

Cardinal Philip Howard OP, Rome and English Recusancy

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Philip Howard remains an enigmatic character — clearly influential in Church and State in his time — but a shadowy figure in the history of English Recusancy. Yet his career opens a window on all the major problems which dogged the English Catholics in the 17th century — episcopal government, relations between religious and secular clergy, loyalty to the Stuarts, the ramifications of the Oates plot and, of course, finance. He played a crucial role in the most turbulent period of Recusancy between the Restoration and the Revolution Settlement, yet because he spent the last six months of his life destroying papers his influence is not easy to assess. Howard was the subject of a lengthy unpublished biography by his later confrere Father Godfrey Anstruther OP. This was a project which began in 1955 when Anstruther was living at Santa Sabina in Rome and was Spiritual Director at the Venerable English College. He wrote to a friend, “... I have been rereading Palmer’s *Life of Howard*’, and I never realised before how uninspired it is. It has all the matter but no literary merit and, alas, no references. Shall we do a new one?”² His new one occupied much of the rest of his life and it was a source of frustration that he was never able to get it published. This paper draws heavily upon it and I am grateful for the late Father Anstruther’s exhaustive research and to Father Bede Bailey OP for access to his files at the Dominican Archives in Edinburgh.

Philip Howard’s early biography is easily told. He was the great grandson and namesake of St Philip Howard who died in the Tower in 1589 and grandson of the art collector Earl Thomas Howard who trawled Italy with Inigo Jones in the early 17th century. Philip was brought up in the Church of England, but did his Grand Tour in the company of his grandfather and encountered his Catholic grandmother in Antwerp. Her influence and that of a Dominican, Father John Baptist Hackett, introduced the young Howard to the practice of Catholicism. Despite fierce opposition from the rest of his family, not only was Philip Howard received into the Church but clothed as a Dominican friar. The

earl did all in his power to prevent this, including accusations of undue influence and gaining the notice of Barberini the Cardinal Protector of England, and the Pope himself. Despite the ferocious and constant efforts of his family, Howard was professed as a Dominican in S Clemente in Rome in October 1646 and ordained priest at Rennes in 1652. The first part of his adult life was devoted to the Order to which he was committed and to the revival of its English Province. His greatest achievement in this respect was the founding of a house at Bornhem in Flanders for English Friars and a convent for the Second Order nuns eventually settled in Brussels. Much of his time was spent crisscrossing the channel, raising funds and encouraging the new foundation of which he was made Prior. In 1660 he was made Vicar General of the English Province of the Order.

Soon after the Restoration and the marriage of Charles II to Catherine of Braganza, Philip Howard began the public career in England which was to draw away much of his time and attention from the Order. His uncle Lord Aubigny was responsible for the Catholic ceremonial of the Royal marriage and Howard was the only English witness at the private ceremony. As a result he was appointed as the Queen's chaplain and took up a career at Court from 1662. This did not prevent his continued interest in his Order and as early as 1663 he was investigating the formation of another Friary in France. He continued to function as Prior of Bornhem.

Obviously, Philip Howard became known at Court as something of a public figure, especially after succeeding his uncle as Grand Almoner to the Queen in 1665. This post gave him charge over her oratory at Whitehall and a state salary. Pepys, on a visit to Court in 1666 described him as a "good natured gentleman" with whom he "talked merrily of the differences of our religion".

The Restoration raised again possibilities for the English Catholics of an environment in which ecclesiastical administration might be regularised. The first half of the 17th century had seen the Recusant communities riven by rivalries and disputes over who should exercise oversight after the loss of the hierarchy. In the 1620s William Bishop and Richard Smith had been appointed as Vicars Apostolic and England was placed under the care of the newly formulated Congregation of Propaganda Fide. The Vicariate effectively lasted only until Smith went into exile in 1631, after which there was no bishop in England. The eponymous Bishop William Bishop lived only nine months after his arrival in England in July 1623 but his only significant governmental act was to have ramifications long after. He instituted a Chapter of twenty canons to advise him and preserve jurisdiction in case of his death. The

Chapter was *de facto* recognised by Propaganda, but the formal Bull of erection of the Chapter was never given. Richard Smith not only continued it, but gave it the right to elect its own canons and dean if the Vicariate was vacant. Smith tried to exercise jurisdiction from France, but the unconfirmed Chapter took on greater significance and after his death in 1655 it assumed jurisdiction over the Church in England. At no point did Rome ever grant it formal status and jurisdiction, which created ticklish problems over clerical appointments and faculties.

