

# MISSIONERS ON THE MARGINS? THE TERRITORIAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE WELSH JESUIT COLLEGE OF ST FRANCIS XAVIER AT THE CWM, c.1600–1679

by HANNAH THOMAS

This paper will discuss the history of the College of St Francis Xavier, the Welsh territorial district of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, and the history of Jesuit association with its headquarters, the Cwm farms at Llanrothal, near Hereford. One of 12 territorial divisions created by the Society of Jesus upon the creation of the English Province by 1623, the College of St Francis Xavier and its extensive surviving library, now housed at Hereford Cathedral, is being analysed as part of a three-year project funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council [AHRC].<sup>1</sup> The article argues for a re-evaluation of the Welsh District and its importance to the successes of the English Jesuit Province, concluding that, far from being a small, local missionary outpost of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, the College of St Francis Xavier, or the Welsh District, was in fact a diverse, vibrant and crucially important lynchpin in the successes of the Jesuits in England and Wales.

**I**n 1572, Morys Clynnog (1525–1580), a Welsh Catholic exile and author, asserted that as the Israelites awaited the Messiah, so the Welsh awaited the restoration of Catholicism.<sup>2</sup> The strength of support for Catholicism in Wales, despite the penal laws in force in Elizabethan England, was one of the reasons cited by William Allen in 1575 for encouraging the Jesuit superior general, Everard Mercurian, to sanction a Jesuit mission to England and Wales.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Clynnog declared in 1575 that ‘scarcely a single man in a thousand will be found to be a heretic [i.e. a Protestant]’ in Wales.<sup>4</sup>

Despite this, the impression created by the existing historiography relating to the early modern religious history of Wales is that contribution to, and impact of the principality on, the Counter Reformation was one of insignificance and minimal importance: Welsh Catholicism has hitherto been assumed to have died out rapidly after the reign of Elizabeth, with the final blow being dealt by the successful scare-mongering and furore of the Popish Plot in the late 1670s. Whilst the importance of the Catholic perspective to British history was largely

lost in a stream of dominant Protestant narratives until the 1970s, Welsh Catholicism more particularly, and its impact on the wider survival of post-Reformation Catholicism in the British Isles has been almost entirely overlooked. Even Welsh historians have paid little attention to the principality's role as a Catholic stronghold from the 1570s onwards. Glanmor Williams writes off Catholicism as a faith that, where it survived at all in Wales, was practiced out of habit rather than conviction, inspiring no more loyalty and devotion than the remnants of paganism and merely a case of resorting to familiar and reassuring habits, regardless of confessional denomination.<sup>5</sup> This is echoed by John Davies, who describes Catholicism in Wales as only "a tiny minority" that eventually languished almost into extinction, replaced by the far more popular and successful brand of Protestant nonconformity that took hold from the late seventeenth-century onwards.<sup>6</sup> The myth of the insignificant impact of Welsh Catholicism in the post-Reformation period has pervaded, even as the academic community has moved far from the grip of Protestant triumphalism and focused instead on the strong, thriving and vibrant pre- and post-Reformation Catholicism. John Bossy, for example, talks of the 'relative failure of the Catholic mission in Wales', whilst Diarmid MacCulloch comments that 'to be Protestant was to be truly Welsh' after the success of William Morgan's Welsh language Bible and Prayer Book in 1588.<sup>7</sup>

To counter this view, there is a body of evidence that suggests that there existed a strong and flourishing Catholic community in Wales and the Marches from at least the latter years of Elizabeth's reign until the late seventeenth-century and beyond. Central to this thriving Catholic identity was the influence and work of the Jesuits, from the launch of the English Mission in 1580, through the seventeenth-century and into the eighteenth-century.<sup>8</sup> The Welsh district, or the territorial College of St Francis Xavier, was one of the largest of the 14 territorial districts of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, and was one of only three initial colleges created to enable the management of the newly established province by January 1623.<sup>9</sup> The choice of Francis Xavier as patron saint of the Welsh district was not a random appellation; it bespoke serious commitment, financial stability and territorial status as the second most important sub-division of the province.<sup>10</sup> Xavier's commitment to the Jesuit ideal and his unfailing willingness to go where he was needed for the propagation of the faith was a highly esteemed example of what it was to be a Jesuit, a true embodiment of the ideals of the Society.<sup>11</sup> His importance to the Society is perhaps best illustrated by his canonisation in 1622: of all eight founding companions of the Society, only Xavier and Loyola himself were given this highest of honours so soon after the creation of the Society.<sup>12</sup>

### *The Welsh District*

Located some 20 miles south of Hereford, and some three miles south-west of Monmouth, the headquarters of the College of St Francis Xavier was at the Cwm estate, which comprised a settlement of three farms – the Cwm, the Upper Cwm and Llangunville, on the Welsh–English border, and near the three county borders of Monmouthshire, Herefordshire and Gloucestershire.<sup>13</sup> The Jesuits of the College lived and worked at the Cwm and the Upper Cwm farms, while Llangunville operated as the main supply farm. None of the original farm houses survives today, although the existing Georgian farmhouses of the Cwm and the Upper Cwm stand above the original seventeenth-century cellars, and various barns and other working farm buildings from the same period can be found in and around all three farms. Contemporary accounts describe the Cwm farmhouses as:

two houses ... with a walled court before each of them ... one of these houses is a fair gentile house, wherein there are six lodging chambers each one with a convenient study to it ... the other house is also a good country house with several chambers and studies to some of them, all in very good repair ... there are one and twentie chimnies [sic] in both houses and a great many doors to go in and out at ... the houses are seated at the bottom of a thick, woody and rocky hill with several hollow places in the rocks...<sup>14</sup>

The location of these three farmhouses, comprising the territorial headquarters of the College of St Francis Xavier, was a curious choice for the main base of this vast territory, particularly given its non-central position and its being difficult to access, particularly in bad weather.

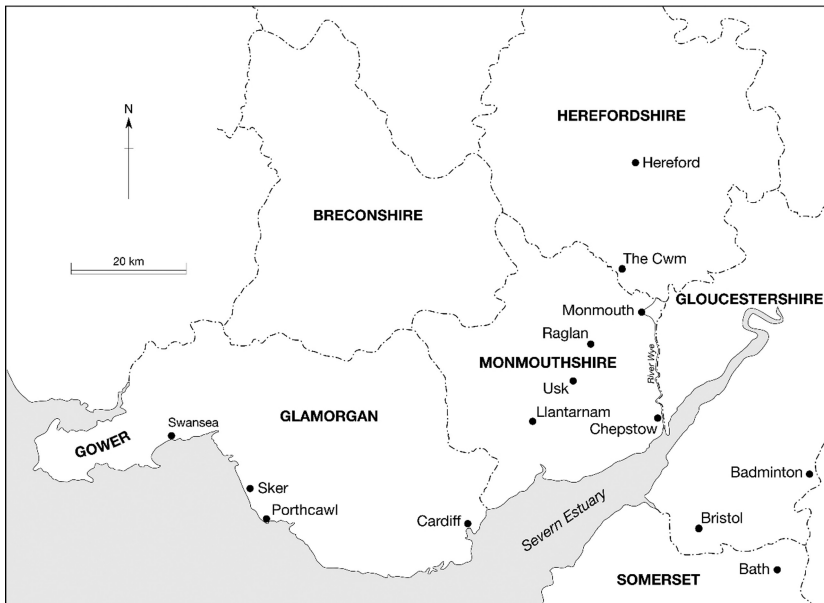


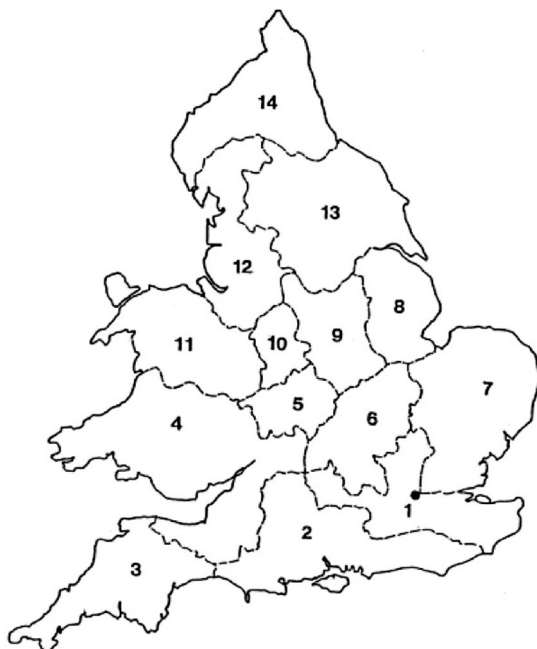
Figure 1. Map of Cwm and Surrounding Area. By permission of Professor Maurice Whitehead.

