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A THWARTED PROJECT
THE CAPUCHIN MISSION TO ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, 1608-1660

The story of the Capuchin Mission to England and Scotland in the seventeenth century reveals a tragedy, an heroic ideal unfulfilled, brilliant English and Scottish talent denied a place on native soil. It is paradoxical that the very forces of the French monarchy which helped so powerfully to promote the development of the Capuchin Mission to Ireland, and which patronized the Irish friaries at Charleville and Sedan, were largely responsible for stifling the Capuchin Mission to England and Scotland. The tragedy is deepened on discovering that it was the intense but misguided interest of that enigmatic genius, Friar Joseph of Paris, in the revival of Catholicism in Great Britain which crossed the foundation of independent English and Scottish Capuchin Missions. Even the iron will of a Francis Nugent had to bow to the grandiose schemes of His Grey Eminence.

1. - *The first Capuchins from Great Britain*

The winds of rumour which blew the Channel in the last quarter of the sixteenth century brought English Protestants news of emissaries from Rome lately arrived at Antwerp in the Low Countries. A broadsheet issued in London about 1587 announced¹:

« A Newe Secte of Friars called *Capichini*. »

An engraving showed two bearded friars, not caricatured in appearance as one would expect, while underneath ran the forbidding verse:

These newe freshecome friars being sprong up of late
doe nowe within Andwarpe keepe their abidinge:

¹ See British Museum, *Cat.Huth bequest MSS and books*, London 1912, 104. Hildebrand [van Hooghe], O.F.M.Cap., in *Coll.Franc.* 2(1932) 482, corrects the dating of the broadsheet as proposed by Cuthbert (*The Capuchins* II, London 1928, 338), and reprints the broadsheet, 483.

Seducinge muche people to their damned estate
 by their new false founde doctrine the Gospel deridinge.
 Sayinge and affirminge, which is no newe false tidinge:
 That all suche as doe the Pope's doctrine dispise,
 As damned soules to hell muste be ridinge,
 For they doe condemne them with their newe found lie,
 These be the children of the worlde counted wise,
 whose wisdom is folly to God and his elect.
 But let Sathan worke all that he can devise,
 God it is alone which the Gospel doeth protect.

It was an opportune warning to Her Majesty's God-fearing subjects. At the time this broadsheet was published Scots and Englishmen in exile had already joined the Capuchin Order.

A spy reporting to the English government in December 1598 listed some of these friars² — at Arras in the Low Countries a Father William; in France Father Constantine, 'whose name is Polidore Morgan'; Father Archangel of Pembroke, 'whose name is William Barloe, a Capuchin, but in great credit in France'; at Paris Father Patrick Bath, 'a great scholar'; at Saint Malo 'one Fitz... alias Bennett'; at Metz in Germany Father Fitzherbert.

The first of these exiles to make a name for himself was Constantine Morgan³. He had been a secular priest, a missionary in England, but was captured, imprisoned, and forced to leave the country. At Rome he became a Capuchin, and after an unsuccessful attempt to return to England during the time of Gregory XIII (1572-85) settled in France, was appointed guardian of various friaries including that of Saint-Honoré at Paris in 1592, and by the time of his death at Tours in 1616 had earned a reputation for exceptional sanctity.

The spy's report omits several Capuchin names, notably John Forbes and Francis Nugent.

John Forbes, son of Lord Forbes of Scotland, was a staunch Catholic like his mother, Margaret, daughter of the fourth earl of Huntly⁴. The father although a Calvinist was free in his morals — he

² P. GUILDAY, *The English Catholic refugees on the continent, 1558-1795*, London 1914, 14-18; Public Record Office, London, *Domestic State Papers, Elizabeth*, 269 no. 69. The printed *Cal.S.P.dom. (1598-1601)*, 145, gives only a general reference to this document.

³ For Constantine Morgan see: EMMANUEL DE LANMODEZ, O.F.M.Cap., *Les Pères Gardiens des capucins du couvent de la rue Saint-Honoré à Paris*, Paris 1893, 6; GODEFROY DE PARIS, O.F.M.Cap., *Les frères-mineurs capucins en France I*, Paris 1939, 140-142, 191, 197; MARCELLINUS MATICONENSIS [a Mâcon], O.F.M.Cap., *Annales Ord.Min.Cap.* III, Lyons 1676, 188-192. These accounts have to a great extent been outdated by Cassian Reel's biography of Morgan in *Biographical Studies, 1534-1829*, ed. A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers, Bognor Regis 1953, 23-36.