The Chapter pressed, not only for its own formal recognition, but for the appointment of a Bishop in Ordinary, not a Vicar Apostolic, to succeed Smith. A Bishop would be expected to work closely with a Chapter; a Vicar Apostolic could in theory override what was essentially an uncanonical body.

Howard became drawn into this delicate problem when in 1668 John Leyburn, the new secretary to the Chapter suggested to his fellow canons that Howard be their nomination as Bishop. The London members who knew him were enthusiastic but others were less so, for the reason that they were lukewarm about a religious in control of secular clergy. Thus Howard was dragged into the perennial bitter secular v regular wrangle, although he had the virtue in some eyes of at least not being a Jesuit. However, the Internuncio of Brussels, on whom Rome largely depended for reliable information on England, knew Howard well through his Dominican foundations and commended him to the Pope for the appointment. The matter was virtually settled by mid 1670 and it was confirmed by a 'particular congregation' in September of that year that Howard would be appointed Vicar Apostolic for England and Scotland. According to Anstruther there was, "no serious doubt outside the Chapter that he was to be a Vicar Apostolic and not a Bishop."³ Bossy shared this view that no one seriously thought that they would get ordinaries.⁴

In April 1672 Howard was secretly appointed titular Bishop of Helenopolis, with a view to taking up the post as Vicar Apostolic, though it does not appear that he was ever officially informed of his appointment as Vicar Apostolic. Certainly the Chapter, who feared the nomination of someone who would prejudice or even destroy their style of government, were convinced that Howard was on their side in wanting the appointment of a canonical Bishop in Ordinary. They were immovable in their demands. Apart from the question of confirming the Chapter's existence, the arguments were overwhelmingly in favour of a Vicar Apostolic with limited powers which could be gradually augmented until the English Church was ready for a formal hierarchy. In the event, because of the obstructiveness of the Chapter, but mainly

because Charles II was forced to withdraw his support, the appointment of Howard foundered. The Chapter probably never knew that he had been appointed on the strict basis that he did not in word or deed recognise the authority of the Chapter.

In 1675 Howard left England on a routine visit to Bornhem. He was never to return. The Dominican friar, John Baptist Hackett, who had been such an influence on his early years was now the Pope's confessor and had used his position to advance his protégé. On Trinity Sunday 1675 a visitor arrived at Bornhem to announce to the astonished Howard and his tiny community that the Pope wished to confer on him the dignity of Cardinal. Among those who accompanied him from Bornhem to Rome were John Leyburn, the Secretary of the Chapter who had advocated Howard as Bishop and was to become his secretary and eventually the next Vicar Apostolic himself, and Howard's uncle William Stafford, executed in 1680 as a result of the Oates plot. On his arrival in Rome and elevation to the College of Cardinals, Howard was given the title of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere but in 1679 when it became vacant he was transferred to the great Dominican church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva. He was placed on the staff of a number of Congregations, including those of Bishops and Regulars, the Council of Trent, Propaganda Fide, Sacred Rites and Relics.

