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A NARRATIVE OF THE PURSUIT OF ENGLISH
REFUGEES IN GERMANY UNDER QUEEN
MARY.¹

BY I. S. LEADAM, M.A.

Read December 17, 1896

Anglia

DOMINUS REX ET REGINA mandarunt hic breue suum sub Magno Sigillo suo Thesaurario et Baronibus huius scaccarii directum Cuiusquidem breuis tenor sequitur in hec verba. Philippus et Maria dei gracia Rex et Regina Anglie Hispaniarum Francie vtriusque Sicilie Ierusalem et Hibernie fidei defensores Archiduces Austrie Duces Burgundie Mediolani et Brabancie Comites Haspurgi Flandrie et Tirolis Thesaurariis et Baronibus suis de Scaccario salutem Tenorem cuiusdam certificacionis coram nobis in Cancellaria nostra retornate ac in filaciis eiusdem Cancellarie nostre de Recordo residentis vobis Mittimus presentibus interclusum Mandantes vt inspecto tenore certificacionis predictae vlterius inde pro nobis fieri faciatis prout de iure et secundum legem et consuetudinem Regni nostri Anglie fuerit faciendum. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmonasterium xxij^{do} die Octobris Annis regnorum nostrorum tercio et quarto.² Wa. Hare.³ Et tenor certificacionis vnde in breui predicto superius fit Menco sequitur in hec verba.

To the moste Reverende Father in godde Nicholas

¹ MS. R. O. Exch. Q.R. Memoranda Roll, No. 338, Rot. 191. Adhuc Communia de termino sancti Michaelis Annis tercio et iij^{to} Regis Philippi et Regine Marie. Adhuc Records.

² 1556.

³ Presumably a clerk's signature. I can find no particulars of this person.

Archebisschopp of Yorke lorde Chancellour of Englande¹ and to the Court of Chauncerye. Thiese be to certifye your lordeshipp that I John Brett² Gentyllman servaunt to the King and Quenes moste excellent Maiestyes being depeched into the parties of beyonde the Seas by theire Maiestyes with Commyssyon dated the xvjth daye of June in the seconde and thirde yeare of theyr Maiestyes reignes to delyver unto the lady Katheryne Duches of Suffolke³ Richard Barteue³

¹ Nicholas Heath, Bishop of Rochester 1540, Worcester 1544, deprived 1550; Archbishop of York 1555; Chancellor 1556-8; deprived of his see 1560; died 1579.

² The only mention of John Brett I have found in the *State Papers, Domestic*, H. VIII.—Eliz., or elsewhere, is 'a note of fines to be received by John Brett in Michaelmas Term 4 Eliz. (1561) from eleven persons named on surrender or transfer of lands &c., marking some as paid or denied' (*S. P. Dom.* Addenda Eliz. p. 527). If this be the same person, it is evident that he continued to be employed in the Government service.

³ Katharine, Dowager-Duchess of Suffolk, Baroness Willoughby d'Eresby in her own right, married in 1536, at the age of sixteen, as his fourth wife, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, a settlement being made upon her by Act of Parliament (28 H. VIII. c. 51). She was left a widow in 1545 with two sons, both of whom died of the sweating sickness in 1551. In 1552 she married Richard Bertie, son and heir of Thomas Bertie of Bersted, Kent, and sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The Duchess, although her mother was a Spaniard, had been zealous for the Reformed Faith during the reign of Edward VI., and specially hostile to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. In 1554 Gardiner, who had become Chancellor, summoned Richard Bertie before him. The ostensible reason was a debt alleged to have been due from the late Duke to the King, but the main purpose appears to have been to induce Bertie to promise that the Duchess should conform to the re-established faith. An amusing conversation ensued, which is set out in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, evidently from Bertie's pen, the drift of which was that the Bishop complained of sundry personal affronts he had met with at the hands of the Duchess. 'I pray you,' said Gardiner, 'if I may ask the question of my lady your wife, is she now as ready to set up the Mass as she was lately to pull it down, when she caused in her progress a dog in a rochet to be carried and called by my name? Or doth she think her lambs now safe enough, which said to me, when I veiled my bonnet to her out of my chamber window in the Tower, that it was merry with the lambs, now the wolf was shut up? Another time, my lord her husband, having invited me and divers ladies to dinner, desired every lady to choose him whom she loved best, and so place themselves. My lady your wife, taking me by the hand, for that my lord would not have her to take himself, said that forasmuch as she could not sit down with my lord whom she loved best, she had chosen him whom she loved worst.' Bertie would give no undertaking, and, having himself procured licence to go abroad in order to obtain from the Emperor the repayment of money due to the Duke, he effected the escape of the Duchess on June 1, 1555. Bertie's dramatic narrative of their adventures, printed by

Sir Thomas Wrothe¹ knighte sir henry Nevell² knighte sir

Foxe, is thus summarised by Fuller: 'It would trouble one's head to invent more troubles than they had all at once, and it would break one's heart to undergo but half so many, seeing their real sufferings out-romanced the fictions of many errant adventurers' (*Church History*, viii. 16). They first found refuge at Wesel, where a son, whom they named Peregrine, was born, afterwards celebrated as a military commander in the Netherlands. Here they received a friendly warning from Sir John Mason, English Ambassador in the Netherlands, that Paget had set a scheme afoot to entrap them. They took refuge at Strasburg, and later at Weinheim, in the Rhenish Palatinate. In April 1557, when 'their necessities began to fail them,' they accepted an invitation from Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, 'in the earldom called Crozan, where master Berty with the duchess, having the king's absolute power of government over the said earldom, continued both in great quietness and honour till the death of Queen Mary.' The spelling of the name throughout the contemporary narrative intitled 'A Brief Discourse' is Bartue (see p. 121, n. 1, *infra*); in Strype, *Life of Sir John Cheke*, p. 95, Bertue.