⁴ For the Forbes brothers see: CUTHBERT [OF BRIGHTON], O.F.M.Cap., *The Capuchins; a contribution to the history of the Counter-Reformation II*, London 1928, 322-325; G.E. C[OKAYNE], *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the*

fathered two illegitimate sons — and in 1573 divorced his wife. The two legitimate sons sided with their mother. The elder brother, William, went abroad to the Low Countries, took service in the army of Alessandro Farnese, viceroy of the Low Countries, but after three years became a Capuchin at Brussels. He lived only a further three years, and it was probably his death which spurred on his brother, John. This young man, anxious to escape from the prospect of an unwelcome marriage and the religious pressure of his anti-Catholic father fled to the Low Countries and joined the Capuchins at Tournai in August 1593. He became an outstanding preacher, and devoted special attention to the Scottish Calvinist soldiers who were in the pay of the Spanish viceroy. On one occasion, at Dixmude, he brought three hundred of them into the Catholic Church. His mother, driven abroad penniless after the downfall of Mary, Queen of Scots, went to live near her son, the only human consolation which remained for her. Both were carried away by the plague in 1606, and were buried beside the elder brother, William, in the friary church at Ghent. John had succeeded, six weeks before his death, to his father's title.

The omission by the spy of Francis Nugent's name is at first sight surprising. He was undoubtedly a prominent figure among the self-exiled subjects of Queen Elizabeth, and it was he more than anybody else who was to negotiate and manoeuvre over two decades for Capuchin Missions to England and Scotland. But from August 1596 until October 1600 he was, with one short break during 1598, in Italy under a cloud, suspected of unorthodox doctrine. This explains his absence from the spy's report in 1598.

2. - Francis Nugent

The story of the Capuchin Mission to the British Isles in the early seventeenth century is intimately bound up with the dynamic life of this Irishman, Francis Lavalin Nugent⁵. It was natural that he should have an interest in such a project. He was a younger son of Sir Edward Nugent of Ballebranagh, county Westmeath, and a cousin of Richard Nugent, fifteenth earl of Delvin. The Nugents belonged to the « Old English » in Ireland. They were the strong-armed guardians of the outer Pale against the attacks of the Gaelic Irish. The Nugent political tradition was one of allegiance to England tempered by an insistence on local independence and an unwavering

United Kingdom V, ed. V. Gibbs and H.A. Doubleday, London 1926, 546; *Lexicon Capuccinum*, Rome 1951, 121, s.v. *Archangelus Scotus*; HILDEBRAND [VAN HOOGLÉDE], *De Kapucijnen in de Nederlanden en het prinsbisdom Luik I*, Antwerpen 1945, 90, 112, 119, 172, 213, 272, 274, 413.

⁵ For Nugent see F.X. MARTIN, *Friar Nugent; a study of Francis Lavalin Nugent (1569-1635), agent of the Counter-Reformation*, Rome-London 1962.

loyalty to Rome. Their outlook had a striking resemblance to that of English Catholics. This is exemplified in the case of Francis Nugent.

Trumbull, the English ambassador at Brussels, stated of him in December 1617, 'certaine it is that he is borne of an ancyent family in the English Pale and province of Leinster in Ireland'⁶. Nugent summed up his own political position when he informed Trumbull in October 1623: 'seeinge I am bound a vassal to His Majestie [James I of England], though I differ from him in pointes of reigion, I owe him all fidelity and service'⁷. To plan a Capuchin Mission to the British Isles (which then included Ireland) would spring obviously to Nugent's inventive mind. There is no reason to believe that Nugent's political beliefs were any different in 1598 from those he expressed in 1623.

He had been sent to France in 1582 at the age of thirteen for a Catholic education, and after some years at Pont-à-Mousson in Lorraine he passed to the University of Louvain where he became a lecturer in philosophy. He joined the Capuchins at Brussels in October 1591, and even before ordination as a priest in 1595 had gained a reputation as a rousing preacher. No sooner ordained than he was appointed superior of the new house at Béthune. At the same time he gave himself whole-heartedly to the mystical movement, and since he was never one to do things by halves he became one of its leaders among the friars in the Low Countries. He was suspected of unorthodox mysticism, was sent to Rome in 1596, and after two trials by the Inquisition was finally declared innocent of heresy in August 1600.

