

SUMMARY: The documents below are interrogatories to be put to Charles Arundel, compiled shortly after he and Lord Henry Howard had turned themselves in to the authorities after having fled on the night of 25 December 1580 to the house of the Spanish ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza (see Archivo General de Simancas, Leg. 835, ff. 121-4).

The first interrogatory indicates that the authorities suspected collusion among Howard, Arundel and Southwell:

Imprimis, what conference was had between you, the Lord Harry, Francis Southwell, and in what sort did you combine in consent for the answering of such accusations as you supposed should be laid against you?

Interrogatories 10-20 below are virtually identical to interrogatories suggested by Thomas Norton (1530x32-1584), lawyer for the Stationers' Company and co-author of *Gorboduc*. For Norton's interrogatories TNA SP 12/147/4, f. 5.

In a letter dated 30 December 1580 to Sir Christopher Hatton (c.1540-1591), Norton suggests that 'the gentleman in restraint', i.e. Charles Arundel, be examined concerning two treasonous books published almost a decade earlier, in 1572. Norton's letter is here reproduced in full for ease of reference (see BL Add 15891, f. 79):

May it please your Honour, without all displeasent humour, and specially without the base disposition to afflict the afflicted, but only of true zeal to her Majesty's service, I am bold to inform you that long since I have seen a book written in French intituled Le Innocence de la Tres Illustre Royne etc., in the end whereof is a treatise touching the cause of the Duke of Norfolk written to the defamation of her Majesty and of his peers and of some special persons of her Highness' Council. This book is there pretended to be written in French by a stranger to England, and not by an Englishman, for speaking of England he saith 'vostre pais', & 'vostre Royne' and suchlike, and yet in truth it is written by an Englishman, as by Robin Goodfellow and Goodman Gose [=Goose?] and an overslipped title and otherwise, as I am able to prove. The whole course is very seditious and defamatory to her Majesty, her Council and nobility. He chargeth the Council with treason, and her Majesty with abandoning herself to be abused, to the disturbing of Christendom, to the maintenance of rebels, to the robbing of princes. It may be that your Honour will think it good to inquire the author, and not unfit to examine the gentleman now in restraint. This book is not only an Englishman's, but also originally written in English and translated into French. Mr Doctor Hammond is well acquainted with his style, if it please you to understand his opinion of it. Your Honour may also send for Mr. Dalton, and ask him whether the same party have not used, at Mrs. Arundell's, to maintain open disputations in defence of papistry, and challenged Mr Dalton and others in that case upon wagers. There goeth also underhand abroad an English treatise written wherein her Majesty's ancestress is termed base in contempt, the Queen is threatened with rebellion of nobility, some great persons are charged that under her Majesty's favour they have, as it were, tyrannized over the people. If the book be his,

it is not good. Out of these books great matters of charge may be gathered to the author. It were pity he should be untruly burdened with them, but greater pity that he or any should carry such things clearly. And so I leave to trouble your Honour any longer. At London the 30th of December, 1580.

Your Honour's humbly, Thomas Norton

The tenth interrogatory below refers to one of these books, *L'innocence de la tres illustre, tres-chaste et debonnaire princess, Madame Marie Royne d'Ecosse*, published by Francois de Belleforest in Lyons in 1572.

The eleventh interrogatory refers to the second book mentioned by Norton, *A Treatise of Treasons*, published at Antwerp (or Leiden?) in January 1572.

The following entry from the British Library online catalogue says that *L' Innocence* was written in response to the French version of *De Maria Scotorum Regina* by George Buchanan (1506-1582). To it was added a French translation of the first part of *A Treatise of Treasons*, which was itself a reply to *Salutem in Christo* by R.G.:

L'innocence de la tres illustre tres-chaste, et debonnaire princesse, Madame Marie Royne d'Escosse. Ou sont amplement refutées les calomnies faulces ... publiées par vn liure secrettement diuulgué en France, l'an 1572 [i.e. the French version of George Buchanan's "De Maria Scotorum regina totaque ejus contra regem conjuratione historia"] ... Plus, vn autre discours auquel sont decouuertes plusieurs trahisons ... perpetrées par les mesmes calomniateurs. [Attributed to François de Belleforest and to John Leslie, Bishop of Ross. Pt. 2 is translated from pt. 1 of "A Treatise of Treasons against Q. Elizabeth" and is a reply to "Salutem in Christo" by R. G.]

As noted by Simon Adams, *A Treatise of Treasons* defends Oxford's first cousin, Thomas Howard (1538-1572), 4th Duke of Norfolk, and is highly critical of 'two Catilines', Oxford's father-in-law, William Cecil (1520/1598), Lord Burghley, and Cecil's brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Bacon (1510-1579), the Lord Keeper.

. . . A Treatise of Treasons, which was published on the eve of the trial of the 4th Duke of Norfolk for his involvement in the Ridolphi plot of 1571. Its immediate purpose was to defend Norfolk and Mary, Queen of Scots, from the charges against them. To do so it associated Mary's cause with that of the Catholic Church and the ancient nobility. The link was forged by a common threat: the attempt to eliminate Mary from the succession 'under the title of a third family' by 'two Catilines'. The two are not named, but there are sufficient personal allusions to identify them clearly as Lord Burghley and Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper.

