bigness. The Creation is so intirely spoyled y^t for my part I would not be bound to hang it up, in sight, though he would giue it for nothinge, and he offers it to me, or to anybody for fifteen Duckatts. It daily grows worse and worse by any indeavor y^t he can vse to restore it. The Carmite came not with it.

"The Caccia is of an excellent dasseigne. There ar Lyons and Tygars, and three men on horseback (some in halfe figures) huntinge and killinge beastes, and beinge killed by them. The originall was a rare thing & sold to y^e Duke of Bavaria for 100 pounds starlinge, but it was bigger than this. Rubens confesseth in confidence y^t it was not all of his owne doing, and I have thanked him for this confession, for a man that hath but half an eye may easily discerne it, but he protests that he hath touched it all over, in all partes of it. I must confess a truth to your Lp. (though I know he will be angry at it, if he knows it) y^t it scarce doth look like a thing y^t is finished, and y^e colorite of it doth little please me, though upon y^e whole mattir, it be a gallant piece, for y^e desseigne of it is precious.

"I did not with all y^e discretion I had, deale w^th him about y^e price, but his demands are like y^e Laws of Medes & Persians w^ch may not be altered. He valued as he sayth" (in a letter to Trumbull) "his Caccia at a hundred Philipps, besides y^e Creation. I wish y^t letter had not been written, for I see it helpes to oblige him to be vnreasonable, for I was so imprudent, as to offer him fifty duckatts, & y^t by degrees; but the cruel courteous paynter would not sett a less^r price

[1] This "Caccia" seems to have been ultimately bought by Carleton for Prince Charles.

vpon it then before, but told me as he sayd he told Mr Trumbull, yt he could refere him selfe to your Lp.'s curtesy. I told him plainly yt I would not oblige you to such a proportion of expence, & I thought he might content himselfe with less, that you did but ordayne his picture, out of a compliment to a frend of yours in England; and yt if he would not color, I would tell yr Lp. in what case thinges stood & what I had seen, and what I had sayd, yt your Lp. might take your owne resolution. And so your Lp. sees I do, & if yet anythinge remayne to be done by me, I am both in this & in anythinge of your Lp.'s seruice, as ready as your Lp.'s owne hart can thincke or wish."

The letter has two postscripts, as follows :—

"*Post:*—If the case were mine, I would make no difficulty to send him fourscore duckatts, & to thincke yt he might well be contented wth it. For truly, though I had much vse of such a picture, I would be very loath to give him for it, 15 pounds. Yet perhaps, for so small a matter, you will not have him to be able to say yt you are content to beate a bargayne with him.

"*Post:*—Your Lp. will have read how Van Dike, his famous alliens, is gone into England, & yet the Kinge hath given him a Pension of 100 li, p. ann: I doubt he will have carried ye desseigne of this piece into England, & if he have, I durst lay my payre of handes to a payre of gloves yt he will make a much better peece than this is, for halfe yr money yt he askes. Perhaps, I am deceaued, but I thought fitt to tell your Lp. playnly, all yt I knowe or feare in this, though I doubt not but your Lp. will dexterously governe your knowledge of it, for else, this fellow will flye upon me, yet please your selfe, for I am at a poynt.

"yt Lps. T. M.

"Endorsed, Mr. Tob: Matthew,
"ye 25 of 9br red
"ye 29, 1620."

CHAPTER VII

FROM THE OPENING OF THE EVENTFUL YEAR 1621, TO TOBIE MATTHEW'S KNIGHTHOOD, IN 1623

Impeachment of Bacon. Tobie's regard undiminished. Two versions of a letter from Bacon to Tobie. Bacon's "Confession." Letter to Lord Doncaster, with mention of Lady Arundell. Tobie comes, by the King's order, to England. Commissioners at Dover eye him with suspicion. The King intervenes to attempt a reconciliation between Tobie and his parents. He engages in a theological discussion in the royal presence. Is employed in negotiations with the Holy See for the marriage of Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta. George Gage presents petition to the Pope, and Tobie starts for Madrid. Bacon writes, referring to "Essay on Friendship." Letter from Tobie to Buckingham refers to Diet of Ratisbon. Pope declines to grant dispensation till benefits are accorded to English Catholics. Prince of Wales and Buckingham arrive in Madrid. Dr. Matthew remonstrates with the King for toleration to Papists. Tobie counsels return of Buckingham. Letters from Bacon. Prince Charles writes to King commending "littell prittie Tobie Matthew." Tobie's description of the Infanta. Negotiations fall through. Tobie petitions the King of Spain. He returns to England, and is knighted.

CHAPTER VII

FROM THE OPENING OF THE EVENTFUL YEAR 1621, TO TOBIE MATTHEW'S KNIGHTHOOD, IN 1623

THE year 1621 was one of the most memorable years in Tobie Matthew's eventful life. Its commencement was clouded with sorrow; its close was crowned with joy; for, opening with the impeachment of Bacon, it terminated with the long-sought permission for Matthew to return unconditionally to England. The fall of the great Chancellor meant untold grief to Matthew, though the friendship between the two men was rather cemented than severed thereby. Matthew could not forget that, fourteen years earlier, he himself had forfeited all hope of earthly honours and prosperity, and incurred the condemnation of his fellow-countrymen, while Bacon, at considerable risk, stood staunch in his friendship. It was now Tobie's turn to prove his fidelity to one whom adversity had overtaken.

"I suppose," says Spedding,[1] "about this time (June, 1621) Bacon wrote to Toby Matthew,

[1] *Life of Bacon*, vii., 285.

whose constant affection, through all varieties of both their fortunes, cannot but be thought greatly to the honour of both. What Matthew felt when he heard of the impeachment and the issue of it, may be imagined by those who know his opinion of Bacon's character, as set forth only three years before, for the information of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in the dedicatory letter, prefixed to an Italian translation of the *Essays* and *Wisdom of the Ancients*, in which, after some account of his career and position, and a description of his intellectual powers, he goes on to say that 'praise is not confined to the qualities of his intellect, but applies as well to those which are matters of the heart, the will, and moral virtue; being a man both sweet in his ways and conversation, grave in his judgments, invariable in his fortunes, splendid in his expenses, a friend, unalterable to his friends; an enemy to no man; a most indefatigable servant to the King, and a most earnest lover of the Public; having all the thoughts of that large heart of his set upon adorning the age in which he lives, and benefiting, as far as possible, the whole human race.' . . . . Matthew gave ample proof that Bacon's loss of greatness made no difference to him. His regard for him could hardly be greater than it had been before, and it certainly suffered no diminution. What words he wrote to him, on hearing of the impeachment, and the issue of it, we do not know,

Sir Robert Sherley (1581-1628).
Envoy in the service of the Shah of Persia. Portrait painted by Vandyck.

but we may infer their tenor from the reply. What we have of it is probably only an extract, and is stripped, as usual, of all personal allusions that might fix the date exactly. But it suits this time, better than any other. Matthew was still abroad, waiting impatiently for leave to return to England, which Digby was endeavouring to obtain for him."

The following extract is from Matthew's *Collection*, and is entitled, "A letter of Sir Francis Bacon to a servant of his (Toby Matthew) in expression of great acknowledgement and kindness":—

"Sir.

"I have been too long a debtor to you, for a letter, and especially for such a letter, the words whereof were delivered by your hand, as if it had been in old gold. For it was not possible for entire affection to be more generously and effectually expressed. I can but return thanks to you; or rather indeed, such an answer as may better be of thoughts than words. I hope God hath ordained me some small time, whereby I may redeem the loss of much. Your company was ever of contentment to me, and your absence of grief. I beseech you therefore make haste hither, where you shall meet with as good a welcome, as your own heart can wish."

The letter which now follows is taken from the "Gibson Papers"—the copy in Bacon's own hand.

Bacon to Tobie Matthew.

"Good Mr. Matthew.

"In this solitude of friends, which is the base court of adversity, where almost nobody will be seen stirring, I have often remembered a saying of my Lord Ambassador of Spain,[1] *Amor*

[1] Gondomar.

sin fin no tiene fin. This moveth me to make choice of his excellent Lordship, for his noble succours towards not the aspiring, but the respiring of my fortunes.

"I, that am a man of books, have observed his Lordship to have the magnanimity of his own nation, and the cordiality of ours; and by this time, I think he has the wit of both. Sure I am that, for myself, I have found him, in both my fortunes, to esteem me as much above value, and to love me so much above possibility of deserving or obliging on my part, as if he were a friend reserved for such a time as this. I have known his Lordship likewise (where I stood at a stand, where I might look about) a most faithful and respective friend to my Lord Marquis; who next the King & Prince was my raiser and must be (he, or none), I do not say my restorer, but my reliever.

"I have (as I made you acquainted, at your being with me) a purpose to present my Lord Marquis[1] with an offer of my house and lands, here at Gorhambury, a thing, which, as it is the best means I have now left to demonstrate my affection to his Lordship, so I hope it will be acceptable to him. This proposition I desire to put into no other hands but my Lord Ambassador's, as judging his hand to be the safest, the most honourable, and the most effectual for my good, if my Lord will be pleased to deal in it. And when I had thus resolved, I never sought nor thought of any means but yourself, being so private, faithful and discreet a friend to us both. I desire you therefore (good Mr. Matthew) to acquaint my Lord Ambassador with this overture; and both to use yourself, & desire at his Lordship's hands, secrecy therein; and withal to let his Lordship know that in this business whatsoever in particular you shall treat with him, I shall not fail, in all points, to make good and perform. Commend my humble service to his Lordship. I ever rest,

"Your most affectionate and assured friend,

"Fr. St. Alban.

"Gorhambury, 28 February, 1621."

[1] Buckingham.

"There is in Matthew's own *Collection*," says Spedding, "another version of this letter, with variations, which I do not know how to account for. Most probably, had it been in any other collection, I should have taken it for an earlier draft; but being addressed to Matthew himself, it seems more likely that it was taken from the letter as he received it. If so, it affords a good illustration of the editorial manipulation to which the letters in that collection have been subjected, and the care which has been used (as I have had so often to notice, with regret) to take out of them all allusions to persons and particulars. 'Good Mr. Matthew,' the form in which Bacon addressed him, in all the letters remaining in manuscript, gives place to 'Sir.' This was in modesty, the Collector never appearing himself, except as a 'friend' or a 'servant.' A 'saying of my Lord Ambassador of Spain' becomes a 'Spanish saying.' 'His excellent Lordship' is turned into 'your friend and mine'; the 'magnanimity of *his own nation*, and the cordiality of *ours*' is (by a more unjustifiable licence) changed into 'the magnanimity of the *Old Romans*, and the cordiality of the *Old English*'; a change, not only unwarranted, but destructive of the point of observation; and suggested probably by an apprehension that the allowance of any virtue to Spain would be too shocking for English ears. The reference to 'my Lord Marquis' is omitted altogether. Instead of

the particular description of the overture which was the business of the letter, we find only, 'You know what I have to say to the great Lord.' And 'my Lord Ambassador' is again concealed under the general description of 'this gentleman.' That the conclusion varies from the Lambeth MSS., both by addition and omission, and without any apparent motive, may be explained, perhaps, by supposing that the Lambeth copy was the draft, and that, in writing it fair, Bacon himself made changes. But the changes I have noticed above are such as could not possibly be accounted for, by that supposition; they are evidently due to the discretion of the editor, in preparing the manuscript for publication; and I have been the more particular in noticing them, because I have reason to believe that all the letters in Matthew's *Collection* have been treated in the same way; and therefore, where anything turns upon a particular expression, we must always remember that we cannot be sure that it was Bacon's own. The letter, as it appears in the *Collection*, is thus described:—'My Lord of St. Alban's to a certain friend, acknowledging the truth of affection, which he found to be in a certain good man.'"

In Bacon's *Confession* two items concern Tobie Matthew, but it is only fair to Lord St. Alban's memory to preface them here, with the summing up of Mr. Hepworth Dixon, in his admirable *Personal*

History of Lord Bacon. That author says:—"After the most rigorous and vindictive scrutiny into his official acts, and into the official acts of his servants, not a single fee or remembrance, traced to the Chancellor, can by any fair construction be called a bribe. Not one appears to have been given in secret; not one is alleged to have corrupted justice."

The items which concern Matthew are here given:—

Bacon's Confession.

(7) "In the cause between Holman and Yong, he received of Yong an hundred pounds after the decree made for him.

'I confess and declare that, as I remember, a good while after the cause ended, I received an hundred pounds, either by Mr. Tobye Matthew, or from Yong himself.'

(14) "He received of Sir Ralph Hansby, having a cause depending before him, £500.

'I confess and declare that there were two decrees, one, as I remember, for the inheritance, and the other for the goods and chattels, but all upon one bill, & some good time after the first decree, and before the second, the said five hundred pounds was delivered by Mr. Tobye Matthew; so I cannot deny, but it was upon the matter *pendente lite.*'"

During this year of 1621, while Bacon's misfortunes were heavy on his mind, and while hopes and fears concerning his return to his own country were agitating him, Tobie Matthew seems to have continued negotiations with Rubens, on behalf of Prince Charles's agent, Carleton, during the months of June, July and September.

The following extracts from contemporary letters point to this matter :—

Trumbull to Carleton.

"Antwerp, June 11-21, 1621.

". . . . Mr Tob: Matthew is here. I conjecture he may take it unkyndely that yr Lp. hath not yet made answear to his last, with the picture he did visit in the handes of Rubens."

The same to the same.

"Brussels, July 21-31, 1621.

". . . . Mr Tob. Matthew wente yesterday towards Callais. . . . . At his retourne (wch will be shortly) wee will joyne our forces to reduce Rubens to a reasonable agreement, with my Lord Danvers."

The same to the same.

"Brussels, Sep. 1-11, 1621.

". . . . Mr Tob: Matthew doth carry this letter to Brussels, whence he will wryte to yr Lp., and give you an answear about yr desyred picture."

In July of this year, Tobie Matthew wrote to Lord Doncaster a letter which may be quoted here :[1]—

Sir T. Matthew to Lord Doncaster.

"My Lord.

"Though I am not able to cure you, when you are sicke, I can be, and I am, most cordially glad yt you are recovered. Since I had ye honour to wrighte to your Lp. last, wch was a fortnight since, there is no manner of alteration in these parts, nor, for ought I heer, in those of Germany ; nor yet in Rome, about ye Dispensation, nor have yr Cardinals of yt Congregation mett about it yet. These last letters bring word from Rome yt Cardinal Bellarmine, beinge in as great good health as so great an age would permit,

[1] Brit. Museum, Eng. MSS. 2594, f. 102.

took his leave of y^e^ Pope & of all y^e^ Cardinalls, and provided for all his seruants, and dismissed them, w^th^ intention to retyre himself from all worldly business, and to goe prepare himselfe for a good death at St. Andrewe's in Rome (the Novitiat of y^e^ Jesuites), a place which he had euer loued in particular manner. He went, and took only two seruantes with him to attend him, and when he had been there only two dayes, he fell downe, greatly sicke, and the Pope hath visited him, & y^e^ next letters will tell us whether he be recouered or dead.

"Your Lp., I make account, is now in y^e^ very heat of your business, for w^ch^ it were a sinne to distract you longer. Continue me in y^e^ honour of your fauour and love, and begin to make me happy, by commanding me to do you service.

"Brussels, this 23^rd^ of 7^ber^ 1621.

One word from you
do I begge, & you
shall not deny it me,
by M^r^ Savill, who can send it.

Your Lp.'s most obliged
humble seruant ever,
Tobie Matthew.

M^r^ Trumbull tells me y^t^
my Lo. Digby is departed from
Vienna, 18 dayes since, & so de-
parted, as y^t^ he knowes not where to find him, with his letters, & y^t^ he hath
taken Simon Digby with him. An ill
signe, if it be true ; but I doubt it,
for it is too strandge. For M^r^ Gresly could
not be then arrived with him, out of England. Could it be perhaps, to give my Lady of Arundell a writinge? No. Fy, no."

The "Lady Arundell" of whom Tobie here writes was Anne, Countess of Arundel and Surrey, daughter of Thomas, Lord Dacres. She married

the unfortunate Philip, Earl of Arundel. In 1582 she became a Catholic ; for which offence she was placed under surveillance, by order of Queen Elizabeth, in the house of Sir Thomas Shirley. After the death of her husband (who had also been reconciled to the Church), at the close of an imprisonment of ten years in the Tower, Lady Arundel devoted herself to works of piety and charity. Among other benefactions to the Jesuits is the foundation by her of the College of the Society of Jesus at Ghent, at which Tobie Matthew was a frequent visitor.

Happier times, as regards Tobie's personal experiences, were now in store. In the *Memorials of the Archbishop of York and his Son*, by Mr. Thomas Wilson, F.S.A., are the following comments on his qualifications for his better fortune :—

"Young Toby, tho' his Expe'nces like a Gentleman and a Traveller were something extraordinary, yet he did not neglect the Studies, his Genii prompted to him ; and Nature, assisted by Art, made him abroad most famous and eminent in the most refined Knowledge in Politics.

"Upon this character coming to King James the First, in 1621, he sent a messenger to invite young Toby over, into his native country, to consult with him about some intricate matters of State. He immediately obeyed the King's order, came into England, and waited on his Majesty at the Court, where he became very much respected, not only by the King, but by all the Nobility and others at the Court, whose caresses of him continued several years after."

The immediate matter in which Tobie's help was deemed desirable, was the royal Spanish match. He and his friend George Gage were both excellent linguists, and were conversant with the procedures of the Roman and Spanish courts. The utility of such persons in this affair was obvious, and it did not require a very large amount of persuasion on the part of Digby—now Earl of Bristol—to induce King James, ever alive to his own interests, to give his royal licence to Tobie to pass over, unconditionally, into this realm. On December 28th he once more set foot on the soil of the land which he ardently loved.

The Commissioners of the Passage at Dover, eyed him with suspicion, as a professed and notorious recusant, but, on the strength of his commendatory letters, allowed him to proceed, by way of Canterbury, to London, duly reporting his arrival to Lord Zouch, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Judge of the Admiralty Courts. He was not, however, allowed to continue his journey till Lord Zouch had received direct authority from the King, to sanction his further movements.

The Commissioners of the Passage thus addressed Lord Zouch:[1]—

"Dover, Dec. 29, 1621.

" . . . . May it please your honour . . . . to be advertised that yesterday landed at this port from Callise, M[r] Tobie

[1] S.P. cxxiv. 82.

Mathewe (beynge a p'son knowne to be a Recusant); he shewed vnto us a license from the R^t Honble. Lordes of his Ma^ties Privie Councell for his passage beyond the Seas, and thence from the R^t Ho^hle the Lord Digbye, for his Returne; he also shewed vnto us a L^re from the Right Hob^le the Lord of Doncaster, for his repaire to his Lp. at Parris, and as he sayeth, his intent was to have attended his honor there, and thence to have wayted on him to England, but for that some other occasion hindered him. Both w^ch L^res and also the saide passe, the said M^r Tobie Mathewe was willinge to leaue with us, to be sent to yo^r L^p for yor dischardge & to receive the same from yo^r honor agayne; wee humbly confesse to yo^r L^p that we were much perplexed, and made doubt, whether to suffer him to come further into this Kingdom, without more speciall licence, as beinge willinge to p'forme the trust yo^r honor reposeth in us, and not to give occasion of offence to any other of the Lords of his Ma^ties most ho^ble privie councell, and rather resolued to suffer him to repaire to London, then to detayne him heer, he having faithfully promised to attend yo^r L^p at his first coming to that citty. Hoping yo^r L^p will excuse us"—&c.

"P.S. We find Mr. Mathewe intended to travaile noe further then to the Citty of Canterbury, this night, as he sayeth."

Lord Digby wrote to Lord Zouch as follows:[1]—

"Dec. 31st, 1621. Whitehawle.

"My very good Lord.

"His Ma^tie was pleased, for some particular reasons, to give license to M^r Tobie Mathew, to returne into England, who beeing landed att Dover, he vnderstands he is there stayed by y^r Lo: officers. His Ma^tie hath therefore commanded me to signifie his pleasure to yo^r L^p that you giue present orders that he may be forthwith freed, and have libertie to make his present repaire hither, to attend his Ma^tie and receaue his further commandments."

[1] S.P. cxxiv. 84.

Tobie's return was communicated by Chamberlain to Carleton at the Hague; the tone of the letter giving the news, betrays the remarkable change, which, owing to his alienation from their religious profession, had taken place in the attitude of these friends towards him.

"I heare," wrote Chamberlain, on January 4th, 1622, "y^r^ olde frend Tobie Mathew is come hither again, but by what meanes or what warrant I cannot learne. At his last being here, yt is said (how truly I know not) that he got a greate deale of monie by the L. Chancellor's fauour, and prefering of causes, getting up of notions, iniunctions, and the like, but whether he did yt for himselfe, or might sing *Sic vos non nobis*, is the question."

Shortly after Tobie's arrival, he doubtless addressed to Lord Doncaster a letter which bears no more exact date than "1622"; an extract is given below:—

"I beseeche y^r^ L^p^ take care that the King be thancked for y^t^ fauour he hath done me. You knowe y^e^ plant is of your wateringe & y^t^ must give it the good rootes. I kiss the hand w^ch^ hath so happily laboured on it, already, and am for euer to be found

"Y^r^ L^ps^ most faythfull humble
"seruant,
"Tobie Matthew."

Tobie was now, in fact, restored, for the time at least, to the King's good graces. It seems strange to find that his assistance in negotiations with Spain

should dispose James to permit—and even invite—the "recusant" to sustain a theological disputation. The King's change of front in this matter, illustrates his vacillating disposition; we find that the conference was arranged to take place in his royal presence, at the instance of Buckingham's mother, who had become a Catholic, and that James even intervened to bring about a reconciliation between the Archbishop of York—always a toady to royalty—and his son. The Rev. Joseph Mead, writing to Sir Martin Stuteville on this matter, says: ". . . . There hath been a Conference lately between Dr. White[1] and the Countess's Jesuit (Matthew) in the King's presence."[2] And the Diary of Walter Yonge contains (at pp. 60-61) the following remarks :—

"June, 1622. Doctor Wright and a great Jesuit (Toby Matthew, they say) disputed before the King, at the instance of the Marquis of Buckingham's mother. . . . .

". . . . Toby Matthew and Gondomar openly embraced and kissed each other at Gondomar's taking of his leave of the King, at his departure."

In the autumn of this year, Chamberlain informs Carleton :—

"I hear that Tobie Matthew is gone to his father with recommendation from the King, that as he did discountenance him upon the King's displeasure, so he would now receive him in favour, upon his reconciling to his Majesty.

[1] Francis White, Dean of Carlisle, made Bishop of Norwich 1628, and of Ely 1631.

[2] The "Countess" was the Countess of Buckingham.

His *fidus* Achates, Mr. Gage, is come from Rome, with a copy or draught of the dispensation for the Spanish match."

Negotiations were, as Chamberlain indicates, in progress with the Holy See for the marriage of Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta. Tobie Matthew was the first direct agent employed at the English Court, and Father George Gage was special messenger between the Courts of Rome and England. When it suited the English sovereign's purpose to make Catholics of service to the Crown, his objection to their recusancy gave way. Though Matthew had always declined to take the Oath of Allegiance, and had been twice banished for his refusal, James was glad enough to use him for the propitiation of the Pope. The petition to the Sovereign Pontiff, on behalf of Prince Charles, was probably drawn by Matthew; his legal and ecclesiastical knowledge would naturally render him a fitting person for the purpose. George Gage was entrusted with the delicate task of presenting the petition to the Pope, and he made two or more expeditions to Rome and back, in connection with it. Gage left Rome in October, 1622, and in the following May, Tobie started for Madrid. The utmost secrecy was observed, owing to the opposition of the zealots, with whom the proposed marriage was extremely unpopular. The exact date of Tobie's arrival at the Spanish Court is uncertain, but he must have been there early in May, 1623, for Chamberlain wrote on

the 3rd of that month to Carleton :—"Peter Killigrew arrived here this day fortnight, and went away again the week after (to Spain). Tobie Matthew was despatched thither, four or five days after him." Before the journey was undertaken, Bacon wrote to his friend and critic the following letter referring to his "Essay of Friendship":[1]—

"Sir.

"It is not for nothing that I have deferred my essay *De amicitia*, whereby it hath expected the proof of your great friendship towards me; whatsoever the event be (wherein I depend upon God, who ordains the effects, the instruments, all), yet your incessant thinking of me, without loss of a moment of time, or hint of occasion, or a circumstance of endeavour or the stroke of a pulse in demonstration of your affection to me, doth infinitely tie me to you. Commend my service to my friend. The rest to-morrow, for I hope to lodge in London this night.

"Secrecy I need not recommend, otherwise than that you may recommend it over to our friend; both because it prevents opposition, and because it is both the King's and my Lord Marquis's nature to love to do things unexpected."

Bacon's letter is undated, but his mention of the King's "love to do things unexpected" probably has reference to the projected visit of the Prince of Wales to Spain.

On October 3rd, 1622, while still in London, awaiting the issue of negotiations with Rome, Tobie wrote to the Duke of Buckingham, who had employed him in the matter, a long letter

[1] Tobie Matthew's *Collection*.

CHARLES, PRINCE OF WALES.

Born 1600. Succeeded his father, James I., 1625.
Beheaded at Whitehall, January 30th, 1648-9.

concerning the Diet of Ratisbon. In the course of the letter, he said :—

". . . . I will presume, in my zeale to the King's seruice, to lay a few wordes vnder y^r L^{ps} eye, concerning this action of the Diett ; with hope that my good meaninge will be able to gett a Pardon for this boldnes & y^t y^r L^p will sue it out for me at the Kinge's hand.

"If the correspondence betweene y^e Kinge & y^e Emperour be vnstitched as y^t the Kinge can not with his honour have an Ambassador of his at Ratisbonne, if the Diett hold ; I hardly knowe what more to doe, then to be sorry, for I doubt the Kinge's seruice will suffer for it. . . . . If his Majesty thincke y^t he may, and resolue that he will send an Ambassadour, I presume to wish that he may be such a one, as that there they may have no preiudice agaynst him ; w^{ch} y^r L^p is not theyre case, whom hitherto I haue heard named to that employment. . . . . Shall I presume to nominate one, of whom you may consider? . . . . The man, whom I would propounde is the Earle of Shrewsbury. It is true that he is soft ; but he is honest & sincere. He is of great learninge ; he hath the languadges. He is of great blood and rank, which is a thinge very mightly much regarded there. And he is one, who will be intirely beleeued in what he shall say, both because he is a very saynt-like man, and because he hath perfect and immediate credit with the Duke of Bavaria, as also with the Emperour, though not so great with him, as with the Duke. And lastly, he is of the same religion with them both, which, in this case, I take to import much."[1]

George Gage's mission to Rome was assisted by introductions to Cardinals Ludovisio and Bandini, and he was accompanied by Father Bennet (agent for the secular clergy of England),

[1] Harl. MSS. 1581, f. 84.

who was sent by Buckingham. The Pope declined to grant the dispensation, unless it could be shown that some benefit would result to the persecuted Church in England. His Holiness pointed out that James's promises to the Catholic King of Spain had not been fulfilled. If his Majesty would relieve his Catholic subjects from the grievous pressure of the Penal Laws, there would be sufficient ground for granting the dispensation. James had himself written obsequiously to Pope Gregory XV., and to his predecessor, Paul V., begging, among other favours, that the Jesuits might be removed from the British dominions.

The suggestion now thrown out by the Sovereign Pontiff had the effect of temporarily relieving the Catholics in England. Pardons for recusancy, issued under the great seal, were granted to all applying for them within five years, and judges on circuit were instructed to discharge from prison all recusants able and willing to give pledges for subsequent appearance.