¹ Sir Thomas Wroth, one of the principal gentlemen of Edward VI.'s bed-chamber. 'The King had divers sober and learned men about him, gentlemen of his privy chamber, in whose wise and learned conversation he was much delighted and as much profited. . . . And whosoever of these was in greatest favour with him, surely Sir Thomas Wroth, a gentleman of the West, was one of those that received the largest share of benefits from him, for he not only knighted him, but heaped great wealth, honours, offices and possessions upon him.' A list of the grants of land to him in Middlesex, Essex, Herts, Somerset and elsewhere follows. Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* II. i. 387-9 (Oxford edit. 1822). In 1550 Edward VI. lost ten yards of black velvet to him, which he received by order from the King's wardrobe (*ibid.* 388). He was one of a commission of ten for enforcing martial law in 1552 (*ibid.* II. ii. 3); of another commission for inquiring into the revenues derived from the King's Courts (*ibid.* 207); and of a third empowered to make a general inquiry into the receipts and expenditure of the Crown (*ibid.* 209). He was also interested in theology, being present at private conferences on the Sacrament in 1551 between Sir John Cheke and Feckenham, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's and Abbot of Westminster (Strype's *Life of Cheke*, p. 69, Oxford edit. 1822). It is not surprising that under Mary he took refuge at Strasburg, where he was 'very helpful to those of his godly countrymen among whom he dwelt, and particularly to Bartholomew Trahern, late Dean of Chichester' (*Eccl. Mem.* III. i. 226, 232). He returned home on the accession of Elizabeth, enjoyed considerable favour with the Queen, sat in Parliament, and maintained a great house at Enfield in Middlesex, granted to him by Edward VI.

² Sir Henry Nevell was a gentleman of the Privy Chamber of Edward IV., knighted by him, together with Mr. Secretary Cecil and Sir John Cheke, in October 1551 (Strype's *Life of Cheke*, p. 66). In the following year he was the Court nominee for the representation of Berkshire in Parliament (*Eccl. Mem.* II. ii. 65). He received large grants of church lands in 1551 and 1552 (*ibid.* 229, and II. i. 485). He accompanied the Lord High Admiral Clinton's embassy to France in 1551 (*ibid.* II. i. 506). He was also an ecclesiastical commissioner. He married Elizabeth Bacon, widow of Sir R. Doyle (*Annals*, II. ii. 210).

William Stafforde¹ knight Anthony Meyres² Esquier Edward Isac³ Esquier William Fyeneux⁴ Esquier Rogyer Whetnall⁵ Esquier John Hales⁶ and Jane Wylkyn-

¹ Sir William Stafford, a member of Edward VI.'s Privy Council, was the leading personage after Lord Clinton in the embassy to France (*Eccl. Mem.* II. i. 507). See further p. 129, *infra*.

² Antony Meyres or Meres, Esq., of the county of Lincoln, having been presented for not receiving the Sacrament at Easter 1556, was cited before Cardinal Pole, but fled, and was pronounced excommunicate (*Eccl. Mem.* III. i. 483, ii. 390).

³ Edward Isac esquier of Wel, Kent (Strype is uncertain whether it is Edward or Edmund), had as early as 1532 been an associate of heretics and a friend of Bishop Latimer (*Eccl. Mem.* i. 373). He seems to have been a person of considerable wealth, for in 1550, in conjunction with another, he purchased church lands in Suffolk, Somerset, Devon, London, Cambridge, Cornwall, and Dorset (II. i. 368). He fled to Frankfort about 1554, 'at whose hired house in this town were harboured Richard Chambers and Thomas Sampson, late Dean of Chichester' (III. i. 231). He was one of the principal opponents of Knox, then Minister to the Frankfort refugees, on account of his language against Queen Mary, which was the cause of Knox leaving Frankfort in 1555 (*ibid.* 406).

⁴ William Fyeneux, Esq., of Herne, Kent, son and heir of Sir John Fyeneux, C.J. of the King's Bench 1495-1525, by Elizabeth, widow of William Cleere and daughter of Sir John Paston. William Fyeneux died in 1557, in which year his will was proved. Apparently, therefore, he had returned to England and conformed. (Foss's *Lives*, v. 165; Hasted's *Hist. Kent*, iii. 623, n. 5.)

⁵ Roger Whetnall, Esq., perhaps of Besthorp, Norfolk (Blomfield, i. 497). Thomas and George Whetnall appear as signatories of a letter from the congregation at Frankfort to that at Strasburg on December 3, 1554 (*A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort in the year 1534*; reprinted, London, 1846, p. xxvi).

⁶ John Hales. Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* (Oxford, 1822), vol. II. pt. i. ch. xxi. p. 268, describes the John Hales of Somerset's Inclosure Commission of 1548 as 'clerk of the hanaper,' and after telling us that he was an exile at Frankfort during the time of Queen Mary (*ibid.* III. i. 405) adds that he was replaced as clerk of the hanaper to Queen Elizabeth (*Annals*, I. i. 74). This has been followed by Dugdale and all subsequent writers, including Miss Lamond in her edition of *The Common Weal of this Realm of England* by W. S., ascribed by her to John Hales. Dugdale says of John Hales that he was 'an active man in those days and clerk of the Hamper (an office then of no small benefit), who 'accumulated a great estate in monastery and chantry lands,' and founded a grammar school in Coventry' (*Warwickshire*, ed. 1765, p. 119; cf. Miss Lamond's 'Introduction,' pp. xxi, xxvi, xxviii). Miss Lamond finds confirmation of Strype's statement in the negative evidence that the Acts of the Privy Council show that while payments were made to John Hales, 'apparently in his capacity of Clerk of the Hanaper in 1547 and 1548—the last on February 25, 1549—his name does not appear in the subsequent volumes.' Yet there is no trace of any other person holding the office. Now while it is certain that under Edward VI. a John Hales was clerk of the Hanaper, it is scarcely less certain that this person was not John Hales of Coventry, the

