

SUMMARY: According to William Camden (1551-1623) in his *Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum Regnante Elizabetha* published in 1615, Oxford's distant kinsman and foe Charles Arundel fled England in the company of Thomas, Lord Paget, soon after the arrest of Francis Throckmorton 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, 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.*

The English ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford, 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. The Latin transcript below is taken from Camden's *Annals* at <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/camden/>. The English translation which follows is taken from the first English translation of Camden's *Annals* by Robert Norton (d.1635), published in 1630 under the title *The history of the most renowned and victorious Princess Elizabeth, late Queen of England* (STC 4500).

5. Quo tempore Scoti haec contra suum regem pro Elizabetha (ut prae se ferebant) tam adverso fato susceperunt, eodem Angli nonnulli non minora, nec meliori quidem successu, contra suam reginam pro Scotorum regina moliti sunt. E quibus primus erat Franciscus Throckmortonus, filius natu maximus Ioannis Throckmortoni iustitiarum Cestriae, qui non ita pridem Leicestrii artibus de gradu deiectus, et mulctatus eo quod (si in his iuris peritorum non me fallo) finem sive transactionem iudicalem ex authentico sive originali carie corrupto descriptam in quibusdam suppleisset, et non cum omnibus in eodem lacunis exhibuisset. Franciscus ille in suspitione incidit ex literis ad Scotorum reginam interceptis. Simul ac ille in custodiam datus quaedam fateri coeperat, Thomas baro Pagettus et Carolus Arundellus aulicus solum clam verterunt, et in Galliam se subduxerunt, qui cum aliis Romanae religioni devotis graviter ingemiscentes inter se conquerebantur reginam malis Leicestrii et Walsinghamii artibus ab ipsis immerito abalienari, se contumeliis et ignominii indignis affici, singularia fraudis genera

excogitari, tendiculas occultas poni ut ut laqueis laesae maiestatis, velint nolint, improvidi irretirentur, nec domi spem salutis superesse ullam. Et certe ad explorandos hominum animos subdolae artes fuere adhibitae, literae ementitae sub reginae Scotorum et profugorum nominibus clam submissae, et in pontificiorum aedibus relictas, emissarii ubique ad colligendos rumores et verba captanda dispersi, vana deferentes admissi, plures in suspicionem vocati, et inter eos Henricus comes Arundelliae domi se continere iussus, eius uxor Thomae Shirleio in custodiam data, Guilielmus Howardus comitis frater, et Henricus Howardus eorum patruus ducis Norfolciae frater, de literis a regina Scotorum a Carolo Pagetto et de Mopo quodam tunc ignoto saepissime examinatus, cui vix praesidio erat innocentia prudens. Nec huiusmodi quidem artes, et prona credulitas vana censenda, cum de principis salute timeatur. Nefanda sane pontificiorum in reginam iam proruperat malitia, libris enim editis exhortati sunt reginae famulas idem in reginam committere quod Iuditha in Holofernem cum laude fecerat. Author non deprehensus, suspicio incidit in Gregorium Martinum Oxoniensem, virum Graece Latineque perquam eruditum; de Cartero librariolo qui imprimendos curavit, supplicium sumptum.

6. Cumque isti reginam ut crudelem passim traducerent, illa quae prosperam sui memoriam relinquere inprimis studuit, cognitoribus in pontificiorum causis ut efferate immanibus, et honori suo iniuriis indignanter succensuit, usque adeo ut illis visum fuerit necessarium se scripto divulgato excusare. Quo protestati sunt mitius cum sacerdotibus quam pro meritis actum fuisse, nullam de religione quaestionem factam, sed tantummodo de perniciosis in patriam et principem machinationibus ex vehementi suspicione, argumentisque et indiciis probabilibus. Campianum nunquam ita tortum fuisse quin protinus ambulare et confessionibus subscribere valuerit, Brianto vero pervicaciter detrectanti dicere aut scribere, quisnam arcana apud eum deprehensa scripserit, cibum negatum fuisse donec scripto peteret. At haec reginae minime satisfecerunt, quae cognitores tormentis et iudices supplicii abstinere iussit; et non ita post septuaginta sacerdotes, quorum aliqui capite damnati, et singuli legum periculis illaqueati, ex Anglia deportari mandavit. Inter quos praecipui nominis erant Gaspar Heywoodus insignis illius epigramatarum filius, qui primus Iesuitarum Angliam ingressus, Iacobus Bosgravius etiam a societate Iesu, Ioannes Hartus prae caeteris doctissimus, et Edwardus Rishtonus ille qui impie ingratus, in principem cui vitam debuit, publicatis scriptis malitiae virus illico evomuit.

