

SUMMARY: The document below contains the answers of Philip Howard (1557-1595), 13th Earl of Arundel, eldest son and heir of Oxford's first cousin, Thomas Howard (1538-1572), 4th Duke of Norfolk, to interrogatories put to him on 24 December 1583. For ease of reference the questions (taken from TNA SP 12/164/52, ff. 88-9), have been placed in italics before Howard's answers in the transcript below.

The proximate cause of Howard's interrogation appears to have been the flight to the continent of Charles Arundel (d.1587) and Thomas Paget (c.1544-1590), 4th Lord Paget. According to Camden's *Annals* (see STC 4496), Oxford's sometime friend and later bitter foe Charles Arundel fled England in the company of Lord Paget soon after the arrest of Francis Throckmorton (1554-1584) on 13 November 1583. Once Arundel and Paget arrived in France, Camden says they claimed to have been disgraced and alienated from the Queen's favour by the 'subtle practices' and 'frauds' of Leicester and Walsingham, a common complaint among the English refugees in France, and one with which the author of the *Additions to Leicester's Commonwealth* (1585) agreed entirely insofar as Leicester was concerned. He wrote:

Neither will I now speak (partly for the reason before alleged and partly because I am not yet sufficiently advertised of the matter) of his malicious and violent persecuting of my Lord Harry Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, and of Mr Charles Arundel, the Queen's near kinsman and sometime in great reputation and credit with her, being two personages honourable in divers degrees and much favoured and esteemed in court, and yet he keepeth one of them, as I am informed, in prison, and hath constrained the other to leave his country and to live an exile to maintain his liberty.

When Charles Arundel and Lord Paget arrived in Paris, the English ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford (1552-1605), who had his own reasons for animosity towards Leicester, kept Arundel and Paget under observation, but could find no evidence of treason. His attempt to persuade the French King to send Arundel, Paget and other refugees back to England met with no success. Apart from a trip to Spain in the autumn of 1586, Arundel remained in France for the next three years, during which time he was thought to be both a spy and a double agent. He died in Paris in 1587. Stafford suspected that he had been poisoned.

For a letter dated 22 December 1583 (12 December 1583 Old Style) written by Juan Bautista de Tassis, the Spanish ambassador in France, to King Philip II of Spain mentioning the arrival in Paris of Charles Arundel and Lord Paget, see Paris Archives K.1561. De Tassis states that both men had secretly apprised him of their arrival and had tendered their duty to King Philip. Lord Paget's younger brother, Charles Paget (c.1546-1612), had been living in exile since 1581.

It should be noted that the anonymous author of the *Additions to Leicester's Commonwealth* refers to Charles Arundel (d.1587) as 'the Queen's near kinsman'. The relationship alluded to is that Charles Arundel's mother, Margaret (nee Howard) Arundel,

was the sister of Henry VIII's fifth Queen, Katherine Howard, who was for a time Queen Elizabeth's stepmother.

In addition to being a 'near kinsman of the Queen', Charles Arundel (d.1587) was a kinsman of Philip Howard. Both were descendants of Thomas Howard (1443-1524), 2nd Duke of Norfolk, and his first wife, Elizabeth Tilney (d.1497). Philip Howard was the great-grandson of the 2nd Duke's eldest son and heir, Thomas Howard (1473-1554), 3rd Duke of Norfolk, while Charles Arundel was the grandson of the 2nd Duke's second son, Lord Edmund Howard (d.1478-1539). Charles Arundel was therefore a second cousin of Philip Howard's father, Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk. Moreover Charles Arundel's aunt, Mary Arundel (d.1557), became the second wife of Henry Fitzalan (1512-1580), Earl of Arundel, whose daughter by his first marriage, Mary Fitzalan, married Thomas Howard (1538-1572), 4th Duke of Norfolk, and was the mother of Philip Howard.

Oxford was also connected to the Howard family, being a first cousin of Philip Howard's father, Thomas Howard (1538-1572), 4th Duke of Norfolk, and his brother, Lord Henry Howard (1540-1614), who is mentioned in the fourth answer below as having brought Philip Howard a message from Mary, Queen of Scots.

The quarrel between Oxford, Lord Henry Howard and Charles Arundel in December 1580 which weakened the Oxford/Howard alliance at court and eventually resulted in the flight from England of Charles Arundel in 1583 was thus a family affair.

Sir Matthew Arundell (c.1532x4-1598), mentioned in the third answer, was Charles Arundel's elder brother.

The Lady Margaret referred to in the 15th answer was Philip Howard's sister, Margaret (d.1560-1591), the wife of Robert Sackville (1560/61-1609), 2nd Earl of Dorset.

LM: 24 Decembris 1583

Th' examination of the Earl of Arundel to our interrogatories

1 What conference there passed between him and the Lord Paget & Charles Arundel before their going out of England, and who were present thereat?