friend of Somerset and chairman of the Commission on Inclosures of 1548-9. The evidence is both positive and negative. We know that John Hales of Coventry took refuge at Frankfort at the accession of Mary (Strype, *Mem.* III. i. 405). He had anticipated trouble in 1550, after the fall of his patron, Somerset, for we find him on January 4, 1551, conveying away the greater part of his large property to trustees, evidently in preparation for flight, doubtless on account of the hostility of Northumberland arising out of his action as commissioner to inquire into inclosures. In August 1553, a month after Mary had ascended the throne, he conveyed away all the rest. These facts we learn from the finding of the jury in 1557 upon the Inquisition into his lands &c. prior to confiscation, at which time the jury returned 'nulla bona' in Coventry or Warwickshire. (MS. R. O. Exch. Q. R. Mem. Roll 338, H. T. 3 and 4 P. & M. (1557), m. 176 i & ii, ii dorso, iii, iii dorso & iv). Miss Lamond shows us (p. xxvi) that in 1550 he was perhaps at Zurich (*Original Letters*, Parker Society, Nos. 99, 100, pp. 188, 189), and certainly at Strasburg in 1552 (Cranmer, *Works*, p. 435, Letter 299). Possibly the fall of Northumberland in July 1553 emboldened him to pay a brief visit to England for the purpose of winding up his affairs in expectation of a protracted exile. Now, if the duties of Clerk of the Hanaper have been correctly set out—'the business of this officer is to receive all moneys due to the king for the seals of charters, patents, commissions &c., and the fees of enrolling. In Term Time he is to attend the Lord Chancellor daily, and at all times of sealing, receiving all charters &c. after they are sealed [put up in leather bags, sealed with the Chancellor's private seal], which are to be delivered to the Controulor of the Hanaper' (T. Sharp, *History of Coventry*, 1871, p. 166, n.)—it is inconceivable that the political enemies of Hales would have suffered him to retain this lucrative office from 1551 to 1557, when his absence from the country afforded them the ready plea that it was impossible for him to perform its duties. Nevertheless, we find among the Exchequer inrolments of 1555 'De compoto Radulphi Sadlyer & Johannis Hales custodum siue clericorum hanapii cancellarie Regis & Regine.' These two, one of them being on the accepted hypothesis absent in Germany, account for the large sum of 5821*l.* 7*s.* 1¼*d.*, which had passed through their hands between Michaelmas 1553 and Michaelmas 1554. In 1556 John Bret, the author of this narrative, was sent to Frankfort to deliver a royal letter commanding John Hales and other refugees to return to England (MS. R. O. Exch. Q. R. Mem. Roll 338, M. T. 3 and 4 P. & M. m. 191). In Michaelmas Term of the same year (1556) the commission was issued to Sir Fulk Grevyle and others to seize all his lands, goods, and chattels in Warwickshire, Leicestershire, and the city of Coventry into the hands of the king and queen (*ibid.* inter commissiones), yet in the following summer, Trinity Term, 1557, we find Sir Ralph Sadler and John Hales, Esquire, described as before, delivering their account for 4089*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.* from Michaelmas 1555 to Michaelmas 1556, and that in the summer of 1557 John Hales, the Clerk of the Hanaper, was still in enjoyment of his office appears from the recital that he and his colleague are accountable for the receipts of 1556-1557 (*ibid.* T. T. m. 92). Pawle or Powle, whom Miss Lamond seems to suppose to have been Hales's successor, is mentioned in this document as the comptroller and supervisor of the office to whom the accounts were rendered. When those for 1556-57 are delivered the clerks are Sir Ralph Sadler and Francis Kempe, gentleman (*ibid.* Roll 339, E. T. 4 and 5 P. & M. m. 4 dorso). If, on the other hand, we turn to contemporary documents, we find John Hales, the friend of Somerset, invariably described as of Coventry, but never as Clerk of the Hanaper.

son¹ wydowe their Maiesties subiects resyding in the sayde parties of beyonde the seas certeyne letters and commaundementes under their Maiestyes pryvy seale haue folowed and executed the same Commission and chardge commytted unto me with my beste diligence in mannour and forme as ensueth. Fyrste upon Wednesday the eighte day

In an Act of Parliament of 1580 'for perfecting of Assurances of certain Lands towards the maintenance of a free gramer schole within the City of Coventry' he is called 'John Hales, late of your said Cyttye, Esq.,' and also 'John Hales the elder.' Lastly, his epitaph given by Strype makes no mention of him as Clerk of the Hanaper (*Annals*, II. i. 352).

But there was a Clerk of the Hanaper of the name, and about six months after the confiscation of the goods of John Hales of Coventry he seems to have vacated his office. John Hales of Coventry was the younger son of Thomas Hales of Hales Place, Halden, Kent. But there was another branch of the family settled at Canterbury, in which the name of John occurs. This branch also, of which the most notable representative was Sir James Hales, the judge, was also well affected to the Protestant party. Now we know that John Hales of Coventry had a nephew John, who inherited his house there, the uncle being unmarried. It is presumably by way of distinction from this nephew that he was called 'Hales with the club-foot.' Whether this be so or not, it is highly probable that the vindictiveness of Mory against the Protestant party would not have suffered the retention of a lucrative crown appointment by the nephew of a leader among the refugees, or by any member of a family more than one of which was known to be sympathetic with heresy. The retirement of the Clerk of the Hanaper six months after the confiscation of the property of John Hales of Coventry, while it marks a line of distinction between the two, is very much what might have been expected under the circumstances. The same clerk who had been deprived would for the same reasons naturally be reinstated under Elizabeth.