Gondomar informed the Spanish Government that four thousand Catholics had been set free from the English prisons. All now was going smoothly forward with regard to the treaty of marriage; the religious articles respecting the Infanta Donna Maria, having been approved in Rome, were signed by James and Charles, and the King promised, on his word, that the English Catholics should

no longer suffer persecution or restraint, provided they confined their exercise of public worship to private houses. While arrangements were proceeding satisfactorily on both sides, two strangers, calling themselves John and Thomas Smith, arrived one evening, after dark, at the house of John Digby at Madrid. They were, in reality, the Prince of Wales and the Marquis of Buckingham (the Marquis was, during his absence, created Duke), who had left England unknown to any one except the King, a very few trusted courtiers, and Tobie Matthew, who was then still in London. The Prince and Buckingham were attended by Sir Francis Cottington, Endymion Porter, and Sir Richard Graham. Lord Bristol subsequently stated that the journey had been planned by Buckingham and Gondomar, though the former took upon himself the whole credit of it. Bristol had endeavoured to prevent the expedition, and sent a messenger who met the party at Bayonne. Charles, having opened the despatches, professed inability to understand them; and the messenger, being unaware of the Prince's identity, went off, while Charles and his suite continued their journey towards Madrid. Bristol was much chagrined by their proceedings, and he feared that a man so arrogant and licentious as Buckingham, might either interrupt the negotiations, or, in the event of their success, take on himself the credit of the

treaty. By the Court, the Grandees, and the populace at Madrid, the mission was greeted with acclamation, and James was constrained to write to his son :—"The newis of youre gloriouse reception thaire makes me afrayed that ye will both miskenne your olde Dadde hereafter." The tidings of Charles's arrival in Spain, announced in that country by bonfires, ringing of church bells, and other demonstrations, was, in England, met with strong expressions of disapproval. Among those who remonstrated with the monarch, was Tobie Matthew's father, the Archbishop of York. The letter in which he expressed his indignation is preserved in the British Museum; it has been, on insufficient evidence, attributed to Archbishop Abbott of Canterbury. This letter, which has neither signature nor date, runs as follows :—

"May it please y^r^ Mai^tie^ I have been too long silent, and I am afrayde by my silence, I have neglected the Dutie of the place which it hath pleased God to call me unto, and y^r^ Mai^tie^ to place me in, but now I humbly crave leave that I may discharge my conscience towards God, and my dutie towards y^r^ Mai^tie^. And therefore I beseech you, to give me leave freely to deliver my selfe, and then let y^r^ Mai^tie^ doe by me what you please. Y^r^ Mai^tie^ hath propounded a toleration of religion; I beseech you take into consideration what your actt is & what the consequent may be by your actt. You labo^r^ to sett up that most damnable and hereticall doctrine of the Church of Rome, the Whore of Babilon. How hatefull will it be to God and grievous to your good subiects, the

trewe professors of the Gospell, that y^r^ Mai^tie^, who hath often disputed and learnedly written against these wicked heresies, should now show yourself as a patron of these doctrines, which y^r^ penne hath tould the worlde and y^r^ consience tells yourselfe are Superstitious, Idolatrous, and Detestable. Add heerunto what you have done, in sending the Prince into Spayne without the consent of y^r^ Councell and privatie, and approval of your people. And although you have a large interest in the Prince, as the sonne of y^r^ flesh, yet have not the people a greater, as the sonne of the Kingdome, upon whom, most after y^r^ Mai^tie^ are their eyes fixed and their Welfare depends? And soe tenderly is his goeinge apprehended, that beleeve it howsoe he, we know, may be safe, yet the drawers of him into that action so dangerous to himself, and so desperate to his Kingdom, will not passe away unquestioned and unpunished. Besides, this toleration, which you endeavour to sett up by y^r^ Proclomation, cannot be done, without a Parliament, unless y^r^ Mai^tie^ will let your subiects so that you will take upon y^r^ selfe a libertie to throwe downe the lawes of the lande at y^r^ pleasure. What dreadful consequences these thinges may drawe after, I beseech y^r^ Mai^tie^ to consider, and above all, lay by this toleration and discountenancinge of the trewe professors of the Gospell, wherewith God hath blessed this lande, and under which this Kingdom hath these many years florished. Your Mai^tie^ do not drawe upon this Kingdom in generall and your selfe in particular, God's wrath and indignation. This, in discharge of my dutie towards God, y^r^ Mai^tie^ & the place of my callinge, I have taken humbly bould, so to deliver my conviction. And now doe with me, what you please."

Meanwhile, Tobie Matthew—so strangely placed in opposition to the father, who, to do him justice, had the courage of his convictions—appears, with his usual shrewdness, to have scented danger ahead. He wrote to the Duke of Buckingham,

exhorting him to return without delay. A letter written by him on March 29th, 1623, is here given:[1]—

"My Lord.

"I have written to y^r L^p this very day, more at Lardge, of some thinges, w^ch I conceaue to import y^r L^ps seruice, but I have humbly pray'd my Lady Marquess, that she will be pleased to inclose y^t letter of mine, in a cover of hers. This is cheefly to serue but for a conveighance to this inclosed, from y^r most worthy mother, who hath required me to send it to y^r L^p's hands.

"I forgott, in my other, to tell y^r L^p that howsoever his Ma^tye hath distinctly professed, that he would graunt no suytes till y^r L^p came home, and certynly his Ma^tyes direct intention was such, as knowinge that he should most truly be informed by you, both of persons and thinges, yet I assure y^r L^p y^t by importunity, men ar growinge to do their business daily. The Kinge is much disgusted with it, but he knowes not how to helpe it, and I am told that he sayd to somebody the other day, *You will neuer lett me alone. I would to God you had first my doublett, and then my shirt, and when I were naked, I thincke you would giue me leave to be quiett.*

"My Lord, I know well enough, that it becomes not me to take these thinges into my mouth; neyther do I, but only in my true loue to y^r L^p and in the assurance I have, y^t both this letter and the other shall be buried in the bottom of y^r L^ps owne, only, noble, secret hart. And so I cast myselfe with intyre affection at y^r L^p's feet, and vowinge my daily prayers to God for the prince's and y^r L^ps health & happiness & safe return, I continue

"Y^r L^ps for euer most
"obliged humble Seruant
"Tobie Matthew."

[1] Harl. MSS. 1581, f. 78.

The accompanying "other letter" of which Tobie writes runs as follows :—

"My Lord.

"The faythfull humble love I beare your L^p^ bidds me rather venter to be too officious, forgettfull of sayinge anythinge, w^ch^ I may conceave to concerne you.

"The very byrds may haue brought y^r^ L^p^ word of the liberty w^ch^ men of all rancks have taken heer, to speake theyr pleasures of y^r^ L^p^ for this jorney of the most excellent Prince. But I have for certyne vnderstood, y^t^ that is not all ; but y^t^ diuers great men are watching very close vpon the Kinge's hart, to see if they can discouer any hayres breadth of departure therein from you ; to the end that by degrees they might take you out from thence.

"Now, forasmuch as the King's affection is most faythfull to y^r^ L^p^, and his care is greater towardes you then yours can be for your selfe, I do not thincke y^t^ the best of them dares once to touch vpon so harsh a stringe in his princely ear. They who loue not y^r^ L^p^ are settinge on meaner people to complayne to ye body of ye Counsayle of diuers thinges as bitter greeuances to ye Commonwealth, w^ch^ ar sayd to haue been carried by y^r^ greatnes. That of *laying a personal imposition vpon straungers*, hath been already presented and flowen upon, w^th^ fulle mouth : and I heer y^t^ many more particulars are puttinge on. And the end of this designe is to make y^r^ L^p^ very odious ; and (y^t^ beinge once soundly done) to goe to the Kinge, as soone as they shall find courage enough in their owne harts, and confidence enough in the truth & malice of others ; and to beseech his Ma^tye^ that iustice may be done agaynst you, in some exemplar course.

"This I have been told for certeyne, and I beleeue it ; and in generall, I have told some great man of it [1] whom I know to be y^r^ L^ps^ true frend, to the end that he might imagine the best diuersion he could, to such a business. And now I thoughte it my part to lett y^r^ selfe know it, from this seruant

[1] Bacon.

of yours, and to pray you (if you will pardon the boldnes) to find some meanes to stopp this kind of proceedinge, as may become y^r^ wisdom and greatnes.

"I heer the Kinge is already callinge for you, apace, and desyres to haue you speedily at home agayne, and I know y^r^ L^ps^ neerest frends dissuade you from comminge without the Prince. I am not worthy to give aduise, and it is not asked, and therefore I must have little to say. But, supposinge that there the Prince stand firm to y^r^ L^p^ in his great fauour, and that his mind will not be estranged from you by absence (and how can we suspect that soule of so great a crime as inconstancy, whom malice itselfe durst neuer touch as yet, w^th^ any errour eyther in nature or agaynst honour?). Vpon my very sowle, I conceive y^t^ if you would returne presently, you would see y^r^ selfe heer, as highly and securely great as ever, and y^t^ they that beare you most malice would be most slauish, and fawne upon you most. But vpon the whole matter, I hold y^t^ greatness to be safe if you stay with the Prince till he come; I conceaue it also to be safe, if you come home, when y^e^ Kinge calls; and y^t^ you may most wisely do eyther the one or the other, accordinge as you shall be induced by other reasons. Only I beseech y^r^ L^p^ y^t^ if you returne not shortly, you will procure from thence y^t^ my Lords heer may be discouraged from giuinge life and hart to impertinent clamours. And because I am absent & cannot speake to y^r^ L^p^, as I would, if I were in y^r^ care, giue me leaue not to exceed those generall words of humble aduise. If you know any man to be of a false nature, do not trust him, how much soeuer he may be obliged, & be pleased to learne that Spanish proverb, *Guardarse de vn enemigo reconciliado, y de viento, qui entra por horrado.*

"Pardon, I beseech y^r^ L^p^, this boldnes. I love y^r^ L$_p$ with my hart; I am bound to do it; & lett the deuil take me, if I continue not

"y^r^ L^ps^ most humble
"faythfull seruant ever
"Tobie Matthew."

James turned a deaf ear to the protestations of the precise party. Tobie Matthew was ordered to repair to Spain, and render such services as might be needed; he accordingly set forth on his journey to Madrid, where he was already a familiar figure. A letter which he took with him, from Bacon to Buckingham, contains the expression by which the philosopher often described his friend—his *alter ego*. Further correspondence followed.

The letter in question is dated from Gray's Inn, April 18th, 1623:[1]—

". . . . Though I have troubled y^r L^p with many letters . . . . yet upon the repair of M^r Matthew, a gentleman, so much y^r L^p's servant, *and to me, another myself*, as your Lordship best knoweth, you would not have thought me a man alive, except I had put a letter into his hand, and withal by so faithful and approved a mean, commended my fortunes afresh to your Lordship." (Here Bacon goes on to beg that he may be taken back to favour, and allowed to return to public life.) . . . . "I must conclude with that which gave me occasion of this letter, which was M^r Matthew's employment to your Lordship, in these parts; whereas I am verily persuaded your Lordship shall find him a wise and able Gentleman, and one that will lend his knowledge of the world (which is great) to serve his Majesty and the Prince, and, in special, your Lordship."

Bacon also wrote to Lord Bristol, the English Ambassador to Spain, and to Sir Francis Cottington, in high terms of Tobie. And a somewhat important letter—so far as literary matters are con-

[1] Goodman's *Court of James I.*, vol. ii.

cerned—was addressed by him about this time, "to Mr Matthew into Spain." This letter here follows:—

"I thank you for your letter of the 26th of June, and commend myself unto your friendship, knowing your word is good assurance, and thinking I cannot wish myself a better wish than that your power may grow equal to your will.

"Since you say the Prince hath not forgot his commandment, touching my History of Henry VIII., I may not forget my duty. But I find Sir Robert Cotton, who poured forth what he had in my other work, somewhat dainty of his materials in this.

"It is true, my labours are mostly set to have those works, which I had formerly published, as that of Advancement of learning, that of Henry VIII., that of the Essays, being retractate, and made more perfect, well translated into Latin, by the help of some good pens, which forsake me not, for these modern languages will, at one time or another, play the bankrupt with books; and since I have lost much time with this age, I would be glad, as God shall give me leave, to recover it, with posterity.

"In the Essay of Friendship, while I took your speech of it for a cursory request, I took my promise for a compliment But since you call for it, I will perform it.

"I am much beholden to Mr Gage for many expressions of his love to me; and his company, in itself very acceptable, is the more pleasing to me, because it retaineth the memory of yourself. . . . . For the great business,[1] God conduct it well. Mine own fortune hath taught me expectation. God keep you."

Concerning Bacon's remarks on his History of Henry VIII., it may be noted that he left the opening paragraph of such a history. But supporters of the Baconian theory of Shakespeare's

[1] Probably the Spanish marriage.

plays regard it as a significant fact that the play of Henry VIII. first appeared in print in the folio of 1623—the year of Tobie's mission to Spain, and of Bacon's letter. Two early plays on the same subject—"Cardinal Wolsey," and "The Rise of Cardinal Wolsey"—appeared in 1601.

For the first four acts of Shakespeare's play, the materials are drawn from Holinshead and Hall; for the fifth, from Foxe's *Martyrs*. Sir Henry Wotton states that the Globe Theatre was burned down, June 26th, 1613, during the performance of a new play founded "on some principal pieces of the reign of Henry VIII., and called 'All is True.'" Gifford positively maintains that the piece acted in 1613 was not written by Shakespeare. Nothing certain appears to have been known about it, until its appearance in print in 1623.

Soon after Prince Charles's return from Spain, Bacon wrote to him:—

"I send your Highness . . . . my book on the Advancement of Learning. . . . . For Henry the Eighth, to deal truly with your Highness, I did so despair of my health, this summer, as I was glad to choose some such work, as I might compass within days; so far was I from entering into a work of length. Your Highness' return hath been my restorative."

Another letter of Bacon's to Matthew, in Spain, here follows;—

"Good Mr. Matthew.

"I have received your letter, sent by my Lord of Andover; and, as I acknowledged your care, so I cannot fit it with

anything, that I can think on for myself; for since Gondomar, who was my voluntary friend, is in no credit, neither with the Prince, nor with the Duke, I do not see what can be done for me there; except that, while Gondomar hath lost, you have found; and then I am sure my case is amended; so as with a great deal of confidence, I commend myself to you, hoping that you will do what in you lieth, to prepare the Prince and Duke, to think of me upon their return. And if you have any relation to the Infanta, I doubt not but it shall also be to my use."

On June 26th of this year, Prince Charles added, to a letter written by Buckingham to the King, the following postscript:—

"In the medst of our serius business, littell prittie Tobie Matthew cumes to intreat us to deliver this letter to your M., which is, as he calls it, a pictur of the Infanta's drawen in blake and whyte. We pray you let none lafe at it, but your selfe and honnest Kate.[1]

"He thinkes he hath hitt the naille on the head, but you will fynd it foolishest thing that ever you saw."[2]

The reference is to a description by "littell prittie Tobie Matthew" of James's prospective daughter-in-law. Mr. Seccombe considers it "flattering and witty, though somewhat licentious." From the Harl. MSS. (1576, f. 280) is here quoted: "The Infanta's Character & Disposition," by Sir Tobie Matthew:—

"Madrid, June 28th, 1623.

"The Infanta Dona Maria will haue 19 years of age, y^e 11^th^ of August, as shee seems but low of stature, for shee

[1] The Duchess of Buckingham.

[2] Harl. MSS. 6987.

useth no hope (hoop) at all. Y^e^ women of this country are not generally tall: but y^e^ Infanta is much of y^e^ same stature w^ch^ those Ladyes haue, w^ch^ liue in y^e^ Court of Spayn & are of y^e^ same years w^th^ her. She is fayr in all p'fection; her favour (face) is very good, & fayr; far from hauing any one ill feature in it, her countenance is sweet, in an extraordinary manner, & shows how to bee both kingly born, & w^th^ all y^t^ she placeth no great felicity in y^t^, for there seems to shine from her soule, through her body, as great sweetness and goodness as can be desired in a Creature. Her Close, Ruff, & Cuffs are said by them, who know it best, to bee greatly to her disaduantage, for that both her head is rarely set on to her neck, and so are her excellent hands to her arms, & they say y^t^ before she is dressed[1] she is incomparably better yn afterward.

"But y^e^ Virtue of her minde is held to exceed y^e^ beauty of her person very far; in her religion, she is very pious and deuout, she dayly spendeth 3 houres in Prayer, and Confesseth & Communicateth twice a week: namely upon every Wednesday and Saturday, shee carryeth a most p'ticular & Tender Devotion to y^t^ reverent Sacrament and y^e^ imaculate Conception of Our B. Lady. Shee doth vsually make some little thinge w^th^ her own handes day by day, w^ch^ may bee for y^e^ help of Sick or Wounded persons, in y^e^ Hospitalls, & many times, it is but drawing Lynt out of Linnen, w^ch^ may serue for wounds. All y^t^ w^ch^ y^e^ King her brother giveth her for play or toys, according to her fancy, w^h^ comes to about a 100 a month, shee imploys wholy too on y^e^ Poor. She is generally of few words, but yet of very sweet & easy conversation, w^n^ shee is private w^th^ y^e^ Ladyes.

"Her minde they say is more awake y^n^ they that know her not well, would easily beleeue. They, who haue studied her most, told me she is very sensible of any Reall unkindness, but y^t^ this costeth no body any thinge but her selfe, for she makes no noys and expostulates not, but only grieues: of her

[1] I.e. in full Court attire. Mr. Secccmbe seems to have placed a different construction on the words.

p'son beauty and dressing shee is careless, and takes what they bring her, without more adoe. She is thought to bee of great courage for a woman, & to despise danger, for besides y^t^ she neuer starts, as many women doe, at sudden thinges, nor is frighted by thunder & lightning, or y^e^ like, they assure me y^t^ y^e^ last year, at Araminez, where y^e^ Queen made a Show, or Publick Entertaynment, for y^e^ King, into w^ch^ themselves did enter w^th^ many other Ladyes, and when y^e^ Poles & Boughs fell into a sudden fire, & w^n^ y^e^ Company was much frighted w^th^ y^e^ imminent danger thereof, & was flying from there, at full speed, y^e^ Infanta did but call y^e^ Conde di Olivares, and willed him to defend her from the press of y^e^ people, and so shee went of, with her vsuall Pace, & w^th^ out being in any disorder at all, even so much, as by y^e^ least change of her Colour.

"Many virtues are said to liue in y^e^ heart of this lady, but that w^ch^ reigns and is sovereign in her, is a resolution w^ch^ shee hath mainteyned inviolable from her very infancy, never to speak ill of any creature, and, not only so, but to show a Plain disgust of them who speak ill of others, saying sometimes, *p'haps it is not so*, or else, *a body can beleue nothing but what they see*, or els, *it is good to hear both sides*, and y^e^ like; y^e^ world in Spayn doth all concerte to honor, love, & admire this Lady; but y^e^ King, her brother, doth make more proofe thereof y^n^ they all, for there is no one evening, wherein he goeth not to Courte her, in her own lodging. Hee will not set by Her sometimes, while shee is making herself ready, & hee is often giving her Presents, & would have her comand him to give her more, but as to y^t^ there is no Remedy; for shee would neuer be intreated to ask anything for herself, & when shee is importuned by others to ask this or y^t^ particuler favour of y^e^ King for them, it is strange to see how Respective and discreet she is, and indeed how carefull not to meddle in any business; & forasmuch as concerns personal suites, vnless y^e^ thing desired be some Toy, shee will p'fess not to name it, till she may find, by some meanes or other, how y^e^ King, her brother, stands affected to

y^e^ p'son, more or less ; for, sayeth she, I know how much y^e^ King, my brother, desires to giue me gust, and it is not Reason, because he desires to give me gust, I should suffer myself to be p'swaded to give him disgust.

"Shee hath been often heard, on severall occasions, to speak with great sens & Tenderness of y^e^ King, our Soveraine, & how deeply she holdeth herself obliged to him, for y^e^ great hono^r^ and favour, w^ch^ she vnderstands his majesty to haue don her, & for y^e^ tender care hee vouchsafes to haue of her, & I haue p'ticuler reasons, w^ch^ make me thinck y^t^ I know y^t^ y^e^ lovinge reuerence, w^ch^ shee will bear towardes him, & y^e^ harty obedience w^ch^ shee will p'form to his Ma^tie^ will giue him such Vnspeakable comfort, as p'haps hee did neuer look for, in this kinde, in this life.

"How much the Infanta doth honour and esteem y^e^ Prince, y^e^ Vulgar cannot say, but there bee enough in y^e^ world, who know that shee doth it extremely much, according to her great obligation, y^e^ time is not yet arrived for her to make those Publick expressions thereof, which are not warranted for y^e^ Stile of this Court, till y^e^ Treaty bee absolutely at an end : yet I haue no doubt y^t^ this Time is neere at hand, & my heart is full of joy to thincke how happy our excellent Prince shall be, in y^e^ sweet society of such a wife ; & how happy will they make the world, by a Glorious Issue, & in ye mean time, a man may guess how y^e^ Infanta's Puls beateth towards his highness, since, by my Lord Admirall's indisposition, this last week, through the swelling of his hart, caused by y^e^ drawing of a Tooth, y^e^ Infanta hearing of it, did express to him much griefe at his payn, & was still inquiring of her Ladyes how he did, declaring y^t^ she would not, for anything of this world, y^t^ any ill accident should lay hold on him, especially in this journey hee had vndertaken in y^e^ service of ye Prince, vpon her occasion."

The original of this description of the Infanta is not in Tobie's handwriting. The Duchess of

Buckingham, writing on July 16th to the Duke, says:—

"I haue sene his Ma^tie^ latly, but hath not seen the picktur toby mathus did, but I hope the next tim I shal. I do immagen what a rare peece it tis, being of his doing."

The Duchess then goes on to mention a real painting (which may have contributed to mislead Virtue and Walpole):—

"Sence the Prince keeps that gerbere (Gerbier) has done for the Infanta, I hope nobody shall have the next he doe from me, for I do much desier to see a good picktur of her, for I here her, infinitely com'ended—She had need prove a good on (one), that the Prince may think his Jorney and delays well bestode for her; for I swere, he desarves her, be she never so hanssom or good, to undertake such a jorney for her: and she had need make us pore wifs such a mens (amends) for being the cause of keeping our husbands from us. But I thinke it is not her faulte, for I warant she wood fane have it dispacht to."

Previously to the Prince of Wales's visit to Madrid, James Howel thus described to his friend, Mr. Arthur Hopton, the Princess and other members of her family:—

"The treaty of the match betwixt our Prince and the Lady Infanta is now strongly a foot. She is a very comely lady, rather of a Flemish complexion than Spanish; fair hair'd, and carrieth a most pure mixture of red and white in her face; she is full and big lipp'd, which is held a beauty, rather than a blemish or any excess, in the Austrian Family, it being a thing, incident to most of that race; she goes now upon sixteen, and is of a tallness agreeable to those years."[1]

[1] *Epistolæ Howelianæ.*

THE INFANTA DOÑA MARIA OF SPAIN.

The Infanta Doña Maria, sister of Philip of Spain. In 1623 Charles, Prince of Wales, journeyed to Madrid to negotiate a marriage. The expedition failed, and shortly after she married her cousin Ferdinand, King of the Romans and Emperor of Germany.

Bacon continued to write to Tobie, during his mission in Spain. He often expressed a desire that he might "live in his Grace's (Buckingham's) remembrance," and that Tobie's absence might, by dint of mediation with the Duke, prove "helpful to his fortunes." To the Duchess Tobie wrote from Madrid :—

"Your Grace hath had patience at the absence of my Lord Duke these six months, and you are desired but to have it for two months more. And since he, who is dearer to you than yourself, is as well as it is possible for him to be without you, how can you find it in your heart to make him worse by your being ill?

"Some vulgar tongues may have told your Grace that the Duke is not much beloved here; but that which we here know your Grace may be pleased to believe; which is, that although it be impossible for any incorrupt great Minister of State to have great love of the world, when a part of that world hath affairs and ends, which are contrary to his; yet my Lord hath been so fortunate, this way, as that even his opposites in the treaty, carry a great affection to his person, and set a fair stamp of virtue upon his parts; and this King proceeds nobly towards him, and the Infanta takes a particular gust in him, and the favourite desires nothing more than to oblige him, and the Condesa de Olivares, his wife (who is one of the worthiest women in the whole world), is in a kind of doting upon him, and loving (as in my conscience I think she doth) the very name of the Duke, how sensible would your Grace think that she is of your indisposition, whom she knows by a thousand testimonies that he loves better than his eyes."[1]

By the end of August, Tobie appears to have had misgivings, which were very guardedly com-

[1] Goodman's *Court of James I.*, vol. ii., p. 303. Orig. Tol. Ian. lxxiii., p. 287.

municated to Bacon. Both Buckingham and Bristol found that there was no disposition on the part of the Spaniards to hasten the marriage. The King was only a boy of nineteen; the clergy and nobility objected to the treaty; and the responsibility of the affair rested now with Olivarez, the favourite and Prime Minister of Philip IV.

Olivarez had no faith in the British sovereign or in Buckingham. Delay after delay occurred, and fresh conditions continued to be added to the original treaty. Especially, the Spaniards required some guarantee that James would keep his promises to the English Catholics, and it was in the interest of his fellow-subjects and co-religionists, that Tobie strenuously laboured to bring the protracted negotiations to a happy conclusion. Meanwhile, the patience of the impetuous Charles was exhausted, and Buckingham advised a return home. Moreover, that statesman was daily receiving warning from his friends—Laud among the number—that his credit with the sovereign was in danger, and that Lord Bristol was becoming a formidable rival. Bickerings with Olivarez developed into deadly animosity, and familiarity with the Prince scandalized the grave and courteous Spaniards. The death of Pope Gregory XV. made it necessary to cancel the dispensation, and to procure another from his successor, Urban VIII. A fresh treaty was signed, by which Charles agreed to marry the

Infanta, in Madrid, on the arrival of the new Papal dispensation. The Infanta assumed the title of "Princess of England," and the date of the ceremony was actually fixed, when James (influenced by Buckingham, who had now determined to prevent the marriage) informed the Spanish King that matters could not proceed unless his Catholic Majesty would take up arms in defence of the Palatine, and fix a day for the commencement of hostilities. The reply of the King of Spain was dignified and reasonable. Such a demand, and at such a moment—when the treaty had been signed, and the oaths taken—he denounced as dishonourable, both to his sister, and himself. The preparations for the marriage ceremonies were promptly countermanded; the Infanta resigned her title as Princess of England; and Buckingham triumphed in the victory he had obtained over Lord Bristol. Bristol was recalled, disgraced, and, for the remainder of James's reign, was sent into oblivion.

Shortly before the departure of Prince Charles, Tobie presented a protest to the Spanish King, lamenting the result to Catholics in England, of the failure of the project on which he and Lord Bristol had set their hearts :[1]—

"*Don Tobea Mathei, Cavallero Yngles y Catholico Romano*, beseecheth your Catholique Majesty with all humility & reverence, to give him leave to speak these few words unto you.

[1] Cabalo, p. 251.

"He understandeth that the Theologos have persisted precisely upon the Voto which they gave before, and he findeth clearly, that the Prince conceiveth that he can by no means submit himself thereunto with his honour. And besides my Lord, the King hath expressly required him to return with all possible speed, in case that Voto should not be qualified. And it is certain that he will depart for England within a very few days. And whosoever shall inform your Majestie that the Treatie of this Marriage may be really kept on foot after the departure of the Prince upon these terms, doth deceive your Majestie, through the ignorance, wherein he is of the state of England. So that the Prince departing thus, the Catholique Subjects of all my Lord the King's Dominion are to be in a lamentable state. For although the Prince did yesterday vouchsafe to have Compassion of me in respect of the grief wherein he saw I had upon these occasions; and to say that although the marriage were broken, yet he would procure that his Catholique Subjects should not fare the worse for that, yet I know that it is morally impossible for that honourable design of his to take place, in respect of the People, and the importunities & malice of the Puritans & especially because it will now be a case of meer necessitie for my Lord the King to run in a course of very straight conjunction with them of his Parliament, that he may be able the better to serve himself of them, in other occasions, from which Parliament, as now the case will stand, what Catholique can expect other than the extremitie of rigour?

"In consideration whereof I cast myself with a sad heart at the feet of your Majestie, beseeching you that you take into your Royal remembrance the love which you owe and procure to paie to our holy Mother, the Church, & that some course may be taken & with speed (for otherwise it will be too late) to give the Prince some foot of ground upon which he may be able to stand in such sort, as that without losse of honour, and breach of that word, which he hath given to the world, & without prejudice to that obedience, which he oweth to the least commandment of the King, his father; His Highness may

be inabled to comply with the incomparable affection, which he beareth the Infanta, your Majestie's Sister. And that, by means hereof, the two Crowns may be kindly in perfect union ; and the Catholique religion may be highly advantaged, not only in the Dominions of my Lord, the King, but in many other parts of Christendom, into which the authority of these dominions doth flow.