As early as February 1676 the English Chapter were writing to Howard to remind him of the need for a Bishop, convinced that they now had a friend in high places. "... As for the other principle of a Bishop, When your Eminence sees it as seasonable to be moved for, our brethren humbly desire that no less authority be accepted than the Bishop of Chalcedon [Richard Smith] had, but if possible that it may be so absolutely ordinary that it may edify, not prejudice our body and so worded that bad friends may not trample upon it as they did upon his. This is all we conceive necessary to hint at present."⁵

This was to be only the beginning of a long and tiresome correspondence between Howard and the Chapter over the question of a Vicar Apostolic or a Bishop. For the time being in England the whole matter had been dropped. The furore over the Declaration of Indulgence and the Oates Plot were making any changes in English Catholic circumstances unlikely. Howard himself was denounced by the plotters, allegedly being nominated as the new Archbishop of Canterbury in the event of a successful Catholic coup. Instead of which unlikely development, he found himself in March 1680 appointed Cardinal Protector of England and Scotland in succession to Cardinal Barberini who had died the previous year. Thus he was uniquely placed to influence affairs in England, but also to explain situations of great

fragility to the Papacy and (it was hoped) moderate and guide the policies of Charles II and his headstrong brother. He was well aware of the problems and the disunity among Catholics in England, as he wrote in response to one letter of congratulation on his new post, "If we were all united in hearts and minds as we are involved in the same persecution, what we suffer from the malice of our adversaries would be recompensed by the comfort received from one another, but the scandals arising from disagreements among ourselves...do unfortunately deprive us of this advantage."⁶

As Anstruther ruefully commented, "The office of Cardinal Protector of England in those troublous times was no sinecure..." He went on to describe the responsibilities involved. "The Protector had very wide powers and control over all the English colleges on the Continent and was consulted at every turn by the various congregations on points touching the realms under his protection. Now that the Protector was himself an Englishman and a member of Propaganda his influence was unusually strong. All the powers he had clamoured for while in England had now fallen into his lap, and with them a new caution and perhaps a sense of hopelessness that rendered them virtually ineffective."⁷

The office of Cardinal Protector gave Howard authority over the English College in Rome, and no student could be admitted without his approval. How far he delegated that power to the Rector is unclear, but his name is always mentioned as the authority for each student's admission and later letters from the exiled Queen in the 1690s were sent directly to Howard on behalf of young men whom she commends to him as possible seminarians. One decree made by him in relation to the English College survives. Anstruther suggests that perhaps this was the only one necessary and the college was in good order. Another, less sanguine view, is that it was typical of others and is the only one to have survived in textual form. Either way, it suggests a close interest in day to day affairs. The decree of 13 December 1680 insists that morning meditation be made in common and that one of the priests be present to ensure that this is carried out. This insistence on common prayer (particularly if it was accompanied by other reforms) could well reflect Howard's enthusiasm for a particular style of clerical life.

Howard came into contact, possibly through the Royal family, with Bartholomew Holzhauser, a Bavarian secular priest and mystic who met Charles II during the King's exile. He was only prevented with difficulty from embarking on the English mission himself despite total ignorance of the country and its language.⁸ Holzhauser evolved a plan to foster a pattern of life for secular clergy by the formation of an "Institute

of Clerics Living in Common.” He was told by Rome that his ideal was so obvious as to need no official sanction, but under Innocent XI the Institute was canonically established by two Papal bulls of June 1680 and August 1684 — the first only weeks after Howard’s arrival in Rome. Howard saw the Institute as an admirable tool for restoring morale and unity among the English clergy. Its primary object was to have two or more priests living in common in the same house, without female attendance and in subjection (without the usual exemption for Regulars) to the Ordinary of the Diocese. In the Constitution of the Institute oddly no mention is made of the Divine Office as the form of common prayer, but emphasis is placed on the rosary, litanies, popular prayers and at least an hour of communal meditation (as insisted on by Howard at the English College). Anstruther, without indicating what the evidence was, mentions that, “there is evidence that he contemplated imposing it on the English College in Rome, but nothing came of it.”⁹ It seems that he introduced elements of it and certainly did his best to advocate it among the clergy already on the mission.