7. Baronem Pagettum et Arundellium in Gallia appulsos sedulo observavit Edwardus Staffordus reginae apud Gallum legatus, quae tamen moliebantur rimari non poterat. Egit ille nihilominus cum Gallo ut illi, Morganus, et alii Angli in principem et patriam machinantes e Gallia submoverentur. Responsum autem tulit, Si quid in Gallia machinarentur, regem ex iure in illos animadversurum, sin in Anglia quid machinati fuerint, regem non posse de iisdem cognoscere, et ex iure agere. Omnia regna profugis esse libera, regum interesse ut sui quisque regni libertates tueatur, imo Elizabetham non ita pridem in suum regnum Mntgomerium, principem Condaeum, et alios e gente Gallica admisisse, et hoc ipso tempore Segurium Navarri legatum novis rebus in Gallum studentem in Anglia haerere.

5. What time the Scotts with such adverse fortune undertooke these things against their King for Queene Elizabeth (as they pretended), the same time some Englishmen attempted no lesse, and with no better successe, against their Queene for the Queene of Scotts. Of whom the principall man was Francis Throkmorton, eldest sonne of John Throkmorton a Justice of Cheshire, who not long before, had by Leicesters cunning dealing beene put out of the Commission, and fined for that (if I be not deceived in these Lawyers tearmes) he had in some things supplied or filled up a Fine or Judiciall concord written out of the the Authenticke Originall which was worne out, and had not exhibited it with all the defects of the same. This Francis had fallen into suspition by meanes of a letter to the Queene of Scotts, which was intercepted. No sooner was he committed to custody, and had begunne to confesse some matters, but Thomas Lord Paget and Charles Arundell a Courtiour, privily fled the land, and withdrew themselves into France, who with others devoted to the Romish Religion, grievously bewailed and complained amongst themselves that the Queene was without their desert alienated from them through the subtill practises of Leicester and Walsingham, that they were unworthily disgraced and ignominiously used, singular kinds of frauds were invented, privie snares layed, that they might, whether they would or no, though improvident be intangled in the snares of high treason, and that there was at home no hope of safety. And certainly to grope mens mindes there were used some subtile devises indeede, counterfeit letters were privilly sent under the names of the Queene of Scots and the fugitives, at least in Papistes houses, spies were sent abroad every where to gather rumors, and lay hold of words, reporters of vaine things were admitted, many called into suspition, and amongst them Henry Earle of Northumberland and his sonne, Philip Earle of Arundell, was commanded to keepe his house, his wife committed to Sir Thomas Shirly's custody, William Howard the Earles brother, and Henry Howard their uncle, the Duke of Norfolke's brother, were very often examined about letters from the Queene of Scots and from Charles Paget, and about one Mope then unknowne, and hardly could his prudent innocency protect him. Neither yet are such cunning devises and light credulity to be accounted vaine, when there is feare of the Princes safety. Certainly there brake forth at this time an horrible malicious practise of the Papists against the Queene. For they sete forth bookes, wherein they exhorted the Queenes women to commit the like against the Queene as Judith had done with commendation against Holofernes. The author was not found, but the suspition lighted upon Gregory Martin an Oxford man, very learned in Greeke and Latine. Carter a bookeseller was executed, who had procured them to be Printed.

6. And whereas these Papists here and there traduced the Queene as cruell, she (who was most carefull to leave an honorable and unspotted memory of her selfe) was very highly offended with the Examiners in Papists causes, as inhumanely cruell to them and injurious to her honor, insomuch as they thought it necessary to excuse themselves by a publique writing. Wherein they protested that the Priests were more favourably dealt withall then they deserved. That they were never once questioned for Religion, but onely for dangerous practises against their Prince and Country, upon vehement suspicion, and probable arguments and evidence. That Campian was never racked in such sort but that hee was able presently to walke and subscribe his confessions. But Briant, obstinately refusing to speake or write who it was which wrote those secret matters found upon him,

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was denied food till he asked it by writing. But these things did not satisfie the Queene, who commanded the Examiners to forbear tortures, and the Judges to refrain from putting to death. And not long after 70 Priests, which were some of them condemned and some in danger of law, shee commanded to bee carried out of England; amongst whom these of chiefest note were Gasper Heywood sonne to that famous Epigrammatist, who was the first of all the Jesuites that came into England, James Bolgrave also of the society of Jesus, John Hart the learnedest of all the rest, and Edward Rishton that impious ingratefull man to his Prince, to whom he ought [owed] hislife; yet soone after he set forth a booke wherein he vomited up the poyson of his malice against her.

7. The Lord Paget and Arundell being come into France, Sir Edward Stafford the Queenes Embassadour there diligently observed them, yet could by no meanes discover what they attempted. Hee dealt nevertheless with the French King that they, Morgan, and other English men, which were practising against their Prince and Countrey, might be removed out of France. But he received this answer, That if they attempted any thing in France, the King would punish them according to law. But if they had attempted any thing in England, the King could not take cognizance thereof, nor proceede agains them by law. That all kingdomes were free for fugitives; and that it concerned Kings to maintayne every one of the priviledges of his owne kingdome. Yea, that Queene Elizabeth herselfe had not long since received into her kingdome Montgomery, the Prince of Condey, and others of the French nation; and that Segury the King of Navarr's Embassadour lay in England in this very tyme, practising to move new trouble against the French King.