"For my part, I take the eternall God to witnesse, whom I procure to serve & who hath given me a heart, which disclaimeth from all other interestes than to serve God, & my King, that I conceive myself not to comply with a good conscience without laying this protestation under the eye of your Majestie ; that if the Catholique Subjects of the King, my Lord, shall grow liable to persecution, or affliction, by occasion of breaking this match, through the disgust of the King, my Lord, and his Council, or through the power which, infallibly the Puritans, assembled in Parliament, will have with him, upon this occasion, that blood or miserie whatsoever, it may partly be required at their hands, who have advised your Majestie not to accept of those large conditions for Catholiques, which my Lord the King, and the Prince have condescended to, and of that more than moral Securitie which they have offered for the performance thereof.

"And on the other side, I undertake to your Majestie, under the pain of infamie, in case that be not made good, which here I affirm that if your Majestie will be pleased to give some such ground to the Prince, as whereupon he may with honour stay, and perfect the Treatie of the Marriage by any such way or meanes, as may occur to your Majestie's royal wisdom, the whole bodies of the Catholiques in England, both religious and secular, shall acknowledge it, as a great blessing of God, and shall oblige themselves to pray incessantly for your happy estate," &c.

The protest was unavailing, and came too late. The Infanta was not to be the wife of Charles. Subsequently she married Ferdinand, King of the

Romans, who, in 1637, became Emperor, by the title of Ferdinand the Third. She was the mother of Leopold the First, and consequently ancestress to all the subsequent emperors; she died in 1646.

Prince Charles and his suite returned to London. Evidently the part played by Tobie Matthew in this affair, though not a conspicuous one, had given satisfaction to Charles, who, immediately after his arrival, recommended him to the King for a mark of distinction. He was accordingly knighted, on October 23rd, 1623, at Royston.

CHAPTER VIII

FROM SIR TOBIE MATTHEW'S KNIGHTHOOD IN 1623, TO HIS SHARE IN THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE SECULAR CLERGY AND THE JESUITS

Sir Tobie publicly identifies himself with Catholics. He visits his parents at York, and afterwards stays in London. A long letter in the "Collection" possibly written by him at this time to Fr. Persons. Wrote to Bacon, extolling his Lordship as "most prodigious wit that I ever knew of my nation, and of this side the sea." Controversy as to meaning of phrase. Theory of Mr. Sidney Lee. Shakespearian and Baconian views. Opinion of the Rev. William A. Sutton, S.J., on the matter. An endeavour to obtain Papal approval for the return of Bishops to the Catholic Church in England. Scheme warmly opposed by Jesuits, with whom Sir Tobie identifies himself. Bacon's counsel asked. Lingard's account of proceedings. John Owen's epigram on Sir Tobie Matthew's name. Dissimulation practised by Sir Tobie in letter to Buckingham. Secular clergy incensed. Controversy terminated by appointment of Vicar Apostolic. The Panzani Correspondence. Bishop Smith's contention with Benedictines and Jesuits. No evidence that Sir Tobie passed by name of "Mr. Price." He draws up remonstrance to Pope in name of Catholic laity. Evidence of his priesthood adduced.

CHAPTER VIII

FROM SIR TOBIE MATTHEW'S KNIGHTHOOD IN 1623 TO HIS SHARE IN THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE SECULAR CLERGY AND THE JESUITS

The indefatigable correspondent, Chamberlain, wrote on October 25th, 1623, to Carleton. . . . . "Tobie Matthew was knighted at Royston, not long since, but for what service, God knows."

Sir Tobie having been restored to the royal favour, was now able to visit his aged parents at York. The details of this experience are furnished by himself in his *True Historicall Relation*, and they need not be repeated here. His restless activity of mind never allowed him to remain long in one place; and by the end of November he was back in London, where he publicly identified himself with the Catholic body. He seems even to have appeared in clerical dress at Requiem services, described by Chamberlain, in a letter to Carleton, bearing date, November 28th, 1623:—

". . . . On Monday, there were solemn obsequies and dirges at Ely House, for the souls of them that perished at Blackfriars. . . . . The like ceremonies were used at five o'clock that

evening, with great concourse, and the Jesuits went in the same coach with the Ambassadors. . . . . Sir Tobie Matthew was a principal agent or mourner, clad in black cotton or bayes, downe to the heeles, as likewise he was a great stickler, and seemed to have much to do, in both the audiences, at Court."

The services, to which reference is made by Chamberlain, were in connection with a tragedy which took place at Blackfriars, on October 20th. Some Catholics had hired a house next to one occupied by the French Ambassador; there they met together for devotional exercises. On the day in question, a great crowd had collected to hear a sermon by Fr. Drury, the Jesuit; they assembled in an upper room, when suddenly the floor sank beneath them, and some ninety or more perished, including Fr. Drury himself.

For all Tobie's movements, his enemies were ever on the alert to find some unworthy motive; they soon began to spread a report that he was about to receive remunerative appointments in the Archdiocese of York. Of such unfounded and ridiculous rumours the following is a specimen :—

Matt. Dodsworth to Dr More.[1]

"Yorke, 3 January, 1624.

". . . . The offices of Chancellor & Comisarrie to my Lo. Grace of Yorke are nowe, for the tyme, disposed of, yet we saye that they are but settled in trust, for the use of Mr. Levett, as they lately were for Sir Toby Matthew."

[1] S.P. clxxxi. 12.

In reality, Sir Tobie seems to have been living, without any especial ambition, in the quiet practice of his religion. The *Collection* contains a letter, with the following description :—"This Long Letter of one dear Friend to another shewes how angry he is with himself, for being so inconsiderate of the next life." As usual, the date is wanting, and the letter is difficult to place, but it is doubtless from Sir Tobie, and was probably written about this time. At any rate, the writer states that he is in London, and internal evidence shows that he writes as a Catholic. His correspondent may possibly have been Fr. Persons, S.J. The style of the letter is Sir Tobie's :—

"Your Letter containes two requests, which I shall ever esteem commands, when I have meanes, and power to obey. You conjure me to come to you, shortlie ; and in the mean time, if I should faile, you command me now, to tell you particularlie, what I am doing here. As for comming to your house, which is little lesse than a kind of Court ; it cannot be so verie soon, and therein I must fall short. But as for the second, of telling you what I am doing, I will not onlie tell you that, but I am tempted also to let you know, what I am thinking ; and therein I shall exceed what you command.

"You shall first therefore understand that I am returned home to London, from abroad, if yet indeed I am not to be thought to mistake the names, and if I may not more discreetlie account my selfe to be still abroad, when I am thus come home, and esteem that I was then best at home, when I was so abroad. For reallie they may goe for a kind of mad-men, who, forgetting their own houses, where they use to be at ease, and carefullie accommodated, and well

treated, would yet think of no other place for themselves then Bedlam, where they were to be whipped, and chained up in the dark. And what other thing am I wont to be, all the year long in this place, where the disorder of strong passion threatens me with the distemper and danger of sinne ; and where the violence of ill-governed humour, ties me up from the exercise of virtue ; and where an innumerable multitude of Objects, which are both busie enough, and yet verie idle and vaine, are everlastinglie as it were, treading upon the heels of one another ; and all with design to overtake and trip me up, and so to put out mine eyes, or at least, to hoodwinke me, and, for the present, to make me no better than blind, much after the same manner, that a perpetuall importunitie of lowd and jangling noyse is wont to make men deaf. Whereas, in the place of my last retreat, I was at libertie to love, to think, and to be, at least myself. For not onlie had I there no impediments, but many helps, towards the considering and negotiating my great businesse, partlie by the nature of the place, which, though it were not so verie melancholie as to draw me, with any violence, from the Civil man ; yet was it quiet and wholly exempted from confusion and surprize, partly by the companie which I found there ; which, as on the one side it was sociable, and sweete, so, on the other, it was modest and reserved, and liked not, upon any tearme, to look upon this world, in such sort, as not to have an eye to the next. But chieflie by the circumstance of the time, it selfe, because it was so neer Easter, when men are even half ashamed not to be a little more recollected, then they were before.

" But I confesse that all these helps are few enow for me, who, I fear, will be hardlie drawn, to give good ear to so sweet musick for my Soul, as this kind of cogitation is wont to make, till it be opened, for good and all, by the Trumpet of the last day, or else at least at the houre of my death, which is to be a last day for me. For the high obligations of gratitude, through infinite benefits, which lye close upon the whole world, and more upon me, than any other, work little,

and very little upon my heart, and make me not so much as keepe them in mind, withoutt a kind of artificiall memorie, and the use of these mechanicall helps of time and places, and persons, whereby men are wont, now and then, to win wagers in this World. God was content to become man, and the King of Glorie to depose himselfe after a sort, and for the time to pass as a kind of wandering beggar for my sake, and to defeat himselfe in all appearances, even of his own supream Wisdome and power ; and to put himself, as it were, to his shifts, for the contriving and packing up of pain, and Shame enough, into a little room, that so he might be able to doe as ill, as cloake himselfe, with swallowing up the huge bit of the breade of sorrow, with that hard crust. And all this to no other end, but to deceive, as it were, and dispossess such a thing, as I am, of my selfe ; being no better than a rebellious slave. He hath sought also to transplant me, by his own divine merits, and grace, out of the wildernesse of sinne, and hell, that so I might grow up and sprout, and that, for ever, in the Garden of his Celestial Paradise, together with himselfe. And yet I am still ungratefull, and most commonlie even unmindfull of such a grace ; and still am needing some loud Clock and Larum or other which may houerlie be awaking and calling up my memorie, that it may solicite my depraved and perverted Will, to bestowe all my love upon God, Who yet sets no other price upon himselfe than onlie that, for all his favours, and for all his sorrowes, I be content to give him my Love. He forbears to exact my poor Life, in sacrifice to him, as he was pleased to cast away his own most precious and divine Life for me. He was content to suffer innumerable torments, and affronts in his own person, for the good and glory of his Slave, and only expects, at my hands, that, putting my selfe, either to much heat or cold, I should but like a friend remember and often ruminate, of what he hath done and suffered for me. And my ingratitude rises to such a height, as to be able to denie him even this. Nay, it goes for a kind of Pennance, and sometimes for a torment with me, but to think, for one hour or

two, what those torments were. His precious and divine head was pierced with sharp and cruell thorns for me, and yet I cannot get my selfe to be ashamed of that indecencie, whereof St. Bernard speaks, to make my selfe a delicate part of that Body, under such a Head as that, which was tormented by a Crown of Thorns. Nor love I to impose anie little pain, upon this sensuall and most sinfull flesh of mine, either for the honour of imitating him, or the interest of satisfying for my selfe.

"The Saviour of the World readd loudly both in Life and Death, and extreamely to his own cost, certain Lessons, upon the Vertues of Humility, Charity, Purity, Patience, Poverty, Meeknesse, Obedience, and Silence, and yet I feel myself still to be not only so absent, but even so far distant from exercising any one of these vertues well, or rather indeed, so in love with erring and transgressing, in some kind, against them all, that I seldome do so much as consider them in their originall, which is the holy Heart of Christ our Lord. And much lesse do I examine the base copy of mine own prophane life, by his, that so at least I might grow humble, and even be confronted with shame, though still I were resolved to be good for nothing else."

The letter is a very long one, and is all dictated by the same religious fervour, to which is due the extract just given. Matthew found on his return to England that certain of his friends were alienated by his persistence in the faith. But there was never any change in his relations with Bacon. About this time—certainly *after* January, 1621—he wrote to Bacon: "The most prodigious wit that I ever knew of my nation, and of this side the sea, is of your Lordship's name, though he be known by another." This remark has excited not a little comment, especially among those who hold the

Baconian theory, and their Shakespearean opponents. With regard to it, Mr. Sidney Lee writes: "According to the only sane interpretation of Matthew's words, his 'most prodigious wit' was some Englishman, named Bacon, whom he had met abroad—probably a pseudonymous Jesuit, like most of Matthew's friends." Here Mr. Sidney Lee shows himself mistaken. "Most of Matthew's friends" were neither Jesuits, nor pseudonymous. The interpretation of his words depends on the meaning of the phrase, "this side of the sea." If Tobie meant by this "the whole of Europe," he must have intended a compliment for Bacon, who was, *in some way*, pseudonymous in *some work* of his —perhaps in the "great and noble token and favour," whatever it was, whose receipt Tobie acknowledges in this letter. He says: "I have received your great and noble token and favour of the 9th of April, and can but return the humblest of my thanks for your L^ps^ vouchsafing so to visit this poorest and unworthiest of your servants." It has been suggested by supporters of the Baconian theory that this "token and favour" may have been the earliest edition of Shakespeare, the folio of 1623, and that "the most prodigious wit" of the British nation resident in Europe was Bacon, known by another name, i.e. "Shakespeare." This is not the place in which to take any side in the literary controversy, but it may be pointed out

that Mr. Sidney Lee is quite arbitrary, when he assumes that Tobie Matthew was *abroad*, when this letter was written to Bacon. No date is given, but it is at least highly probable that Matthew wrote it after his return to England from Spain in 1623. There are difficulties in the way of believing that Bacon would forward an important present to Matthew during a temporary sojourn on the Continent, such as his visit to Madrid in connection with the Spanish marriage. Nor would he have sent the "token and favour" while Matthew was in the Netherlands, before 1622, since the exile was then straining every nerve to obtain permission to return, and the Royal sanction was momentarily expected. Moreover, a packet sent out of the country at that period, was subjected to the closest scrutiny, and full particulars of the sender and the recipient had to be supplied to the Customs authorities. Bacon would hardly have been likely to risk the dangers to which he must have been exposed, and the obloquy to which he would have been liable, had he been known to send a valuable present to Tobie Matthew during his disgrace and banishment.

Without attempting to decide authoritatively in this matter, it may be permissible to quote here the interpretation put upon Tobie's words by Mr. Edwin Reed, and by Father Sutton, S.J. :—

". . . . In still another letter, written to Matthew in 1604, at about the time when the great tragedies of *Hamlet*,

Macbeth, *King Lear*, and *Othello* were appearing, Bacon apologizes for some neglect on the ground that his head had been 'wholly employed upon invention,' i.e. upon works of imagination. What were these? No satisfactory explanation of Bacon's words, apart from that of those who maintain that he is the true 'Shakespeare,' has been so much as attempted.

"To Matthew, Bacon sent his works for criticism and revision; and to Matthew is doubtless due that spicing of Catholicity in the Plays, from which many believers in the actor's authorship have inferred that he was a Catholic.

"To his confidential friend, Sir Toby Matthew, Bacon was in the habit of sending copies of his books, as they came from the press. On one of these occasions, he forwards, with an air of mystery, and half apologetically, certain works which he describes as the product of his 'recreation,' called by him also, curiously, 'works of the alphabet,' upon which, not even Mrs. Pott's critical acumen has been able to throw, from sources other than conjecture, any light. In a letter addressed to Bacon, by Matthew, *when abroad*,[1] in acknowledgment of some great and noble favour, we find the postscript, 'The most prodigious wit that ever I knew, of any nation and of this side of the sea, is of your lordship's name, though he be known by another.'

"It has been plausibly suggested that the 'token and favour' sent to Matthew was the folio edition of the Shakespeare plays, published in 1623. It is certain that Matthew's letter was written subsequently to 1621.

"Various attempts have been made to break the force of this testimony. It has been urged that, as Bacon had been raised to the peerage, he had acquired another name, under which to publish his works. This seems too frivolous for serious remark. It has also been conjectured that Matthew may have been at Madrid, where a certain Francisco de

[1] It has already been shown that there is no evidence, and but little probability, that Matthew was abroad at the time.

Guevedo was writing under a pseudonym. Unfortunately for this theory, the Spaniard (who has never become distinguished, so far as we know, for 'prodigious wit') retained the name of Francisco, the only one that suggested Bacon's, in his pseudonym. The simple truth is that Matthew's description exactly fits the Shakespeare plays, and Bacon's literary *alias*. Indeed, is it credible that Matthew would have written to Bacon, the Lord Chancellor of England, author of the *Novum Organum* (then published), and his benefactor—the only friend who stood by him, in his apostacy to Rome,[1] when all others, even his own father and mother, cast him off —that he had found, on the continent, a person (then and ever since unknown) bearing his lordship's name, but *superior to his lordship in learning and wit?* Is it necessary to impute to Matthew so gross a violation of good taste, not to say a gratuitous insult to his correspondent? On the contrary, who does not see that this same 'prodigious wit,' the 'greatest' (according to the postscript) 'of all the world,' was at another time described by Matthew in the following words:— 'A man so rare in knowledge, of so many several kinds, indued with the facility and felicity of expressing it all, in so elegant, significant, so abundant, and yet so choice and ravishing a way of words, of metaphors and allusions, as perhaps the world has not seen, since it was a world'?"[2]

"The two portraitures are identical."[3]

On this question the Rev. William A. Sutton, S.J., writes as follows in *The New Ireland Review* for February, 1902:—

"Mr. Sidney Lee . . . . believes that he has given a sufficient explanation of the famous Matthew postscript, by bringing forward the fact that there was a Jesuit known as

[1] Why does Mr. Edwin Reed make use of this offensive and contradictory expression?

[2] Address to the Reader. *Collection of English Letters*. Published 1660.

[3] *Bacon versus Shakespeare*, pp. 51, 52.

THE PRINCESS HENRIETTA MARIA,

Daughter of Henry IV. and Marie de Medicis, was born at Paris, November 25th, 1609; married to Charles I., 1625; fled to France, 1644; founded the Convent of the Visitation at Chaillot; died 1644.

Southwell, whose real name was Bacon, and that Matthew and he were doubtless friends, as the former was so mixed up with the Jesuits, and especially with such as, from whatever cause, had more names than one. There were two Southwells, Jesuits, more or less contemporaries of Matthew, and their real name was Bacon (Thomas and Nathaniel). The former professed theology at Louvain, and wrote some controversial works against Anglicans; he died in 1637. The latter, a more distinguished member of the same family, revised and continued up to the year 1675, Ribadeneira's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum, Soc: Jesu*. He died in 1676. However able and learned they were, in their way, they have no pretensions to be cited as peerless and prodigious wits. With regard to the more celebrated of the two, there is, moreover, the difficulty of the date of his death. There really is no probability in Mr. Lee's explanation. And yet it seems to be the only plausible one given by those who reject the Baconian theory."[1]

Whatever view may be taken of this matter, it is at least interesting to find that a great literary controversy of the present day centres round the subject of this biography, and a "famous postscript" which proceeded from his pen.

Meanwhile, Sir Tobie was occupied with matters ecclesiastical. A dispute arose, about this time, between some of the secular clergy and the Jesuits, with reference to the restoration of episcopal jurisdiction. A party among the Catholics had for some time existed, who were anxious to be rid of the government of Archpriests. They endeavoured to obtain the Papal approval of the return of

[1] Vide also *The Shakespeare Enigma*, by Rev. W. A. Sutton.

Bishops to the distracted and persecuted Church in England. But the times were assuredly premature. Bishops would have come to their martyrdom, and probably their advent would have been greeted with a fresh outbreak of fanaticism and oppression.

The scheme was, at first, favourably received by the Holy See, but was warmly opposed by the Jesuit missionaries and their friends, among the most devoted of whom was Sir Tobie, who, though not himself a Jesuit at this time, was so ardent an admirer of the Society that he was often suspected of belonging to it.

This unfortunate difference of opinion between the secular and regular clergy, inevitably injured the cause which both had at heart. When Father Bennet was sent by Buckingham to Rome, in 1622, his chief anxiety was, not to forward the Spanish match, but to obtain a Bishop, or more than one, to preside over the clergy and people of England. His case was supported by Monsignore Barberini, Nuncio at Paris, and by Monsignore Bentivoglio, Nuncio at Brussels. Cardinal Bandini took the same side, maintaining that the absence of episcopal control had been the cause of disputes among the missionaries, as also of conspiracies, such as the Powder Plot. He even argued that the French episcopate contemplated the exercise of jurisdiction in England.

Cardinal Mellini took another view, contending that the introduction of Bishops would irritate the Government, and expose the Catholics to additional persecutions. The French and Spanish ambassadors supported Bennet's petition. As a last resource, the adversaries of the measure, fearing that the Pope might be induced to grant it, appealed to King James; and Sir Tobie is accused of disingenuously alarming the sovereign with exaggerated accounts of the jurisdiction proposed to be established in his dominions. In reality, Sir Tobie's sagacity and foresight in siding with the Fathers of the Jesuit Society may well be commended. His first thought was to seek the wise and impartial counsel of Bacon, who reported the matter to Buckingham, in the following letter:[1]—

"August 4, 1622.

"I thought it appertained to my duty . . . . to make known to your Lordship an advertisement, which came to me this morning. *A gentleman, a dear friend of mine*,[2] whom your Lordship cannot but imagine, though I name him not, told me this much, That some English priests, that negotiated at Rome, to facilitate the dispensation, did their own business (that was his phrase), for they negotiated with the Pope to erect some titulary Bishops for England, that mought ordain, and have other spiritual faculties, saying withal most honestly that he thought himself bound to impart this to some counsellor, both as a loyal subject, and as a Catholic; for he doubted it mought be a cause to cross the graces and mercies

[1] *Bacon's Life*, 1874, vol. vii., p. 378.

[2] Sir Tobie Matthew.

which the Catholics now enjoy, if it be not prevented ; and he asked my advice whether he should make it known to your Lordship, or to my Lord Keeper, when he came back to London. I commended his loyalty and discretion, and wished him to address himself to your Lordship, who mought communicate it with my Lord Keeper, if you saw cause, and that he repaired to your Lordship presently, which he resolved to do. Nevertheless, I did not think mine own particular duty acquitted, except I certified it also myself, borrowing so much of private friendship in a case, as not to tell him I would do as much."

This letter is docketed "Letter to my Lo. Marquis touching the business of estate, advertised by Mr. Matthew."

The following seems to be the narrative of the matter, followed, though not actually quoted, by Lingard :—

"The number of Bishops originally intended for the English Catholics, was four ; but Toby Matthews, a concealed Jesuit,[1] was employed to alarm the jealousy of the government. James, through the agency of the Spanish Ambassador, announced his determined opposition to the arrangement, and Gregory XV. . . . . endeavoured to compromise the matter, by the appointment of only one episcopal superior. Toby Matthew's object, which was not unperceived by the King, is well described by the Lord Keeper Williams in a postscript of one of his letters to Buckingham. 'The Spanish Ambassador,' says he, 'took the alarum very speedily of the titular Romish Bishops, and before my departure from his house at Islington, whither I went privately to him, did write both to Rome & Spain, to prevent it. But I am afraid that Tobie will prove but an apocryphal and no canonical

[1] It has already been noted that Sir Tobie was not, at this time, a member of the Society of Jesus.

intelligencer,[1] acquainting the state with the project for the Jesuites' rather than for Jesus' sake.' "

The Lord Keeper's letter is dated August 23rd, 1622, and is quoted in Sergeant's *Chapter*, p. 28.

While crediting Sir Tobie with the best intentions towards his brethren in the Faith, it is impossible to acquit him of dissimulation in a letter which he addressed to Buckingham. He affects to fear what would really have rejoiced his heart, had he seen the remotest possibility of its realization, namely, the appointment of a Jesuit Bishop. He frustrated the designs of the secular clergy, in part, though not wholly; Father William Bishop was consecrated Bishop of Chalcedon *in partibus infidelium* on June 4th, 1623, and was sent to England as Vicar Apostolic. The Bishop was then aged seventy, and he survived his appointment less than a year. His successor was Dr. Richard Smith, consecrated on January 12th, 1625, who governed the Catholic body for the ensuing thirty years. Thus, instead of several vicars apostolic, only one presided over the English mission, formed of the small remnant of the once powerful and wealthy Church, of a nation which for more than a thousand

[1] John Owen, the epigrammatist, plays thus on Tobie Matthew's name; the lines would apply equally to the Archbishop of York:—

"TOBIAS MATTHÆUS.

"Ex veteri primum sortire, novoque secundum
Ex Testamento nomen utroque trahis
Hoc mirum est: nomen Gentile Canonicum esse
Hoc in fonte fides, quod dedit Apocryphum."

years had been united in the bonds of a common Faith.

Sir Tobie's regrettable letter to Buckingham is here given :—

"May it please your Lordship.

"On Thursday night, y^r L^p wanted tyme to give me audience at Lardge, and on Friday, I was not so happy as to find your Lordship. The thinge w^ch I desyred to impart to y^r L^p for his Ma^ties seruice was this: Those indiscreet English Catholiques w^ch I declared to y^r L^p heertofore, to haue drawn a purpose from the Pope, to consecrate and send hither some English Catholique Bishops, have proceeded so farr, as to name the men, and they are these : Doctour Kellison, President of the College at Douay ; D. Bishop, and D. Symth, who ar now at Paris ; D. Boswell, Mr. Cutberd Trollop, who ar heer in England ; & Mr. Edward Bennett, who, under the collour of the better business,[1] negotiated this matter at Rome.

"It is certyne that hitherto the Jesuits have had no part in this negotiation ; but I hold it as certyne, that they stand at a gaze, and that, if the business proceed, some one or more of them will also gett to be made Bishops heer. For *facile est nuentis addere*, and howsoever they have a Rule, which expressly forbids them to seeke any such dignity as this, yet we see, by experience, that they vse some latitude in interpreting the same ; and that in countryes, where nothing is to be gotten but blowes, by beinge made Bishops, as namely some parts of the Indies, and some parts also of Afrique, they accept of Bishopricks, and yet thincke they swarue not from theyr Rule. And euen very very now, the Pope is sendinge a Jesuit into Æthiopa, with Episcopall authority, and more then that, as his Legate. I do therefore feare that some inconuenience may also happen heer, in some small process of tyme, if the dilligences w^ch haue been used, do not prevent it, and I

[1] The Spanish match.

thought it my duty to informe y^r L^p of this much, as a thinge, w^ch concernes his Ma^ties seruice, and as he expressly commanded me to do. For if this particular do proceed, it will much offend the Kinge; and many poore Catholiques, who have made no fault in this, will yet smart for it in the end. I beseech Jhesus, with my whole hart, give his Ma^tye a long & happy life, and to y^r L^p as much felicity, as is cordially desyred by

"Y^r L^ps most humble & for
"euer most obliged seruant,
"Tobie Matthew.

"London, this 29
of 7ber, 1622."

Endorsed :—

"To your L^p for the Kinge's Seruice."

In another hand :—

"Tobye Mathew.
29 Sept., 1622."

Fr. Farrar, commenting on Sir Tobie's attitude, writes to Fr. Bennet as follows:[1]—

"Douay, Oct. 5, 1622.

". . . . We are informed Toby Matthews gives out that some have raised sinister reports of him, because he will not be drawn to be a slave of the clergy. It seems some take notice of his Jesuit's weed,[2] and his priesthood, which he would gladly conceal if he could, thereby to carry matters more smoothly, than otherwise he is like, but I think in vain. Besides other good proofs hereof, there is one in these parts, whose mother, a lady of good note, told him that young Toby had said Mass in her house. And yet these men persuade themselves they can walk invisibly."

The feeling of the secular clergy against Sir Tobie was intensified by the Spanish Ambassador's display of indignation. How far the statements of

[1] Tierney's *Dodd's Church History*, vol. v., p. 123, note.

[2] I.e. habit or costume. But, at this time, all Jesuits and other priests in England wore the dress of laymen, except when officiating.

the Ambassador (Don Colonna) are justified, it would be hard now to ascertain. In June, 1624, he wrote to Cardinal Mellini, as follows:[1]—

"The first ten months of my embassage I spent in resolving myself that it was convenient for the good of this English Church that the Bishop of Chalcedon should come in, whom his Holiness of good memory, pope Gregory XV., thought good to send. From that time, those who are never weary of impugning that holy and necessary work, ...from that time, I say, it seeming unto them that the person, who had drawn me into that persuasion, could be no other than the arch-deacon of Cambray, ... they have not ceased to calumniate him. For ever since the Prince of Wales was in Spain, they endeavoured, by means of Don Toby Matthews, and others of his opinions, to stir up the Conde of Olivarez against him."

Commenting upon Sir Tobie's conduct, Dodd says in his *Ecclesiastical History*:[2]—

"Some, perhaps, may think it an abatement of his character, that he wanted sincerity, in the controversy between the Clergy and the Regulars, concerning the privileges of the latter; and especially as to the necessity of a Catholick Bishop in England; upon which occasion he made a profession of impartiality and expected to be attended to, upon that account; whereas he was not only visibly in the interest of the Regulars, but actually a member of one of their bodies. This was plainly made to appear by the Bishop of Chalcedon's officers, who collected attestations from several persons, who had seen or heard him say Mass, as will be found among the records of this reign."