However, it is important to bear in mind the importance of borders in seventeenth-century religious history, particularly as methods of law enforcement in place at the time were organised according to geographical boundaries, such as parishes and counties, and therefore jurisdiction obtained only within these areas. Thus, for a college of hidden Jesuits, secretly ministering to the recusant population, the ability quickly to pass into a different county (in this case, one of three), or even a country, would have provided some measure of security against the dangerous work being undertaken. By the time anyone in pursuit had reached the next county town, alerted the sheriff or local magistrate, raised a posse and returned to where the suspect had last been seen, near the border, the person or persons in question would have been long gone. The added potential linguistic difference between English and Welsh border towns added a further element of possible delay in the efficient pursuit of a suspect. Crucially, the three farms were also within close proximity of the three diocesan borders of the diocese of Hereford, Llandaff and St Davids, with a fourth diocesan border of the diocese of Gloucester also within striking distance. This strongly suggests that the topography of the area and the location had been deliberately chosen to take advantage of these features, whether by the Jesuits themselves or by their patrons, the earls of Worcester, who had given them the land.

Other strategically important headquarters in the English Province were similarly located on or near borders: Stonor Park, a few miles north of modern-day Henley on Thames, and within striking distance of the Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Berkshire county boundaries, was home to the staunchly recusant Stonor family from 1349, and operated as a missionary headquarters for both Edmund Campion SJ (1540–1581) and Robert Parsons SJ (1546–1610) in the early years of the Jesuit English mission in the 1580s.<sup>15</sup>

Territorially, the College of St Francis Xavier was, until approximately 1666, the most extensive district of the English Province. It covered the whole of Wales, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Somerset and Gloucestershire – some 8,000 square miles in total. Even after 1670, when the territory had been divided in half and the Residence of St Winefride had been created in North Wales, the College of St Francis Xavier, now comprising south Wales and the Herefordshire district, was still one of the most extensive districts of the entire English Province – covering some 5,000 square miles:

**Territorial colleges and residences of  
the English Province of the Society of Jesus, 1670**



1. College of St Ignatius, or the London District
2. Residence of St Thomas of Canterbury, or the Hampshire District
3. Residence of St Stanislaus, or the Devonshire District
4. College of St Francis Xavier, or the South Wales and Herefordshire District
5. Residence of St George, or the Worcestershire District
6. Residence of St Mary, or the Oxfordshire District
7. College of the Holy Apostles, or the Suffolk District
8. Residence of St Dominic, or the Lincolnshire District
9. College of the Immaculate Conception, or the Derbyshire District
10. College of St Chad, or the Staffordshire District
11. Residence of St Winefride, or the North Wales District
12. College of St Aloysius, or the Lancashire District
13. Residence of St Michael, or the Yorkshire District
14. Residence of St John the Evangelist, or the Durham District

Figure 2. Map of the English Province. By permission of Professor Maurice Whitehead.

*The Beginnings of Jesuit Association with the Welsh Marches*

Hitherto, attempts to present a clear timeline of the history of the Cwm farms have been confused and often contradictory, and it is not clear from the existing historiography exactly when the Jesuits began to lease the Cwm estate. Dates for the start of Jesuit activity in the area range from 1615, when the earliest surviving lease is recorded, to 1622, the year of the foundation of the English Province. Clearly, both a detailed history

of the Cwm farmhouses and analysis of Jesuit association with this area are needed.<sup>16</sup> Very little archival evidence survives of these crucial early days of Jesuit activity in Wales, but what does survive provides enough evidence to allow a detailed picture to be established.

One vitally important document, compiled by Fr Humphrey Evans SJ (c.1598–1679), rector of the College of St Francis Xavier, and of the new Residence of St Winefride, established around 1666 or thereabouts, provides detailed and crucial evidence of the financial and legal transactions that had allowed the new college to be established.<sup>17</sup> ‘A relation concerning missionants money in North and South Wales’, dated 6 August 1666, suggests that the leasing of the Upper Cwm appears to have taken place shortly after 1615, when Fr John Salisbury (c.1575–1626) succeeded in the government of the district after the death of Fr Robert Jones (c.1564–1615).<sup>18</sup> Salisbury gathered up:

the alms that upon occasion he received from several persons ... added to what Ffa[ther] Jones had procured ... [and] ... took a lease of the Upper Combe with a smale quantity of lands pertaining there unto for the meeting of ffrinds within the district.<sup>19</sup>

By 1622, he “had gathered almes in a considerable summe” and “conceived it fitting to move for a Col[lege] which was then granted by Fr General, and the revenues and foundation were merely almes that were by him and Ffa[ther] Jones.”<sup>20</sup>

This description provides key evidence. Not only was there considerable strength of support for the Catholic cause, with enough funds being raised to support the Jesuit mission in the area, but key dates for this activity are recorded. The evidence suggests that, whilst the foundation of the College of St Francis Xavier can be pinpointed to 1622 and linked to the creation of the English Province, this was a new appellation for an existing mission. Crucially, the year 1622 was not the start of a new Jesuit foundation, but rather the cementing and confirming of the success and achievements of the Jesuits on the *Missio Walliae*, or the Welsh mission, from at least 1615. The first surviving record of the *Missio Walliae* in 1621 shows an already flourishing Jesuit establishment of 11 members, led by their superior, John Salisbury, with many of the men appearing again in the next available list of 1623, when 12 men are recorded as working in the newly created ‘College of St Francis Xavier’ under the guidance of John Salisbury, now designated as the rector, with assistance from a newly appointed consultor, confessor and *magister grammatices*.<sup>21</sup> The College is described as existing ‘*cum Missio Walliae*’, i.e. ‘with the Welsh Mission’, adding further evidence to the case for the creation of the College of St Francis Xavier as merely confirming an already flourishing and well-established Jesuit missionary settlement.

There is certainly evidence of Jesuit association with the area from at least the late 1590s, during which years Robert Jones, SJ (1564–1615), who was appointed head of the English and Welsh mission in 1609,

had been active in establishing “an organisation of Welsh gentry, Welsh secular priests and Jesuits ... extending along the Marches” since his arrival in Wales in February 1595. In 1604 he sent several students to Valladolid and Douai from Shropshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire and Monmouthshire.<sup>22</sup> Jones is a key figure in the early history of the pre-1622 Welsh mission, and his close working relationship with members of the Somerset family of Raglan Castle and Chepstow Castle, Marquesses of Worcester and later Dukes of Beaufort, was one of fundamental importance to the foundation and continued support, both morally and financially, of the Jesuits of the College.<sup>23</sup>

### *Early Jesuits in the Welsh District, c.1621–1633*

Surviving records reveal there were between 11 and 21 Jesuits serving in the Welsh District at any one time, representing between 5 and 7% of the total number of Jesuits in the English Province:<sup>24</sup>

Year	Number of Jesuits in English Province	Number of Jesuits in College of St Francis Xavier
1623	218	11 (5% of total)
1633	364	16 (4%)
1643	357	26 (7%)
1653	280	20 (7%)
1663	283	13 (5%)