In 1684 Howard issued his only pastoral letter as Cardinal Protector to the English clergy and it is devoted wholly to the Institute. He expresses concern about the way of life of the English clergy, who were subject to three principal dangers: first that of idleness, second that of familiar everyday contact with women, third the uncontrolled administration of property, especially ecclesiastical property. He therefore commends the Institute to the secular clergy as the best solution.¹⁰ It was not an overwhelming success, although it must be said that the ideal of a common life continued to reemerge among the secular clergy and the Institute was used as a model by William Bernard Ullathorne in founding his diocesan seminary in the 1860s.

For Howard the lack of support for his introduction of the Institute was only part of the larger dispute over the organisation and government of the English clergy. His advocacy of the Institute was a further irritant in the already tetchy relations with the Chapter of the English secular clergy. Howard’s support and the opposition of the Chapter to a plan based on the assumed existence of a Bishop in Ordinary are telling. The Protector hoped to move towards Bishops in ordinary in good time but a Bishop linked to the Institute was not in the Chapter’s interests. It was assumed by the Chapter that the Cardinal Protector was wholeheartedly in support of their aims and they were dismayed to find otherwise and that perhaps living in Rome had given him a different perspective. The question of episcopal appointment does not reappear in correspondence until 1684 when it reveals a renewed lack of sympathy between Howard and the Chapter. In the summer of 1684 he issued his pastoral on the

Institute and sent Thomas Codrington (his chaplain and secretary) and John Morgan to England to act as its advocates. They were both members of the Institute and had been appointed by the President of it to be procurators for the Institute in England. The Chapter were not impressed; a memorandum exists describing the Institute as, "at present an impossibility and at best a future contingency whose very possibility is highly unlikely."¹¹ It goes on to anticipate that the Institute would contribute to "breaking the common bond of unity in the clergy by creating a separate body" and that it would be "inconsistent with the common interest of the Chapter." The general tone of the memorandum is that the Institute would create disunity, undermine the Chapter and add to disharmony rather than alleviate it. What underlay these comments was the belief that it would be a rival body which would reduce the influence of the Chapter.

In November of the same year, as if to reinforce the Chapter's self-conscious defence of its rights, formal letters were sent to Howard on the issue of episcopal government. Acting, as they believed, canonically *in sede vacante*, they addressed Howard, expecting his agreement, on the need for a Bishop in Ordinary. After listing their nominees, the Chapter requested that, "nothing be done inconsistent with the *esse* and *bene esse* of our Chapter." Howard's reply discomfited the Chapter, as he bluntly regarded their insistence on a Bishop in Ordinary as having, "more of nicety than substance in it." In effect he argued the Roman view that, while the jurisdiction of a Vicar Apostolic would be ordinary in effect, it was not yet appropriate, "without incurring greater inconveniences and dangers" to appoint a Bishop in Ordinary. The Chapter should be content with the authority vested in a Vicar Apostolic. However the real blow came when he addressed their comments on the standing of the Chapter and spelt out the reality that it continued to have no formal canonical standing. "I have had, concerning this particular, several discourses with persons whose influence is strong upon deliberations of this kind and from them I find reason to conclude that your Chapter, upon the grounds it hath hitherto stood and doth at present stand, will not be allowed. It is here looked upon as illegal in its erection for want of authority in the erector and no less illegal in its continuation. Of this substantial defect they remain so persuaded that nothing alleageable in your behalf can be capable to remove the persuasion. It is not a Chapter they except against, but a Chapter standing upon such grounds as yours doth stand."¹²

The Chapter, not surprisingly, were furious, not only at the dismissal of the issue of ordinary jurisdiction as a nicety, but even more at Howard's candid statement of the position of the Chapter in the

official view of Rome. They hoped lamely that his personal view might be different and launched a fruitless history and defence of the Chapter.¹³ James II shared the Chapter's distaste for the choice of a Vicar Apostolic and when John Leyburn was appointed in September 1685 he was displeased (despite the fact that both the King and Chapter favoured Leyburn personally). Leyburn had been secretary of the Chapter, yet now had to swear an oath not to recognise it. He and the three additional Vicars Apostolic gradually superseded the administrative role of the Chapter, which became little more than a gentlemanly clerical club.