The controversy did not terminate with the appointments of the Vicar Apostolic and his suc-

[1] Tierney's *Dodd's Church History*, vol. v., p. cclxi.
[2] Vol. iii., pp. 59, 60.

cessor. The regular clergy considered themselves exempt from the Vicar's jurisdiction, and not liable to apply to him for faculties for the exercise of their office. The Vicar, on the other hand, insisted upon the regulars applying for his approbation, before attempting to perform any function. Some time elapsed before a peaceful solution of the difficulty was reached.

The lengthy "Panzani Correspondence" concerns itself with this unfortunate dispute and its issues. The Rev. Gregorio Panzani was sent to England by Urban VIII. to settle the differences between seculars and regulars. He resided in this country from 1634 to 1636.[1]

This correspondence, "Di Londra, dal S^gre^ Gregorio Panzani," is of great interest; but it will not be necessary to give here more than a short extract from Berington's *Memoirs of Panzani* (p. 121):—

"The Bishop (i.e. Bishop Smith of Chalcedon) . . . . having called together the superiors of the Jesuits and of the Benedictine monks, frankly told them it was his opinion that no regular ought to hear a lay person's confession, without the Ordinary's approbation. They acquiesced, and for some time requested his approbation. But, having more maturely weighed the case, among themselves, they flew off, alledging that the pope, being the Universal Ordinary of all Christendom, had sufficiently qualified them to hear any one's confession, by express faculties granted for the mission; and for the future,

[1] *Vide* the Rev. Joseph Berington's *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, 1793. "Remarks" on the foregoing, by the Rev. Charles Plowden, S.J., 1794.

they said, they were resolved not to seek the Bishop of Chalcedon's approval. Afterwards, to strengthen their interest, they drew in some leading men of the laity to countenance their practice, among whom was Sir Toby Matthew, this last being himself esteemed a Jesuit, and in priests' orders."

The dispute lasted several years, to the disedification of all who were interested in the welfare of religion.

Under the date, January 24th, 1629, there is an unsigned letter, written by a person in the confidence of Bishop Smith of Chalcedon to a person addressed as "Honoured Sir," in reply to an accusation brought by the regulars against the Bishop, that he had been backward in showing his Brief:—

"The Bishop, at his returne, understandinge that they (the regulars) had devulged as if he had refused to shew his Breve, he sent an authenticall copy thereof to M^r^ Nelson, *alias* Jackson, a neer generall, living in London, who went often to meet with F^r^ Blunt, & often enquired after him, having y^e^ said Authenticall copy & also y^e^ Decree of the Cong^r^ de prop: fid: ever about him, to shew y^e^ same . . . . & did shewe it to fa: Gray, *alias* Anderson, a principall Jes: under fa: Blunt, yea being asked by M^r^ Price bluntly before Lord Mount and Sir Tobie Matthew, did you deny to shewe it us? He replied, Noe; I am ready to shewe it even nowe, & will give you leave to peruse it, & will attend you one, 2, 3, 4, or 5 hours, y^t^ you may read it, as often as you please, but because he cold not consent (having noe allowance thereto) that they should copie it out, they refused to read it."

With regard to the "Mr. Price" mentioned in this letter, it may be remarked that Mr. Seccombe represents Sir Tobie Matthew as passing by that

name. No evidence in proof of this representation has been found. Sir Tobie was much too well known to have used a pseudonym at this period. Sir Edward Dering, writing to Sec. Vist. Dorchester (Carleton), on February 17th, 1630, says:—"There is now in London Wm. Robinson, *alias Price*, *alias* Jones, *alias* Benedictus de Sancta Facunda, president-elect for the Benedictines of St. Gregory at Douay." Fr. John Bennett, S.J., was also known as "Mr. Price."

The party favoured by Sir Tobie appears to have been strong, and a Remonstrance was drawn up by him, in conjunction with Sir Basil Brook and Sir Thomas Bridewell, Bart. (afterwards Earl of Cardigan). This Remonstrance was in opposition to the *Letter* of Bishop Smith, the Vicar Apostolic, explaining the nature of his jurisdiction, and asserting his claim to the powers of an ordinary.

The Bishop had informed the superiors of the Benedictines and the Jesuits that, according to the Bull of Pope Pius V. (*Romani Pontificis*), no regular ought to hear the confessions of the laity without the ordinary's approbation. They replied that they were qualified by express faculties granted for the mission; and Dom. Thomas Preston, *alias* Roger Widdrington, O.S.B., and another learned monk, called Fr. David (probably Dom. John David Barnes), commenced an attack on the Bishop's pretensions. The controversy was soon taken up

by Dom. W. Rudesind Barlow, O.S.B., and others, and the Remonstrance was forwarded to the Pope. But a more numerously signed counter-remonstrance followed; and the controversy was carried on, with quite unnecessary warmth, for about five years. In 1629, Dr. Matthew Kellison came to the Bishop's aid. The aim of his party was to show that Sir Tobie, who drew up the petition in the name of the laity, and signed it, as though he were one of them, was all the time a priest, and not only a priest, but also a Jesuit. Attestations were obtained from persons who had been present when Sir Tobie celebrated Mass. The certificate of his ordination at the English College at Rome does not seem to have been sought for; the reason of this omission may have been that the College was, at that time, in the hands of the Society of Jesus.

In this unhappy state of affairs it is impossible not to condemn the dissimulation of Sir Tobie. Though his view of the danger of appointing Bishops at an inopportune time was probably correct and statesmanlike, yet the means which he employed, of an appeal to the King through Buckingham, was a reprehensible and disloyal method of combating such of his Catholic brethren as differed from him on this particular question. That the Jesuits were in any way blameworthy for Sir Tobie's conduct does not appear. He acted on his own initiative, constituting himself a leader

when he should have taken a subordinate position, and that even after the Holy See had taken action by appointing the Vicar Apostolic. Incidents of this kind form the darker shadows in an otherwise brilliant career, marked often by real self-abnegation and heroism. A learned member of the Society of Jesus has described Sir Tobie as a "somewhat terrible friend."

In Brady's *Episcopal Succession* (p. 98) it is recorded that, "A protest of Nobles against the Bishop (of Chalcedon) was formed in August, 1631. . . . . George Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, signed at the instance of Tobias Matthews and Father Knott the Jesuit, but he died a few days after subscribing. His death was by some attributed to the judgment of God."

Dodd's Church History[1] contains accounts of "attestations" of Sir Tobie Matthew's sacerdotal character. The first of these attestations is by "Thomas Green, Presbyter," who declares:—

"*Ego infra scriptus testor me accepisse à patre Alexandro Baker, societatis Jesu presbytero, quod ipsemet suis oculis viderit dominum Tobiam Matthæum dicentem missam, in capella S. Ignatii apud ecclesiam collegii Anglicani Audomarensis.*"

Then follows "Mrs. Gibson's Attestation":—

"We, under written, do testify that, being together at Holy Well, otherwise call'd St. Winifred's Well, the 8th day of

[1] Vol. iii., p. 155.

August, 1631, in the company of Mrs. Gibson, who had lived many years in Brussels, and other parts of the Low Countries, we heard the said Mrs. Gibson, upon occasion of speech, then and plainly, and of her own accord, say that long since, she had heard Sir Toby Matthews, knight, say Mass, in two several places at Lovain, and that accidentally she was present at his Mass in those places. In witness whereof, we have hereunto put our hands, the 9th of August, the year of our Lord, above mention'd.

"Anne Tregonwell.
"Barbara Egerton.
"William Farrar."

The attestation of "Ursula Hewick" follows, and it is signed by "Milo Carr, Presbyter," &c.

CHAPTER IX

FROM THE YEAR 1624 TO THE ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM IN 1628

Buckingham's speech on the Spanish matter, and the Spanish Ambassador's reply. Treaty with Spain declared to have ended. King petitioned to enforce penal laws against Catholics. Formal proposal of marriage by Prince Charles to Princess Henrietta Maria. Demands and concessions probably due to representations of Sir Tobie. James secretly agrees to toleration for Catholic subjects. He dies before solemnization of Royal marriage. Princess married by proxy. Sir Tobie acts as her interpreter in England. He describes her in a letter to a friend. Charles meets his first Parliament. A scheme for an Academe Royal. Sir Tobie asked to join. Puritans bestir themselves and petition the King. He renews anti-Catholic enactments, and is remonstrated with by the King of France. Lord Arundel arrested. Lord Bristol opposes Buckingham. His charges unanswered, but counter charges made against Bristol. He replies. Buckingham impeached, and Parliament dissolved. Sir Tobie's nephew, John Matthew, converted to Catholicism. The Queen's French attendants sent back to France. The French King's indignation. The Duke of Buckingham assassinated by Felton.

CHAPTER IX

FROM THE YEAR 1624 TO THE ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM IN 1628

In the beginning of the year following Prince Charles's return from Spain, the fiasco in which he had played the chief part, under Buckingham's tutelage, was brought before the notice of Parliament. James informed the Lords and Commons that all the circumstances should be submitted to them, in order that he might receive their advice. He declared that in every public and private treaty he had always made a reservation for the cause of (the Protestant) religion. As for the penal statutes, he had, he said, sometimes thought proper to connive at their less rigorous execution; but with regard to dispensing with, or altering any that concerned religion, he exclaimed:—"I never promised or yielded; I never thought it with my heart, nor spoke it with my mouth."

Buckingham delivered a long and specious, but deceptive, account of the Spanish matter, his fallacious statements being supported by Prince

Charles, and by two secretaries, who read garbled extracts from despatches. His opponent, Lord Bristol, who could have exposed these mendacities, was, by order of the Council, a prisoner in his own house. The Spanish Ambassador replied with great power; but both houses supported Buckingham, and, in their address to the King, expressed it as their opinion that neither the restoration of the Palatinate, nor the treaty for the marriage with the Infanta, could be continued with honour or safety. Shortly afterwards a Royal proclamation declared that both treaties with Spain were at an end, and that a war with that country was proposed. A joint petition was presented to the King, praying him to enforce the Penal Statutes against Catholics, whether priests or laymen, and a proclamation was issued ordering the departure, by a fixed date, of all Catholic priests, under penalty of death. Judges and magistrates received orders to put in execution the laws as in former times; the Lord Mayor was commanded to arrest all persons found coming from or going to Mass in the houses of the foreign Ambassadors. Prince Charles bound himself with an oath that "whensoever it should please God to bestow upon him any lady that were popish, she should have no further liberty, but for her own family, and no advantage to the recusants at home."[1] Members

[1] *House of Commons Journal*, 756.

of the House of Commons were required to give the names and addresses of all persons, holding Government offices, known by them to be Catholics, or suspected of recusancy. A list having been compiled, the immediate removal of these persons was unanimously voted. The Lords, however, acted as a drag upon the wheel of the Puritan Juggernaut, and they declined to agree to the vote of the Commons. They urged that they "would not judge and condemn without proof." For a time the petition was set aside. With some difficulty the secretary of the Spanish Embassy contrived by a stratagem to obtain a private audience of the King, when some of Buckingham's schemes and intrigues were made known. The favourite fell ill, and the Spanish minister left the kingdom. War had been declared in the Low Countries, and Buckingham concluded a defensive league between Great Britain and the Seven United Provinces. Princes Charles and Buckingham thirsted for a rupture with Spain; but an event occurred which, for a while, turned their thoughts from bloodshed. When on their way to Madrid in 1623 they had attended a ball in Paris, where they first saw Princess Henrietta Maria, daughter of the late King, an elegant girl of fourteen. Charles had not been unimpressed by her charms, and when the Spanish match was broken off, he sent Lord Kensington to inquire of the Queen Mother as to

the possible favourable reception of his suit. Lord Kensington was joined by the Earl of Carlisle,[1] and a formal proposal of marriage was conveyed to the Princess.

Once more, then, Prince Charles's matrimonial projects created international excitement. Pope Urban VIII. and the King of Spain dissuaded King Louis from consenting to the betrothal, but, on the solicitation of his mother, they ultimately yielded.

It was at length arranged that the marriage should take place in France, the Prince being represented by proxy, and that the contract should be publicly ratified, without religious ceremony, on the arrival of the Princess in England. A special stipulation was made that the Princess, her servants and suite, should be allowed as free exercise of their religion as had been promised to the Infanta, and that any issue of the marriage should remain under her care till their thirteenth year. Cardinal Richelieu demanded further, that every indulgence promised by the treaty of Madrid to English Catholics should be secured by the pending treaty at Paris. These demands and concessions were probably due to the energetic representations of Sir Tobie, who, whatever may be thought of his action in the matter of the Vicar Apostolic, was always conspicuous for his zealous endeavours to

[1] Formerly Lord Doncaster.

A Portrait *of* GEORGE CALVERT, *the first* Lord Baltimore.

Born at Kipling, Yorkshire, 1582. Was appointed Secretary of State by James I., 1619. Created Baron Baltimore, 1625. The capital of Virginia was called after his title. He owned extensive estates, afterwards known as the colony of Maryland. He died April 15th, 1632. Lord Baltimore was the author of *The Answer of Tom Tell-Truth*; *The Practice of Princes*; *The Lamentation of the Kirk*; &c.

ameliorate the condition of his co-religionists in England.

The Cardinal's demand paralyzed the efforts of the contracting Courts, till at last a compromise was arranged by a secret engagement, signed by James, Prince Charles, and a Secretary of State. The sovereign undertook to grant to his Catholic subjects even greater freedom of religion than they could have claimed in virtue of the Spanish match; and Lord Nithisdale, a Scottish Catholic peer, was employed in Rome, to assist the French Ambassador in asking for the necessary Papal dispensation. But the French ministers now wisely refused to concur in the execution of the treaty, until more specific and less secret undertakings were made, and unless Catholics imprisoned for religion since the rising of Parliament were liberated, and all fines levied on recusants remitted. No molestations of Catholics should take place in the future, in the private and peaceable exercise of their worship or religion.

The agreement was concluded, and the Duke of Chevreuse was selected as Prince Charles's proxy, while the Duke of Buckingham received orders to conduct the bride to England, when Monsignor Spada, the Papal Nuncio, refused to deliver Pope Urban's dispensation, unless better security were given for the performance of the promises to English Catholics. An oath taken by Louis to compel

James, if necessary, to keep his word, satisfied the Pope, and the dispensation was handed over.

James was taken suddenly ill, and, before the Royal marriage could be solemnized, he expired, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. The only two of his seven children who survived him, were the Prince of Wales, and Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, a correspondent of, and a good friend to Sir Tobie.

Charles now ascended the throne, in his twenty-fifth year, and Buckingham continued all-powerful at Court. The marriage treaty was signed afresh; and the wedding ceremony was celebrated upon a platform erected before the great door of Notre Dame at Paris. Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld officiated, and the Duke of Chevreuse was Charles's proxy. The Duke of Buckingham, with a numerous retinue, hastened to Paris to fetch the Queen; she was accompanied as far as Amiens by Queen Maria of Medici and Queen Anne of Austria. Queen Henrietta Maria embarked at Boulogne, and was met at Dover by Charles and his court; their Majesties then proceeded to Canterbury, where the contract was renewed and formally signed. They went on next day to Whitehall and Hampton Court.

Shortly before the marriage, Sir Tobie had introduced Sir Henry Vane[1] to Dudley Carleton,

[1] Sir Henry Vane, b. 1589, was knighted by James I. and made cofferer to Prince Charles. On the accession of the Prince, he was added to the Privy Council and sent on several missions. He died 1654.

Ambassador in Paris, and then proceeded to France himself. That he was behind all the negotiations for this marriage, as he and Gage had been behind the Spanish fiasco, there can be little doubt; and he had the honour of being chosen to act as the young Queen's interpreter, for she spoke no English at this period. His description of her in a letter addressed to the Countess of Buckingham will be read with interest. It is as follows:[1]—

"Madam.

"There was noe cause till now why I should trouble your Ladyship with presenting my vnprofitable seruice to you; but now I shall venture to doe it, by reason of the good newes which I shall send with it. For our Queen arrived heer, yesterday, and I was glad at the harte, to see her, such as shee seemes. Shee is more growen than I had thought, being higher, by half the head, then my lady Marquesse, and whatsoever they say, beleue mee, she sitts already upon the very skirts of womanhood. Madam, vpon my faith, shee is a most sweet louely creature, and hath a countenance which opens a window into her harte, where a man may see all nobleness and goodnes, and I dare venture my head (vpon the little skill I haue in phisionomy) that shee will be extraordinarily beloued by our nation, and deserue to be so, and that the actions of her life, which are to be her owne, will be excellent. Meethought I decerned in her countenance a little remanant of sadnes, which the fresh wound of parteing from her Queen mother might have made; yet perhaps I was deceived. Her attire was very playne, for so great a Queen cann be thought to haue nothing mean about her. But I hope that amongst many other blessings, which God will haue provided for vs, by her meanes, her example will be able to teach our country witt in this

[1] Tanner, 72, fol. 40.

kinde. I had the happiness to see and leaue her, at a short distance, by the commandment, which my Lady of Buckingham lay'd vpon mee, to interpret for her, and beleue mee, shee is full of witt, and hath a louely manner in expressing it, but I confesse I was sorry with all my harte to hear that her courage was so great as to carry her (instantly after my Lady of Buckingham had taken her leaue for that time) to Sea, in a poore little boate, in the company of her brother, whom yet I haue not had the honour to see. I dare give my word for her that shee is not affrayd of her owne shadow, who could finde in her harte to putt herself, at the first sight, vpon an element of that danger and disease, for meer pastime vnless it were, perhaps, that she might carry some steele about her, and that there is some adamant at Dover, which already might begin to drawe her that way.

"I am extremely sorry that wee haue lost the hope of seeing the two other Queenes, for, if they had come, wee might haue had beauty heer, as well in the Preter perfect and in the Present Tence, as now wee haue it, in the Future. But the Queen mother's indisposition hath arrested her at Amiens, in punishment of that mallice, wherewith shee dissembled it, too long at the first, through the extreme desire she had of coming hither.

"Our Queen received my Lady of Buckingham[1] with strange curtesy and fauour, and now there is noe remedy, but that the Kinge will needes defray, and treate her in a high manner, and I haue bene tould that Monsieur will needes descend so much as to visit her, in her lodging; and the Dutchesse or Cheureuse (with being that great Prince as shee is, both by match and blood) will perforce give precedence, not onely to the Lady of Buckingham,[2] but to my ladies, her daughters also; and I assure myself that a lesse puissant example then this will serue to convert our great Ladies, euen to exceed in England, towards the Ladies that are strangers, and doe but

[1] I.e. the Duchess of Buckingham, Tobie's correspondent being the Countess.

[2] The Duchess.

come and goe. But the while this Court doth so apply it self to doe my Lady of Buckingham all imaginable honour, as that I am noe whitt discouraged thereby, from beareing deuotion to the Blessed virgin, when I see that men, who are sicke of loue towards the sonne, are putt, euen by a kinde of lawe of nature, into payne till they reuenge themselves upon the mother.

"If the shippes were come, and the winde shall give leaue, the Queen, I beleue, will imbarke tomorrow, and then your Ladyship's self will shortly see whether I haue made a likely iudgment of her or noe. I beseech Jesus send her well over, and keep your Ladyship in as much health and happiness as is cordially desired by

"Your Ladyship's most humble
"faithfull seruant ever,
"Tobie Matthew.

"I shall give your Ladyship a postscript, which is more worth then all the letter, and it is this. In every towne where the Queen hath lyen between Paris and this place, shee hath ever descended at the Church, to doe her deuotions, before shee would looke into her lodging."

This letter is endorsed: "Sir Tobie Matthew to y^e^ Lady Buckingham, 9^th^ of June, 1625." And, in a later hand, are added the words: "Not to Lady Buckingham. See the letter." There are references, as has been seen, to "Lady" Buckingham, but the explanation is that Tobie's correspondent is the Duke's mother, the Countess of Buckingham, and not his wife, the Duchess.

The day after the Queen's arrival, Charles met his first Parliament, in order to consider the question of supply; James had left him a legacy of debt, to the amount of three-quarters of a

million. In the upper House much jealousy existed regarding the ascendancy of Buckingham, against whom a party was formed, under the Earl of Pembroke.

As far back as the year 1617, a barrister of the Inner Temple, kinsman of the Duke of Buckingham, named Edmund Bolton, having become a Catholic, and thereby forfeited all opportunities of achieving success in the ordinary walks of life, conformed to the bent of an early inclination, and devoted his time to literature. Through Buckingham's influence he obtained an *entrée* at the Court of James I., and proposed a design for a Royal Academy, or College, and Senate of Honour, on a grand scale. The details of this scheme were laid before the Lords in 1624, by Buckingham, and finally settled. The "Academe Royal" was to consist of three classes of persons, called Tutelaires, Auxiliares, and Essentials. These last were to be eighty-four in number, and Sir Tobie was elected one of them. They were to be "persons called from out the most able and most famous *lay gentlemen* of England, masters of families, or being men of themselves and living in the light of things, without any title of profession, or art of life for lucre, such persons being already of other bodies." Sir Tobie, being a priest, had no right to accept election into this Academy; but, had he refused, being ostensibly a layman, he might have aroused suspicion; and the

day had not yet dawned when a man, known to be a priest, could show himself in public with safety. The members of the Academy were to have various privileges, among them the superintendence and review of all English translations of secular learning. Upon all non-theological books, printed in English, they were to issue an index, expurgatory and expunctory. The Government, however, abandoned the scheme, which was a grand one, and it shortly afterwards collapsed. Bolton died in 1633.

According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Bacon, in 1624, added to his other essays the one on *Friendship*, in commemoration of their long intimacy. But there are reasons for believing that the date should be earlier.

At this time zealots were again bestirring themselves. They represented that the King, having sworn to grant to his Popish consort merely the *private* exercise of the Catholic religion, had, within a few months, violated his oath by according toleration to all Catholics within his dominions! The Puritans contended that the new monarch was nothing more than a tool in the hands of Buckingham. When Parliament re-assembled, loud murmurs of discontent and mistrust were heard. The King, at the request of both Houses, appointed a day of fasting and prayer, and this the zealots anticipated by a week; they then presented a petition, conjuring

the King, "as he disapproved of idolatry," to put into immediate execution all the existing laws against recusants.

Charles prudently returned to this petition a satisfactory reply, which was entered on the rolls of Parliament. But his offence was, that, after promising to put the penal laws into force, he had actually pardoned eleven priests arraigned for the capital offence of celebrating Mass. Subsidies were refused when the Parliament met at Oxford, and the Royal coffers were empty. An expedition, hurried off from Plymouth to Cadiz, ended disastrously. Buckingham and Lord Kensington (now Earl of Holland) started for the Hague, taking with them the Crown jewels and plate, which they hoped to pawn for £300,000. Buckingham next crossed the Channel, but was stopped by Cardinal Richelieu, who refused to allow him to enter France, and Lord Holland, Lord Digby and Carleton, were sent in his place, with various requests from Charles, who meditated hostilities against the French. His design was defeated by the able statesmanship of the great Cardinal.

At length the King, tormented by the Puritans, resolved to violate his treaty, and the old atrocious anti-Catholic enactments were renewed. To King Louis' remonstrance, Charles replied that he had never considered the stipulation in favour of Catholics, as anything more than an artifice to

obtain the Pope's dispensation.[1] Archbishops, bishops, chancellors, and archdeacons were ordered to proceed against recusants. That Catholicism was not utterly annihilated throughout the realm, was due solely to its supernatural vitality. Even women and children, *suspected* of any "secret leaning to the Catholic worship," were to be denounced, if they were in any way connected with persons of prominence or position.

Charles, with the fatal obstinacy which was his chief characteristic, having quarrelled with the Commons on the question of supply, soon fell foul of the Lords by arresting Lord Arundel, whom he sent to the Tower. The Lords resented the unconstitutional act, and the King had finally to yield. After three months' contention, he allowed Lord Arundel to resume his seat, amidst the acclamations of his brother peers.

The Earl of Bristol, like Lord Arundel, was a foe with whom the favourite Buckingham had to reckon. Bristol had been, as we saw, confined to the Tower, and afterwards imprisoned in his own house at Sherborne. His writ of summons had been withheld, and of this injustice he complained to the Peers; then the King ordered the writ to be issued, but privately forbade Bristol to answer it. Bristol cannot be blamed for informing the House of the King's double-dealing, albeit he occasioned, by

[1] *Vide Bibliotheca Regia*, pp. 12-16.

this action, great alarm to his sovereign and to Buckingham, who caused the Attorney-General to charge him with high treason at the bar of the House.

Bristol's turn had now come; he exhibited the following articles against Buckingham, which he pledged himself to prove:—"That Buckingham had conspired with Gondomar to entice Prince Charles into Spain, in order that he might be induced to change his religion before the marriage; that he had brought discredit and disgrace upon the English nation, by his gross profligacy and contempt of public decency; that he had broken off the match solely through vindictiveness, because the Spaniards had declined negotiation with so dissolute a person; that he had wilfully set himself to deceive the late King and the Parliament."

These charges were never answered, but counter charges were made by the Attorney-General against Bristol, to which he made replies which were regarded as both complete and satisfactory.

The Commons, following Bristol's example, and defying the Royal prohibition, now impeached Buckingham before the Lords. An insinuation was made, that the King had been privy to the death of his father, through a posset administered to his late Majesty, by Buckingham. That the favourite did, in the presence of the King's physicians, hand him such a posset, was not denied,

though the inference that it was injurious, was warmly repudiated by Charles.

The dissolution of Parliament put an end to the acrimonious discussion; Buckingham had set to work to prepare an answer to his accusers, and this was presented immediately before the dissolution.

Sir Tobie's relations with Prince Charles, and with Buckingham and Digby, had been intimate at Madrid. He cannot but have been greatly exercised in mind, by all that was now passing in connection with the favourite and his enemies. At the same time, the end and aim of his whole life, at this period, was proselytism. His influence upon his associates was magnetic, and through his instrumentality many notable conversions took place. Among the converts may be mentioned Sir Tobie's nephew, John Matthew, a youth of some promise, who had been brought up chiefly under the eye of the Archbishop of York. The renegade Gee gives his own version of John Matthew's change of faith, in a paper entitled *The Foot out of the Snare*. He relates how the proselytizers dealt "with a young man heer in London, who is grandchild to the Archbishop of York." "They persuaded him," goes on Gee, "what a fine life it would bee to live beyond the seas, and withall told him that, if hee would go over to one of their Colledges, hee should want no maintenance, and for that he was not fully grounded in their religion, hee was referred to one to

conferre withall. It fortuned that he came to that man that must indoctrinate him while I was by. I, smelling their knavery, could not rest quiet, till I had found out the young man, and inquired his business with the priests, with whom I had seen him often conversant; who presently told mee their project, and acquainted mee that he must suddenly take his journey to St. Omer's. But myself discovering unto him divers of their cheats and tricks, and assuring him that he should finde the case altered if hee went out of England, the young man, being very ingenious, was deterred, and (I hope) will have no more familiarity with them."[1]

Gee's attempt to prejudice the young man against the priests was not so successful as he hoped; for, in the account of the Jesuit Residence of St. Michael the Archangel, of the Yorkshire district, there is mention of John Matthew, *alias* Munson, who in 1633 applied for admission to the English College in Rome, under the pseudonym of John Munson. He then subscribed the following statement, which, as an exception to the rule, is written in English:—"My true name is John Matthew. I am son to John Matthew, Esq., who took to wife Jane Toothbie, daughter of Thomas Toothbie, Esq. The place of my birth was London. My education was such as had much more of the gentleman than the scholar, as being brought up

[1] *The Foot out of the Snare.* Gee, 1624.

and living with my Lord Matthew, my grandfather. All my kindred are Protestants, except my uncle, Sir Tobie Matthew, and so it was my misfortune to be bred up in heresy; but it was my happy fortune, about three years since, to be made a Catholic. The principal reason of my conversion was a dear affection, since I had the use of reason, to the Catholic religion. The cause of my coming to this seminary is to gain learning and virtue.

(Signed) "John Munson."