The 11 men listed in 1621 were made up of at least five Welshmen: John Salisbury (c.1575–1626), Thomas Pennant (c.1579–1638), John Bennet (c.1553–1625), Thomas Jeffrey (1591–1654) and Thomas Webb (c.1575–1658), who was born in either Wales or Gloucestershire.<sup>25</sup> The others hailed from all over England: Reginald Eaton (c.1562–1641) from Warwickshire, William Flekney (c.1577–1632) from Hereford or Oxford, Ignatius Watson (c.1586–1626) from London, John Mulsho (c.1580–1662) from Northampton, John Sweet (c.1572–1632) from Devon and William White (c.1583–1624) from Wiltshire.<sup>26</sup> The men had been sent from several locations, and were at various stages of their career. John Salisbury, for example, had been ordained at Valladolid in 1600, and had been a professed Jesuit since 1618.<sup>27</sup> Thomas Jeffrey (1591–1654), the youngest of the Jesuits serving the Welsh mission in 1621, had been ordained at Seville in 1617, and is listed as having entered the Society in Wales only three years earlier, in 1619. Jeffrey did not become a fully professed member of the Society of Jesus until 1632, and his role in the College of St Francis Xavier seems to have been mainly as an educator.<sup>28</sup>



In 1623 it is much the same, with the exception of John Sweet and William White, who had been sent to serve in the London and York districts respectively. Three new Jesuits had arrived in their places: Hugo Buckley (c.1583–1647), born in Wales, who had been sent from St Omers; Thomas Harries (c.1596–c.1676), born in Monmouthshire, who had been sent from Louvain; and Francis Hanmer (c.1591–1666), born in Leicestershire, who had arrived from Valladolid. These three new recruits were at a similar stage in their careers: all were newly ordained and had yet to profess their vows within the Society.<sup>29</sup> Of these three, both Harries and Hanmer professed their vows fully to enter the Society “in Wales” in 1631 and 1633 respectively.<sup>30</sup>

In 1624, there were a further four new arrivals: Edward Roffe (c.1586–1665) and George Bamfield (c.1593–1657), both sent from the London district; Anthony Stanton (1586–1635), born in Gloucestershire and sent to the Welsh district from Worcester; and Richard Whitley (c.1583–1651), born in Essex, who had arrived from Ghent.<sup>31</sup> Three of the four new arrivals were newly ordained; only Whitley had professed his vows within the Society, in 1623 at Ghent, whence he had been sent directly to the Welsh mission. By 1626 a further seven new members of the community had arrived in Wales: John Clare (c.1579–1628) who had been temporarily sent to Wales to fill in as vice-rector in place of Salisbury, John de St Edmunds (fl.1625–1626), born in Norfolk; John Grimstone (c.1575–1649), William Putney (c.1576–1658), George Morley (c.1585–1664), and James Jones (c.1571–1636) all sent from the London district and Richard Campion (c.1595–1667), born in Hereford who arrived from Liège. Three of this group professed their vows within the Society in Wales: Grimstone and Jones in 1631 and Putney in 1637.<sup>32</sup>

By 1629 a further eight new members had joined the 21 men listed in the community, including Humphrey Brown (c.1598–1679), born in Caernarvon, who appears to have spent his entire career at the College of St Francis Xavier, having professed his four vows ‘in Wales’ in August 1637.<sup>33</sup> A new rector had also been appointed – Charles Browne (c.1583–1647) alias Hugo Buckley, who had begun serving the College of St Francis Xavier shortly after completing his novitiate at Liège in 1622, followed by a brief twelve months or thereabouts as procurator and consultor at the English College in St Omers until 1623. Brown would remain at the helm of the rapidly growing College until his death on 15 April 1647, guiding the men serving with him through the particularly difficult times of the Civil War.<sup>34</sup>

Many of the new members of the community in 1629 would go on to stay at the College for several years, and only two men had moved on to other districts of the English Province by the following year: Owen Shelley (c.1585–1666) and William Saville (c.1581–1654).<sup>35</sup> Others among the new men clearly had skills that were useful across several districts, and were moved around from district to district every two years or so:



Richard Bartlett (c.1580–1645), born in Warwickshire or Gloucestershire, had been sent to the College of St Francis Xavier from the College of the Holy Apostles in Suffolk in 1629, and was sent on to the Residence of St George in Worcestershire by 1631; and Sabine Chambers (c.1559–1633), born in Leicestershire, was sent to the Cwm in 1628, having served the Residence of St Dominic in Lincoln from 1621 until 1622, and then the College of St Ignatius in London between 1623 and 1626.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, Thomas (or John) Flint (c.1575–1638), born in Warwickshire, was sent to the Welsh district from Worcestershire in 1629, and then on to London district by 1632. Flint professed his four vows in London in October 1632, so perhaps he had been sent to the Worcestershire and Welsh districts to gain some experience in his newly chosen vocation before confirming his calling at the House of Probation in London.<sup>37</sup>

The remaining new addition to the community at the Cwm in 1629, Thomas Cooke (1589–1626), became a stalwart member of the Welsh district for at least the next 20 years, serving the College of St Francis Xavier from 1628 until at least 1649. Born in London, Cooke had been sent to the Cwm from Belgium in 1628, having served several of the continental colleges and establishments.<sup>38</sup> In 1631, one William Morton (c.1597–1667) joined the community of 16 Jesuits at the Cwm, having entered the Society of Jesus a few months previously ‘in Wales’ in 1630. Born in Worcestershire, Morton served his entire career as a Jesuit brother within the College of St Francis Xavier, professing his four vows some 13 years later in 1643 in the Welsh district.<sup>39</sup> Morton was a key figure in the securing and solidifying of the operational headquarters of the College, appearing as the recipient of the Cwm estate in a lease dated 10 November 1636 from Edward, Lord Marquis of Worcester: Morton remained in place as the officially named lease holder until his death in 1667, when the lease was willed to one Robert Hutton, merchant, of St Giles in the Fields, London.<sup>40</sup>

1632 saw the addition of two new members, Maurice Keynes (c.1594–1654) and John Floyd (c.1600–1670).<sup>41</sup> Floyd, alias John Fisher, born in Wales, had entered the Society only a few years previously in 1625 at Watten. He professed his four vows some five years after his arrival, in 1636 ‘in Wales’, and stayed at the College of St Francis Xavier until at least 1649. In 1633 Henry Wilkinson (c.1595–1673) is the only new arrival listed amongst the 16 men at the College.<sup>42</sup> Wilkinson, who was born in Northampton, had entered the Society some fifteen years previously in 1617, and had professed his four vows in London in 1630.<sup>43</sup>

It is increasingly apparent that the College of St Francis Xavier was a thriving hub of the English Province of the Society of Jesus.<sup>44</sup> Approximately one third of the men listed as serving the College between 1621 and 1633 were Welsh by birth, with several more hailing from the border counties of Hereford, Monmouth and Gloucester. The range of places from which the men were sent, before arriving in the Welsh

district, and their vast range of experience, age, background and cultural influence demonstrates an important point: far from being a small, local missionary outpost of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, the College of St Francis Xavier was in fact a diverse, vibrant and crucially important lynchpin in the successes of the Jesuits in England and Wales.