Howard had played a major part in breaking the power of the Chapter. He was the prime mover in securing a rapid appointment as Vicar Apostolic when the opportunity presented itself. His secretary Leyburn, whose selection he doubtless guided, had wrested power in the Chapter from John Sergeant. He was the leader of the "long, skilful but increasingly desperate rear guard action against the inevitable: a defence of the vanishing secular clergy vision and of the historic and constitutional claims of the Chapter."¹⁴ It is no coincidence that Sergeant was the leading opponent of the Secular Clergy Institute, since, as Bossy says, "Under his leadership the Chapter became a machine less for demanding ordinaries from Rome...than for obstructing any efforts to introduce a different kind of regime."¹⁵ Howard's rise to power spelt the end for the Chapter and Sergeant's vision of English clerical organisation, rendering his opponent in Bossy's view "an anachronism." Despite this, Sergeant continued to oppose all diminution of the Chapter's role. As late as 1697, after Howard's death, Sergeant wrote a passionate tract against the publication of the Constitutions of the Secular Clergy Institute, based on the memorandum drafted in 1684. At the heart of it was the now familiar argument that the Institute would undermine the Chapter and had "sowed the seeds of perpetual dissension between the separating party and the standing body."¹⁶ Howard's advocacy of the Institute may have reached even beyond the grave. Perhaps out of piety for the memory of Howard who had sheltered his sons in Rome and seen one professed as a Dominican, the aged poet John Dryden wrote to the Secretary of State in 1697 in defence of the publisher of the Constitutions. As a result no action was taken against the publisher, who was also Sergeant's publisher and may even have been informed on by him.

Dryden's sons were not the only refugees in Rome to be grateful to Howard. As Cardinal Protector of the College of Convertibi (founded in 1540 for the instruction of convert Jews and Muslims) he opened its doors to converts from Protestantism. Pilgrims who had outstayed their

welcome at the English College were often housed there. Others who received kindness were Lady Theophila Lucy, whom he received into the Church in 1681, Charles Wigmore and William Rixon both Worcestershire gentlemen who fled for their lives in 1679 under the shadow of the Oates plot, and Gilbert Burnet, later Bishop of Salisbury. He recorded, "...as he sheweth all the generous care and concern for his countrymen that they can expect from him, in so many obliging marks of his goodness for myself, as went far beyond a common civility, that I cannot enough acknowledge it."¹⁷ Anstruther remarked, with a sardonic edge, "If the office of Cardinal Protector had involved no more than the relief of needy English Catholic exiles, then Howard was fully adequate for the task."¹⁸ There were others who thought him more useful.

The accession of the Catholic King James II was to greatly alter Howard's role in Rome. After the three days of feasting and celebrations hosted by Howard to mark the accession in March 1685, he moved his official residence into the new palace adjoining the English College. Here he furnished the state rooms, which he had designed and had built, with rich hangings given to him by Cardinals Altieri and Barberini. "In May a crowd of students, doubtless of the English College, with drums and tambourines and other musical instruments and supported by a number of prelates, affixed the arms of England over the main door of Howard's new home."¹⁹ As the arms still quartered those of France it caused a minor diplomatic incident! There was to have been a solemn High Mass and Te Deum in the English College chapel on 27 May, with Madama Martinozzi, the Queen's aged grandmother as principal guest. Anstruther records inimitably what happened next. "Alas, a few days before, she went to visit Howard's Flemish Ursulines and, convent floors being what they are, she fell from the top of the stairs to the bottom and was in no mood for a Te Deum. The celebration was postponed till the following Sunday and was attended by Howard and some thirty other prelates; the old lady rallied sufficiently to grace the occasion and then took to her bed and died."²⁰