The College *Pilgrim Book* notes :—

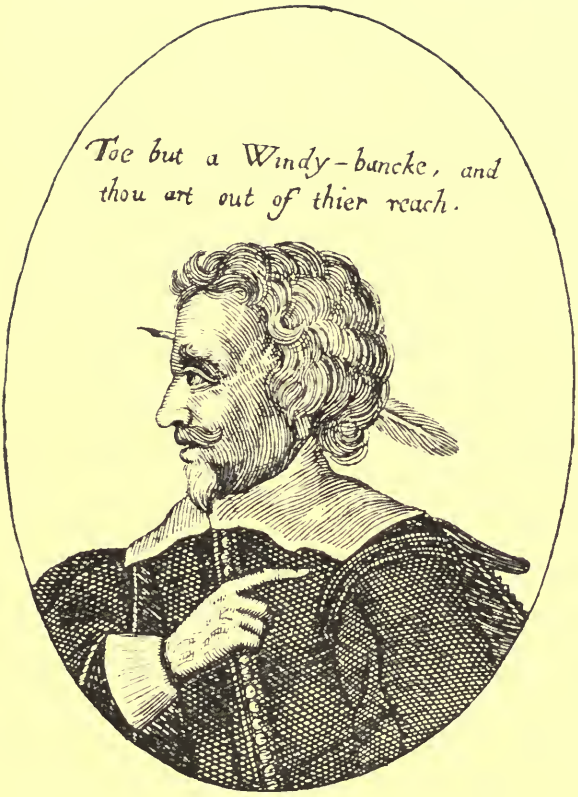
"Nov. 3, 1633.—Arrived at Rome from St. Omer's, for the sake of study, eleven youths." The names follow, and among them is "John Munson, of Yorkshire."

The early part of 1626 was a time of deep sorrow for Sir Tobie. Bacon, the friend who had been the guiding star of his life, and had made him his *alter ego* and confidant for nearly thirty years, passed away. By his will, dated December 19th, 1625, he remembered Sir Tobie in the following bequest :— "I give to my ancient good friend Sir Tobie Matthew, some ring, to be bought for him, to the value of thirty pounds." But Bacon died poor, and it is doubtful whether Matthew ever received the keepsake.

It is, and will probably always remain, uncertain whether or not Bacon yielded to Sir Tobie's in-

fluence and powerful logic, so far as to become a Catholic. Much has already been published to support the theory of the Catholicity of William Shakspere. The contention rests on the evidence of Catholicity in the plays of "William Shakespeare," as they appear in their final and complete form in the folio of 1623. And with regard to Bacon it may be noted, that in his Essay on "Unity in Religion" he veils censure of the persecution of Catholics, under a general condemnation of religious intolerance.

Intolerance was, nevertheless, the order of the day. Dissensions, too, on other matters than those of religion, sprang up, even between the King and Queen. On her arrival, Henrietta Maria had begged Charles to regard with leniency any breaches of etiquette into which she might fall, through ignorance of the national manners and customs. It was not long, however, before disagreements between the Royal pair were remarked, and these, rightly or wrongly, were attributed to Buckingham. The Queen's French suite, after they had spent only six months in England, received orders to return to France, and her Majesty was taken to the Palace of Nonsuch, whilst her attendants were sent to Somerset House, and from thence forced to embark for France, by command of the King. On August 7th, 1626, Charles wrote to Buckingham :— "Force them away, dryve them away, like so manie



SECRETARY WINDEBANK.
From a satirical portrait of the time.

wylde beastes, and so the divell go with them." Three English priests, selected by Buckingham, were appointed the Queen's chaplains, and two Catholic and four Protestant ladies became her Ladies of the Bedchamber.

The French King was indignant at the treatment meted out to his sister; he refused to see Carleton, whom Charles sent with explanations, and was inclined to declare war against England. Through his influence alterations were made in the household of Henrietta Maria, and amicable relations between the Royal couple were restored.

But the question of the non-fulfilment of certain conditions of the marriage treaty, next occupied the attention of Bassompierre, the French Ambassador. Charles, who had violated his promises of relief to the English Catholics, made a counter-move against the French Court, by assuming the protectorship of the Protestants in France. This was the beginning of much future trouble. The command of the British fleet was entrusted to Buckingham, as Lord High Admiral, and he proceeded to France, to demonstrate before Rochelle, and to seize the island of Rhé. The expedition proved disastrous, but Buckingham retained the King's confidence. A Parliament was called, and after various stormy sittings was again prorogued. Buckingham was declared by many to be the *fons et origo* of the national calamities.

His physician, Dr. Lamb, was murdered in the street in London, and shortly afterwards the Duke of Buckingham, when about to sail from Portsmouth on another expedition to Rochelle, was stabbed to the heart by a miscreant named Felton.

CHAPTER X

FROM THE DEATH OF SIR TOBIE'S PARENTS IN 1628 TO HIS EXPEDITION TO IRELAND IN 1633

Sir Tobie spends some time with his parents. He hopes to win them over to the Faith. Thomas Wilson's additions to the diary of Archbishop Matthew. The Archbishop dies on March 29th, 1628, *and is buried in York Minster. Sir John Barrington's description of him, when Dean of Christ Church. Sir Tobie's mother dies on May 10th,* 1629. *Her epitaph in York Minster, and the account of her benefaction to the Minster library. Mrs. Matthew's will. Sir Tobie's general avoidance of polemical literature. He is credited with the conversion of Sir George Calvert. Joins a society "of the Fishing of Great Britain." Corresponds with Sir Henry Vane. Visits Ireland as Secretary to Wentworth, Lord Deputy. His name made public through false statements of Ludovick Bowyer. He returns from Ireland with Lord Conway in* 1634.

CHAPTER X

FROM THE DEATH OF SIR TOBIE'S PARENTS IN 1628 TO HIS EXPEDITION TO IRELAND IN 1633

DURING the stormy period briefly reviewed in the previous chapter, few records of Sir Tobie's doings have come to light. He considered it his duty to keep in touch with the Court, and appears to have continued in favour with the King and Queen. From his own account, written ten years later, we know that he spent some time with his parents at York, in the hope of winning them over to the Faith. But his efforts were unsuccessful.

From the transcript made by Thomas Wilson, F.S.A.,[1] of Archbishop Matthew's diary, we derive some knowledge of the father's relations with the son, Sir Tobie; and Wilson has added to the diary memoirs from his own pen; these are taken from his hitherto unpublished MS., now in possession of a gentleman at Leeds, Mr. G. D. Lamb. There is further account of the Archbishop in Whitaker's

[1] Wilson was Master of the Charity School at Leeds, and from 1735 to 1750 Clerk at the Parish Church; the entries in the Registers during that period are in his handwriting.

Lordes and Elmet, and in Taylor's *Worthies of Leeds*.

In Thomas Wilson's "Additions" to the Diary and Journal of the Archbishop, "containing memoirs of his Lordship's Life and Family,"[1] is a memoir of Sir Tobie. In this we read that :—"Tho' his Father is thought by some to have overcome in controversie, Edmund Campion the Jesuit, about 1581, this, his Son, was overcome by the Arguments & Persuasions of the noted Father Parsons, another Jesuit, to renounce the Church of England, and become a staunch Roman Catholic, and entered into the Society of Jesus, to the great grief of his Father, who used all means possible to reclaim him, but could not prevail: so he Disinherited him, and by his last Will only left him a piece of old Plate, and a Note to let him know he had given him above Fourteen Thousand Pounds." "I presume," remarks Wilson, "he had summed up therein every Shilling he had cost him, ever since he was born." "Several persons," continues the writer, "have accused him of inconsideration and extravagance, especially Fuller, whose character of him is, that, having all his 'Father's Name, and many of his natural Parts, he had few of his Moral Vertues and fewer of his Spiritual Graces.'[2] But Dr. Fuller, like the Archbishop, had more loose Wit than real grace, tho' the

[1] See the original MS. in the Library at Bishopthorpe, residence of the Archbishops of York.

[2] *Church Hist. in* 1628.

Archbishop, as it's said, commonly leaped out of the Frying-pan into the Fire, to obtain grace; that is, in exchanging a better benefit for a worse, Durham for York, which was then thought he exchanged his Post for want of grace, and so became *His Grace.*

"As for religious tenets," Wilson goes on, "whether the Father or the Son was in the right, or neither of them, God only knows; for the different Schemes in Religion for many Centuries past, and at present, are as misterious and unfathomable as the bottomless Pit. Millions of Schemes, Structures raised, Arguments heaped on Arguments which delude foolish Man, like an *Ignis fatuus*, and leave him at the end, in the Lurch, an *Ignoramus* of Uncertainty.

"However, Young Toby, as well as his Father, old Toby, like Socrates of old, had all Dæmons, or Consciences, and if a reasonable Man's Conscience tells him he is Right: who, but an impertinent person, can tell him he is wrong?"

The Archbishop, described by Wilson as "this famous Evangelist or faithful preacher of the Gospel," died at Cawood Castle, March 29th, 1628, aged eighty-two years, having been Archbishop twenty-one years and six months. "He was buried in his own Cathedral, at the East end, in our Lady's Chapel, under a monument of black and white Marble, inclosed with Iron Rails."

Concerning the ability displayed by Tobie's father,

no question need, or can, be raised. Sir John Barrington gives the following account of him while he was Dean of Christ Church :[1]—" It is hard to say whether he was more respected for his great Learning, Eloquence, Authority, Countenance given by the Queen and the Great Ones : or beloved for his Sweet Conversation, friendly Disposition, and Bounty, that even then showed itself ; and above all, a Chearful Spirit, and sharpness of Wit, that so sauced his Words and Behaviour, that well was he, in the University, who could be in the company of Toby Matthew ; and his name grew so popular and plausible, that they thought it a Derogation to their love to add and (*sic*) the Title of Doctor or Dean to it ; but if they spoke of One of his Men, as he was ever well attended, they would say 'Mr. Matthew,' or 'Mr. Toby Matthew's man.'"

The cheerful affability mentioned in this account was certainly not often experienced by the Archbishop's son, Sir Tobie. But with regard to the father's attitude towards a son professing Catholicism, it is only fair to remember that Tobie Matthew the elder was a controversialist, at a time when rough words and hard measures were the rule, rather than the exception, in all questions of diversity in religious opinions. That the Archbishop was an indefatigable worker, the list of his sermons, given in his diary, amply proves.

[1] *View of Godwin's Catalogue of Bishops*, p. 196.

Sir Tobie's mother did not long survive her famous husband, the Archbishop; she died on May 10th, 1629. "Her epitaph" (in York Minster) "is," says Mr. Wilson, "highly worth transcribing, because of her Benefaction to York Minster library."

And he gives it, as follows:—

FRANCES MATTHEW.

First married to Matthew Parker,
Son to Matthew Parker,
Archbishop of Canterbury.
Afterwards to Toby Matthew,
That famous Archbishop
Of this See:
She was a Woman
Of Exemplary Wisdom,
Gravity, Piety, Bounty,
And indeed
In all other virtues,
Not only above her Sex
But the Times.
One exemplary Act of Her's
First devise upon this Church,
And through it flowing
Upon the Country,
Deserves to Live
As long as the Church itself.
The Library
Of the deceased Archbishop,
Consisting of above
Three Thousand Books,
She gave entirely
To the publick Use
Of this Church.
A rare Example

That so great Care
To advance Learning
Should Lodge
In a woman's breast.
She was Daughter
Of William Barlow,
Bishop of Chichester ;
And, in King Henry the Eighth's time,
Ambassador into Scotland,
Of the antient family
Of the Barlows in Wales,
She had Four Sisters
Married to Four Bishops.
One to William Wickham,
Bishop of Winchester ;
Another to Overton,
Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield ;
A third to Westphaling,
Bishop of Hereford ;
And a fourth to Day,
That succeeded Wickham, in Winchester.
So that a Bishop was her Father,
An Archbishop her Father-in-Law ;
She had Four Bishops, her Brethren,
And an Archbishop her husband.
When she had lived Seventy-eight Years,
On the Tenth of May,
She changed this Life,
As full of Honours as of Years,
Anno Dom. MDCXXIX.

By her last will, made August 9th, 1628, and proved May 15th, 1629, Mrs. Matthew gave to Peter House in Cambridge, "where her beloved Son Samuel was a scholar, and died there, Two hundred pounds to be employed for the Behoofe of two

poor Scholars, for ever." Of another legacy of hers, which concerns the subject of this biography, Mr. Wilson writes:—"To her son Sir Toby, she gave a ring set with Eleven Diamonds, given her by King Charles the First, and intended him to have his Father's Library, had his Father not disinherited him. . . . . So she gave the Books and manuscripts to York Minster, where they reposited in a Chamber over the Chanter's School, on the left hand of the South entrance into the Church; in the middle of the Chamber is a Gallery, from East to West, dividing it into two parts, with Frames or Classes for them. . . . . The Books were methodically put into Order, according to the various Learning they treat on, and a faithful Catalogue taken of them, by Dr. Comber, Præcentor."

The following is an extract from the Preface to the Catalogue:—

"Many of Matthew's books are of a controversial character, and represent both sides in the religious struggles of the time. This is especially the case with the Roman Catholic series, which is remarkably rich. . . . . When Matthew occupied the sees of Durham and York, he found himself face to face with the Seminary priests and their work, and strained every nerve to counteract the efforts they were making. He was not in favour of capital punishment for these offenders" (this

is a gratuitous assumption, contradicted by the evidence of original documents), "but the Privy Council in London and the Council in the North at York insisted on it. He himself was moderate in his views, but his wife was a strong Puritan, and then, to add to his mortification, his two surviving sons" (probably his son Tobie, and his grandson, John, are meant) "joined the Roman Catholic Church, whilst the judgment of Campion was constantly thrown against himself."

Sir Tobie's movements, for some time after his parents' decease, are lost in obscurity, but it is certain that he was not idle, and that he was still in favour at Court.

A proclamation for the arrest of Bishop Smith was issued in 1629, and two years later the Vicar withdrew to France. The cause of the Government's action was the disturbance created by the Vicar in disputes with the regular clergy. His conduct was considered headstrong, and disapproved of at Rome; and for a time the Vicariate was suppressed. It had done more harm than good, and Sir Tobie's diplomatic wisdom in opposing its erection was now established. The Bishop, having resigned his office, was welcomed in France by Cardinal de Richelieu and Cardinal de Gondi, Archbishop of Paris, but Cardinal Mazarine, who succeeded de Richelieu, obliged him to retire to the English Convent of Augustinian Canonesses,

where he remained until his death, at the age of eighty-eight, in 1655.

Two Catholics were, in 1628, put to death for religion, Father Arrowsmith, S.J., and Mr. Richard Herst, who were condemned at the summer assizes, held at Lancaster. But after the dissolution of Parliament, in 1629, the enforcement of the penal laws flagged, and the executioner's hatchets, ropes, and knives, were less in request than previously. Mass began to be celebrated with less caution and privacy, and the number of priests was multiplied. At this period the population of England was, according to the estimate of Hallam, between four and five millions, of whom, after more than seventy years of schism, only about 150,000 were reported by Panzani to be Catholics. Yet, in writing in 1629 to Urban VIII., Panzani stated that while he was resident in London "almost all the nobility who died, though reputed Protestants, were, in reality, Catholics." It is certain that Sir Tobie still took an active part in many conversions. His theological knowledge, if not profound, was sufficient to constitute him an easy match for his controversial adversaries. But he steered clear of polemical literature as a rule, and published nothing of that nature, except his preface to the *Confessions of St. Augustine*. Whilst making the advancement of the Catholic cause the central object of his life, he subordinated to it the duties of a courtier and a diplomat.

In March, 1630, Sir Tobie was in London, sending Court gossip to Sir Henry Vane in Paris. Later in the same year he was in Staffordshire, acting as a zealous layman, in assisting the Catholic cause. On August 12th he concluded a visit to Lord Baltimore, who, as Sir George Calvert, had been one of the principal Secretaries of State, from 1619 to 1624; in the latter year he resigned the seals, frankly acknowledging to the King that he had become a Catholic. Sir Tobie is credited with his conversion. The King, however, retained Sir George as a Privy Councillor, and in 1625 elevated him to the peerage, under the title of Baron of Baltimore, in Ireland. The capital of Maryland was named after him.

A long correspondence with Sir Henry Vane, shows that Sir Tobie was staying at Court in March, 1632; in August he was at Roehampton, and in November again in London. In January, 1633, he united with others in a public-spirited enterprise for promoting interest in our fisheries. The Association was formed to compete with the Dutch fishermen, who, at that time, appear to have had the industry almost entirely in their hands. The King took a personal interest in the matter, but it does not seem to have been a financial success, partly because the Adventurers were very slow to pay their subscriptions, and partly on account of the furious opposition of the Dutchmen, who

frequently captured the British fishing vessels. On the list of "persons who have agreed to become Adventurers, associated with the Lord Treasurer, and others of Council and Commonalty of the Society of the Fishing of Great Britain," we find the entry :—

"Sir Tobie Matthew, £100."

Sir Tobie is next heard of, in the same year, fulfilling the duties of secretary to Thomas, Viscount Wentworth, on his first visit as Lord Deputy to Ireland. He is not known to have been in Ireland on any previous occasion, though kinsfolk of his resided at Thurles, in County Tipperary. Possibly he visited these relations during the time which he spent in the Emerald Isle. In 1619, Viscount Thurles, accompanied by another Tobie Matthew, son of Captain George Matthew of Radyr, was drowned when crossing over to England. His widow (who was the mother of five children by his Lordship) in the following year married Captain George Matthew, who settled at Thurles. They were steadfast adherents of the religion of their forefathers, though Lady Thurles' eldest son James (afterwards the great Duke of Ormonde) had been removed from her custody by the Court of Wards, under James I., and brought up as a staunch adherent of the Established Church, to the intense sorrow of his mother and step-father.

According to a "Declaration of the Commons,

assembled in Parliament," on July 25th, 1643, Sir Tobie must have paid a visit to Ireland some years later:—

"In March, 1639, the Earl of Strafford carried with him into Ireland, Sir Toby Matthews (*sic*), a notorious, pernicious English Jesuited Priest (banished at the beginning of this Parliament upon the importunity of both Houses), lodged this Priest over against the Castle of Dublin, the house where the Earl did himself reside, and from whence this Priest daily rode to the publique masse houses in Dublin. . . . . When the late Lo. Charles Loftus and the E. of Cork were Lords Justices, they endeavoured to convert them to pious uses . . . . to the great countenancing of the Protestant religion there; but after the Earl of Strafford came to the Government, and Sir Toby Matthews came to Ireland, the houses became masse-houses, as formerly they had been."

In the autumn of 1633, Sir Tobie's name was made public again, through the false statements of the miscreant, Ludovick Bowyer, who reported that he was dead, and that sensational discoveries had been made among his papers.

The public records contain the following notices:—

"*William Kendrick (Mayor of Reading).*
"*Sec. Windebank.*

"Sept. 13th, 1633.

". . . . Has taken examination of Ludovick Bowyer, and sends it. . . . . Being informed that Windebank thinks that Bowyer was either mad or drunk at the time he spoke those words, sends him a letter, written after he was committed to prison, which he thinks will alter Windebanke's mind. He delivered Bowyer to the messenger, and sent him with such a guard as the messenger thought fit. Will use his best diligence to supress the divulgers, and punish them."

(Enclosed is a letter from Bowyer to Kendrick, protesting his good character, and desiring to know why he is detained.)

Here follows :—

"Deposition of Edward Johnson, one of the *Constables of Reading*.

"Ludovick Bowyer said that he saw a warrant, under the King's hand, directed to Bishop Bancroft to this purpose :—'Bancroft take Laud, and keepe him prisoner in Fulham House.'

"He further said that he was at Fulham House, and saw twelve of the Guard keepe my Lorde prisoner there.

"That Sir Toby Matthew died at Gravesend, on Thursday night last, and vpon his death bed produced foure letters, which he had to convey from my Lo. of Canterbury to the Pope & Cardinalls of Rome.

"He said further that my Lo. of Canterbury is a trayter," &c.

This Bowyer seems to have been a notorious rascal, who went about obtaining assistance on false pretences, pretending to have been a prisoner in Turkey for some years. For slandering Archbishop Laud, he was sentenced in the Star Chamber to be whipped, and branded in the face, to stand with his ears nailed to the pillory, and then to be imprisoned.

In 1634 Sir Tobie returned from Ireland with Lord Conway. The journey lasted from March to July ; and we find from the butler's account that the amount of wine, beer, and sugar, consumed by Sir Tobie was valued only at one shilling !

An "account of payments by Burghis, servant of

Edward, Viscount Conway, for household expenses," has this entry of the "expenditure of Lord Conway and a retinue of 12 servants on a journey from Lisneygarney to Dublin, thence to South Wales, and so, by Bath and Reading, to London :—

"From London, there were journeys to Nonsuch, Petworth, Hampton Court, Littlecote, Royston, and Newmarket.

"For wine, beer and sugar, for Sir Tobie Matthew, 1*s*."

The wording of the account is ambiguous, but the probable explanation is that the expenditure for Sir Tobie was incurred, not during the journey, but in London. For a subsequent entry in the account relates to various entertainments at the "Bear," "Jeronym's," &c.

CHAPTER XI

FROM SIR TOBIE'S RETURN FROM IRELAND TO HIS FINAL BANISHMENT IN 1642

The French Ambassador testifies to Sir Tobie's influence. Death of the Earl of Portland. Sir Tobie visits Lord Salisbury. He arouses the jealousy of the Puritans. He and Abbot Walter Montague acquire a reputation for haughtiness. Absurd stories are circulated about him. His name connected with the conversion of Lady Newport. Squibs circulated about him. Mentioned in Parliament as an obnoxious recusant. Prynne publishes the forged copy of a letter from Pope Urban VIII. to Sir Tobie. Andrew Habernfeld and Boswell concoct their pretended discovery of a plot against the King. Sir Tobie, Lady Arundel, and others implicated. A warrant issued for Sir Tobie's arrest. Charles opens Parliament. Lord Strafford impeached. Sir Tobie retires to Raglan Castle. Both Houses of Parliament petition King to banish him. He escapes to Flanders. Strafford beheaded. Protestant Bishops impeached for high treason. The Confessor of the Queen narrowly escapes death. Father Thomas Holland arraigned. His trial and execution. Laud's trial. Beheaded on Tower Hill. A time of great national calamity approaching.

CHAPTER XI

FROM SIR TOBIE'S RETURN FROM IRELAND TO HIS FINAL BANISHMENT IN 1642

Sir Tobie had now reached his fifty-seventh year, and his activity had inevitably suffered some diminution. Yet he never ceased to interest himself in public affairs, and especially in the welfare of Catholicism. He lived to see this country plunged into the horrors of civil war, culminating in the execution of the monarch whom he had faithfully served and loved. From afar he beheld the triumph, for a space, of ultra-Puritanism and the establishment of the republican Commonwealth. But his confidence in the all-wise over-rulings of Divine Providence, remained unshaken under all the vicissitudes of fortune. From the time when he, in old age, withdrew to Flanders in 1642, he never again set foot upon the shores of the land in whose religious and political destiny he remained to the end, keenly and warmly interested.

The French Ambassador, Monsieur de Fontenay,

thus depicts Sir Tobie's influence and aims, in a report made to his own Government in 1634:[1]—

"Nous avons souffert que les Seminaires, établis à Dieppe et à Rheims ayent esté transportés en Flandres, et nous ne leur faisons aucun bien.

"Le plus habile d'entre eux est Tobie Matthew, homme d'esprit, actif et puissant, qui parle les langues facilement, s'introduit dans les cabinets, s'ingère de toutes sorte d'affaires, cognoist l'esprit de ceux, qui gouvernent l'estat, et principallement celuy du Trésorier, lequel il pressa de telle sorte, qu'il vient à bout, de tout ce qu'il entreprend en faveur de l'Espagne. . . . .

". . . . Tobie est homme, qui ne travaille que pour l'honneur et pour sa passion, qui est le soulagement et l'avancement des catholiques. Il s'offre de vouloir aymer et servir la France, pourvue qu'elle l'assiste en ce dessein."

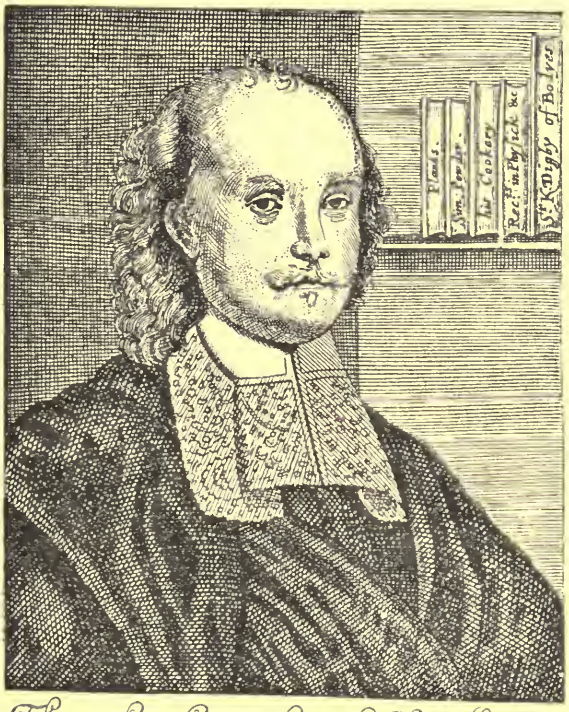
On the occasion of the death, in 1635, of Tobie's friend, the Earl of Portland, who died a Catholic, Judge Hatton made the following curious entry in his diary:[2]—

"1635. Death of the Earl of Portland, Lord Treasurer. 'Et comme il fut affirmé, il fut reconcilié à l'Église d'Rome, et fuit un Roman Catholique, et ad extreme unction, et que Sir Toby Matthew fuit ove luy, in son sicknes, et labor que il moriera del Romish religion.'"

In the following summer Sir Tobie was at Hatfield, as we observe from a letter of George Garrard. His visit was to Lord Salisbury, and doubtless gave rise to jealousy and unfavourable

[1] Ranché, *History of England*, vol. v., p. 448.

[2] Gurney MSS., Keswick Hall, Norfolk. *Diary of Judge Hatton*, vol. ii.



The truly Learned and Honoble
Sr. Kenelme Digby Kt. Chancellor.
to the Q: Mother
Aged 62.

Born at Gothurst, Bucks, June 11th, 1603. Knighted 1623. Gentleman of the Bedehamber to Charles I., Commissioner of the Navy, and Governor of Trinity House. Beeame a Catholic, 1636. Imprisoned by Cromwell, but eseaped 1643, and went to France, where he beeame intimate with Des Cartes. At the Restoration he joined the Royal Society. Died June 11th, 1665. Author of "*Observations on Dr. Browne's 'Religio Medici'*"; "*A Treatise on the Nature of Bodies*"; "*A Treatise on Man's Soul*"; &e.

comment, for Sir Tobie's ecclesiastical character had, by this time, become pretty generally known, while it was the confirmed belief of his inveterate enemies, the Puritans, as well as of many Catholics, that he was also a member of the Society of Jesus.

The confidence reposed in him by members of the Government continued without serious abatement, and the following endorsement shows that letters of importance were entrusted to his care :—"Thomas Windebank to Sec: Windebank, 4th November, 1636, Lre. from Naples, rec: by Sir Toby Matthew, 2 December."

But the year 1637 seems to have witnessed a decline in Sir Tobie's popularity, and the fears which the Protestant primate Laud entertained, concerning his religious influence and propaganda, at length spread to the Court. Rushworth, quoting from L'Estrange's *History* (p. 181), says :—"In the year 1637, openly at the Council Table, he (the Abp. of Canterbury) passionately complained to the King of their (the Catholics') audacious resort to Denmark House (Chapel), using some expressions of vehemency, more particularly against the haughty deportment of Mr. Walter Montague and Sir Toby Matthew." The "Walter Montague," who is here made to share with Sir Tobie a character for "haughtiness," was Abbot Walter Montague, O.S.B., son of the first Earl of Manchester. He was a favourite with Queen Henrietta Maria, who

sent him, in 1633, a letter of introduction and commendation to Urban VIII. On the occasion of his visit to Rome he became a Catholic, and after returning to England, went abroad again. When he re-visited Rome, he was confirmed, Cardinal Barberini being his sponsor. In 1639, when King Charles advanced to meet the Scottish invaders, the Queen solicited the pecuniary help of two Catholics, Montague and Sir Kenelm Digby. On the outbreak of the Civil War, Montague retired to France, where he entered the Order of St. Benedict, became a priest, and was naturalized. His friendship with the English Royal Family was uninterrupted until the death of the Queen in 1669. Montague was an intimate friend of Sir Tobie, to whom a share in his conversion was doubtless due. During a visit to England he was arrested by pursuivants, and was for some time a prisoner in the Tower, whence, by order of Parliament, he was banished in 1649. Montague died in Paris, greatly venerated for his many saintly and noble qualities, on February 5th, 1677.