¹ One of this name 'that was silkwoman' to Queen Anne Boleyn, 'a gentlewoman not now alive,' is eulogised by Foxe as 'of great credit and also of fame for her worthy doings' while at Anne's Court. It is possible that this is the same Mrs. Wilkinson described by Strype as 'a woman of good quality and a great reliever of good men.' 'Her the Archbishop out of prison advised to escape' (*Mem. of Cranmer*, p. 449). Strype prints the Archbishop's letter at full length in the Appendix (*ibid.* p. 916). She is recorded by Strype as one of those charitable persons who succoured in their need the Protestant prisoners in the King's Bench (*Eccle. Mem.* III. i. p. 223). Among the 'comperta' of Cardinal Pole on his metropolitcal visitation of the see of Lincoln, 'Magistra Wilkinson' is mentioned as having the impropriation of Kimbeltoune (cf. III. ii. 404). She probably died at Frankfort, for on July 25, 1557, Edmond Sutton speaks of her as 'good Mistress Wilkinson off blessed memorie,' and mentions that 'she put Horne and Chambers in truste with the deusinge and makeinge of hir will, whereby she gave to this and other poore congregations of the poore banished Englishmen a Christian liberall relief' (*A Brief Discourse*, p. clxxviii). She left a daughter living at Frankfort (*ibid.*).

of July laste paste before the daye of this certifycat I presentyd theire Maiesties letteres vnder the prevy Seale to Jane Wilkynson wydowe at Franckeforde in Almaigne in the presence of one Chambers¹ John Ade² and William Woodde³ englissmen whiche she receaved as it semyd humblye saieng that albeit her indisposycion and sekene was cause of her comming oute of England to see if she coulde recover her healte at the Bathes in those Countreys, yet considering it pleased the Quenes Maiesty to call her home she wolde repayre towards England with the best spede she coulde, for lothe she wolde be she sayde that any person sholde be combered for her cause. The sayde eighte daye of July and in the same Towne of Franckeforde I the sayde Brett wente to make delyuery of lyke letteres to John

¹ Chambers, *i.e.* Richard Chambers, who 'did in King Edward's days expend great sums of money in charity, which ran in two streams, one towards the supply of such as were students in the universities, and the other towards other godly poor. For he was a great favourer of learning and a friend to the oppressed. In the reign of that king he visited both Cambridge and Oxford, allowing pensions to many hopeful young men there. At Oxford he afforded 6*l.* a year to Mr. Jewel to buy divinity books, and exhorted him to set his mind intensely upon that study. For he did not only relieve the wants of the needy, but greatly edified them by his counsel. And commonly when he was disposed to charity he took a preacher with him, who instructed the receivers of his bounty and admonished the students of their duty; which office Peter Martyr sometimes performed and sometimes Jewel. . . . And the said Chambers, being afterwards an exile at Frankford, continued his good deeds, in helping and succouring the students and poorer sort of the English nation there.' (*Eccle. Mem.* III. i. 225.) He was, with Grindal, selected as agent to the Strasburg exiles to treat with those at Frankfort about the English service book (*id. Life of Grindal*, p. 14). He died in England in 1566 (*Annals* I. ii. 544).

² 'Maister Ade' appears to have been elected in 1557 to an office in the church at Frankfort, but declined to serve (*A Brief Discourse*, p. xcviij). His signature appears as John Ade on December 21, 1557 (*ibid.* cxxxv).

³ 'In the yere of oure lorde 1554 & the 27 off June came Edmonde Sutton, William Williams, William Whittingham & Thomas Wood with their companies to the citie off Franckford in Germany the firste Englishe men that there arrived to remaine & abide' (*A Brief Discourse*). There was another member of the congregation in 1557 named Henry Wood (*ibid.* cxxxiv). In 1556 Thomas Wood separated from the congregation at Frankfort and went to Geneva (T. Fuller, *Christ. Hist.* iv. 221, Oxford ed. 1845). I find no William Wood among the refugees. A person of this name, a baker, of Stroud, Kent, afterwards vicar of Suddenham, was indicted for heresy in 1554, but released (Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, viii. 567, 729).

Hales whiche he refused disobediently to receive saying Minatory and with threates that the Quenes Maiesty had no power to sende proces into those parties nor I to present them as I sholde well perceyve to my paynes er my departure thence. But in effecte after many hotte wordes and meanes used by the sayde Hales howe to have rydde me owte of his doores with the saide letteres I lefte them with hym in the presence of one Sutton¹ his Compaignon Chrystofer Hales² his brother and the said William Wodde englisshmen. And afterwardes I toke the way towardes my lodging. The saide John Hales Sutton and Chrystofer Hales gyрте theyre Swordes aboute them and gotte them to the Consules howse of Franckeforde. To the saide Consull³ the saide John Hales made a greate complaynte howe the Quenes Maiesty contrary to the liberties and lawes of those Countreys hadde sente to vexe hym and others that for theyr refuge and concyens sake were commed thither to flye persecucion in Englande requiring the sayde Consull as well for the conservacion of their Auncyente liberties as that he and others mighte lyve there with safe conscyencys not onely that I the sayde Brett the Quenes Maiesties Messenger

¹ Sutton; cf. p. 119, n. 3, *supra*. Sutton appears, from a letter addressed by John Hales to thirteen persons, members of the Frankfort congregation, on January 26, 1557, to have been one of the principal members of the English Church there. On July 25, 1557, he wrote a circular letter with the object of collecting alms for the relief of the poor English refugees in Frankfort (*A Brief Discourse*, pp. lxxv, cxxxiii, clxxiv).

² Christopher Hales was present in 1551 at the private disputation on the Sacrament between Cheke and Feckenham at Cecil's house (see p. 115, n. 1, *supra*; Strype, *Mem. of Cranmer*, p. 386). Strype, in his *Life of Grindal* (p. 12), mentions Mr. Hales among those who fled to Strasburg in 1553. This is perhaps Christopher, whose name only appears at the end of a list of the principal members of the Frankfort congregation in 1557 (*Brief Discourse*, p. lxxv). He may therefore have migrated thither from Strasburg with the purpose of joining his brother John (see p. 117, *supra*). He does not appear to have been a person of any mark.