1 To the first his Lordship answereth that he saw not the Lord Paget a month or thereabouts before his departure beyond the seas, nor Charles Arundel in 15 days before his going. As he thinketh there passed no speeches or conference between his Lordship and the Lord Paget and Charles Arundel but of ordinary matters, and that Charles Arundel, the last time of his being with his Lordship, had no speech with him, but came in company with his nephew, Matthew Arundell, who would have put a man to his

Lordship at that time, which he refused, at which time Edward Carell [Caryll?] and certain of his Lordship's servants were present.

2 By whom he knew first that the Lord Paget and Charles Arundel fled out of the realm?

2 His Lordship never heard that the Lord Paget and Charles Arundel were fled or had any intent to fly but at the court after they were departed.

3 What secret meeting was there at any time within these two months between him, the Earl of Northumberland, and Charles Arundel and a third person?

3 There was never any secret meetings between his Lordship, the Earl of Northumberland, Charles Arundel or others. He saith that within 3 or 4 days after the Earl of Northumberland's coming to London the last term he was once at the Earl's house, where he found either Sir Matthew or Charles Arundel, but which of them he remembereth not, and whosoever it was, he stayed(?) not in the house after his Lordship came in. He came only to visit the Earl, and had no conference with him but of ordinary matters.

4 What messages or letters have passed at any time between the Scottish Queen and him, and specially within these two years, and whether she did not give him the title of son?

4 There never passed any letters between the Scottish Queen and his Lordship at any time, nor any message but one brought to him by the Lord Henry, his uncle, about 10 or 12 years sithence, which message Mr Secretary knoweth, as he thinketh, and saith that he knoweth not that ever she gave him the title of son but in that message brought him by his uncle.

5 Whether one Bailliffe did once serve him, and what is become of the said Bailliffe, and whether he knew not that the said Bailliffe was a Jesuit?

5 He confesseth that Bailliffe did heretofore serve him, and was put from him about a year and more. He knoweth not what is become of him sithence. His Lordship being informed that he was a priest, sent him to the Bishop of Chichester, from whom he received answer that he found him not to be a priest, but backward in religion, upon which advertisement his Lordship put the said Bailliffe away, sithence which time he never heard of him or did ever relieve him.

6 For what causes Champion and Duffield, his chaplains, were removed from him?

6 Champion and Duffield are yet his Lordship's chaplains. Champion went from his Lordship to reside on a benefice in Norfolk which his Lordship bestowed on him. Duffield was lately with his Lordship in his house until he was now lately restrained within these 9 days.

7 Who preferred Thornly to him?

7 Thorneley is his Lordship's chaplain, and was put to him by the Lord Bishop of Sarum [=Salisbury]. He hath been with his Lordship in house more than two years.

8 What messages hath passed between him and the French ambassador at any time within these two years?

8 There hath passed no messages between his Lordship and the French ambassador at any time, as he remembereth, concerning any matter of moment nor otherwise.

9 Whether he gave not the French ambassador warning that he should beware of certain strangers or stranger for that they repaired to certain Councillors not well affected to the Scottish Queen?

9 He never gave warning to the French ambassador of any such stranger or person to any such effect.

10 When he saw last one Hill, and how long he hath known him, and by whose means I(?) was made known to him?

11 Of what religion the said Hill is, and what is become of him, and when he saw him last?

10, 11 He knoweth Hill. He is a gentleman of the West Country. His Lordship saw him about the beginning of the last term. Hill came into(?) Sussex with Charles Arundel about summer was 12 months, and his Lordship being made acquainted that Hill was a man [] not noted(?) sound in religion, will[ed] him to forbear his company.

12 Whether he hath not been made acquainted with the resort of certain Jesuits and seminaries to the Lady, his wife?

12 He never heard of any Jesuit or seminary priest that ever came to the Lady, his wife, or resorted to his Lordship's house.

13 Whether he know not one Knotte, a seminary?

13 He knoweth not any such man by the name of Knotte.

14 Whether he never had speech with one Heywood?

14 He never saw Heywood in his life, to his knowledge.

15 Whether he never was acquainted with a certain purse sent to his wife containing certain holy(?) graines(?) and papers etc.

15 His Lordship never heard or knew of any such purse etc., but within these 8 days one Fetherstone, his man, declared to another of his servants in his house that he should be examined for such a purse, and was in fear to be committed to prison about the same, and that Fetherstone should say that he first heard of that purse by a man of my Lady Margaret's, his Lordship's sister, in which purse, as Fetherstone did say, there should be beads & Agnus Dei.

16 When he heard anything of Charles Paget?

16 His Lordship never heard from Charles Paget by letter, message or otherwise sithence his departure out of England, which was about 2 or 3 years past.

Arundell

Endorsed: 24 Decembris 1583, th' examinations of the Earl of Arundel