Crucially, of the 37 members of the Society of Jesus listed as serving the Welsh district between 1621 and 1633, 12 are recorded as having professed their vows in Wales. Of the 83 men who served in the Welsh district and who professed their four vows between 1577 and 1663, 20 took those vows in Wales. This figure is surpassed only by London, where 22 of the 83 men took their vows: 19 of the men have no place or date of profession recorded, and only 1 or 2 men took their vows at other districts of the English Province, such as Oxfordshire (Residence of St Mary), Derbyshire (College of the Immaculate Conception), Devonshire (Residence of St Stanislaus) or Worcestershire (Residence of St George).<sup>45</sup>

#### *Expansion of the Cwm Estate, 1626–1678*

By 1626, the Jesuits in Wales began to take steps to ensure a degree of permanency, and to cement the Cwm estate as their operational headquarters. Sometime after 1626, Fr Charles Browne (c.1583–1647) succeeded Fr John Salisbury as rector of the College following Salisbury's death in 1625/6.<sup>46</sup> Fr Browne, alias Gwynne, expanded the territorial security of the College and 'purchased the inheritance of the lease of the Upper Combe [sic] and withal the whole farme of the Lower Combe ... as also a farm called Llangunvill adjoining thereunto.' Two unnamed farms were also purchased, but these had been sold by the time of Fr Browne's death in 1647. Evans's account also notes that 'a farm near Monmouth was purchased' with moneys from Fr Browne's estate.<sup>47</sup>

Evans does not give any more details about this anonymous farm, but later surviving accounts provide further glimpses into the development and expansion of the College at this point. Bishop Croft's *Narrative* cites the details of many of the early deeds relating to the Cwm estate that have since been lost, filling in some of the gaps in the history of the development of the College of St Francis Xavier.<sup>48</sup> Croft cites a lease dated 10 November 1636 in which Edward, Lord Marquis of Worcester, lets 'the estate' to one William Morton for 'fourscore and 19 years', describing 'the estate' as 'the Upper and Lower Comes, or Middle and Lower Comes ... having land belonging to them worth about threescore pounds per annum (they pay taxes at eight and fifty pounds per annum.)'<sup>49</sup> Croft also suggests a possibility for the unnamed farm in Fr Evans's account, purchased with the money from the estate of Fr Charles Browne sometime after 1647. Croft describes how the College also received 'a rent of 30l per annum from an estate called Amberley in the parish of Monmouth':

a farm of that name can still be found very close to the Cwm farms and Llangunville, just on the Monmouth side of the border.

#### *A Jesuit School in Wales, c.1623–c.1646*

Surviving records also hint at a thriving, albeit small, educational establishment within the College of St Francis Xavier at this time, one that was up and running by 1625 and continued until at least 1646. A second school had been opened at Greenfield Abbey, in North Wales, by 1626.<sup>50</sup> Amongst the Jesuits listed as having served the College, four of the men are listed with some form of teaching role: Ignatius Watson (c.1586–1626) is listed as a professor of grammar as early as 1623, Richard Whitley (c.1583–1651) as a professor of grammar in 1625 and 1626 and John Floyd (c.1600–1670) as a teacher of grammar in 1633 and 1634.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps most telling is the career of Thomas Jeffrey (1591–1654), who served the College from 1621 until at least 1649: he is listed as a teacher, professor of grammar and Greek or teacher of grammar consistently from 1624 until 1646.<sup>52</sup> Three other men serving the College had undertaken roles as educators elsewhere in the Province. They may have also undertaken teaching responsibilities in Wales which have remained unrecorded, making a total of 7 men who may have been responsible for the educational establishment of the College of St Francis Xavier.<sup>53</sup>

#### *1667 to 1678*

The next traceable stage in the Cwm's development is a lease dated 1667: in this, William Morton willed the estate 'to one Robert Hutton living in St Giles in the Fields, London, stiled Merchant' when dying.<sup>54</sup> Although Hutton is 'stiled Merchant', he was in fact a Jesuit. One Robert Hutton (c.1528–1629) is listed as having entered the Society in May 1656, serving various districts of the English Province from 1658 onwards: Lincolnshire in 1658, London from 1667 until 1673 and Lancashire intermittently from 1674 until his death in 1692.<sup>55</sup> However, even this thinly disguised and flimsy alias was enough for Hutton to avoid capture by the government: the Privy Council searched for Hutton the merchant in early 1679 and soon gave up.<sup>56</sup>

The Lower Cwm was sublet by Hutton to one William Williams for 21 years at £40 per annum, presumably since Williams was more locally based than Hutton, who was then serving at the College of St Ignatius, or the London District, from 1666 until 1673, when he was moved to the College of St Aloysius, or the Lancashire District, where he stayed until his death in 1692.<sup>57</sup> It is unclear exactly how and why Morton had left the care of the estate to Hutton in 1667: although both men had been born in Worcestershire, they were some 30 years apart in age, and Morton spent his entire career as a professed Jesuit in the College of St Francis Xavier,

from 1631 until his death in 1667, whereas Hutton seems never to have served in the Welsh District.<sup>58</sup>

Even more curious is the inclusion of William Williams in the transactions: he was not a Jesuit, and does not appear in any lists of Catholic clergy of the period.<sup>59</sup> The most likely candidate appears in a list of recusants compiled for the Bishop of Hereford in 1705 and 1706.<sup>60</sup> Listed under the entry for the parish of Llanrothal in the diocese of Hereford are “W[illia]m Williams senior, John Williams, William Williams junior, Peter Williams farmer.”<sup>61</sup> Although caution is necessary since Williams is a fairly common surname, this record does suggest a strong, well-established, local Catholic family. The fact that the family is in the same parish as the Cwm estate makes it more likely that this is the person named in the lease: perhaps Williams was able to help the College of St Francis Xavier by being a named tenant in the complicated system of leases and subleases that allowed the Jesuits to establish a secure headquarters in the Welsh Marches.<sup>62</sup>

Although Croft’s *Narrative* ascribes the second transaction of Hutton’s subletting the Cwm estate to William Williams to 2 February 1677, it seems likely that it actually took place in February 1667, for several reasons. The first, as has already been seen, is that the reason for the lease and land transaction in the first place appears to have been that Morton, aware that he was dying, was keen to ensure that the headquarters of the Jesuit Welsh mission would be protected after his passing. Morton died on 2 April 1667, and it seems unlikely that Robert Hutton, who was based at the other end of the country in the London District at the time, would have waited nearly ten years to sublet the management of the Lower Cwm to William Williams. Secondly, although Croft’s *Narrative* is the only surviving account of this lease, he does cite a list of witnesses, who include William Ireland (1636–1679), John Fenwick (*vere* Caldwell, 1628–1679) and John Groves (*vere* Archer, c.1627–1674).<sup>63</sup> According to Croft, the lease was sealed and delivered in the presence of these three men, and therefore cannot have been drawn up any later than 1674, when John Groves died.

Croft’s tendency towards inaccurate transcription is highlighted further on in the document: Croft refers to a letter of attorney, dated 27 April 1678, again witnessed by Ireland, Fenwick and one William Cornelius, appointing Peter Pullen with the management of the profits of the Cwm estate.<sup>64</sup> However, later on in the narrative, when Croft is summarising the evidence given by Pullen under examination, he notes that Pullen had confessed that he had been ‘entrusted with the management of these houses and estates for eight years past’, suggesting that the letter of attorney would in fact be more likely to have been drawn up around 1669/1670.<sup>65</sup> Further on in his statement, Pullen reiterates that it had been a period of eight years, ruling out the possibility that the mistake was in his memory. It seems more likely that, in fact, the letter was drawn up in

April 1668/9, and Pullen had been managing the Cwm finances for closer to nine years, which he had slightly misremembered as eight.<sup>66</sup>

### *The Popish Plot*

The activities of the Jesuit community, and the Catholics whom they served, continued undisturbed from their College headquarters at the Cwm estate until the late 1670s, despite the best efforts of the more aggressive anti-papists in the county. It was not until the national chaos and confusion of the Popish Plot in the autumn of 1678 that sufficient pressure was brought upon those who were in authority to remove the papist threat lurking in the Welsh borderlands, despite government awareness of the Cwm estate and its existence as a clandestine Jesuit headquarters prior to this date. On 17 February 1671, members of both Houses of Parliament had presented the king with what they considered to be ‘the causes of the dangerous growth of popery in your Majesty’s Dominions’, including

fraternities or convents of English Popish Priests and Jesuits at St James’s and at the Combe in Herefordshire and other parts of the kingdom; besides, several schools are kept in divers parts of the kingdom for the corrupt educating of youth in the principles of popery.<sup>67</sup>

Despite the promise of the king that he would enable a proclamation to be made that would banish priests and Jesuits, and encourage the ‘Judges and all other officers to put the Laws against Papists in execution’, nothing was done about the flourishing missionary setup in the Welsh borderlands. The same report was presented to the House of Commons twice more in 1671. Even when the College was once again brought to the attention of the authorities in April 1678, this time by ex-JP and ex-deputy lieutenant of Monmouthshire, John Arnold (c.1635–1702), no action was taken until some months later in December 1678.