³ After searching through A. Kirchner, *Geschichte der Stadt Frankfurt a.M.* (Frankf. 1807, 2 vols.), with the aid of G. W. Pfeiffer's *Repertorium* (Frankf. 1856), I have failed to find that 'Consul' was a title in use. The city was governed by a Bürgermeister and Rath, the latter the 'Councell' of this narrative.

shoulde be compellyd to take again the letteres I had lefte in his house but that I sholde be punysshed for putting in vre her Maiestyes commaundement and furwith arrested. To the arrestment the sayde Consull consentyd and ymmediatly sent an offycer of his to myne Inne to comaunde me that the nexte daye at viij of the Clock I sholde appere afore the Councell in the Towne howse. My requeste to Thoffycer was to bring me at that instante to the said Consules presence for the knowing of his pleasure whiche he dyd accordingly. The Consull after I had tolde hym that I was the Quenes Maiestyes servaunte oppened vnto me in the said John Hales his presence the complayntes he hadde made againste me. I tolde the Consull that me thoughte it no derogacion at all to their libertyes that the Quenes Maiesty my Mistrys shoulde wryte vnto her owne subiectes abyding within theyr domynyons nor no cause why I shoulde be deteyned till the next morninge sythen I came to moleste no subiecte of theirs but to delyuer letteres to Englisshmen from the Quenes Maiesty theyr soueraigne Mistris to theyre great comfortes if godde gaue them grace well and wisely to weye it. After thies and other lyke wordes vsed to the Consull he made the sayde John Hales this resolute aunswere: That sithen he was no subiecte of theirs he colde by no iustyce stay me the said Brett any lenger then I luste abyde neyther wolde he do it for all the prayers or complayntes the saide Hales and his Compaignons coulde make hym. And so the Consull gently dysmyssed me. After this I repayred to the Duches of Suffolk and her husbnde Richarde Barteue which persons resyde in Germany in an olde Castell scytuate upon the topp of a hill nighe unto a Towne of the Palsegraves callyd Weinhem.¹ At that

¹ 'After that Mr. Bartue and the dutches of Sulff. were safely arrived at Wezell in Westphalia, the brute theroff was the cause that moo Englishe people in shorte time resorted thither. It pleased God also that M. Couerdale (after that he had bin withe the king of Denmark) should come to the same Towne, who preached there no longe tyme, till he was sent for by woulgange duke off bypont, to take the pastorall charge off Bargzater, one of his Townes off Germany, at whose comminge to the duke, he made it knowen, bothe to himselff

Towne I arryved on Fryday the xth of July afore mentioned and leavinge my horses there in an Inne I went uppe the hill a good half englysshe myle highe a foote accompanied with myne owne servaunte and a man of the Towne to shew us the waye. When I came afore the Castell gates I founde them faste shutte and a stryplynge lyke an englysshe lakey standing afore them. Of hym I demaunded if the sayde Duches and Barteue were within. The said lackey aunsweryd me yea and had scarsely spoken this worde but one loking oute of a Grate in the gate asked who I was and what I wolde haue. I tolde hym that I wolde gladly speake with the saide Duches and Bartue and that I had letters to delyver them from certayne their fryndes : he demaunde me eftsones my name and I tolde it hym. Then he badde me to tary at the gate and he wolde goe tell the Duches of me. And with that he and¹ Campaignon of his wente a spedy pace towardses the inwarde partes of the Castell. In the meane space whiles they came ageyne wee without the gates mighte heare a noyse of laieng downe stones in the wyndowe of a lyttell Turret over the Gate and casting uppe our eyes wee sawe one or two loke oute as tho they had bene lothe to have ben seene whiche ymmedyatly after began to crye in Frenche kyll them kyll them, with this wee harde allso folkes comming towardses the gate and I began to approche it on the oute syde, when they alofte and to other noble men abowt him off M.B. and the dutches beinge in the Lowe countries. They vnderstandinge the daunger that might come vnto them in those partes, as also calling to remembrance what great curteisie strangers had founde in Englande at the dutches handes, made offre that iff they were forced to remoue or otherwise if it pleased them, they should haue the Castle of Winchaim by Hedleberge within the liberties of Otto Henricus then Palsgrau and a godly Prince, who most gladly (as well appeared) gaue consent to the same. M. Bartue and the Dutches acceptinge this offre, lefte Wezell and came vp to the saide Castle and there continued, till leauinge Germany they traueled towardses the lande off Pole' (*A Brief Discourse*, p. clxxxv). 'The Weinheim vineyard is situate in the environs of the town at the entrance to the romantic valley of the Birkenau . . . and commanded by the old ruined castle of Windeck, remarkable for its cylindrical donjon tower' (Murray, *Handbook to the Rhine and North Germany*, ed. 1886, p. 384). Otto Heinrich, Palsgrave 1556-59, a zealous friend of the Reformation (see *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig, 1887, vol. xxi. p. 713).