In England, Sir Tobie was, as we have seen, the object of Archiepiscopal wrath. It was, after all, only to be expected that he should pay the penalty of having acquired fame, and gained the favour of the Royal Family. Sir Tobie was a constant subject of remark and comment, the most insignificant of his proceedings being magnified and misrepresented.

Instances of this kind of gossip are furnished by the following letters :—

Lord Conway to Strafford (1637).[1]

" . . . . My Lord of Newport was as fierce in complaining of his wife being made a Papist, that the matter was debated at the Council Table, where the King did use such words of Wat Montague & Sir Tobie Matthew, that the fright made Wat keep his chamber longer than his sickness would have detained him, and Don Tobiah was in such perplexity that I find he will make a very ill man, to be a Martyr, but now the Dog doth again wag his tail.

"The other day, he having infinitely praised chocolate, my Lady of Carlile desired that she might see some, with intent to taste it ; he brought it, and in her chamber, made ready a cup full, poured out one half, and drank it, and liked it so well that he drank up the rest. My Lady, expecting when she should have had a part, had no share, but laughter."[2]

Strafford to Conway.

" Jan. 6th, 1637-8.

". . . . I am glad for the recovery of Don Tobiah, and indeed by his drinking two cups of Chocolate, I should not judge he intended to become a martyr, howbeit the Marvel is not great, if the Dog wag his tail after it, having, it seems, laid in Store for a Course or two, and you see his mind was strongly set upon it, when before he was aware, all was drunk up, and none left ; yet if I might have chosen the lady, I could have supplied the Civility and Reason of it sufficiently, in regard she might have been sure to have had it all again in one kind or other, which would have rewarded her patience and expectance of the Operation of it."[3]

[1] *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., pp. 125, 145, 149.

[2] It seems needless to remark that this story is doubtless a pure fabrication.

[3] This frivolous gossip has been retailed by Miss Glyn, with some variations, in her book, *A Pearl of the Realm.*

Rev. G. Garrard to Strafford.

"Feb. 7th, 1637-8.

" . . . . Sir Toby Matthew hath lately written two characters, one formerly on the Lady Carlile, another lately on our Queen, of which he is so enamoured, that he will have it translated into all languages, & sent abroad. I find none to put that Value vpon it, that he doth himself; it is held a ridiculous Piece.

"Lately a horseman, riding through the Strand, called a Porter to him, delivering a letter to him, to carry to Sir Toby Matthew's Lodgings, who would hardly receive it, not knowing from whom it came; but he did, laying it aside that night on his table, next morning sent for two or three friends, with whom he consulted what he should do with it: one to burn it. He opined to send it to one of the Secretaries; after much debate it was agreed to open it, but he told them that they must come, upon oath, to witness what was contained in it, if anything against King or State. The letter was underwritten 'your humble servant Rossingham,' the most known writer of news we have, a very honest man. In this letter was inclosed a character of a Lady, a very witty one, far exceeding any of his; most think it was written by my Lady Carlile, but she will not own it."

Another reason of Sir Tobie's growing unpopularity was connected with the conversion to Catholicism of Lady Newport. Sir William Calley, writing on November 27th, 1637, to Richard Harvey, says:—". . . . It is noysed abroade as if S^{r} Toby Matthew was questioned for converting my Lady of Newport." Certainly the matter caused some stir; the King expressed his displeasure, and others were not slow to follow his example. Sir Tobie's star—long in the ascendant—began to wane. The Puritan anger was smouldering around him, only awaiting a favourable moment to burst into a raging fire. He

does not appear to have courted martyrdom, though, when put to the test, he showed neither signs of inconstancy, nor lack of courage in maintaining his opinions. Sir Tobie was in receipt of a good income, and at this time kept up an open establishment of some pretension. For instance, he was evidently an owner of coach-horses. A letter from Sir William Calley to Richard Harvey, dated October 25th, 1637, has this remark :—

"I am now forced to send this bearer, Richard Browne, to London w^th^ a letter to Sir Toby Matthew, about certayne coach horses, which he desired mee to provide for him, heere in the country, touching which I have now desired to know his resolution."

But Sir Tobie's life, which, as regards pecuniary circumstances, was easy, if not luxurious, had many disturbing influences. Squibs and lampoons appeared, in which his name was freely bandied about, and ridiculous charges were circulated to inflame popular prejudice against him. For instance, he is named in a political squib of two pages, addressed "For the Lords of the Privy-Council," and entitled "Reasons that Ship & Conduct Money ought not to be paid." There we read a complaint "that the money is used for setting up idolatry, and that large sums are sent to the Pope in exchange for relics sent over by him." The squib goes on to state that "Sir John Winter,[1] whose kindred were some of the chief actors of the Gunpowder Treason, & Sir Toby Matthew

[1] Secretary to Queen Henrietta Maria.

do countenance the matter very well, and we must needs go against the Scots, for not being idolatrous."

At length Sir Tobie's conduct attracted the attention of the Puritans in Parliament, and he was mentioned as an "obnoxious recusant." The *Journals of the House of Commons* have this Resolution, dated "*Die Martis*, 16 Martii 1640":—

"Resolved, upon the Question that this House shall proceed to join with the Lords, according to their former proposition, to petition his Majesty for the removal of all Popish Recusants from Court; especially these four named, viz., Mr Mountague, Sir Kenelme Digby, Sir J. Wintour, and Sir Toby Mathew."

The petition does not appear to have been effectual at the time, but Sir Tobie was not forgotten by his enemies. Prynne, a leading Puritan, who in 1632 had been punished with great severity for his lampoons on the Court and Archbishop Laud, had increased in bitterness against both Churchmen and Catholics, and his opposition was encouraged by the sympathy which the barbarity of his punishment had excited. His progress to gaol, in company with two other likeminded Puritans, who had met with similar savage treatment, was a triumphant march. His day, and that of his associates, was fast approaching. The Archbishop had deprived them of their ears, but he himself should lose his head! In 1640 Prynne published his *Hidden Works of Darkness* giving the copy of a forged "letter from Pope Urban VIII. to Sir Tobie

Matthew," from which it appeared that Sir Tobie was regarded by the Curia as a member of the Society of Jesus.

This impudent forgery has been accepted as genuine by many unsuspecting writers of repute, although the forgery was exposed by Panzani.[1]

The following is extracted from Prynne's book :[2]—

"About May, 1640,[3] the Pope's Nuncio, returning from England to Rome, to be made Cardinal, the Pope sent a nephew of his, Count Roseti, to succeed him, who being but yong and inexperienced, the Pope commended him by this speciall Bull to the old active English Jesuit, Sir Toby Matthew (very intimate with the Archbishop,[4] Windebank, Wentworth, Lord Deputy of Ireland, the Earl of Arundel ; and most great Lords and Ladies about the Court or City), as to his Angel Guardian ; the copy whereof I found amongst Windebank's papers (written with his own hand), which intimates that the Pope had very great hopes of reducing England to its ancient vassalage to him, in a very short space, by the help of those female Amazons and Instruments, who laboured, day and night, to effect this designe of his."

Sir Tobie troubled himself little about the vapourings of such discredited writers as Prynne, though their influence was greater than was supposed. A satirical entry, in October, 1640, by Secretary Windebank, who had himself become

[1] Gregorio Panzani was sent to England by Urban VIII. to arrange the differences between the seculars and the regular clergy. He resided in London from 1634 to 1636, and wrote copious memoirs of his mission, which were published at Birmingham in 1793 by the Rev. Joseph Berrington. A volume of "Remarks" on the same, by Fr. Charles Plowden, S.J., appeared at Liège in 1794.

[2] *Hidden Works of Darkness*, p. 200.

[3] The correct date is May 16th, 1639.

[4] Laud.

a Catholic, suggests the idea that Sir Tobie's doings were sometimes a source of amusement to his friends. In "Notes" on "business transacted at Whitehall by the Council," Windebank writes:—

"His Grace, Sir Toby Matthew ap'earing when their L^pps were in London, distempering the service, persons of quality told him of it, and therefore he was bound to take notice of it.

"They glorie how S^r Toby fell into theyr company, how they thought he would have slunke away, how discreetly Gib did admonish him, and how wisely Sir Toby took the advertisement, and lost his dinner, etc.

"Resolved—That he should be admonished to whisper less & to Gallop less in the Streete."

In this year, Andreas Habernfeld and Boswell concocted their pretended "Discovery" of a "Plot against the King, Kingdom, and Protestant Religion," implicating Sir Tobie Matthew, Lady Arundel, and others.

The Puritans held that Sir Tobie's great activity must receive a check; and, acting on a principle, falsely ascribed to the Jesuits, that "the end justifies the means," they invented charges against him. An extract from Rushworth's *Historical Collections* (p. 1321) here follows:—

"Discovery relating to the Plot. (1640.)

"Rec: Oct. 14th, 1640.

"Sir Toby Matthew, a Jesuited Priest of the Order of Politicians, a most vigilant man of the chief heads, to whom a bed was never so dear that he would rest his head thereon, refreshing his body with sleep in a chair for an hour or two, & neither day nor night spared his machinations; a man principally noxious, and himself the plague of the King and

Kingdom of England ; a most impudent man, who flies to all banquets and feasts, called or not called, never quiet, always in action, a perpetual motion, thrusting himself into all conversations of Superiors, he urgeth Conferences familiarly that he may fish out the minds of men. Whatever he observeth thence, which may bring any Commodity or Discommodity to the part of the Conspirators, he communicates to the Pope's Legat ; the more secret things he himself writes to the Pope or to Cardinal Barbarino. In sum he adjoins himself to any man's Company, no word may be spoken that he will not hold on, and accommodate to his party. In the mean time, whatever he hath fished out, he reduceth into a catalogue, and every summer carryeth or conveyeth it to the general Consistory of the Jesuit Politicks which secretly meets together in the Province of Wales, where he is an acceptable guest. Their Counsels are secretly hammered, which are most meet for the convulsion of the ecclesiastical & politick estate of both kingdoms."

An extract from what appears to be the narrative of an Informer, relating to the supposed Popish plot, bears the Endorsement of the Archbishop of Canterbury :—

"Whereas the said large Discovery gives a particular Character of Sir Toby Matthew, an English Man, a Jesuit and a Priest, we shall offer to the Consideration of the Reader, the Pope's Bull granted unto him, a Copy of which was found among the papers of Mr. Secretary Windebank. By which Bull it doth appear that Count Rossetti, the Pope's Nuncio, was committed to the care and tutelage of Sir Toby, hoping that the Nuncio assisted by his Counsels would produce no small fruits to the Catholick Church, through the help of the female Amazons[1] there, to restore the authority of the See Apostolick in the Kingdom of England."

[1] In the "Discovery" are particular references to the Countess of Arundel.

Prynne, after describing the "Plot," in his book, *Rome's Masterpiece*, goes on to say :—

"Sir Toby Matthew (the most industrious conspirator of them all) made a voyage with the Lord Deputy into Ireland, to stir up the Papists there, to contribute men, arms, and money, to subdue the Scottish Covenanters."

The details of the imaginary plot are given with great circumstantiality by Prynne, in order to excite anger against Catholics. Thus we read :[1]—

"In his house (Captaine Read's, a Scot, dwelling in Long-acre-streete, near the Angell Taverne, a secular Jesuit), the business of the whole Plot is concluded, where the Society . . . . meet together, for the most part, every day : but on the day of the Carriers (or posts) dispatch, which is ordinarily Friday, they meet in greater numbers ; for then all the Intelligencers assemble, and confer in common what things every of them hath fished out, that Week, so that they may be without suspition, send their secrets by Toby Matthew, or Read himselfe, to the Pope's Legat ; he transmits the compacted paquet, which he hath purchased from the Intelligencers, to Rome."

In consequence of all this Puritan agitation, a warrant was issued for Sir Tobie's arrest, and a report of the event was duly sent to Charles I., as follows :—

Secretary Windebank to King Charles I.

"Sir Tobie Matthew was yesterday apprehended by a warrant from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and is in custody of an officer of the High Commission, but the offence is not yet known :

"So, with all humble service, I crave, etc.

"Your Majesty's most humble subject and servant,

"Fran: Windebank.

"6 Oct: 1640."

[1] *Rome's Masterpiece*, p. 21.

On November 3rd, Charles opened Parliament with pallid countenance and tremulous voice. Evidently a presentiment of coming trouble disturbed him.

Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, was detested for his despotism, and on November 11th was impeached by Pym, in the name of the Commons, at the Bar of the Lords, and given into the custody of the usher. Windebank had signed warrants for the protection of recusants and the release of imprisoned priests. He and Sir Tobie were taken at this time, and Windebank hastily obtained a passport, and fled to France, but Sir Tobie withdrew to Raglan Castle, where he openly acknowledged his priesthood, by acting as senior Chaplain to Henry Somerset, fifth Earl, and afterwards Marquess of Worcester. The following extract from the Beaufort MSS. throws light on this matter:—

"At 11 o'clock, the Castle gates were shut and the tables laid, 2 in the dining room, 3 in the Hall; in Mrs. Watson's apartments, where the Chaplains sat, Sir Toby Matthews being the first,—2 in the Housekeeper's room, for the Ladies' Women."

A letter preserved among Lord Cowper's MSS. at Melbourne Hall, Derbyshire, from Sir John Coke to his father, dated December 15th, 1640, states, after describing the ruin and flight of Secretary Windebank, "Sir Tobit Matthews is also run away, for fear of further question."

Both Houses, however, thought it worth while to petition the King to banish Sir Tobie once more; and on April 30th, he and Sir Basil Brooke were ordered to appear as delinquents, before the House of Commons. This ordeal Sir Tobie managed to evade, by hastening to Flanders, where he took refuge at the house of the English Jesuits at Ghent. Had he not eluded the pursuivants on this occasion, he would certainly have been sent to the gibbet.

On December 18th, 1640, Archbishop Laud was charged with high treason, and placed under the custody of the Black Rod. Six weeks later he was sent to the Tower.

Sir Tobie's friend and patron, the Earl of Strafford, was tried, found guilty, and, to the great grief of the King, beheaded on May 12th, 1641. Twelve Protestant Bishops were, shortly afterwards, impeached for high treason, ten of them being sent to the Tower, and two committed to Black Rod. And so the "great and glorious" Reformation began its own undoing; and the Establishment, which had "reformed" Catholicism off the face of the earth, was, in turn, to be itself "reformed" by Puritans. Its own methods had been drastic for the accomplishment of its alleged evangelical purpose, and logic prevents criticism of the methods of the newer "learning," which, imitating the Tudor religion, made its entry into the consciences of the people, through a deluge of human blood.

Civil war was at hand. It was war against Church and State, against God and King. Old anti-Christian statutes were renewed, in the name of religion. The Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus furnish details of some of the atrocities of the time.

Father Robert Phillip, confessor to Queen Henrietta Maria, narrowly escaped death, on account of an intercepted letter addressed by him to his friend, Abbot Walter Montague. He was impeached on charges of attempting to pervert the young Prince of Wales, of allowing himself to be ruled by Sir Tobie Matthew, and of being, like Sir Tobie, a "secret emissary and spy of the Pope." Father Phillip was hurried off to that bourne—the Tower of London—whence but few returned, but on the intercession of the Queen, was allowed to remove to Somerset House. Early in 1642 he accompanied her Majesty to the Hague, and remained attached to her household until his death in 1647.

The following is the account of the arraignment and condemnation of another priest, Father Thomas Holland, *alias* "Sanderson" and "Hammond," of the Society of Jesus:—

"On Wednesday last, it being the 7th of Decber about 3 of the clock in the afternoon, Mr Sanderson, *alias* Holland, was removed from the new prison to the Session's house, and being brought to the bar, with a felon, was commanded to listen to his indictment, to lift up his hand, and answer 'Guilty' or 'Not guilty.' His answer was 'Not guilty.' Then

was the jury brought in, and his accusers, viz., Newton, Jack Cooke, Captain Wadsworth, and the apostate, Thomas Gage,[1] who, having taken their oaths to speak, were commanded to deliver what they knew about the said Holland.

"The first that spoke was Newton, who, to make the gentleman's cause the more odious, said that he had known him many years past, to keep company with one Mr Floyd, (he meant Mr Smith), a priest & Jesuit, and a great plotter of the Gunpowder treason, and that, since that time, he had gotten power and authority to apprehend the said Holland, and he had done his best, this last three quarters of a year, to do it, but could never meet him ; but that his servant, Jack Cooke, had apprehended him, and brought him (said Newton) to his lodging, where in the evening, he did strive to run away, and was gotten into another man's yard, but by good fortune was spied, and so stopped, and this is all I have against him.

"The next was Jack Cooke, who said that, meeting him one evening, and speaking to him, Mr Holland began to speak French, saying :—'Dieu vous garde, Monsieur,' then to ask him what news about the King and Parliament, and being asked why he wore his beard of another fashion, he had answered him that 'these were very troublesome and dangerous times for Catholics.'

"The third was Captain Wadsworth, who had much to do to settle his countenance, and said :—'I have known this gentleman, beyond the seas at S. Omers, a student, and after in Spain among the Jesuits, where the custom is that all students take an oath to receive orders, after so many months. And in Madrid, I was present when he was brought by the archest Jesuit of them all, Sir Tobie Matthew, to pronounce an oration, in the name of all the Jesuits, before His Majesty, then Prince of Wales. He spoke somewhat in the beginning of the month of May : then he showed how grateful the Prince's arrival was unto them, and that all hoped he would

[1] This scoundrel was a relative of Father George Gage, S.J., Sir Tobie's bosom friend, and of Dame Mary Gage, O.S.B., and Sir Henry Gage, all devout Catholics.

not degenerate from the religion and worth of his ancestors. And last of all, he went to kiss the Prince's hand, but the Prince refused to give him his hand, thinking it was a disgrace to let any Jesuit touch his hand.'

"Lastly, Gage[1] deposed :—that he had known M Holland in the seminary of S^t^ Omer's, and that it could not be denied, for they had been schoolfellows five years together. Secondly, that some years since, M^r^ Holland was present at a sermon which he himself made in Jew Street, and that after the sermon, M^r^ Holland did congratulate with him in a particular manner, for the good success. Thirdly, that he had been once invited to say Mass in Holborn, and to supply the place of a gentleman, who was ill-disposed, and M^r^ Holland was the gentleman who should have said Mass there, had he been well, and this was all he knew against him.

"Then, the Judge asked M^r^ Holland what he could say for himself, who answered that since it had pleased the Honourable Bench to give him leave to clear himself, he would answer to all that which had been objected against him. And, first of all, he said that if it were any prejudice to him, to have kept company with M^r^ Floyd, then his accuser, M^r^ Newton, had incurred the same fault, by conversing often with the same M^r^ Floyd. And as for his running away, he denied any such thing: this indeed was true, that in the evening he came down, and desired the servant to show him the place of convenience, who accordingly led him into the garden, and then retired another way, and that he soon after, not well knowing the way in, followed the servant afar off, who carried a light, and going in, took one door for another, but finding his error, retired back presently, and went to his chamber.

"As for John Cooke, he granted all he said, it making no matter one way or another.

"And as to M^r^ Wadsworth's accusation, he said it was true he had studied beyond the seas, both at S^t^ Omer and at Madrid, but that he, being sickly, did not stay in Spain to end his course, and that he knew of no such custom as that

[1] Then Protestant Vicar of Deal.

all students there should take an oath of receiving orders, after so many months. Neither did he know any such arch-Jesuit, Sir Tobie Matthew ; but for the speech, it is true he pronounced it before the Prince, though he did not make (compose) it. Lastly, he said it was false that the King, then Prince, did count it a disgrace to give him his hand to kiss, for he then *did* kiss it.

"Now, concerning M^r^ Gage, he acknowledged to have studied with him, beyond seas, as also that he had been present at his sermon, and had congratulated with him for it, but that M^r^ Gage should have said Mass in any such place as he named, and that he himself was expected or invited thither, he had never heard of any such thing ; and of all this he was ready to take his oath, if it were needed. . . . . The Judge asked him whether he would say or swear he was no Priest. He answered that no man was to accuse himself. . . . . The jury went out and came in again, declaring him, and the other felon, guilty. On the 10^th^ of December he was condemned to death, and sent to Newgate to await execution. On the following Monday he was drawn on a hurdle to Tyburn, where he was hanged in the presence of a vast number of people. The executioner omitted the usual barbarities."

Thus perished, by a shameful death, a devoted priest, whose knowledge of spiritual literature was so great, that he was known amongst his brethren as the "library of piety."

Archbishop Laud was next called upon to suffer at the hands of fellow-Protestants, who had departed a few steps further than he from the religion of their forefathers. After languishing for four years in the Tower, he was visited by the fanatic, Prynne, who had some time before been his own victim. Prynne's object was to obtain information against

LUCY, COUNTESS OF CARLISLE (1599-1660).

Daughter of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland. Married James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle. Sir Tobie Matthew's *Collection of Letters* dedicated to her.

the captive prelate; after ransacking the Archbishop's pockets, trunk, and cell, he took possession of all his Grace's papers.

On March 10th, 1643, Laud's trial began in Westminster Hall. It lasted twenty days, the chief accusation against him being that he had "attempted to subvert religion, and the fundamental laws of the realm."

Among charges made in the evidence of Laud's accusers, were some which affected Sir Tobie Matthew. We read in a book called *Canterburie's Doome, or the first part of a Compleat Hist. of the Commitment, Charge, Tryall, Condemnation, and Execution of Wm. Laud, late Archbishop of Canterbury, by William Prynne of Lincoln's Inn, Esquire*:—

"Sir Toby Matthew, a most dangerous, seducing, active Priest and Jesuit, who had a hand in the Gunpowder plot, was frequent with him (Laud) at Lambeth, White-Hall, and other places, eating oft with him, at his table, riding sometimes very familiarly with him in his coach, and going with him in his barge."[1]

Prynne, in *Rome's Masterpiece* (pp. 19, 20), writes more to the same effect:—

"This most zealous promoter of the Pope's designs, for his dexterity, experience, and sedulity in managing His Holiness' affairs in England, was in such extraordinary favour with the Pope, that by a special Bull, he committed his last Nuncio, Count Rossetti (being but young), to his tutelage and direction, as to his Angel Guardian, hoping that the Nuncio, assisted by his counsels, would produce no small fruits to the Catholic Church, in a short time, and through the help of the female

[1] P. 448.

Amazons there, restore the authority of the See Apostolic in the Kingdom of England, which by accession of one woman (Queen Elizabeth) was there suppressed. The copy whereof (found among Secretary Windebank's papers) being very material, was read at the Bar: in which the Pope himself gives him this title, a sufficient evidence that Sir Tobie was both a Jesuit and a Priest too." (P. 456.)

"Master Thomas Thacker of Barkin Parish, London, deposed that he, having a speciall warrant from the Lords of the Counsell, for the apprehending of Sir Toby Matthew, a dangerous Papist, and apprehending him accordingly, sent for this deponent to bring Sir Toby to him, which he did, who thereupon discharged Sir Tobie, by word of mouth, and promised to save the deponent harmlesse, who thereupon repairing to the Archbishop, acquainted him therewith. The Archbishop said, 'It is well; I shall speak with him anon.'" (P. 453.)

"Francis Newton, of S^t^ Giles' Creplegate London, Gen^t^ deposed . . . . at the Lords' Bar . . . . that he repairing to Lambeth desired Master Dell, the Archbishop's Secretary, to help him to speak with the Archbishop, from these Lords (Secretary Cooke, L^d^ Keeper Coventry, and L^d^ Privy Seal) about the Priest (Fr. Morse) his discharge. Master Dell answered that the Archbishop was busie with Sir Toby Matthew (commonly reputed a Jesuit, and an arch-intelligencer of Rome) in the garden." (P. 450.)

"Thomas Mayo, a messenger of S^t^ Andrew's Holborne . . . . deposed that he hath often seen Sir Toby Matthewes (whom this deponent hath seen in Saint John's Colledge in Lovain in Brabant, who there was reputed a Jesuit) at Lambeth House, and there walking in a friendly manner, with the said Archbishop, and at other times hath seen Sir Toby riding with him in his coach (over in the Strand), and passing with him, in his barge from Whitehall to Lambeth." (P. 451.)

The Kingdom's Intellégencer, or Mercurius Civicus London's Intellégencer, July 17th to July 25th, 1644, after discussing "the Archbishop's false

doctrine," in maintaining that "the Pope is not Anti-Christ," goes on to comment on the fact that he "held correspondence with Papistes and Jesuites," and says that "among others were these, Sir Toby Mathewes; first a priest, afterwards called Father Rice; a Benedictine monke, Father Leander; Father Morse, who had seduced five hundred and odd, in Westminster; and first of all, S^t^ Giles-in-the Fields, and Father Smith . . . . who had a hand in the Gunpowder Treason."

Then again, we read in *Cobbett's State Trials* (vol. vi. p. 549, *Trial of Abp. Laud, From Laud's Diary*, 1640-44):—

"The 8th charge was my correspondence with Popish Priests. . . . . Francis Newton, a Messenger, says that when he had taken Henry Mors, a priest . . . . M^r^ Secretary Cook sent him to me, and that when he came to Lambeth M^r^ Dell told him I was in my garden with Sir Toby Matthew. My servant M^r^ Dell being appointed my Solicitor, was now present in Court, and denied all this. And well he might, for Sir Toby was never in my garden with me all his life.

"Thomas Mayo, a Messenger, also said that Sir Toby Matthew was accounted a priest, when he was in parts beyond the seas, and that he went over with me in my barge (Laud objected to this witness on account of his having changed his religion several times, and also because of his notoriously bad character). . . . . He says that he saw Sir Toby several times at my house. But he confesses withal that he never saw him near me.

"For my own part, I cannot say that he was ever within my doors. But if he, or others of his quality, do come to pry out anything in my house, how is it possible for me to hinder it? My porter could not see it written on their foreheads, who they were. He said that one Price was often seen at my house, etc.

". . . . The sixth witness was John Thresher, a messenger, who said . . . . That, by a warrant from me, he arrested Sir Toby Matthew, and that the Earl of Strafford stayed him from going to prison, saying he should answer it, before the Lords. Here, by the Witness itself, it appears that I did my duty. And Sir Toby did appear before the Lords, as was assumed he should. In the meantime, I was complained of, to the Queen. And a great lady,[1] who perhaps made the complaint, stood by, and made herself merry to hear me chid. The Queen was pleased to send to the Lords, and Sir Toby was released. Where my fault was in all this, I do not see."

The outcome of this trial, which was foreseen from the first, was that Archbishop Laud was found guilty and sentenced to death, and he was beheaded on Tower Hill, on January 10th, 1644. "His life and character," says Lord R. S. Gower (in his *The Tower of London*) "are enigmas to those who study them, and his death became him far better than his life had done."

A time of great national disturbance and calamity was fast approaching. Tumults, riots, rebellions, in various parts of the Kingdom, seditious plots, menaces from abroad, petitions, and concessions—discontent and fear everywhere—embittered the concluding years of the reign of the unfortunate Charles, whose arbitrary conduct hastened the outbreak of civil war. The difficulties of the situation were much increased by the formidable insurrection in Ireland, which was suppressed with the utmost ferocity and savagery.

[1] The Countess of Carlisle.

CHAPTER XII

FROM SIR TOBIE'S FINAL BANISHMENT TO HIS DEATH IN 1655

Sir Tobie withdraws to Flanders. Welcomed by exiles from England. His friendship with Sir Edward Hyde. Hyde mentions him in a letter to Lord Cottington. Execution of Charles I. Persecution of Catholics in Ireland. Sir Tobie corresponds with Hyde on national affairs. Charles II. applies to Pope for money to raise army of Irish Catholics. Application fails. Death of Sir Tobie at House of the English Tertians of Society of Jesus at Ghent. Critics divided on question whether he was himself a Jesuit. Opinion on this matter of Monsignor William Giles, Rector of English College at Rome. Copy of Sir Tobie's last will. Conflicting views of his life and character. His personal appearance and characteristic energy. Quotation from Marcus Aurelius: "The measure of a man's worth is the worth of his aims."