Arnold had been removed from both of his offices by Henry Somerset (1629–1700), 1st Duke of Beaufort, in 1677 for opposing Beaufort’s candidate at the 1667 Monmouthshire by-election, and for resisting the enclosure of Wentwood Forest.<sup>68</sup> In bringing his complaint regarding his removal before the House of Commons, Arnold insinuated that he had been replaced with Catholic sympathisers, and was asked to ‘draw a formal narrative touching the growth and increase of popery in Monmouthshire.’<sup>69</sup> The resulting document, presented to the House of Commons on 29 April 1678, gives a very detailed description of the illegal activities being conducted at the Cwm, from several witnesses:

Mr Arnold saith, that he knows that Combe House in Hereford-shire, and several lands belonging unto it, of a considerable value, is commonly reputed to be a Covent of Jesuites [sic] ... there are commonly five or six Jesuits residing there, and there is a publick chappel [sic], and Mass constantly said therein.

Mr Scudamore sayes that at a House called the Combe in the County of Hereford several Priests are maintained and kept there, and that it is commonly reported that it is a House or Colledge for that purpose

William Jones of Llangatock in the County of Monmouth upon his oath deposeth that he hath heard severall of the papish priests say, that if they could not live in those parts they would repair to the Combe in Herefordshire, and believes the said Combe to be a covent, and that the lands thereunto belonging to the Priests...

Mr Charles Morgan upon his oath deposeth that Combe House in the County of Hereford near the dwelling house of Henry Milborn Esq, a Justice of the Peace, is reputed to be a popish covent where several popish reputed priests did latly inhabit (viz) Mr James, Mr Humphreys, Mr Draycot and Mr Harris

Three worthy members of this House living in or near Hereford-shire informed the Committee that Combe-House aforesaid, and the Lands thereunto belonging is commonly reputed to belong to the popish priests.<sup>70</sup>

Even allowing for some exaggeration from Arnold, it is quite remarkable, given the amount of detailed and verifiable information that exists in this document, that the Cwm continued to thrive for another eight months or so until the raid and closure in December 1678. Arnold's targeted campaign was probably an element in this lack of action, and cast aspersions on the reasons for producing the report in the first place. Even though Beaufort wrote to his wife that Arnold's testimony had initially 'inflamed the house', those investigating the report concluded it was a wholly exaggerated and entirely revenge-driven exercise: they instead questioned why Arnold, also serving as Justice of the Peace, and armed with evidence of such blatant flouting of the recusancy laws, had allowed this behaviour to go unpunished for so long.<sup>71</sup>

It is doubtful that Oates's plot would have been given much credence had it appeared unaccompanied by such political chaos; but the whole plot played on deep-seated fears of an imminent popish invasion, and gave a fearful population something on which to vent their frustration. Once news of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey's murder had broken in October 1678, many believed that the country's worst fears were realised and the papist invasion was on the way. As a result, places with a known Catholic population were pressured into bringing the threat under control, particularly places with as well-known a Catholic population as Monmouthshire and Herefordshire.

An order was sent to Bishop Herbert Croft (1603–1691) of Hereford from the House of Lords on 7 December 1678 to 'find out the truth of the matter of fact concerning the said place called Combe, and to give this house a full account.'<sup>72</sup> The raid was carried out on 19 December 1678, led by Captain John Scudamore, a Protestant member of an otherwise staunchly Catholic local family. Two contemporary accounts of the raid survive: the first, Croft's *Narrative*, written to celebrate the successful raid and closure of the site in December 1678 and published in London in early 1679; and the second, an unpublished letter sent to Croft by Scudamore to report on the success of the raid that he and his men had carried out at the Cwm on Croft's behalf.<sup>73</sup> It is evident from a comparison of the two



accounts of the raids that Croft himself was not present during the raid, and that much of Croft's own *Narrative* is in fact a more sensationalised version of Scudamore's account. Croft was particularly keen to get his version of events published, not only writing to the House of Lords on 30 December 1678 to ask for permission to add the books from the Cwm library to the cathedral library at Hereford, which he claimed had been pillaged of most of its books by the parliamentary soldiers during the civil wars, but also to ask 'the Lords may think fit to print the narrative I sent up & if so, I humbly beg it may be printed by my stationer.'<sup>74</sup>

Interestingly, many of the additional details added by Croft suggest a degree of familiarity with the Cwm estate, both physically and historically. Croft adds a description of the farmsteads including details of now-missing leases and land transactions and accounts of other lesser-known farms and lands also associated with the Cwm estate, as well as an eloquent description of the 'fair and gentile' houses, despite not having been present during the raid itself.<sup>75</sup> As a child, Croft had been converted to Catholicism by his father, Sir Herbert Croft of Croft Castle. He eventually joined his father at St Omers where he was educated by the Jesuits, and flirted with the idea of joining the order himself, before returning to England in 1628 and re-converting to Anglicanism.<sup>76</sup> It seems likely that Bishop Croft was already aware of, and quite possibly familiar with, the Jesuit missionary headquarters a few miles away, and that this familiarity slipped out when furnishing Scudamore's factual account with the more sensational details and additional information. Perhaps Croft had remained privately sympathetic to the recusant cause, and warned the Jesuits at the Cwm of the forthcoming raid, allowing them to escape in plenty of time to avoid capture.

### *Impact of the Popish Plot: 1678 Onwards*

Although no Jesuits were caught at any of the Cwm farms in December 1678, the College was to lose several of its members over the following few months as paranoia intensified and persecution continued throughout 1679. Numbers of Jesuits serving the College of St Francis Xavier had dwindled considerably since the Civil War, and would not recover until the early 1700s: in 1673 only two men were listed as serving the south Wales district. A small group of five men in total are recorded as serving the College of St Francis between 1678 and 1680, two of whom were to be tried and executed by the summer of 1679 alongside several of their secular brethren, in what would be described as the 'rooting up' of Catholic missionary endeavour in Wales.<sup>77</sup> Five Catholic priests serving in Wales were captured, tried and executed between December 1678 and August 1679, two of whom were Jesuits attached to the College of St Francis Xavier: David Lewis, SJ (1617–1679) and Philip Evans, SJ (c.1645–1679).



Of the two, David Lewis was perhaps the biggest loss. By the time the order to investigate the Cwm had come through from the House of Lords on 7 December 1678, Lewis (alias Charles Baker) had been arrested and was imprisoned in Monmouth Gaol, awaiting trial at the Spring Assizes. Such was his influence and popularity amongst the local Catholic population that an enormous supplementary reward of £200 was offered by John Arnold in addition to the £20 already on offer from the government for the capture of any Catholic priest.<sup>78</sup> Philip Evans had similarly been arrested a few days previously on 4 December 1678 at Sker, the home of his patron and friend, Christopher Turberville. Similarly, John Arnold also offered an additional £200 for the capture of Evans, presumably a mark of his youthful enthusiasm and influence.<sup>79</sup> Sker functioned as a missionary outpost of the College of St Francis Xavier, located some a few miles away from modern-day Porthcawl, and an efficient midway point between the Cwm and the West Wales coastline.<sup>80</sup>

Three members of the secular clergy who were also serving the thriving Welsh Catholic community at this turbulent time were arrested, imprisoned and executed. John Kemble (1599–1679), who had been working in Wales as a seminary priest since 1625; John Lloyd (c.1630–1679), who had been working in Wales since 1654; and William Lloyd (c.1610–1679), a seminary priest who had arrived in Wales from Paris at some point after 1642. Both Kemble and Lloyd were hanged, drawn and quartered – William Lloyd was also tried and found guilty, but died in prison in Brecon a few days before his sentence was due to be carried out.<sup>81</sup>

Surviving records suggest that the College took a couple of years to recover from this blow, but by 1683, seems to have been restored to a semblance of its former self, albeit with much reduced numbers. New recruits are listed as being sent to the College again from 1680 onwards, indicating that a successful replacement base had been established away from the Cwm: the arrival of Thomas Fermor alias Jermyn (1649–1710) in 1680, who had been sent from St Omer in 1679, boosted College numbers to three men, and he was soon joined by two more.<sup>82</sup> The new base is likely to have been at Courtfield, home of the Vaughan family since 1563, with a secondary base at Rotherwas, home of the Bodenham family: both are recorded as long-standing bases of the College from the early days of missionary activity in Wales. The Vaughan family in particular were a ubiquitous presence in the survival of Catholicism in Wales throughout the post-Reformation period, giving financial assistance, patronage and shelter to those missionaries working in the College. In 1684, Robert Petre, alias Williams and Spencer (1632–1713), and James Richardson (1650–1726) arrived at the College.<sup>83</sup> Numbers continued to grow from this point onwards, and although the number of men serving the College of St Francis Xavier would not reach double figures until the eighteenth-century, the Popish Plot was far from the death knell of the Jesuit support of Welsh Catholicism.