¹ Sic.

with a lowder voyce cryed as they had done afore and caste downe a stone. I stode styll And forthwith they caste downe an other stone. My hap was that it missed my heade but it hat me so bigge a blowe on the righte hande that I colde not rule my forefynger and thombe a fortnighte after. And ymmediatly certen of the Duches servauntes russedh oute of the gate with great fearse-nes I wat not howe many so that yt seemed vnto vs highe tyme to retyre thence or to tary there by force. Some caste stones after me and my manne from the stepe hill topp others to the nombre of sixe folowed vs tyll we came into the market place of the Towne afore my lodginge where a lyttle afore my commyng one of the saide Duches men had drawen his Swerde againste my Manne but he wisely toke the howse : that made better for our matters afterwarde. Of a long tyme while I wyste not where my Manne was becommed when fowre of the saide vnrewly persons wolde haue hayled me uppe to the Castell agayne by force : at our struggelinge withoute drawing any weapon dyvers of the Towne began to gether aboute vs in whose presence the englisshe menne cryed to move the people againste me and my Man that we were thevys and papistes commed into those partyes with purpose to cary away the Duches theyre lady or by some secret meane to poyson her and theyr Master favourers of the Gospell and truthe. But in the beste Duche I colde I dyd the people tonderstand that theyr Childisshe exclamacions were false and that I came thither to trye no Matyers with weapon in hande but in a moste honest and iuste cause as they sholde well knowe afterwarde nor to the confusion of their lady as they alleged but rather to her singular comferte and all theyrs that were there yf they beare as became them trewe hartes towardes theyr Country. Whilste the Matters passed in this sorte two of the sayde Duches menne caryed my two geldinges from myne Inne by myne Ostes consent uppe to the Castell and disposed of them at theyre pleasures the space of viij dayes folowing withoute other remedy to be had at their handes. Anone came a

hedd offycer of the Towne callid Kelder¹ in the Duches tonge and in laten Cellarius Principis. The saide lewde Englysshmen reioysed not a lyttle to see hym come who by all lykehod was almoste made to theyr owne lewre. To hym they saide so well as theyr language wolde serve them how the Quenes Maiestie had sent me the sayd Brett thither to moleste their lady and Maister within those domynyons in dispite of the Palsegrave and in contempte of the libertyes of those Countreys. I tolde the sayde Kelder they saide malyciously and falsely of the Quenes Maiesties mening towards the Duches and her husband and allso towards the Palsegrave, for quod I her Maiestie hath wryten vnto them suche letteres as are rather a demonstracion of favour towards them her Subiectes then of any displeasure and that her Maiestie ment nothing les then despyte towards the Palsegrave. I saide euerybody mighte esely perceave in that she knewe not at my departure oute of Englande whether the sayde Duches was within the precynctes of his Countreys or no. The kelder axed me wherfore I made hym not prevy to the matyer er I wente to delyuer the letteres whereunto I the sayde Brett aunsweryd hym that me thought it nedeles sithen they were the Quenes Maiesties subiectes to whome they were directed and that by delyuery of them no preiudyce coulde happen to any person in those partyes. But those wordes stode me in litle stede at that tyme for furthwith as tho I had bene half condemned my cause vnharde the saide Kelder commytted me and my Manne that then was commed to me ageyne to the custody of certen keepers to tary in an Inne till his returne agayne from the saide Duches and that he had knowen her pleasure in that had passed. All thies thinges happened in the presence of the moste in the Towne besydes many brave bragges and depe othes whereby those Englysshemen declared theyre meaninge towards me theyr disobedyent and harde hartes towards the Quenes Maiestie

¹ I have failed to find the word Kelder either in Graff, *Allhochdeutscher Sprachsatz*, or Wilhelm Müller, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, or in M, Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*.

and her honorable Councell. Amongest them were two englisshmen surnamed Turpyn¹ and Goslinge² an other was callid Chrystofer³ the others I coulde not heare them ones named in all theyr talke together but one of them had dwelt in Dertmouth. But to retorne to the Keldar ageyne, after he had consulted the mattyer above in the Castell with the sayde Duches and Bartue lyttle lack of three howres he came to me ageyne where he lefte me and with hym Barlowe⁴ and three or fowre englisshmen mo. The saide Barlowe tolde me the sayd Brett that⁵ was commed to speake with me on the behalf of the sayd Duches and Bartewe who had gevin hym in charge to knowe whether the letteres I broughte were from the Quenes Maiesty or not and whether they were letteres Myssyves or processe, for if they were letteres he sayde they wolde receive them but in case they were proces they wolde not receive them sithen they were within an other Prynces

¹ There were two refugees of this name. One of them, John Turpin, belonged to the Frankfort congregation in 1557, and nothing further is known of him (see *A Brief Discourse*, p. cxxxiii). The other was Thomas Turpyn, an exile for religion at Arrow in Switzerland in 1559 (Strype, *Ann. Ref.* I. i. 154): perhaps the person of the same name who was ordained deacon by Archbishop Grindal in 1560, and priest by Pilkington, Bishop of Durham in 1561, on which occasion he was described as 'born in Calais' (*Life of Grindal*, pp. 73, 74).

² Goslinge. This was perhaps the 'Gosling, a merchant of London,' dwelling at Leigh, Essex, who assisted the Duchess to escape (Foxe, viii. 572).

³ Christofer. I can find no particulars of this person.

⁴ William Barlow, successively Bishop of St. Asaph, St. David's, Bath and Wells, and Chichester. He was brought up as an Austin canon at St. Osyth's, Essex, and at the house of the Order in Oxford, and became prior of Bromehill, the suppression of which house caused him to write violent attacks on Wolsey and the Church generally. After retracting these he ingratiated himself with the Court, and especially with Anne Boleyn, who procured him the priory of Haverfordwest. He now became an ardent reformer, and in 1536 was made Bishop of St. Asaph, from which he was almost immediately translated to St. David's. In the same year he was ambassador to Scotland. During the reign of Edward VI. he threw himself zealously into the reforming movement, and in 1548 was translated by Somerset to the see of Bath and Wells. In 1550 he married. He was imprisoned in the Tower on Mary's accession, but was either released or escaped to Germany, where, according to Fuller, he became minister to an English congregation at Embden. This document throws a new light upon his movements. Upon Elizabeth's accession he returned to England, assisted in the consecration of Parker, and in 1559 was made Bishop of Chichester, where he died in 1568 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).⁵ *Sic.*