As already noted, the new King pressed quickly for the appointment of Bishops and was annoyed to get only one and a Vicar Apostolic at that. It was rumoured that Howard was to go with Leyburn as extraordinary Papal Nuncio, but in the end Archbishop Fernando d'Adda was sent. It was not long before Howard began to fear for the future of Catholic England under the reckless James and his advisers. His advice was for "slow, calm and moderate courses", but, "he saw that violent courses were more acceptable and would probably be followed."²¹ Despite his long standing service to the Stuarts, which continued until his death, Howard now entered a phase of

misunderstanding and rough treatment by his royal patrons. It was not long before James II placed Howard in a delicate position by insisting on the appointment of a royal ambassador to Rome. His choice according to Anstruther was "not felicitous". Lord Castlemaine was chiefly known for being the husband of Charles II's favourite mistress and was described by the French Ambassador in London as "rather ridiculous".²² D'Adda was received, at the King's insistence, as an official Papal Nuncio although he had not been sent as such. He therefore expected the same dignity to be granted to Castlemaine, which caused considerable embarrassment to the Papal court and to Howard. Castlemaine's status was still not settled when he arrived at the gates of Rome and Howard was obliged to meet him and offer him hospitality at the English College. The situation and the individual clearly irritated the mild mannered Howard who tired of the college rector whispering with the ambassador in late night clandestine meetings and threatened to break his neck over the college staircase. Within four days the ambassador was installed in a palazzo of the Doria-Pamphili in the Piazza Navona and the rector was on his way home to England.

The main purpose of Castlemaine's embassy was not matters of Church and State, but the personal wishes of James and Mary of Modena, which was to embarrass the Cardinal Protector further and to severely strain his loyalty. Mary was anxious to see her uncle Rinaldo D'Este made a Cardinal and all the time she was Duchess of York Howard had pressed D'Este's cause whenever possible. The pressure, including direct letters from London to the Pope increased after the accession. No reply or explanation was ever forthcoming, out of delicacy. The fact was that the Prince Rinaldo was the heir presumptive of the childless Duke of Modena. Thus it would be unbecoming if the Duke died childless, for the Cardinal to resign in order to marry and perpetuate the line. Castlemaine raised the matter at only his second Papal audience on 3 May and conveyed the delicate Papal feelings to James. A report of 25 May, which Anstruther quotes without source, says, "The English Ambassador, too impatient to await the return of his secretary with the reply from London from his King, and finding himself short of money, has decided to leave at once. To colour his departure with a more decorous pretext, he tells everybody that he has taken this resolution because he cannot stay here without loss of face as long as the Pontiff refuses the graces he asks for, and in particular the cardinalate for Prince Rinaldo."²³ There was more to it than that. Finding that diplomacy had failed, he resorted to bullying and hectoring the Pope and threatened to leave Rome if his requests were not granted. The Pope responded by courteously reminding him that May was a cooler

month for travel than June!

Eventually in August Howard persuaded the Pope to give way on D'Este. Despite his consistent loyalty to the Stuarts, Howard's policy of "slow, calm and moderate courses" did not accord with that of the King. Where Howard was content to see Vicars Apostolic appointed until the time was right for Bishops in Ordinary, James wanted Bishops at once and more than one. Where Howard counselled the private and discreet exchange of royal and Papal representation, James wanted the full panoply of ambassadorial pomp and ceremony. By the end of 1687 the King had lost confidence in Howard and had largely entrusted his affairs to D'Este — a cruel irony. James pressed the Pope to make D'Este 'co-Protector' and used him in all important matters. Howard continued to be useful in small exchanges but he was no longer the trusted intermediary. However, as his appointment was a Papal one he remained Cardinal Protector till his death. He also retained his devotion to the King and Queen, after as well as before 1688. Gradually, trustful relations were reestablished between the Cardinal and the exiled Court when Howard's influence was needed. The new Pope elected in October 1689 (Alexander VIII) refused to deal with D'Este and over the winter of 1690-91 relations between the Stuarts and Howard returned to something like the old days of trust and confidence. Nevertheless, even in his letter of condolence to the Pope on Howard's death, James could not resist pressing for D'Este as his successor. Howard's loyalty had never wavered. D'Este did precisely what was feared, succeeded as Duke of Modena and resigned his red hat in order to marry.