His next five years were spent energetically in France, where he was appointed successively superior at Alençon, guardian and professor of theology at Chartres and then at Angers. In 1604 he went to Paris as professor of theology and a definitor of the province. O'Connell, the seventeenth century Irish Capuchin historian, comments that no foreigner had in so short a time pursued so distinguished a career in the province of Paris⁸.

3. - Benet of Canfield and John Chrysostom Campbell

France was, politically speaking, less treasonable ground than the Low Countries on which English-speaking Catholics might gather. Paris, then as always since the Middle Ages, was a natural meeting place for refugees and wanderers. For almost twenty years before

⁶ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 249 n.27.

⁸ R. O'CONNELL, O.F.M.Cap., *Historia Missionis Hibernicae Capuccinorum*, Troyes, Bibl. Municipale, MS 706, 40 (see *Cat.gén.MSS bibl.publ.départ.France: Troyes II*, Paris 1855, 297-298); see MARTIN, *op. cit.*, 83.

Nugent's arrival in Paris the friary in the rue Saint-Honoré had acted as a centre for the English-speaking recruits to the Capuchin order. In the year 1587 three talented nobles from Great Britain were to be found as Capuchin novices at Paris — Benet Fitch from Canfield in England, John Chrysostom Campbell from Glasgow in Scotland, Archangel Barlow from Pembroke in Wales⁹. All three had a burning desire to introduce the order to their native countries. Benet and John Chrysostom gained their opportunity in 1599.

Disguised in secular clothes and alive with missionary zeal they landed near Sandwich. With a Franciscan ingenuousness which must have almost disarmed their enemies they walked into the jail at Sandwich under the impression that it was an inn¹⁰. They were promptly lodged there at Her Majesty's expense. From Sandwich they were brought to London where examined by no less a person than Sir Robert Cecil, secretary of state¹¹. Campbell, a subject of the Scottish king and a member of the House of Argyll, was released in March 1600 at the request of Henry IV of France, and transported from the country.

Benet had to pay the price of his English citizenship, but was fortunate enough to be released after three years' imprisonment and sent into exile¹². He never again set foot in England. Paris claimed him as a spiritual director, and he became one of the formative influences in the rising mystical movement on the continent. It was a quirk of fate that among those drawn to the Capuchin order by his influence was Joseph Leclerc du Tremblay, known henceforth as Friar Joseph of Paris¹³. Even before falling under Benet's spell the young French aristocrat gained a personal acquaintance with English affairs. In 1597, a year before joining the Capuchins, he went to England in the suite of his relation, Hurault de Maisse, the French ambassador-extraordinary¹⁴.

It is unknown to what extent Benet may have turned Friar Joseph's mind to the beleaguered Catholics of England. There can be little doubt of the stimulation given by Francis Nugent. Friar

⁹ CUTHBERT, *Capuchins* I, 221.

¹⁰ BENEDICT OF BOLTON, O.F.M.Cap., *Father John Chrysostom, Scotch Capuchin*, in *Coll. Franc.* 4(1934) 578; OPTAT DE VEGHEL, O.F.M.Cap., *Benoit de Canfield, 1563-1610*, Rome 1949, 150-151; *Lex.Cap.*, 850.

¹¹ OPTAT DE VEGHEL, *op. cit.*, 152-154.

¹² N. ARCHBOLD, O.F.M.Cap., *Evangelicall Fruict of the Seraphicall Franciscan Order*, British Museum, *Harleian MS* 3888, p.61 (see *Cat.Harleian MSS* III, London 1912, 94). Fr. Cuthbert (*Capuchins* I, 221) states it was two years, but Optat de Veghel (*Benoit de Canfield*, 146-166), decides it was three and a half years.

¹³ OPTAT DE VEGHEL, *op. cit.*, 413; L. DEDOUVRES, *Le Père Joseph de Paris, capucin, l'Éminence Grise* I, Paris-Angers 1932, 135, 144; II, 91.

¹⁴ L. DEDOUVRES, *op. cit.*, II, 91.