domynions. And for my vsinge at the Castell he sayde bothe his lady meaninge the Duches and Master Bartewe were discontentyd with theyr servauntes. I aunsweryd hym that my receaving at the Castell was in dede very symple as he mighte well perceave by the signe I had broughte thence on my hande and moche otherwise then I thoughte it sholde have bene for I perswaded myself that I sholde haue had to do with good and lovinge Englysshemen and not to haue had suche repulse and villany at theyr handes. Concerning the letteres I sayed they were sente from the quenes Maiestie to the Duches and Bartewe. The sayd Barlowe pressed me eftsones to knowe whether they were letteres or proces. I saide they were letteres and gyven me for letters and for letteres wolde I delyuer them, he wolde that I sholde have made delyuery of them to hym I tolde hym he sholde pardon me for I was comaunded to delyuer them according to theyr direccions. He sawe that by no meanes he colde wreste oute of me whether the letteres were proces or not. He began to threaten me saieng that I mighte well repent myself for my presumpcion in taking vpon me suche an enterprise in case my letteres were founde to be proces. He wolde haue had me to haue shewed them to hym for seinge them he saide he wiste well whether they were proces or not but I ment nothinge les. Then he saide I showlde not chuse but shewe them er my departinge. Myne aunswer was that I trusted it sholde be by reason and iustice if any require the sighte of them at my handes. Yes sir quod he that shall you shewe them together with the Comyssyon how you comme into thies partyes to troble any body heare. Then he callid the said Kelder and tolde hym that it sholde be requisite to see what writings or letters I had and what I had to shewe for myself for what wiste they he sayde whether I was the quenes servaunte or not, or fledd oute of Englande for treason, or rather sente into those partyes for a spye. The saide Kelder as one allmoste redye to gratyfye hym and his Company in all thinges commaunded me in the Palse-graves name that I sholde shewe my Comyssyon and make

delyuery to hym of all suche letteres as I had. I tolde hym I had no comission but letteres of quenes Maiestye wrytten in my favour suffycient to shewe that I was her highnes servaunte and no suche mannour of Manne as the saide Englysshmen surmysed I shulde be which letters I laid afore hym and they were redde. By those letters the Kelder said he sawe I was the quenes Maiestyes servaunt and then comaunded me ageyne to make delyuery of all the other letters whiche I had broughte with me. I made hym aunswer that I had but very fewe letteres and those wryten unto the quenes subiectes and therfore as me thoughte no reason why he sholde requyre the same at my handes nor therin do the Palsegrave any pleasure or servyce. The kelder saied he demaunded not the letteres of me to shew them to any person but because he wolde be sure I sholde deliuer none of them till the Palsegraves pleasure were perfectly knowen therin. The said Englysshemen required hym so earnestly to see the letteres that there was no remedy but I muste nedes deliuer them and beinge redy to ryffle me I sayde to the Kelder I wolde obey the commaundement he had made in the Palsegraves name sithen he was his Justice in that place hopinge that the letteres sholde be showyd to no man withoute the Palsgraves specyall commaundement and in my presens. Then went I to my man that had a Boxe in his bosome with fyve of the Quenes Maiesties letteres well bounde uppe in it. I toke it forthe saienge that therin were all the letteres I broughte with me requiringe the saide Kelder that I moughte set my seale upon the same and that it were not openid but in my presence as afore he had promysed me. The kelder gave me his hande and sayde that that sholde be performyd. And so I delyuerid the Boxe into his handes surely sealyd. The said englysshemen requested that I mighte be warely loked vnto for writinge or goinge away which they easely obteyned but so colde not I to haue my horses ageyn that the Duches menne had ledd away so I remayned as a prysoner with my kepers in an Inne where I was very evell lodged and entreatyd till Tewesday

the xvth day of Julye when newes were sent me that the Palsegrave had sent for me ij menne at Armes to come to heydelberge a Towne where moste comenly he resydeth two good leagues from Weynhem. I sent to pray the said Kelder that he woulde sende for my horses to the Castell that I mighte ryde in company of those horsemen that came for me. But this was in vayne for the Kelder sent me worde and afterwardes broughte me the lyke mesage hymself that I muste goo thither a foote with my kepers in company of the horsemen. I prayed hym that at leaste I mighte haue horssees for my money or elles a wagen otherwise I assured hym they sholde dragge me thither for I wolde not go so farre a fote. At laste a carte was gotten with muche adoo and after the Kelder had delyueryd me the Boxe agayne with letteres as he receavid it I departed towardes Hedelberg with sixe that wayted upon me. At Heydelberg I was deteyned agein xvij dayes so evill lodged and used as I had bene afore through the continuall seutes of thenglisshmen whose dryftes were altogether that I mighte have bene stayed there three or fowre Monethis after they had ones obteyned that I sholde deliuer none of the quenes Maiestyes letteres to any englisshman within the Palsegraves domynyons and that I sholde paye for all my charges and my kepers the tyme of my deteynment. This sentence was signified vnto me by two doctours of the Palsegraves Councell as the Palsegraves resolute Aunswere in my cause the xxijth daie after I the sayde Brette was fyrste stayed at Weynhem vnto the saide sentence. The saide doctours added that the Palsegrave had taken the saide Duches and her husbande in fidem tutelam et proteccionem suam and that therfore he wolde defende them and thothers that had submytted themselves to hym the sayde Palsegrave. But when the Englissh menne sawe that nether by Reason lawe or friendship I colde be stayed any lenger in theys partyes they wente aboute bothe with fayre meanes and menaces to perswade me contrary to my duty and allegiaunce not to make reporte of my service and what for the same had behappenyd me but to accepte some