CHAPTER XII

FROM SIR TOBIE'S FINAL BANISHMENT TO HIS DEATH IN 1655

When Sir Tobie crossed the Channel for the last time, in 1642, he had attained his sixty-fifth year, and the infirmities of age began to press upon him. He withdrew to his favourite place of refuge, Flanders, where he found many friends to welcome him, among the numerous exiles from England. Besides many of the Catholic laity, there were English Dominican Fathers, at Nieuport; Carthusian Monks and Austin Canonesses at Louvain; Carmelites at Antwerp; Benedictines at Brussels and Ghent; and Sir Tobie's beloved Jesuits at Brussels, Louvain, and Ghent. His declining years were spent among these appreciative friends, and he devoted himself chiefly to literary labours in the interests of religion. Sir Edward Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon), writing to Lord Cottington, in 1646, mentions Sir Tobie's projected publication of his *Collection of Letters*. Sir Edward was friendly with Sir Tobie, and corresponded with him frequently. Only few, however,

of his letters have escaped the wholesale destruction of documents. The following letter is dated from Jersey, November 15th, 1646 :—

From Sir Edward Hyde to Lord Cottington.

"S^r^

"I told you in my last, what I was doing here, w^ch^ I did not only in discharge of that account I am always to give you of myself, but that I might receive some advertisem^t^ and directions from you. I remember your favourite, Sir Toby Matthewes, once pretended a design of publishing a volume and collection of choice English letters, for the honour of the Nation, and under that title, had y^e^ liberty of ransacking many Ladyes' Cabinetts to whose beauty many addresses had been made, by y^e^ most exquisite spirits of y^e^ time, and soe he grew to know many secretts, w^ch^ otherwise hee could never have arrived to. I have not had soe good luck, having not been able to procure y^e^ contribucon^s^ of one" . . . . (word doubtful, perhaps *damosel*) "towards my great volume, but now you and M^r^ Secretary are so neare mee, I looke for notable supplyes."

It is interesting to note that Lord Cottington, Sir Edward Hyde's correspondent on this occasion, had been remarkable for his severity towards Catholics, but he finally professed the Faith himself, and died a devout member of the Church.

In 1649 Sir Tobie, who had adhered with inviolable fidelity to the Stuart cause, from the time of the accession of James I. (however strongly he may, before that period, have disapproved of the Scottish sovereign), had the deep grief of hearing of the execution of his friend and patron, Charles I. His intimacy with the King dated from the time

when he was employed on the negotiations concerning the Spanish match, and had, through succeeding years, suffered no abatement. Now, in exile, he must have contemplated with bitter sorrow the triumph of Puritanism in his native country, and the establishment of a Republic, with Cromwell as its president.

In Ireland, matters had gone from bad to worse, and the country was black with the smoke of burning towns and villages, and its soil red with the blood of massacred men, women, and children. It was thus that professors of the beneficent Christian religion, who had raised their hands in pious horror at the burning of Protestant preachers (who were also lapsed Catholics), in the reign of Mary Tudor, sought to exterminate their religious opponents. By disseminating lying books, lying pictures, and lying tales of what Catholics might or would do "if they had the power," they cajoled the better sort of Protestants into the palliation of the most incredible barbarities. By fire, sword, and dungeon they forced on their propaganda, and endeavoured to uproot, in every corner of the British Isles, the last remnants of the old Faith.

All that Sir Tobie could do, in this time of national distress, was to endeavour, by means of letters of encouragement, to cheer, console, and fortify his suffering co-religionists.

At this time Sir Edward Hyde had removed to

Madrid, but his family resided in Antwerp, where Sir Tobie was a frequent visitor. Hyde's daughter Anne afterwards married Prince James, Duke of York, subsequently James II., and became the mother of two daughters, who were both afterwards Queens of England, viz., Mary, wife of Dutch William, and Anne. The Duchess of York herself became a Catholic, but both her daughters grew up as Protestants.

Notwithstanding his advanced age, Sir Tobie continued to take unflagging interest in the spiritual and temporal welfare of his country, with all the ardour of his youthful patriotism. Hyde, though no lover of Catholicism, thought much of Sir Tobie, and sought advice and information of him at that critical time, in the hope of the Restoration, which both desired to see and to assist.

Writing from Madrid, on March 19th, 1650, Hyde has much to say on national topics. He writes in the course of a long letter:—

"I confess Owen O'Neale hath dealt somewhat forwardly w^th^ the King to-day, after he had done Him all y^e^ mischief he could, and before he did Him any good: yet if God Almighty hath made these Rebells victorious in y^e^ field, He may destroy them Himself, by distresses in garrison, and soe reduce those Towns, by his Swords, to y^e^ King w^ch^ the Swords of those he trusted could not keep for Him, it will be an instance of those miracles, w^ch^ he must vouchsafe to exercise before we shall bring ourselves to confidence in him; And if Fairfax and Cromwell shall in earnest argue the validity of the Engagem^t^ by the Rules of y^t^ law w^ch^ they have made

only currant, there may at last an Empire be called in, who hath y^e^ best capacity to determine y^e^ difference (you cannot imagine how utterly ignorant this place is, of all occurrences in England).

"We looke every day to heare of some notable Tryumph in Flanders; for if those pretty condfuscons upon the skirts of Burgundy and Lorrayne, produce not good effects for y^e^ Party, the Angel Guardian of France is more vigilant for his charge than the others for their Neighbo^rs^. If all would inclyne your Neighbours to my disposition of Peace, it were a great happinesse."

Another long letter from Hyde to Sir Tobie Matthew[1] is dated from Madrid, May 25th, 1650, and expresses great disapproval of the proceedings at Breda. This letter opens amusingly with comments on Hyde's handwriting. The writer says:—

"I must answer your postscript first, since that is my warrant for changing the hand, neither neede you use any compliment in desiring it, it being no discredit to a man's skill in letters not to be able to read my hand, and the truth is the compliment is on my part in satisfying you, it being much easyier to me (and to any man, I think, who hath noe goute or Palsey in his fingers) to write myselfe, than to dictate; and for my encouragem^t^, the King sayes that even that hand of mine w^ch^ writes not one good letter, is more legible than this other fyne one w^ch^ makes all the letters soe like one another that they are not easy to be distinguisht."

Hyde goes on to acknowledge indebtedness to Sir Tobie, and says:—

"You will easily conclude of how great use and informacon your letters have been to us, when you know that we know nothing that hath passed in the treaty of Breda, or since the

[1] Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, vol. iii., p. 54.

King's coming thither, but what we have received from you, we not having had one lyne from any person of that trayne, for which, in truth, I do not much censure any of them, having been myselfe often acquainted w^th^ those exercises, and never been less disposed to correspond with my friends, than during the time that those skirmishes continue; the eare being as delicate a sense as any of the others; and so the payne of hearing continual non-sense spoken (setting the Treason aside) is not only as great a vexacon^s^ but really as sharp a torment, as the goute, or stone or toothache can be."

Concerning the King (the uncrowned Charles II.), Hyde goes on to say:—

"I cannot yet conceave it possible that the Kinge can make such conclusion with the Scotts, as to deposit his person amongst them, though I must tell you that whoever hath not raised soe strong fortifications of virtue about himselfe, of necessity itself, how apparent and visible soever cannot force him to do an ill or an uglie thing, will be easily inclyned to think the despayre of his condicon may make him lay hold on anything that looks like an expedient, when there seems not to be a greater conspiracy and combinacon amongst his own subjects than among Christian kings and princes to destroy him, who are so infatuated as to thinke the madness and fury of that people will be terminated within those dominions, for which they now contend: whereas they may see that they are like Rebells of a more large-hearted extent, and contend not for the liberty of England, but for the liberty of Mankinde, soe that it were no base or idle feare, if all Christendom apprehended their being conquered by these men, who can carry strength enough anywhere to be a shelter to those of their one opinion, and there being enough of that opinion in all places, if they had once a (body?) to resort to, to destroy and extirpate all the settled Governm^ts^ in Christendome, and give me leave to tell you that, in my opinion, you Catholiques are not so sharp-sighted in this point as I expected, and instead of engaging themselves to vindicate

and support a prince, who will performe whatsoever he promises, and is ready to promise whatever can be reasonably askt of him, and under whom his Catholique subjects might enjoy a full happiness, flatter themselves that they shall enjoy protecktion and security under those Deviles who in the end will extirpate them out of all their dominions."

So, through long and intricate sentences (the foregoing extract does not complete one sentence), Hyde pursues his theme. And, on June 4th, 1650, we find him writing again from Madrid to Sir Tobie[1] as follows :—

"By the last Extraordinary, I received your favour of the 10th of May, for which I must thank you the more, because I have not other information of the state of my own little commonwealth at Antwerp than what you please to impart to me. That Extraordinary (who was here within 10 dayes after the date of your letter) having brought me not one lyne either from Antwerp or from Bruxelles, but what your kindness vouchsafed me, for which I hope, when you returne thither, you will reproach those who can write and read, as I would doe you, for telling us of such a glorious army to come out of Germany, and never name the officer, who is gone about it, if that Intelligence had been of my Letter, but since it was to my Ld Treasurer, let him have the advantage to wrangle with you about it.

"Though I am of your opinion that France, with all their lusty hopes, have as sad thoughts at hart, as some of their neighbours, and that the Cardinal hath embarqued himselfe in a storme, which will require all his skill and dexterity to allay, yet if they had the same opinion of their affayres as standers by have, why should they not be in any degree inclinable to a peace, which they know would be yet heartily embrased here, and methinks if the strength and powers of Spayne be not enough to enclyne them, the consideration of their

[1] Clarendon MSS. Bodleian.

neighbours of England should fright them to it, who, without doubt, before a yeare comes to an end, will as surely bring a warr upon them, as they did upon poore England, tenn yeares agoe.

"You are not to expect from hence any account of what is done about Lisbon, we having no intelligence from thence, but by way of France, and soe we have lately heard youre Prince Rupert resolved upon the advantage of two Tydes to goe to Sea, and that he would not avoyde fighting with the rebells, if he were presst, but I hope they are not so much superior in strength to over importune him, and then considering how much is staked on one syde, and how little on the other, it will not be amiss if that encounter be deferred, till another meeting.

"Here is a discourse of a great conspiracie lately discovered in Portugal, for which they say neare a hundred Persons of Honour and Quality have lost their Heads, but (as I told you) we receive all things from thence through so manie hands that we can make no judgm^{t}. If that people can be free from conspiracies among themselves, I doe not find that their danger is like to be insupportable from their Enemyes abroad, at least till they have more leasure, yet there are opinions that the great fleete and army of Naples may be without some thought of looking towards that coaste, which, for my part, I doe not believe."

The letter is a long one, and need not be quoted at further length. Unfortunately, in this case, the original orthography has not been adhered to throughout the transcription.

In 1654, Charles II. made an application to the Pope for a large sum of money to enable him to raise an army of Irish Catholics, to contend for his kingdom. In this matter, he was probably assisted by Sir Tobie, who was resident in Ghent, where

Charles and his brother James were staying. It was sought to obtain the Pontiff's help, through the Superior General of the Jesuits, Father Goswin Nickel; and, in return, Charles undertook, in the event of success, to grant free exercise of the Catholic religion throughout his dominions. The application failed, and the scheme fell through.

In the following year Sir Tobie was still staying at the House of the English Tertians of the Society of Jesus at Ghent, when he was called to his reward. His long and active life closed sadly, as regards national affairs, for which he cared so vitally. He died on October 13th, 1655, in his seventy-ninth year, without witnessing the decline of Cromwell's power, or the dawn of that Restoration, on which his ardent hopes were fixed.

The question whether or not Sir Tobie was a Jesuit, has hitherto divided authors who have occupied themselves with his history. The Jesuits themselves have inclined to the belief that he was never a member of the Society, but merely affiliated to it, as lay persons and the secular clergy, may be to the Dominicans, Franciscans, and other orders, as "tertiaries." It appears, however, to be certain that, although he may not have joined the Society till after his final banishment, he was a member of it at the time of his death. Of his devotion to the Jesuit body, from the time, in 1606, when Father Persons, S.J., became "the father of his soul," there has never

been any doubt. His love manifested itself not only in words, but in deeds, for he contributed handsomely to the funds required for the missionary undertakings of the Society, the education of aspirants, and the support of its educational establishments, and of the Jesuit exiles from England.[1]

Upon the question of Sir Tobie's membership of the Society, Bishop William Giles, Rector of the English College in Rome, writes under date, December 16th, 1902, as follows:—

"Whatever he (Sir Tobie) was during life, it seems certain that he died in the Society. There is a paper here (in Rome), headed 'Queries,' apparently sent from Rome to Ghent. The queries are:—

"1. Where he dyed, 1655?

"2. If he maid his will?

"3. If, by his dying *in the Society*, we can be proved his heires?"

The answer really has little reference to the question, but merely enumerates the various dispositions of his property. All this is very unintelligible. The page concludes:—

"At f. Morgan's (?) request. What I write I do not understand, nor doe I think anyone can doe it. If this will not suffice, you must inquire elsewhere, for his (*sic*) is no more.

"S.S. (?) me, Comm. Servus in X°,

"William Vavasour.

"Gand. 11 June, 1680."

Wood states that Sir Tobie's remains were buried, "in accordance with directions given in his will, in

[1] *Vide* the Preface.

WILLIAM LAUD, D.D.

Son of a clothier at Reading. Was born October 7th, 1573. In 1616 he became Dean of Gloucester, and in 1621 Bishop of St. David's. In 1622 he held a discussion with Fr. Fisher, S.J., in the presence of the Duke of Buckingham and his mother, the particulars of which were published by both disputants. In 1626 Laud was translated to Wells, and in 1628 became Bishop of London. In 1630 he was Chancellor of Oxford; in 1633 Chancellor of Dublin University, and Archbishop of Canterbury. At the commencement of the Long Parliament he was impeached by the Commons and sent to the Tower. After three years' imprisonment he was tried by the House of Lords, who acquitted him. The Puritan faction in the Lower House, however, carried an ordinance declaring him guilty of treason, and he was beheaded on Tower Hill, January 10th, 1644-5.

a plain wooden coffin, with a leaden plate upon which were the words, '*Hic jacet D. Tobia Mathei*,'" &c. Confirmation of these particulars is not forthcoming, nor would such an inscription have been placed upon the sarcophagus of a Jesuit. A will, apparently his last, was signed by Sir Tobie in 1647, and is preserved in the English College at Rome. It runs as follows:—

"I, Tobie Matthew of London, in the Coñty of Middlesex, K^{t}, being now, through the mercy of Almighty God, in good health and perfect memory; But yet, knowing and considering the uncertainty of life, and certainty of death, have now resolved to make my last will and testament as followeth:—

"First, I bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God, who created it, and redeemed it by the merits and life of Christ Jesus, our only Lord and Saviour, through his own infinite mercy, to whom I render all possible thanks for all his goodness, and especially vouchsafing to make me a Roman Catholique, in the communion of which Church I live, and fully resolve, through his grace, to dye.

"In the next place, I commit my body to the earth, and whereas I formerly desired to be buryed in the monestery of the English Teresians, heere at Antwerp, wherein my intention was notorious, and for which I had leave granted by the Superioress, I now declare I will by no means be buried there, for divers just reasons, which occur to me, but I humbly desire that my body may be transported to Gent, if I dye in these countrys, to be buried in the English College there, if the fathers will admitt of the trouble, provided always that it be in as private a manner as possible may be, and without musique, or invitation of friends, but quietly, and rather if it may be, by night than by day, and in case no Executor be att hand when and where I shall dye, I desire that any such friend of mine

as shall be neare me then and there, may perform that act of Charity towards me, provided always that he be not of my owne blood : for as I have no obligation to comply with any of them in the disposition of my estate, in regard that my father and Mother did absolutely disinherit me of all their estate, in favour of them, and by reason of my religion ; and besides for divers solide private reasons why I take none of them now into my care, who are nearest unto me, in this kind ; I allso desire not to entrust any of them, in anything which may concern me, after my death. But above all things, concerning this world, I desire it may be understood, and now I ordayne and declare, that all the former wills and testiments which I have made, in my whole life, and namely that which I made not long before these troubles in England, shall be utterly voyd, of none effect, from this instant, and this alone which I am now writing, shall stand good.

"By this will, I therefore ordaine and constitute for the executors of this my last will and testiment, my very worthy and good friend, M^r^ Henry Taylor, Channon of S^t^ Gudala in Brussels, and Chappllin of honour in the Royall pallace of that Court, M^r^ Francis Playdon, the younger, of Shiplak in the county of Oxforde, Esq^r^, and Master Lyonall Wake in Antwerp, and desire and require them to dispose of all my estate in any kind, whether it be in land or houses, or rent charge, or debts, or money, or stock, or any other goods whatsoever, according to such directions as I shall give them, or any of them, in writing under my own hand, and for want of which freinds, M^r^ Jho: Hall and M^r^ Thomas Kempe, of London, gentleman, but I signify and declare by this will of mine that I will not have my executors called . . . .[1] by any of my kindred or any others, to give any account to any creature of y^e^ disposition of anything that I leave behind me, but will totaly rely upon their honesty worth and friendship to me.

"And after my body shall be buried, and my debts paid, I desire and require that out of the first money that shall

[1] A word illegible.

be got out of my estate, all the workes of my glorious Mother S^t^ Teresa (whereof I translated the most part of, at the instance of my most deare and most deserving freind, Sister Ann of the Ascension, Religious of the English Teresian monestery att Antwerp), and that all I have in written hand, as an encrease of portion to my deare late Novice sister Ann of Jesus, all which are now in the said Monastery, may be printed to the glory of Almighty God, and in honour of that great S^t^ and servant of his, and whereas I have composed and translated many other things, which are now in written hand, I bequeath and give them all to my deare and noble freind, M^r^ Walter Mountegue, the Earl of Manchester's son, whom I desire to get them perus^d^ and well considered, and that such of them may be printed, as he and M^r^ Hall shall think fit, out of my first moneys, if the time settle in such sort as they may be recovered. And, if not, I humbly desire and begg that M^r^ Mountegue's courtesy and charity may extend so farr if he be able, and I most humbly also begg of him that he will do so great an honour and favour to his even poore disceased freind and servant of his, as to make a little epistle, dedicate to the works of his glorious Mother and mine, S^t^ Teresa, when they shall be printed and addressed to that worthy creature, Sister Ann of the Assention, affornamed, that so the world may know that great affection and estimation, which I have of her. Particularly, I bequeath to him, all those papers, which I have written of the life of y^e^ glorious S^t^ Austin, which if God grant me life, I will finish because I hope it will prove to God's glory, and the honour of the saint, in regard that I have taken particular care, that nothing may have been delivered which is not perfectly well grounded and true, and yet some things are so extraordinary as will be showed of few saints, and I have wondered, that in so many lives which so many worthy and learned men have written of him, there is scarce any touch at all of the hyest favours which he received from allmighty God. If I dye before it be finished, it being much more than half done, already, I bequeath it, I say, to the said M^r^ Mountegue, beseeching him, for the love of Jesus,

to take what care he cann for the perfecting and printing thereof.

"Withall I signify heere that whereas I have written the historical relation of my own conversion to the Catholique religion, I take allmighty God to witness, as at the houre and instant of my death, that I have delivered nothing therein, but the exact truth.[1]

"In the last place, I name for Supervisor of this will, my said deare freind, M^r^ Walter Mountegue, whom, together with my executors, I humbly pray to except of this trouble, and as a poore sincere testimony of my thanks, and acknowledgement of my obligation, I bequeath to them (with shame enough that it is no more) a hundred florence (*sic* florins) a piece to make for every one a poore little piece of plate, if they will, in memory of me.

"In case any of my executors dye before me, I desire that these underwritten may be substituted in the severall place of them who shall faile: if M^r^ Tayler should dye Mr. John Chamberlin of Sherborn may be placed to succeed Mr. Tayler, but yet that, for as much as concerns the legacy of six hundred pounds to the Teresiens, or rather to the new monestary where Sister Ann of the Ascension may be, I will that M^r^ Hilorarum specifyed, or to be specifyed in the part afforsaid, that M^r^ Edmund Playden, sone to M^r^ Francis Playden afforesaid, may succeed in the place of his father, M^r^ Francis Playden, and my deare freind M^r^ Rich: Wake in place of M^r^ Lyonall Wake his father, if that father dye before me, neither do I intend that any of my executors should be liable in any kind to the payment of anything concerning me more than shall come to their hands of my money or goods, and if I gratifye not before I dye, my good deare freind, Mr. Lyonall Wake, and his most worthy wife, for rept^n^ of me into their house for the greatest part of this last year, I bequeath all my poore household stuffe to them, which I humbly pray them to accept.

"In witness of all these things afforesaid I heere unto set

[1] Published for the first time, in full, in 1904.

my hand and seale, and cause the same to be attested under the hand of a publique notary in Antwerpe, the 12th of October, 1647.

"and my underwritten
"Tobie Matthew."

The will was sealed with a seal of red hard wax, and beneath was written, by another hand, as followeth :—

"Ainsy signè & seelé par le testateur le huitième jour du mois d'Otobre de l'an CVIe quarant sept en presence de Corneille Doppergreler notaire publique par le Soveraigne Conseil de Bruxelles, resident en Anvers et de St Piere mercelis le Jeane et Jean Gottasses, habitant de cette Ville, comme temoins a ce request, subsignè de Doppergreler not: Peeter Mercelis de Jonge Jean Guttasses.

"Max Geradi : Not.

"Haec copia collationate cum originali testamento concordat cum eodem verbaliter. Ita est Tho. De Newport Stæbinus. Civitatis Antwerpiensis."

"Endorsed:—

"Sir Toby Mathew's last will October 1647. An authentical copy thereof is at St Omer's in our Archiv this November 1696, and of wch this copy is transcribed."

"Testamento del Sig Toby Ottobre 1647. Copia autentica di questa che è in S. Omer del mese di Novembre, 1696."

Critics of repute are divided as regards the life and character of Sir Tobie Matthew. Dodd's *Ecclesiastical History* has already been quoted. After speaking of Sir Tobie's early career, and "pregnant parts," Dodd refers to his conversion to Catholicism, and further says :—

"He was esteemed a very compleat gentleman and cou'd give a good account of foreign Courts and customs. These

advantages made him acceptable to King James ; who invited him to Court : and the match with Spain being at that time negotiating, M^r^ Matthews was judged a person well qualified to transact some matters relating to it ; wherein he acquitted himself to satisfaction."

Dodd goes on to remark :—

"The part he (Sir Tobie) acted in life has occasioned some variety in his character. Andrew Habernfield in his account of the Plot he communicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury, October, 1641,[1] described him to be a crafty politician, a spy, a pensioner to Cardinal Barberini, &c. On the other hand, M^r^ Pryn makes him plotting with the Archbishop and others to bring about a union between the two Churches, and by this stratagem to destroy the Church as by law established."

In Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses* (vol. ii., p. 120) we read :—

"He" (Sir Tobie) "was a person extremely hated by the Presbyterians, and more especially by Prynne, who spared not to say, because he was acquainted with D^r^ Laud, Abp. of Cant., that he was sent into England by the Pope (Urban VIII., with whom he was in great esteem) to reconcile England to the Church of Rome ; in which work, also, he (as they further say) received a pension from the said Cardinal Barberino, the Protector of the English nation at Rome. But letting these base reports pass, I shall only tell you that he had all of his father's name, and many of his natural parts ; was also one of considerable learning, good memory, and sharp wit, mixed with a pleasant affability in behaviour, and a seeming sweetness of mind, although sometimes, according to the company he was in, pragmatical, and a little too forward. He hath written and translated many things, e.g., the Character of the Most Excellent Lady, Lucy, Countess of Carlile—Printed with the *Collection*. She being the Goddess that he adored

[1] See Rushworth's *Historical Collection*.

was the reason why Sir John Suckling brought him into the poem called the *Session* (or Court) of *Poets*, thus :—

"'*Toby Matthews* —— (c) *on him, what made him there?*
Was whispering (d) *something in somebodies ear.*
When he had the honour to be named in Court,
But, sir, you may thank my Lady Carleil for't.'
(*c*) 'Twas the word he often used in company.
(*d*) 'Twas his custom to be always whispering in company."

In the *Collections of the Society of Jesus*, by Fr. Oliver, are the following remarks on Sir Tobie :—

"He was a man of noted frankness and integrity, of solid judgment, and deep penetration, and well acquainted with the character of statesmen and men in power, and with the feelings of the Nation ; so that Mr. Dodd ought to have given him more credit for the opinion, he avowed on a certain debateable question."

Walpole, in his *Anecdotes of Painting* (vol. ii., p. 21), writes contemptuously of Sir Tobie. He says :—

"He was one of those heteroclite animals, who finds his place anywhere. His father was Archbishop of York, and he a Jesuit. He was supposed a wit, and believed himself a politician. His works are ridiculous, and his greatest success was a little mischief in making converts." Concerning Sir Tobie's 'Character' of the famous Countess of Carlisle, Walpole goes on to remark that it "commends her so impertinently, that with scarce straining it might pass for a satire.' According to Walpole, Sir Tobie 'had not the slightest pretension to be included in Memoirs. He was a trifling courtier, affected to be a politician, after he had been converted by Father Parsons, and become a Jesuit, but was too insignificant to serve any cause. Suckling, in the *Session of the Poets*, says that he was always 'whispering nothing in somebody's ear.' No unusual character!"

Gosse thus describes Sir Tobie: . . . . "Tobie Matthew, the eccentric and recusant son of the

Arbp. of York." And he adds: "This oddity, of whom we shall hear more, is said to have been visited by Donne and Norton, who were anxious to extract Roman gossip from him, while he was detained in the Fleet Prison, 1607-8. . . . . In 1611, he was in Venice with Gage the traveller. . . . . In 1612, Gage left Italy to be a Dominican monk in Spain."

In his last remark, Gosse is mistaken It was not George Gage, Sir Tobie's friend, who entered the Dominican order, but Thomas Gage, who eventually turned Protestant.

Subsequently Gosse says, with regard to Sir Tobie's connection with Donne :—

"Toby Matthew has been spoken of as the 'friend' of Donne. That he never was. Donne was interested in his wit and learning, but the two men were utterly opposed in interests, and when Matthew protested his goodwill, Donne . . . . received his protestations with a sarcasm which was hardly civil. Yet it is to the fortunate circumstance that Toby Matthew was a collector of autographs, and amassed a large number of Donne's MS. letters, after his death, that we owe some of the most valuable illustrative documents contained in this biography."[1]

Hacket, in his *Life of Abp. Williams*, comments on Sir Tobie's wise action in the matter of the Spanish match. He says:—

"This is sure, that Sir Toby's industry was well taken, because he did what he could. And he that employed him, held him, ever after, to be a Person of Trust, in anything which he promised to do."

[1] *Life of John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's.*

***WENTWORTH* Earl of *STRAFFORD*.**

Born April 13th, 1593. Created Earl of Strafford, K.G., 1639, and appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was impeached by the Puritans in the Lower House and committed to the Tower. Lord Strafford was beheaded on Tower Hill, May 12th, 1641.

Mr. W. H. Smith, in his *Bacon and Shakespeare* (p.100), writes :—

"Sir Tobie's Romish religion seems to have been to him as his great chair and morning bath. Wearied with his little sins, he reposed in her bosom, and, dipping in the waters of absolution, felt himself restored and free—to sin again."

It is fair to Mr. Smith to recall the date of this observation—1854—as it furnishes us with some excuse for the ignorance and injustice which he displays.

Sir John Harrington, when lamenting Archbishop Matthew's affliction in seeing his talented and brilliant son, of whom he had been justly proud, join the ranks of the recusants, remarks :—

"It may seem pity that so sweet and mild a disposition should have any cross. But he hath a great domestic one, though he bears it wisely: not in his wife, for she is the best reputed of her sort, in England. But I mean such a cross as David had in his son Absalom. For he gave both consent and permission to persecute him, yet nature overcame displeasure, and forced him to cry, 'Absalom, my son, my son, I would I might suffer for thee, or in thy stead, my son, my son.' For indeed, this son of his, whom he and his friends gave over for lost, yea, worse than lost, was likely for learning, memory, sharpness of wit, and sweetness of behaviour, to have proved another Tobie Matthews (*sic*); neither is his case so desperate but that I would think yet there were hopes to reclaim him."[1]

From the many conflicting opinions which represent the subject of this biography as a "trifling courtier, too insignificant to serve any cause," or as a "polished gentleman," distinguished for "learning, memory, sharpness of wit and sweetness of be-

[1] *Brief View of the State of the Church of England in Queen Elizabeth and King James's reign to the year* 1608.

haviour," it is difficult to construct for ourselves a life-like picture of Sir Tobie. As for his personal appearance, the only clue which we possess is furnished by Charles I. (when Prince of Wales), who writes of him as "littell prittie Tobie." It can hardly be urged that the portrait which forms the frontispiece of this volume furnishes any support for the Prince's second adjective. But we may conclude that he was "little," and may imagine Sir Tobie as a small, brisk man, astonishingly energetic, with a good manner, and an easy command of languages.