Howard died in his palace adjoining the English College in the early hours of 17 June 1694. Following the lying in state he was buried in his titular church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva.²⁴ The bulk of Howard's estate went to the Dominican Order and the will resulted in an acrimonious law suit between the English College and the Order. It was claimed that the 10,000 scudi spent by Howard on the English College site was a loan not a gift. The counter claim made by the college was for the loss of income incurred from the demolition of shops to make way for the new buildings. No clear outcome to the case has ever come to light. However it was acknowledged on both sides that Howard intended the new buildings to be incorporated into the college on his death. He built, as he planned, with an eye to a better future. His palace was scarcely built for personal ostentation, as he spent most of his time living as a friar at Santa Sabina. The palace was to give standing to the English College and to keep in the mind of Rome that the English Church was not merely a hole-in-the-corner remnant. As he spent the last months of his life destroying most of his papers, it is impossible to

know what Howard's hopes were for the Stuarts and for a full restoration of Catholicism in England. His secretary Philip Ellis OSB, as loyal himself to the Stuarts, in writing to inform James of Cardinal Howard's death was in no doubt that he had died of a broken heart and that the Stuarts bore some of the blame. "I do not question but he will be more assisting to your Majesty where he is, and that his prayers will put an end to these sufferings of his King and country which his heart could no longer bear, but broke, to make way for the soul to take its flight towards heaven and be your agent there. It is certain grief was the principle cause of his death and he had no other cause for it besides that which relates to your Majesty."²⁵

- 1 CFR Palmer OP, *Life of Philip Thomas Howard OP*, (1867)
- 2 Archives of the English Province of the Order of Preachers. (Arch OP) Anstruther Papers. Anstruther-Bullough I April 1955.
- 3 Anstruther MS Life of Philip Howard (Arch.OP) Chapter 5, 110–11 [Chapter references are given as the pagination of the MS is unclear] Hereafter Anstruther MS.
- 4 J Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570–1850* (1975), 67.
- 5 Westminster Archdiocesan Archives (WAA) Volume 39 No 103 Chapter-Howard 25 February 1676.
- 6 Anstruther MS Chapter 7, 4.
- 7 Anstruther MS Chapter 7,13.
The tone of Anstruther's assessment of Howard is generally lukewarm bearing the implication that he was not really up to the job.
- 8 T Birrell, Holzhauser and England. *Three Episodes, Grenzgaue Literatur und Kultur im Kontext* (Amsterdam 1990), 453–63.
- 9 Anstruther MS Chapter 7, 22.
- 10 WAA Volume 39 No 215 Howard to the Clergy of England and Scotland (printed).
- 11 WAA Volume 39 No 225 Observations by the Chapter on the Rule of the Institute (1684).
- 12 WAA Volume 39 No 231 Howard-Perrot 19 January 1685.
- 13 WAA Volume 39 No 255 Draft letter Chapter-Howard.
- 14 Bossy op cit, 67.
- 15 Ibid 67– 8.
- 16 J Kirk, *Biographies of English Catholics* (1909), 50–51.
- 17 G Burnet, *Some Letters Containing an account of what seemed most Remarkable in Switzerland, Italy etc.* (Amsterdam 1686), Letter 4, 231.
- 18 Anstruther MS Chapter 7, 50.
- 19 Anstruther MS Chapter 8, 3.
- 20 Anstruther MS Chapter 10, 4.
- 21 G Burnet quoted in Anstruther MS Chapter 8,17.
- 22 Anstruther MS Chapter 8,13.
- 23 Anstruther MS Chapter 8, 33–4.
- 24 The tomb is not easily visible, being one of a group of stones set in the floor behind the high altar.
- 25 Anstruther MS Chapter 8, 67–8.