### Conclusions

The College of St Francis Xavier was officially founded in 1622 on the base of a thriving and successful Jesuit mission which had been active in Wales and the borderlands since approximately 1595. It was a strategically important part of the English Province of the Society of Jesus.

One of only three initial colleges created to enable the management of the newly created English Province of the Society in 1622, the designation of the flourishing Welsh district as the territorial College of St Francis Xavier bespoke its status as the second most important subdivision of the Province, second only to the College of St Ignatius, the London district. This article has demonstrated that the Welsh District was vitally important to the successes of the English Jesuit Province, and to the continuation of Post-Reformation Welsh Catholicism, which flourished under the guidance and missionary activity of the Jesuits in the College of St Francis Xavier.

From the arrival of Robert Jones in Wales in 1595, an established Catholic stronghold since the 1570s, under the patronage and support of several generations of the powerful and wealthy Somerset family, earls of Worcester and later dukes of Beaufort, the College was able to provide appropriate spiritual and devotional guidance for Welsh Catholics through a network of outposts throughout the principality, boosted by two successful schools and a large theological library. The success of the College of St Francis Xavier in Wales, as well as that of the other two Colleges, was proof that the Jesuit way of life was wholly possible in the difficult conditions of post-Reformation England and Wales. Contrary to the historiographical impression, the College of St Francis Xavier, or the Welsh District, was in fact a diverse, vibrant and crucially important lynchpin in the successes of the Jesuits in England and Wales from the 1570s consistently through until at least 1679, and recovered sufficiently from the havoc wreaked by the Popish Plot to continue serving the Catholics of Wales until long into the eighteenth-century.

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> By 1670, another two territorial districts had been created, making 14 in total. The roots of recusant activity in many of the other districts can also be traced back earlier than 1623.

<sup>2</sup> Meic Stephens (ed), *The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 94; see also Geraint Bowen, 'Morys Clynnog (1521–1580/1), *Transactions of the Caernarfonshire Historical Society*, Volume 27 (1966), 92; Bowen, 'Clynnog, Morys (or Maurice Clenock) (c.1525–1581)', *Welsh Dictionary Bibliography Online*, url: <http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-CLYN-MOR-1525.html> (date accessed 19 August 2013) and T. F. Mayer, 'Clenock, Maurice (c.1525–1580?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5610>, accessed 6 March 2014], hereafter *ODNB*.

<sup>3</sup> Allen was later created a Cardinal by Pope Sixtus V in August 1587.

<sup>4</sup> Patrick Ryan, SJ (ed), 'Some Correspondence of Cardinal Allen, 1579–1585; from the Jesuit archives', *Miscellanea VII* (CRS 9, London: 1911), p. 63. The quotation from Clynnog is

cited in J M Cleary, 'Dr Morys Clynnog's Invasion Projects of 1575–1576', *Recusant History* (October 1966), 306–307.

<sup>5</sup> Glamor Williams, *Welsh Reformation Essays* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1967), pp. 12, 16–21.

<sup>6</sup> John Davies, *A History of Wales* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1994), pp. 248–249, 287.

<sup>7</sup> John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570–1850* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1979), pp. 98–99; see also Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490–1700* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, pp. 395–396).

<sup>8</sup> See Thomas M McCoog, SJ, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland and England, 1589–1597: Building the Faith of St Peter upon the King of Spain's Monarchy* (Surrey/Rome: Ashgate Publishing Ltd/Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2012), hereafter *1589–1597*.

<sup>9</sup> The term 'college' here is entirely territorial, and in fact indicates financial position: Jesuit districts designated as 'Colleges' had a secure annual income, whereas those districts designated 'Residences' were less financially secure and had to rely on more *ad hoc* donations.

<sup>10</sup> Maurice Whitehead, 'The Jesuit *Collegium Sancti Francis Xaverii* in South Wales and the South-West of England and Its Links with the Low Countries, ca. 1600–1679', in *The Jesuits of the Low Countries: Identities and Impact (1540–1773)*, ed. Rob Faesen and Leo Kenis (Leuven-Paris-Walpole MA: Peeters, 2012), p. 199.

<sup>11</sup> John O'Malley, SJ, *The First Jesuits* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994), p. 30.

<sup>12</sup> Xavier was canonised in March 1622 by Pope Gregory XV, having been beatified by Paul V in October 1619; see James Brodrick, SJ, *Saint Francis Xavier (1506–1552)* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne Ltd, 1952), pp. 537–538.

<sup>13</sup> See figure 1.

<sup>14</sup> Bishop Herbert Croft, *A short narrative of the discovery of a College of Jesuits at a place called the Come, in the county of Hereford* (London: printed by TN for Charles Harper, 1679), pp. 1–3 [hereafter Croft's Narrative].

<sup>15</sup> Dom Bede Camm, OSB, *Forgotten Shrines: An Account of Some Old Catholic Halls and Families in England and of Relics and Memorials of the English Martyrs* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1936), pp. 97–103; Michael A. R. Graves, 'Campion, Edmund [St Edmund Campion] (1540–1581)', *ODNB* (date accessed 2 September 2013); <http://www.stonor.com/home.htm> (date accessed 2 September 2013) and Mary D Lobel, *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 8 Lewknor and Pyrton Hundreds* (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1964), pp. 152–156 and 174–176. Stonor Park facilitated the operation of Campion's secret printing press, on which he produced his *Rationes decem* (1581), and continued to be a strategically important property for Jesuits and other Catholics serving in the English mission until the eighteenth century.

<sup>16</sup> For 1622, see Philip Jenkins, 'Anti-Popery on the Welsh Marches in the Seventeenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, 23 (1980), 279. For 1615, see Roland Mathias, *Whitsun Riot: An Account of a Commotion Amongst Catholics in Herefordshire and Monmouthshire in 1605* (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1963), pp. 85–87 [hereafter Mathias, *Whitsun Riots*]; Paul P Murphy, 'The Jesuit College at the Cwm, Llanrothal', *Severn & Wye Review*, Volume 1, Part 6 (1970–1972), p. 137; and Henry Foley, SJ, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Historic facts illustrative of the Labours and Sufferings of its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries 7v*. in 8 (London: Burns and Oates, 1877–1880), 4, p. 335 [hereafter Foley, *Records*]. Foley, Murphy and Mathias all insist that 1615 is the latest possible date for the beginning of Jesuit activity at the Cwm. McCoog also notes that the Cwm is likely to have been a centre of Jesuit activity from as early as 1605, a key date that has been largely overlooked by other historians: see Thomas M McCoog, SJ, *The Society of Jesus in England, 1623–1688: An Institutional Study* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 1984), p. 14 [hereafter McCoog, *Institutional Study*].

<sup>17</sup> For more on the Jesuit Residence of St Winefride, see T W Pritchard, *St Winefride, Her Holy Well and the Jesuit Mission* (Wrexham: Bridge Books, 2009), pp. 177–189. Choice of patron for the North Wales residence is indicative of the continued importance of the cult of St Winefride to Welsh Catholicism: see Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain & Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 196–199, and Walsham, 'Holywell: contesting sacred space in Post-Reformation Wales', in Coster and Spicer (eds), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 211–236.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas M McCoog, SJ, *English and Welsh Jesuits Part 2: G–Z* (Southampton: Catholic Record Society, 1995), pp. 286 and 219 respectively [hereafter McCoog, *Jesuits II*].