condicion in those Countreys vsing for theyre chief instrumentes in that behalf one Tremayne¹ and an other Englisshman whose name I take to be Saule² sometye a scholler in Magdaleyne Colledge in Oxforde. The said Tremayne and Saule attempted also to suborne my servaunte with some offres and promises vnto hym to provide well for his wife in England and that they mighte have more commodyus accesse to comen with my saide servaunte in thies mattyers my horses were sent me from the saide Duches Castell to Heydelberg that he mighte kepe them. When all theyr practises toke no place they thoughte eftsones to have used me with force whiche I mighte well perceave by certayne that lay in wayte to do me displesure after I was at liberty and therefore departing from Heydelberg aforesaid the laste day of July I toke the way not towards Wormes as I pretendid for to haue done but through the forest towards Spynes. Afterwardes for better excucion of my chardge and to eschewe the perilles entended againste me I toke my waye towards Italy by the Postes and arryved at Venyce on Sunday the xvjth daye of Auguste where I vnderstode that sir Henry Nevell was returned into Englande that sir William Stafforde was deade in Geneva and that Maister Feneux was departed from Padua towards Englande the thirde day of Auguste laste paste in company of Goodolphyn³ the lorde of Bedfordes manne and of ij others Englisshmen thone callid Bodley⁴

¹ In April 1556 Richard and Nicholas Tremain, being implicated in a plot against the Government, were proclaimed traitors, but contrived to escape (*Eccles. Mem.* III. i. 487).

² Arthur Saule was a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, 'which of all the rest in that University seemed most addicted to the Gospel' (*Eccles. Mem.* III. i. 82). Gardiner, as visitor, expelled fourteen or fifteen members of the Foundation, beginning with the President (*ibid.*), Saule being one of them. He took refuge at Strasburg, and appears as one of the signatories of a letter to the congregation at Frankfort on November 23, 1554 (*A Brief Discourse, &c.*, p. xxiii). He returned to England on the accession of Elizabeth, and was one of those who subscribed the Articles of 1562.

³ Goodolphyn. I have failed to find any particulars of this person.

⁴ John Bodleigh was an exile in Geneva for religion (*Eccles. Mem.* II. i. 233), forming one of Knox's congregation, and being 'no small staie as well to that

thother a merchante mans sonne of London. Havinge certeyne intelligens of thies things at Venyce and Padua I repayred towards the partyes of Germany agayne and the laste day of August came to Strawsbourg where as I was informed I thought to have founde sir Thomas Wrothe. In the sayde Towne I made myne abode till Thurseday then folowing but all that while colde I here no worde of Sir Thomas Wrothes being there nor that he bene sene in the saide Towne in xiiij dayes afore my comminge thither. The day afore my departure thence I understode of a practyse of certen that entended to do me some displesure. Who were the chief procurers therof I watt not but a frencheman that came with the Archeheretik of Geneva which frencheman was well acquaynted in sir Anthony Cookes¹ howse in Strawsebourg semed most diligent to procure that a Riter kneght and his men by all likelyhod redy for hyer to do any mischief sholde haue rydde me oute of the way for making reporte of my former service so muche was it stromaked² that I had done in those parties. And albeit I soughte diuerse wayes howe to have bene rydde of the Rytters company yet colde I not be shefted thereof. Whether I wente by water or lande his purpose was still towards me for on a Thurseday whiles I was there perceaving my departure by the Postes towards Spyes he sent his man on the way afore and I being afterwards skarsely ij flightes shote from the Towne tho I rydde so faste as my poste horses wolde suffre me yet dyd the Ryter easely passe afore me as he that rode of a very good horse with ij dagges at his saddle bowe and ij others behinde hym. When I sawe that and consydered all the cyrcumstaunces afore leste I myghte seme rather desperat then diligent in my busynes I torned back agayne to the saide Strawseburge

churche as to others' (*A Brief Discourse*, p. clxxxv). He took the chief part in the Geneva version of the Bible (*Life of Archbishop Parker*, p. 412). He was father of the celebrated Sir Thomas Bodley.

¹ Sir Anthony Cooke (1504-76), tutor to King Edward VI. He fled to Strasburg in 1554. He was the father of the celebrated five learned ladies. He returned home after Elizabeth's accession, and sat for Essex in the House of Commons (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

² *Sic.*

with my guyde that doubted no lesse than I doubted the perill that mighte haue happenyd to me upon the waye. I obteyned easely safecondyte of the lordes of the saide Towne and departing the same daye from thence the next day folowing I arryved safely at Spyres. Duringe the tyme of myne abode at Strawesbourge I colde not set eye of two englisshemen together till the morning of my departure then mighte I see foure in a company watching by all likelyhode whether I went by water or lande. Those spoke to the Ryter and saluted hym as he rode out of the Towne gates to folowe me. One of them as my Guyde tolde me was Maister Cookes sonne¹ an other I toke to be his servaunte for after my retorne into the Towne I sawe hym goe into Master Cookes house. Oute of the same house I met with one callid Becon² excepte I be greatly disceaved. He amongst other thinges had tolde me I mighte perhappys repent myne enterprise, and that he wolde not haue bene in my cote for a Thowsand poundes to haue commed to deliver any letteres in those parties. Passing by Wesell I harde that Maister Whetnall was with the saide Duches of Suffolk and the same conformed to me agayne at Franckforde. Maister Isac was departed from Franckforde by water towardses the lowe Countreis in company of those that came to the said Frankford with Mistris Wilkinson three or iiij dayes afore my commynge thither. Of Mr. Meyres I colde none other newes but that he was mette after Witsonday betwene Strawsebourghe and Basell. At my being at Basell I coulde learne no tydinges of hym. This is all that I dyd or coulde dooe in the xecucion of my sayde chardge and commission and therof my bounden duty is to certify your lordeshipp by thies presentes signed and seald with my hand and Seale the xviiijth day of October in the yeare of the raignes of our soueraygn lorde and lady the king and quenens Maiestyes Thirde and 1556 Fourthe.

¹ Sir A. Cooke had four sons, Anthony, Richard, Edward, and William (*ibid.*).

² Becon, Thomas, D.D. (1512-67), a refugee at Strasburg from 1554-58 (see *ibid.*).