See Adams, Simon, *Leicester and the Court; Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 48-9, available online:

Thomas Norton clearly suspected Charles Arundel of the authorship of *A Treatise of Treasons*, and the authorities gave sufficient credence to his suspicions to examine Arundel on his knowledge of the authorship of this 'treasonous' book.

The remainder of the interrogatories charge Arundel with a number of other treasonous activities.

For Arundel's answers to the interrogatories below, see TNA SP 12/151/48, ff. 107-8.

Persons mentioned in the interrogatories in the order in which they appear or are alluded to include:

- Lord Henry Howard (1540-1614), later Earl of Northampton
- Francis Southwell (d.1581)
- Jean de Simier, Baron de Saint-Marc
- Henry Lyte
- Francois-Hercules (1555-1584), Duke of Alencon, commonly referred to by the title 'Monsieur'
- Henri III (1551-1589), King of France
- Thomas Howard (1538-1572), 4th Duke of Norfolk
- Mrs Arundell
- James Dalton
- Richard Stevens
- Thomas Somerset
- Charles Paget (c.1546–1612), Catholic conspirator
- Sir Thomas Kitson (1540-1603)

f. 105r

Imprimis, what conference was had between you, the Lord Harry, Francis Southwell, and in what sort did you combine in consent for the answering of such accusations as you supposed should be laid against you?

2. Item, whether have you been reconciled to the Church of Rome, and at what time and place? And who were reconciled with you, and how many others do you know so reconciled?

3. How often have you heard Mass and been confessed within these 5 years last past, and in whose house, and in what company?

4. Item, what intelligence have you had in Ireland with any of the nobility, gentlemen or others of that country? What letters have you written thither or received thence? What conference have you had with any of that country here in the realm, or with any other of this realm touching causes of Ireland?

5. Item, what conference have you had with certain obstinate and disobedient persons of Cornwall and Wales?

6. Item, who they were that did give Monsieur de Simier secret intelligence of the Queen's dealings? And whether you know not when [sic?] that by making a mark on a stone in Lyte's garden did give knowledge for the said Simier that he had advertisement to give him of importance, and therefore he should by that mark know how to keep a time and hour of meeting?

7. Item, who it was that told Monsieur de Simier that he should have a stab with a dagger? And likewise who it was that upon this cause would have borrowed a privy doublet of the Earl of Oxford?

8. Item, who they were that used to take her Majesty's letters and other private advertisements out of her pocket when her Majesty was gone to bed? Then who had the perusing of the same, and how often you have been at the sight and hearing of such letters and advertisements, and in what presence and company?

9. Item, whether do you know of any offer made to the Earl of Oxford from Monsieur that if he would forsake the realm and live in France, Monsieur, with the help of the King, his brother, would better house him, and furnish him with better ability and revenue, than ever he had in England? And whether upon this offer was there any jewel or other thing given to the said Earl?

10. Item, whether did you ever read a book written in French intituled *De l'Innocence de la Tres Illustrre Royne de Escosse*?

f. 105v

11. Item, whether you have not read a book or treatise touching the cause of the Duke of Norfolk?

12. Item, whether the same treaty be not written to the defamation of her Majesty and of the peers and of some special persons of her Majesty's Council?

13. Item, whether you know by whom the said book was written, and whether he were not an Englishman or not that wrote it?

14. Item, whether you know any man that was consenting either to the writing or devising of the same book?

15. Item, whether you do know if the said book were originally written in English and afterward translated into French?

16. Item, whether you have not maintained open disputations or no at Mrs Arundell's in defence of papistry?

17. Item, whether you have not challenged at any time one Mr Dalton(?), a lawyer, in suchlike cases upon wagers?

18. Item, whether you have not seen or perused at any time another English treatise wherein her Majesty's ancestors are termed as bastard or base in contempt?

19. Item, whether in any treatise you do not remember that her Majesty is threatened with the rebellion of her nobility?

20. Item, whether you do not remember that in the said treatise some great persons are charged to tyrannize over the people under her Highness' favour?

21. Item, whether doth any Jesuit say Mass for any man before reconcilment to the Church? And whether did not Stevens and other so declare unto you before they would suffer you to hear their Mass?

22. Whether have you at any time spoken or heard it spoken that for the great mislike the people have of this religion, Wales and Ireland would revolt?

23. What dealings have you had with Thomas Somerset and Charles Paget, or either of them, and with whom of her Majesty's have they intelligence, and to what end?

24. What prophecies have you lately seen or heard which might concern the contempt, reproach and overthrow of our most gracious Sovereign, whom our Lord God bless forever?

f. 106r

25. What papers and printings did you and the Lord Henry burn together? What did you at Sir Thomas Kitson's, and whether did you hear any Mass there, and whether did you burn any writings there? Or what did you at the Lord Dacre's house? And lastly, what in your own lodging or the Lord Harry's did you burn or otherwise convey?

26. At what places in London be those Jesuits entertained? Where be they lodged? How many know you of them, and what be their names? What persons haunt to them?