<sup>19</sup> ABSI, *Correspondence Relating to St Omers and to North Wales, 1666–1781*: Volume 1, ff. 1–3 [hereafter ABSI 1].

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 1v.

- <sup>21</sup> Thomas M McCoog, SJ (ed), *Monumenta Angliae: English and Welsh Jesuits part 1: Catalogues 1555–1629* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1992), pp. 290, 295, 319 [hereafter *Mon. Ang. I.*].
- <sup>22</sup> McCoog, *1589–1597*, p. 190.
- <sup>23</sup> Jones was also a key figure in establishing and developing the large theological library at the Cwm, and some 38 books at Hereford bear examples of his signature, using his preferred alias of ‘Anselmus’. For more information on these, and other provenance marks in the collection, see Hannah Thomas, ‘The Society of Jesus in Wales, c.1600–1679: Rediscovering the Cwm Jesuit Library at Hereford Cathedral’, *The Journal of Jesuit Interdisciplinary Studies*, volume 1, issue 4, forthcoming (expected publication date October 2014).
- <sup>24</sup> Whitehead, ‘Jesuit *Collegium Sancti Francisci Xaverii* (2012), p. 207: statistics compiled from the collection of early *Catalogi Provinciae Angliae* in the *Archivum Britannicum Societatis Iesu*, 114 Mount Street, London.
- <sup>25</sup> McCoog, *Jesuits I*, pp. 116–117 (Bennet); *Jesuits II*, pp. 286 (Salisbury), 264 (Pennant), 217 (Jeffrey) and 328 (Webb). All of the men are listed as serving the ‘*Missio Walliae*’ in the 1621/22 lists; see *Mon. Ang. I*, p. 290.
- <sup>26</sup> McCoog, *Jesuits I*, pp. 160 (Eaton) and 171 (Flekney); *Jesuits II*, pp. 327 (Watson), 248 (Mulsho), 307 (Sweet) and 331 (White). Watson appears to have also had some teaching responsibility at the College.
- <sup>27</sup> *Jesuits II*, p. 286 (Salisbury).
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217. Jeffrey is listed as professor or teacher of grammar from 1624 until 1646.
- <sup>29</sup> McCoog, *Jesuits I*, p. 128 (Buckley); *Jesuits II*, pp. 202 (Harries) and 200 (Hanmer). Buckley is better known by his alias Charles Brown (*vere Gwynne*), and describes himself as born in Carnarvonshire, giving a further alias of Bodwell: see Anthony Kenny (ed), *The Responsa Scholarum of the English College, Rome, 1598–1621* (Newport: Catholic Record Society, 1962), pp. 229–230.
- <sup>30</sup> McCoog, *Jesuits II*, pp. 202 (Harries) and 200 (Hanmer): see also *Mon. Ang. I*, p. 319.
- <sup>31</sup> *Jesuits I*, p. 111 (Bamfield); *Jesuits II*, pp. 282 (Roffe), 303 (Stanton) and 331 (Whitley): see also *Mon. Ang. I*, pp. 340–341. Whitley is amongst those listed as teachers at the College.
- <sup>32</sup> McCoog, *Jesuits I*, pp. 161 (Edmunds) and 133–134 (Campion, *vere Wigmore*); *Jesuits II*, pp. 273–274 (Putney), 198 (Grimstone), 246–247 (Morley) and 218 (Jones).
- <sup>33</sup> *Jesuits I*, pp. 128–129. Humphrey Browne would take over as rector after the death of Charles Brown in 1647, having been appointed to the position in February that year. *Mon. Ang. I*, pp. 412–413.
- <sup>34</sup> McCoog, *Jesuits I*, p. 128. Brown also provides important evidence of the ongoing links between the Jesuits of the College of St Francis Xavier and their financial patrons, the Somerset family of Raglan Castle: he is listed amongst those who processed out of the fallen castle on 19 August 1646, presumably having been there during the siege as a chaplain for the Catholic members of the household. See WC, *A letter from his Excellencies Quarters ... a full relation of all the whole proceedings at Ragland Castle* (London: Printed by Bernard Alsop, 1646), p. 5. I am grateful to Professor Maurice Whitehead for drawing this to my attention.
- <sup>35</sup> McCoog, *Jesuits II*, pp. 292–293 (Saville) and 329 (Shelley). Shelley was also known under the alias Antonii Tychborne, and Saville was better known as William Whichcot.
- <sup>36</sup> McCoog, *Jesuits I*, pp. 112 (Bartlett) and 137–138 (Chambers). Sabine Chambers is listed at the College until 1632, presumably until his death in March 1633, and it is likely that a copy of Paludanus’s *Vindiciae theologicæ aduersus verbi Dei corvptelas* (1620) in the Cwm library at Hereford Cathedral bears his initials, shelfmark U.6.11.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 171–172 (Flint).
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 144–145. Cooke was also known under his *alias*, Thomas Colford.
- <sup>39</sup> McCoog, *Jesuits II*, p. 248. Morton was described as ‘coadiutor temporalis’ when he joined the College of St Francis Xavier in 1631: see *Mon. Ang. II*, p. 35.
- <sup>40</sup> The lease has been lost, but is quoted quite comprehensively in Croft’s *Narrative*, p. 2. Hutton was, in fact, also a Jesuit.
- <sup>41</sup> McCoog, *Jesuits I*, p. 173 (Floyd); *Jesuits II*, p. 222 (Keynes). See also *Mon. Ang. II*, p. 60. Floyd also undertook teaching duties.
- <sup>42</sup> *Mon. Ang. II*, p. 90.
- <sup>43</sup> McCoog, *Jesuits II*, pp. 332–333. The Residence of Blessed Francis Borgia, which was named in 1625 in honour of the newly beatified saint, became the College of the Holy Apostles in 1633 under the patronage of Lord William Petre (1602–1678), son of William Petre (1575–1637) and Catherine Somerset (d.1624): see Thomas Seccombe, ‘Petre, William (1602–1678)’, rev. Jane Griffiths, *ODNB* (date accessed: 6 March 2014), and McCoog, *Institutional Study*, pp. 297–299.