The faults of his time inevitably touched Sir Tobie, and in circumstances of exceptional difficulty, he occasionally stooped to dissimulation. But he was staunch to his friends, sincere in his religious convictions, loyal to his King, and true to his country. Above all, he was actuated by an ardent desire to advance the interests of his Church and his co-religionists, and in spite of the contaminating influence of Court and courtiers, he proved himself capable of real enthusiasm. His motives were pure and high, whether or not his actions were always successful; and we shall find it impossible to withhold from him our esteem and respect, when we recall the just verdict of Marcus Aurelius: "The measure of a man's worth is the worth of his aims."

As Bacon has truly said:—

"The best governments, yea, and the best men, are like the most precious stones, wherein every flaw, or icicle, or grain are seen and noted, more than in those that are generally foul and corrupted."

APPENDIX

AS SPECIMENS OF SIR TOBIE MATTHEW'S LITERARY AND POETIC POWERS, HIS "PANEGYRIC ON THE BLESSED VIRGIN," AND THE PREFACE TO HIS "COLLECTION OF LETTERS," ARE GIVEN HERE. THESE ARE FOLLOWED BY A GENEALOGY OF ARCHBISHOP MATTHEW'S FAMILY, AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SIR TOBIE.

THE FEMALE GLORY; OR, THE LIFE AND DEATH OF OUR BLESSED LADY, THE HOLY VIRGIN MARY.

By ANTHONY STAFFORD, Gent., London, 1635. Contains "A Pannegyricke upon the blessed Virgin Mary," by Sir Tobie Matthew, as follows:—

"What eye dares search the brightnesse of the sun?
What pencil draw it? what conception
Is cleane enough thy purenesse to descry,
Or strong enough to speake thy Dignity?
Blest Mother of Our Lord, whose happy state,
None but an Angel's tongue did first relate
Thou wert on earth a star most heavenly bright,
That didst bring forth the Sunne that lent thee light
An earthly vessel full of heavenly grace,
That brought forth light to *Adam's* dying race

For God on earth thou wert a royall throne,
The Quarry to cut out our corner stone,
The chosen cloth to make his mortal weed,
Soile blest with fruit, yet free from mortal seed.
In marriage bands thou ledst a Virgin life,
And though untouch'd, became a fruitfull wife,
Though thou to aged Joseph wert assur'd
No carnall love that sacred league procur'd,
All vaine delights were farre from your assent,
For chast by vow you seal'd your chast intent.
Thus God his Paradise to *Joseph* lent,
Wherein to plant the tree of life he meant,
To raise a birth miraculous, and by
His sacred ways of power disclose that high
And holy mystery, which Angels (though
So full of light) desired to peepe into.
When thou thy maker didst bring forth, and he
Whose age had been from all eternity,
Was borne an Infant from thy blessed wombe,
He lay enclosed in that narrow roome,
Whose greatnesse heaven & earth could not containe
Who made the world, and nature did ordaine,
Was made of thy flesh ; he, whose open'd hand
Feeds all the Creatures both by sea and land ;
That even to thee Who life and being lent,
Did from thy breast receive his nourishment.
His birth no humane tongues were fit to sing,
Th' Angellike Quire did greet their new borne king
So bright a comfort, and so sweet a lay
Made night more faire and cheerfull than the day
And little *Bethlem* with more glory fill'd
Than all the Roman Pallaces could yeeld.
How wondrous great is then thy happinesse
Thou wert his Mother, but who can expresse
So high a blisse, when we desire to fame
Some other Maid or vertuous woman's name ?
When we of other Ladies write the lives,

Of chaste Maides, happy Mothers, constant Wives,
Such as best Writers have renown'd of yore,
When we have told their noble vertues o'er
We draw examples, and besides their owne
Faire stories, praise them by comparison.
But in their life we cannot, thou alone
Canst not, at al admit comparison.
So far thy happy name and honour lives
Above all other Mothers, Maids, or Wives,
That 'twere a sinne, when we their story tell
So much as once to think of Paralell.
Wee'l let thee in thine owne pure titles live
And speake no praise of thee but positive,
And when we say all ages, nations all
Shall thee most happy among women call
That of the greatest blessing God ere sent
To sinfull man, thou wert the instrument."

T. M.

Sir Tobie Matthew's Preface to the *Collection of Letters* edited by Dr. Donne, son of the Dean of St. Paul's, and published in 1660:—

TO THE READER.

"Sir

"Here goes a handfull of English Letters, which I have procured to bring together, that so I might the better send them abroade. They passe under the Avow of the Highest and Greatest Queen of the Worlde; and you must take very good heed that you censure them not too sharply, for I believe that if you do, she will be angry. The prime reason why I publish them is to do Honour, that is Right, to my Nation, for though I cannot dye for it, when I will, yet I must celebrate and serve it, when I can. These letters were, for the most part, written upon a sudden, and *à la volée*, and therefore you must not wonder, if they all be not so very exact. Nor shall you expect clinches or knacks, of that kind

of wit, which uses to play wantonly with words; for I cannot get myself to be much taken with those toyes. But I hold these letters, at least, to speak a true English tongue, which is not too generall, even in this time, and many of them are not void of conceit, and they express themselves naturally and nobly enough, considering that they are written, but in the familiar way. And some of them I confesse to be as good as ever I saw, at least they are the best I had. And if they prove not so excellent as might be wished, it falls not so far upon my conscience as to be able to make me lyable to any fault, but onely to bring me in mind of misfortune. And yet I hope I may be so capable of merit, as, in the strength of this example, to invite some other man to do better. I will account that I am gold smith of Cole-Harbour, and if that way, bring any Austin of Cheapside, to open his shop, and show his better stuffs to the world, he shall make me as rich as himself. For the serving of my turn and of the town with the very best that can be had is one and the same thing with me.

"I know not how these letters (for I am grown half out of breath with following the Metaphor so far) will prove able to keep themselves in countenance, when they are brought forth into company, and put into competition with some others, which have been, and are, written in our own country. But yet I dare give good security (and have no fear to prove bankrupt upon the adventure) that if you set them by the letters of any other nation, many of these will leave the blushing part to those. And if a certain wise and witty gentleman (Benjamin Buddyer) said well that if any carrier of London, going to Oxford or Cambridge should chance to be robbed of his letters, by the way, a man would peradventure meet with more wit, in that poor budget, than in some whole book of foreign modern printed letters of some other nation. How sure will these be to prove passable since (to speak without any immodesty at all) the writers thereof were most of them far enough from being but vulgar men.

"For some of them were such as could no more be lesse in

anything than themselves, than others could find means to be more, or even so much as they. And both for that reason and for others (as, namely, for the eminency of the persons who wrote, and the Royalty of them that were written to), some of their names will certainly be known too well, even without my naming them, when you grow to read their fortunes by looking upon the lines of their hands, for which I am sorry. For I could rather have wished that those letters might also have helpt to bind you faster (whosoever you be, if you need it) to the good behaviour, as well as the rest, so to have kept you from judging too hastily, by hearsay, and to have obliged you to rely not so much upon your ears, as your eyes, for that would have procured and taught you to go more warily on with your votes, for fear lest otherwise you might have been found afterwards to have condemned you know not what nor whom. I have generally therefore thought fit to conceal the names of the authors except such as both are dead, and are also made apparent by public accidents. Because I would not have any of you be either wanton or wayward, as, on the other side, I have resolved to prefix a word or two, by way of argument, to every one of the letters, or, at least, to tell you the kind and quality thereof, so to keep you, as soon as I could, from being wholly ignorant of the contents, that so, you might not stay, any longer than needs you must, in the dark, when you were going to cast an eye upon this object.

"In the meantime it is a praise to the nation to excel, though it be but even in casual and contingent things (such as the writing of letters is), from one minute of our lives to another. But yet still it is the entregent of absent persons; it is the solace and satisfaction of suspended minds; it is the communication of everlistning friends; it is the despatch of unsettled businesses, and the way of discharging such burthens as would otherwise lye too heavy upon the hart. And, to perform all those offices better than others know how to do, is no inconsiderable faculty, amongst civill men. Though yet, upon the occasion, I will shew that this nation of ours can also play

at greater games than this; yea, and it can and will play fair and well, when some others are fain to betake themselves to their tricks. For, in fine, men have but bodyes and mindes, and if we excel others in them both, the day will be ours.

"The Persons of this nation are such as that the holy and great St. Gregory thought it to be no uneasie and unnaturall allusions of *Anglos* to *Angelos*, as thinking that the beauty of the English was then such, as to make them more angelicall than others. And the race is not spoyled to this day, in either sex; but still we are what we were.

"The consideration of the minds of the English is also as fit to give them comfort as that of their bodyes. For generally, in the first place, there is certainly no nation under Heaven more apt to despise those two darlings of flesh and blood, *Life* and *Fortune*, than this is ready to do, upon any reasonable, or even almost but apparent motive. No man is also more remote than an Englishman from the doggedness of long-lasting and indelible revenge; nor both so absent and so far distant from using base treachery of any kind. Besides, he is, of all others, the aptest and easiest creature in the world, to take compassion of any misery, whensoever he meets it. And if any man will make a bitter satyr against other nations, let him but compare them, in this kind, with ours; for we are farre from delighting in blood; nay, we can no sooner see a gallant man at our feet, than we are ready to place him instantly upon our heads.

"Withall, our very bowells yerne to be spreading ourselves upon our friends, in the hospitable way, and we do it, not out of the ends of ambition, or upon the meer desire of honour, like some Southern Nations; nor out of a general dearth of money, which makes commodities to be nothing worth, as in some parts of the Northern. But they cost us deer, and the saving them would make us rich; and yet our pulse beates towards our friends in the dark, and our heart doth, as it were, pant and gaspe, till it be even opening and pouring itself out upon others, for the very pleasure of the thing itself, till our friends be even lockt up with us, in those very hearts.

"Above all things, this nation abounds with another most excellent endowment, which is no lesse than a kind of balsamum to the whole life of man, and without which the whole life is no better than a punishment, but to others, and most of all to a man's self, and (for ought I know to the contrary) there is little of it, in the whole world out of this island. A great and gallant man (the Earl of Bristol) told me once, when we were abroad together (he being in some disgust towards the place—Brussels—wherein he was at the time), that there grew a certain fruit in England, wherewith neither he nor I could ever become acquainted in all our travels, and he had me guesse what it was. I guessed pear-maines and wardens and damsens, and I know not what else of that kind. But still he told me that I was in the wrong. At length (to take us both out of pain) he said that it was neither this nor that, but a certain thing called *Good Nature*, whereof he had never seen any but in England. I agreed with him very easily in that opinion, for if we may say it as civilly as we may doe truly, I believe that vulgarly there springs very little of it abroad. But in England there is so much that the flowers do even degenerate sometimes into weeds, for want of being so well cultivated, with diligence and discretion, as they ought, and so that which is a benefit to others, proves often to be a mischief to the owners. But, in the mean time, being rightly used, it is a thing of no less excellency in itself, than to be both the very seed plot of all vertue; and yet withall a kind of excuse of all such vice as follows frailty, for it is totally incompatible with any other.

"In a word, this treasury of *Good Nature* is so rare and precious a thing that, as I have said somewhere else, so I think; and sincerely, if I were put to it (forasmuch as might concern the conservative way of this life), I would so make my choice as rather to desire to be chained (even for as long as I should continue in this world) to any well-natured sinner, than to an ill-natured saint. And now England is the only *Indies*, where this bottomlesse mine of pure gold is to be found.

Besides, as all men know that vertue and vice are not naturall, but acquired by exercise and custom (and especially by the well or ill husbanding and cherishing of God Almightie's grace, which is never wanting to us), so I think that it may, without partiality, be well affirmed that there is hardly any nation in the world, which originally is either more vertuous or less vicious than the English. Their vertues are very apparent, and generally, they have naturally scarce any vice. Yea, and the defects of an Englishman consist not so much in his being ordinarily ill, as in being easily delivered over into ill humour. For those little inconstancies of his, those little impatiencies, those little jealousies of being undervalued (which put him, now and then upon the huffle), and that *mauvaise honte*, or inconfidence upon the first approaches to which he is subject, make him easily indeed able to vary a little now and then from himself, but yet so as that he will be sure to come quickly home again, if you will let him alone. For, if you will needs urge him on too fast, he will perhaps never go with you whilst he lives.

"But these are rather defects than faults, and yet the question is not here which nation hath no faults at all (for there is none such, so universally have we been dressed, or rather daubed by our good old friends, Adam and Eve, who began that ill dance, and drew and drag'd us all on to follow them, by those long and strong hands of their polluted hearts), but which, in fine, hath the fewest, since that will fall out, to be the best. For *Optimus ille qui minimis urgetur*, he shall not only be esteemed, but be also in very deed, the best man (and the same will be also true of nations) who hath the fewest and least faults, and this, I think, is our case.

"The talent also of the brain is very eminent in this happy country of ours. For we have been rich, from all antiquity, in the multitude of great learned men, and that (besides the mathematicks) in the most solid and subtle wayes of knowledge, of philosophy, of metaphysics, and of divinity, according to the method of the school, which only can enable a man to passe successfully on towards the journies' end of truth, both

with the speed of a running post, and with the certainty and stayd pace of a pilgrime. And our witts shrink not from us to this day, as in those starts also, which we get leave of ourselves to make, either in writing letters or composing papers of verses, or in delivering any other way, such cogitations and observations, as may rather exact delicacy of witt, than that sad kind of depth in poynt of knowledge (which usually is not to be purchased, at any other rate, than by a constant and regular employment of time and paines), I think we may both defye and beat the world.

"We have also rare compositions of minds amongst us, which look so many fair ways at once, that I doubt it will go near to pose any other nation of Europe, to muster out, in any age, four men, who, in so many respects, should excell four such as we are able to shew, viz., Cardinall Wolsey, Sir Thomas More, Sir Philip Sidney, and Sir Francis Bacon; for they were all kinds of monsters in their severall wayes." [1]

"The first of them (Wolsey) was a most large-hearted and most wise statesman, who, though he were born no otherwise than a very private and poor man, yet he brought himself to the topp of fortune's wheel, and there devoured and despatched mighty businesses, both domesticated and foreign, with as much ease as other men have, in drawing their breath. He was a man of a most publick soul, a mighty and a most just magistrate. But he was tainted with unbounded ambitions and greatness, in conformity whereof he appeared,

[1] It is certainly remarkable that Sir Tobie should have left out the name of his contemporary William Shakspere from this category. It is urged by those who uphold the Baconian theory, that Sir Tobie was aware that Bacon used the pseudonym of "Shakespeare." The American Judge Holmes, author of the well-known work, *The Authorship of Shakespeare*, says:—"On what study I have been able to give to the plays of Shakespeare, I should say it would not be possible for any man to give a more just, accurate, and complete account of the genius of Shakespeare, in the same space, if he grounded his judgment alone, upon what the plays contain. I have put the question, how Ben Jonson came to omit William Shakespeare in his list of the great wits of his time; and I cannot do better here than to repeat the question of Mr. Smith: 'How was it the name of William Shakespeare—a man equal, if not superior to Bacon, in the points enumerated—did not occur to Sir Tobie Matthew?'" (P. 645.)

with huge magnificence and glory, which yet, through the inequality or rather iniquity of those times, did serve but for the preface to his ruine.

"The second (More), a man of large understanding, great and generall learning, quick and cleer conceptions, profound wisdom, intire vertue in all kinds, and all this with one of the sweetest natures, and most Saint-like souls, both for contemplation, which hath been found to walk in flesh and blood, in all these latter ages of the world.

The third (Sidney), a person of illustrious and noble birth, a gallant courtier, a souldier, a commander, a man of state, a schollar (and that very eminent in all the politer way of Literature) who did both speak and write very early and delightfully, both in verse and prose. And in the course and drift of that rare work of his, *Arcadia* (which is a miracle, for that time, when he composed it much the greater, because he did it, in so much haste, and sent it, sheet by sheet, to his most noble sister, as he wrote it, without giving it the exact amendments of the last hand), he weaves it full of character, the most excellent, the most amiable, and the most noble, which can, perhaps, be found in any work of that kind. He also takes occasion to expresse such consultations of war, such deliberations of counsell, such understandings of naturall inclination, such waies of prevailing upon passion, so perfect descriptions of actions, with all the circumstances thereof, as shewes the man, who wrote, to have had a most rare assembly of nations, and composition of parts. Most justly may he passe for a person of sharp wit, and sweet nature, as he was also of easie humour, and of a most noble heart. And if credit may be given to a very generall report (for it exceeded the condition of a rumour), he was considered by the Kingdom of Poland, as not unfit to weild the scepter of that crown, which design towards a cavalier and a remote stranger, shews clearly what kind of man he was understood to be over the world.

"The fourth (Bacon) was a creature of incomparable abilities of mind, of a sharp and catching apprehension, large and

faithful memory, plentifull and sprouting invention, deep and solid judgement, for as much as might concern the understanding part. A man so rare in knowledge, of so many severall kinds, endued with the facility and felicity of expressing it all, in so elegant, significant, so abundant, and yet so choice and ravishing a way of words, of metaphors, and allusions, as perhaps the world hath not seen, since it was a world. I know this may seem a great hyperbole, and strange kind of riotous excesse of speech, but the best means of putting me to shame will be for you to place any other man of yours by this of mine. And, in the mean time, even this little makes a shift to shew that the genius of England is still not onely eminent, but predominant for the assembling in great variety of those rare parts in some single men, which use to be half incompatible anywhere else.

"But not onely in such things, as have no other relation than to this life, but in those others also which concern the next, this nation hath been wont to out strip even all the rest of the world. Wherein I cannot omit to speak of that vast piety and charity of former times, when laws were fain to be enacted, to keep men from making themselves too poor, by the desire which they had to make Almighty God (in the persons of such as serv'd Him most) too rich. As also of the multitudes of Kings and Queens, who renounced the glorious sunshine of their dominions, that so they might follow Christ our Lord, by a more close kind of imitation, in the solitary and obscure shade of recollection and devotion.

"And it may serve the present turn, to look upon, but ourselves, and our neighbours, even in these daies of our own. For I think we shall be generally found to be naturally the most piously affected of all others, and that there are not seen in the whole world, either better Catholicks or better Protestants than in England; nor more women, who are so perfectly chaste, without the cudgel-argument of restraint, nor men, who are more honestly and even more naturally just, without thinking of the obligation to make restitution.

"In a word, it is clear enough that we are both excellently

endowed, and rarely tempered by God and nature. And we are seated in such neighbourhood to others, as to have their severall extreams, extreamly well taken off, and so are left enriched with their good, without being impoverished with their ill. I have also been apt to think that these three gallant nations of the world (which have the happinesse to obey and serve the King, according to both their allegiance and love, and in whom he is made able to command the faithfullest and greatest seed-plot of brave souldiers, which any prince enjoyes in the whole world) do carry a particular resemblance to the three gallant nations of Europe, the Italian, the French, and the Spanish. For the Scottish nation hath it eminently with the French, the Irish as eminently with the Spaniard, and the English, in my opinion, with the Italian. By which inclination of theirs and application of mine, I presume I make England no loser, for the Italian nation is one of the most excellent, in all respects. I say not but that there are many differences, and very great ones, but yet that there is more sympathy with it, than with the others. And certainly, if an Italian should, for his sins, be bound to take any stranger to live continually in his society, and be receiv'd into his house, there is no kind of man alive whom he would less unwillingly accept than the English, as finding a concurrence in him of those most excellent qualities of being the most obligeable, the most civill and modest and safe, in all kinds, of all nations.

"To conclude, therefore, upon the whole matter, I concurre generally and even naturally with a certain worthy, honest, true-hearted English gentleman, who is now dead (Sir Dennis Brussels), for once, after a grievous fit of the stone, when he was no lesse than four score years old, he found himself to be out of pain, and in such a kind of ease, in the way to recovery, as that great weight of age might admit, wherewith the good man was so pleased, that he fell to talk very honestly, though pleasantly also, after this manner:—'If God should now say thus to me, "Thou art four score years old, but yet I am content to lend thee a dozen years more of life. And because thou hast conversed with men of so many nations in Europe,

my pleasure is that for hereafter, thou shalt have leave to choose for thyself of which thou wouldest rather be, than of any other!" I would quickly know how to make this answer, without studying: "Let me be neither Dutch, nor Flemish, nor French, nor Spanish, nor Italian, but an Englishman, an Englishman, good Lord."' This said he, and this say I, as being clearly of his mind.

"And now, to make a little epitome of what is said already, more at large, and to add also a word or two, since there will be cause. The country is both temperate and abundant. The nation doth even naturally bear a mighty kind of reverence towards the Higher Powers, whether they be of Heaven or earth. There is no State or people, in the whole world, where men of all conditions live so peacefully and so plentifully, and so safely also as here, the King, the Queen, the Royall Family, the two incomparable Universities and nurseries of learning; the ladies, the nobles, the gentlemen, the lawyers, the physicians, the merchants, the yoemen, the farmers, the labourers, and, in fine, the common people of all kinds.

"The King hath rich countries, and most valuable and obedient subjects; his power goes very far towards the binding all his neighbours to good behaviour. No man sits at home so safe as he, none so easily can defend himself, nor so easily both assist his friends and vex his enemies, by means of so many gallant ports and goodly ships, which give him a high dominion at sea, whereof all his neighbours are grown so sick, as if they meant to dye, when he bids them. His subjects have usually both comely persons and well-nurtured minds. The women are very generally both more beautifull and more chaste than their neighbours. The men are very hospitable, and as full, both of high courage and deep compassion, as they are far from being either revengeful and treacherous, or so much as base, or even mean, in any kind. Their conversation is very innocent, and yet free. Men are more heartily and more straightly embraced, when they are present, and they are more nobly followed, and more dearly frequented by the thoughts of their friends, and more delightfully entertained by way of

remembrance when they are absent, than any other race of men whatsoever. Read you these letters, for a short essay of this last observation, and be taught by this example of mine to make us see if you can shew better. For, in that case, I will oblige myself to pay you hereafter more thanks for those, than you will owe me for these."

The *Collection of Letters*, edited by Dr. John Donne, and supplemented by about sixty pages of that gentleman's father's correspondence, follows this preface of Sir Tobie's. How it came to pass that Dr. Donne became possessed of the letters, does not appear. He dedicates the book to Lady Carlisle, in a facetious preface, written about five years after Sir Tobie's death. He says :—

"Who ever writ the Letters, Sir Tobie Matthews (*sic*) made the collection ; I think I should be injurious to his Ghost (especially never having heard from him anything to the contrary since he went hence), if I should dedicate this book to any other person than your Ladyship."

The majority of the letters, down to page 295, consist of correspondence between Bacon and Matthew. They would have possessed greater historical interest and value, if they had not suffered so severely from editorial manipulation. The first twenty-four letters, occupying fifty-seven pages, are acknowledged as Bacon's, though only twelve of them are addressed to Sir Tobie, who, in all cases, omits his own name. The remaining letters which can only by supposition be regarded as Bacon's to Sir Tobie, or *vice versa*, are anonymous, and so altered,

as to make it difficult to decide their authorship, from internal evidence only. Moreover, they are printed hap-hazard without any reference to date. This disregard of chronological order may be the result of design, rather than of accident, in order to conceal more effectually the identity of the writers.

THE GENEALOGY

OF

TOBIE MATTHEW, D.D., ARCHBISHOP OF YORK,

AND

HIS DESCENDANTS

In the *Genealogies of Glamorgan*, Mr. G. T. Clark states (p. 26) that "Tobias Matthew, Archbishop of York, is said to have been a great-grandson of Morrice Matthew of Roos." This statement is, no doubt, accurate; and in that case, other pedigrees of the Archbishop are wrong, and the following is his correct lineage.

1. Sir Matthew ap Jevan of Llandaff (4 and 21 Richard II.) m. Janet, d. and h. of Richard Fleming of Penlyne. She bore Gules, a fret or, over all a fess azure. Their eldest son was Sir David Matthew of Llandaff, Standard-bearer to Edward IV., from whom the Llandaff, the Radyr, the Irish, and other branches of the family descend. Their second son, Sir David's brother, was:—

2. Robert Matthew, who settled at Castell-y-Mynach, in Pentyrch. He m. Alice, d. and co-h. of Jenkin Thomas, descendant of Jestyn and the Lord of Ruthyn. They had two sons, the second of whom was:—

3. Morgan (or Morrice) Matthew of St-y-Nill, who m. Sybil, d. of Sir Thomas Kemys of Newport, Mon. Their fifth son was:—

4. James Matthew, who settled at Roos, near Cardiff, and m. Amy, d. of Sir Thomas Bawdrip, senr., of Odyn's Fee, in Penmark. Will dated 1589. His second son was:—

5. John Matthew of Roos, afterwards of Bristol. Said by Mr. Clark to have m. "Joan, an Englishwoman," but by

Thoresby, who is here more probably correct, to have been m. twice : first, to Elizabeth, d. of — Melborne of Melborneport, by whom he had a d. Anne, who m. Peter Wyllis of Exeter ; second, to Eleanor, d. of — Crofton. By his second wife he had : 1, Tobie ; 2, Judith, who m. Andrew Cotterell, and had a d. Elizabeth, who m. Hugh James, a merchant.

6. Tobie Matthew, who became Archbishop of York, b. 1546, m. Frances Parker, widow of Matthew Parker, jnr. (son of the Archbishop of Canterbury), d. of Bishop Barlow of Chichester. Archbishop Matthew ob. 1628 ; his widow survived him one year. Issue : 1, Sir Tobie, b. Oct. 3rd, 1577, ob. s.p. Oct. 13th, 1655; 2, John, b. Dec. 6th, 1580 ; 3, Samuel, b. Feb. 1st, 1583, ob. s.p. June 15th, 1601 ; 4, Mary, b. and ob. 1583.

7. John Matthew, m. Joan or Jane (Mr. Clark has apparently confused him with his grandfather, John Matthew), d. of John Toothby, of Toothby, Lincolnshire, and had issue : 1, John, who became a Jesuit, known as "John Munson" ; 2, Tobie Willys, d. May 13th, 1618 ; 3, Josias ; 4, Frances, who m. first, Mark Pickering, and had issue Jane (or Joan), who m. Matthew Robinson, M.A. ; second, she m. Sutton Oglethorp, of Oglethorp, and had issue : 1, Sutton ; 2, Sir Theophilus, who m. Eleonora, d. of Richard Wall. Sir Theophilus ob. 1701, leaving issue : 1, Theophilus, who ob. 1714, and 2, Anne. John Matthew's third child was Elizabeth, who m. Arthur Squire, and had issue Thomas, who in 1714 was Rector of Scarle. The fourth child was Dorcas, who m. John Mauleverer of Letwell, and left issue : 1, Nicholas, who m. Fines, eldest d. of Sir John Jackson, and had issue John, Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and five d., whose names Thoresby does not give.

8. Josias Matthew, m. Barbara, d. of Henry Marwood, and had issue an only child, Frances, who m. Richard Yeward. She had issue : 1, Ralph Matthew, who seems to have used "Matthew" as his surname, instead of Yeward ; 2, Richard ; 3, Charles ; and seven daughters, whose names are not recorded by Thoresby.

Descendants of the Archbishop survive, bearing the names of Matthew, Yeward, Squire, Oglethorp, and possibly Mauleverer. There are others also, in all probability, descendants of the seven Misses Yeward, of Miss Anne Oglethorp, and of the five Misses Mauleverer, whose marriages are not recorded by Thoresby.

The Archbishop's arms were: quarterly, sable, a lion rampant, argent; gules three chevrons azure. These arms also appeared on Sir Tobie Matthew's seal.

All original letters signed by the Archbishop, by his son Sir Tobie, and by his grandson John, known as "Munson," show the patronymic to have been spelt "Matthew," which was, no doubt, the original orthography, for the will of John Matthew, the Archbishop's father, is thus subscribed. Other branches of the family have spelled their name variously, frequently with one "t," or with a final "s."

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