- <sup>44</sup> See also McCoog, 'SJ in Wales', pp. 3–4, 11–15.
- <sup>45</sup> Compiled from records cited in McCoog, *Jesuits I* and *Jesuits II*, and Holt, *Jesuits*.
- <sup>46</sup> McCoog, *Jesuits I*, p. 128.
- <sup>47</sup> ABSI 1, f. 1v.
- <sup>48</sup> See footnote 14 above.
- <sup>49</sup> The lease is dated the twelfth year of the reign of King Charles I; his regnal year began in December thus the twelfth year of his reign ran from December 1635 until December 1636: see C R Cheney, *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 39 [hereafter Cheney]. The lease is also cited in Croft's *Narrative* (London, 1679), p. 2.
- <sup>50</sup> ABSI, *Catalogi varii*: see also McCoog, 'SJ in Wales', pp. 13–14 and fn. 72, p. 25.
- <sup>51</sup> See pp. 7–8 and 10 above.
- <sup>52</sup> McCoog, *Jesuits II*, p. 217. The *terminus* date of his teaching career, 1646, is particularly interesting in light of the patronage of the Earls of Worcester, whose base at Raglan Castle remained a key location in the College of St Francis Xavier until August 1646, when it was besieged and destroyed by the Parliamentary army. The school was probably based in Raglan village: see Maurice Whitehead, *English Jesuit Education* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2013), pp. 28–29.
- <sup>53</sup> The three men are Richard Bartlett (*Jesuits I*, p. 112), Sabine Chambers (*Ibid.*, pp. 137–138) and Lawrence Worthington (*Jesuits II*, p. 339). Bartlett, for example, left the College in 1629 and is listed as a teacher of grammar in 1632 and 1633 at the College of Blessed Aloysius in Lancashire, before returning to Wales in 1641. It seems possible he may have helped out with the teaching responsibilities.
- <sup>54</sup> Croft's *Narrative*, p. 2. The Lower Cwm is sometimes used to describe the property more commonly known as The Cwm; it appears as 'The Cwm' on modern day OS maps. The Upper Cwm seems to have always been known as the Upper Cwm.
- <sup>55</sup> Geoffrey Holt, SJ, *The English Jesuits 1650–1829: A Biographical Dictionary* (Southampton: Catholic Record Society, 1984), p. 126 [hereafter Holt, *Jesuits*].
- <sup>56</sup> John Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London: The Phoenix Press, 2000), p. 239.
- <sup>57</sup> Holt, *Jesuits*, p. 127.
- <sup>58</sup> McCoog, *Jesuits II*, p. 248 and Holt, *Jesuits*, p. 126.
- <sup>59</sup> Godfrey Anstruther OSP, *The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales 1558–1850*: Vol. I, 1558–1603 (Gateshead: Northumberland Press Ltd, 1968); *Ibid.*, vol 2: 1603–1659 (Essex: Mayhew-McCrimmon Ltd, 1975); vol 3: 1660–1715 (Essex: Mayhew-McCrimmon Ltd, 1976), hereafter Anstruther, *Priests I, II and III*; Dom Aidan Bellenger, OSB, *English and Welsh Priests 1558–1800: A Working List* (Bath: Downside Abbey, 1984), hereafter Bellenger, *Priests*; J M Cleary, *A Checklist of Welsh Students in the Seminaries Part 1: 1568–1603* (Cardiff: the Cardiff Newman Circle, 1958), hereafter Cleary, *Checklist*. Williams also is not listed in Holt, *Jesuits* or McCoog, *Jesuits I* and *II*.
- <sup>60</sup> Hereford Cathedral Archives [HCA] 7008/1, pp. 268–279: *Bishop's Book of Bishop Humphreys*. The list is entitled 'An account of papists and reputed papists in ye diocese of Hereford in ye years 1705 and 1706' and lists recusants by deanery and then by parish. Each entry was sent in by the relevant parish priest or incumbent, with varying amounts of detail given about each parishioner. Bishop Humphrey Humphreys (1648–1712) served the diocese of Hereford from November 1701 until his death in 1712: see Welsh Biography Online, <http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-HUMP-HUM-1648.html> (date accessed: 19 August 2013).
- <sup>61</sup> HCA 7008/1, p. 271.
- <sup>62</sup> For more on trusts and trustees as used by the Jesuits, see McCoog, 'The Finances of the English Province in the Seventeenth Century: An Introduction', *Recusant History*, 18 (1986), 14–33; McCoog, 'The Slightest Suspicion of Avarice: The Finances of the English Jesuit Mission', *Recusant History*, 19 (1988), 103–123.
- <sup>63</sup> Holt, *Jesuits*, pp. 127, 51 and 20 respectively.
- <sup>64</sup> Croft's *Narrative*, p. 2.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- <sup>66</sup> Despite diligent research, Pullen is a mysterious character, and one who has been very difficult to trace beyond his appearance in Croft's *Narrative*. For example, he does not appear in any lists of recusants in the counties of Monmouth or Hereford, and no other members of the family appear in the aforementioned 1705 list of Catholics in the Deanery of Hereford. It seems likely that Pullen was an agent working for the English Province as a whole, and was moved from district to district as and when required.
- <sup>67</sup> House of Commons Journal: 17 February 1671, *Volume 9 1667–1687* (1802), pp. 203–204.
- <sup>68</sup> Molly McClain, 'Arnold, John (c.1635–1702)', *ODNB* (date accessed 14 November 2012).



<sup>69</sup> Bod L., Carte MSS 72, ff. 378v, 382–383; cited in Molly McClain, *Beaufort: the Duke and his Duchess, 1657–1715* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 129 [hereafter McClain, *Beaufort*].

<sup>70</sup> John Arnold and John Scudamore, *An Abstract of Several Examinations taken upon Oath in the counties of Monmouth and Hereford and Delivered in to the Honourable House of Commons ... together with the account given to the House of Commons the 12th of April by John Arnold and John Scudamore Esqs, of the encouragement given to popery in the counties of Monmouth and Hereford* (London: Printed for JC by John Gain, 1680), p. 11 [n b – the page has been wrongly numbered as 20]. The report was initially presented on 29 April 1678 under the heading ‘Danger from Popery’, as seen in *Commons* 29 April 1678 (1802), pp. 464–471.

<sup>71</sup> McClain, *Beaufort*, pp. 129–131. Arnold was named as Justice of the Peace for Monmouth on 23 September 1667, again on 8 March 1680 and as acting JP on 4 August 1681. Arnold is also named as being omitted from the post on 24 November 1677: see *Justices of Wales*, pp. 364–366.

<sup>72</sup> House of Lords: 7 December 1678, *Volume 13: 1675–1681* (1767–1830), p. 407. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=11622> (date accessed 4 November 2013). See also Foley, *Records IV*, p. 463.

<sup>73</sup> Croft’s *Narrative* (London: 1679). Scudamore’s letter: BL Lansd. 846/73, ff. 229–230, and a copy can also be found at Bodleian Rawlinson MS A, ff. 501–503 [hereafter *Scudamore*].

<sup>74</sup> TNA SP 29/408 f.205: Lord B[isho]p of Hereford to Lord B[isho]p of London, 30 December 1678. Croft’s eagerness to keep the Cwm books at Hereford is all the more curious when one considers that no more than a handful of books were removed by the parliamentarians during their occupation of Hereford.

<sup>75</sup> Croft’s *Narrative*, p. 3.

<sup>76</sup> William Marshall, ‘Croft, Herbert (1603–1691), bishop of Hereford’, *ODNB* (date accessed 11 November 2013). See also Foley, *Records* 4 (1878), pp. 467–470.

<sup>77</sup> The phrase is used in a letter, believed to have been written by Fr William Morgan SJ (1623–1689) to the Jesuit superior general in Rome. He writes “The College of South Wales is rooted up! We of the North have fared a little better thus far, but God knows how long it is to last, for we live in constant fear and peril...”: cited in Foley, *Records* 5 (1879), pp. 939–940.

<sup>78</sup> Richard C. Allen, ‘Lewis, David [St David Lewis; *alias* Charles Baker] (1617–1679)’, *ODNB* (date accessed: 4 November 2013). See also Bishop Richard Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests and other Catholics of both sexes that have suffered death in England on religious accounts from the year 1577 to 1684: Volume II* (London: Art and Book Company, 1896) pp. 414–420 [hereafter Challoner II]. Lewis had served the College since 1647, and twice been appointed Rector: 1667–1672 and again from 1674 until his death in 1679.

<sup>79</sup> Richard C. Allen, ‘Evans, Philip [St Philip Evans] (1645–1679)’, *ODNB* (date accessed: 25 November 2013): see also Challoner II, pp. 396–400 and Madge Cusack O’Keeffe, *Four Martyrs of South Wales and the Marches* (Cardiff: Archdiocese of Cardiff, 1970), pp. 32–52 [hereafter *Four Martyrs*].

<sup>80</sup> For more on the role of Sker House in the survival of post-reformation Catholicism in south Wales, see A. Leslie Evans, *The Story of Sker House* (Port Talbot: Andreas Haaf & Son, 2008), pp. 11–30 and 70–75. The house is located approximately 60 miles west of the Cwm, on the Glamorganshire coastline: see figure 1.

<sup>81</sup> W A J Archbold, rev. G. Bradley, ‘Kemble, John [St John Kemble] (1599–1679)’, *ODNB* (date accessed 26 November 2013) and Richard C Allen, ‘Lloyd, John [St John Lloyd] (c.1630–1679)’, *ODNB* (date accessed 25 November 2013): see also *Four Martyrs*, pp. 32–53, 54–57; *Forgotten Shrines*, pp. 333–342 and Challoner II, pp. 420–424. Lewis, Evans and John Lloyd were among the 40 martyrs beatified and canonized by Pope Paul VI on 25 October 1970.

<sup>82</sup> Holt, *Jesuits*, p. 92 (Fermor).

<sup>83</sup> Holt, *Jesuits*, pp. 192 (Petre) and 209 (Richardson).