Joseph became a student of theology under Nugent at Chartres in the year 1603, and a lasting friendship was formed¹⁵. Nugent never made a secret of his dream to found a Mission to the British Isles, and his enthusiasm must have infected the young aristocratic Capuchin with the dreamy eyes and the iron determination. When Nugent was changed to Paris the following year to act as professor of theology it appeared as if events were working with set precision for the establishment of the Mission he so much desired. The provincial of the Paris Capuchins during Nugent's first years in France was Père Ange, the former duc de Joyeuse. When Nugent was appointed a definitor of the province in 1604 he became intimately associated with Père Ange and the other leading French Capuchins. Père Ange had been a novice at the rue Saint-Honoré in the year 1587 with Benet of Canfield, John Chrysostom Campbell and Archangel of Pembroke¹⁶.

The rise of Nugent to prominence among the French Capuchins coincides with the manifestation of an official Capuchin interest in a Mission to the British Isles. One could at this stage attribute too much to Nugent, but his presence and pressure in the background must be constantly borne in mind. A plea on behalf of the Catholics of England and Scotland was made on 19 July 1603 by Anselmo Marzati, procurator general of the Capuchins. At the request of Pope Clement VIII he wrote to all the provinces of the order, asking that prayers be offered for the English and Scottish Catholics¹⁷. Marzati and Nugent had come to know one another during 1599 and 1600, when Nugent was on trial by the Inquisition at Rome¹⁸, but there is no evidence that Nugent had a hand in the circular letter of July 1603.

The predicament of the Catholic subjects of James I was again brought to Marzati's notice in the following year when Père Ange, provincial of the Paris Capuchins, wrote to him on 26 February 1604 petitioning for a Mission to the British Isles¹⁹. Since in the text of the petition Ireland gets no greater mention than England and Scotland we cannot readily assume that Nugent had any greater part in urging Père Ange than had Benet of Canfield, Archangel of Pembroke, or John Chrysostom Campbell. But his appointments as

¹⁵ N. ARCHBOLD, *The Historie of the Irish Capucins*, Troyes, Bibl. Municipale, MS 1103, p.58. (See *Cat.gén.MSS bibl.publ.départ.France: Troyes* II, Paris 1855, 453); see MARTIN, *Nugent*, 81-82.

¹⁶ CUTHBERT, *Capuchins* I, 221.

¹⁷ HILDEBRAND, *Kap.Nederland*. IX, 611. I am indebted to Rev. Placide de Cleer, O.F.M. Cap., Archivist, Capuchin Provincial Archives, Antwerp, for sending me a transcript of the original letter.

¹⁸ MARTIN, *Nugent*, 58, 64-65.

¹⁹ Ed. in *Archivium Hibernicum* 2(1913) 317-319.

guardian, definitor, and professor in the Paris province show that as a practical administrator and an intellectual he was ranked higher than the other English-speaking Capuchins, and therefore that his opinion would carry more weight. In addition, Nugent preferred, as we shall see, to present a case for a combined Mission to England, Scotland, and Ireland, rather than to select Ireland for special mention.

The mills of God grind slowly at Rome, but it was not too sanguine to expect that by the following year permission would come from the Capuchin authorities for a Mission to the British Isles. It is noticeable that in the year 1605 there was a concentration at Paris of a group of Capuchins, men with a personal interest in such a Mission. The guardian of the friary of Saint-Honoré was Archangel of Pembroke, Nugent was professor of theology, Friar Joseph was professor of philosophy, an Irishman, Patrick Bath, was professor of logic, and Benet of Canfield was a spiritual magnet for the pious souls of the city²⁰. The desire of these Capuchins was to go unrewarded. The petition from Père Ange produced no concrete results at Rome. This can be explained in great measure by the shattering blows which fell on English Catholics after the Gunpowder Plot of November 1605. Nevertheless, if Père Ange, the leading member of one of the most powerful families in France, had had the welfare of English Catholics close at heart he would have pursued his object once a lull came after the anti-Catholic storm. The formidable task of whipping up interest in a Capuchin Mission to the British Isles fell to Francis Nugent. The courageous activity of John Chrysostom Campbell in England and Scotland afforded him the occasion and the excuse he needed.

Benet of Canfield and John Chrysostom Campbell, as we have seen, had been the first two Capuchins to attempt missionary work in England²¹. Detention for seven months in the Tower of London and the Marshalsea, followed by expulsion from the kingdom in March 1600, did not damp Campbell's ardour. He believed his vocation lay in an active missionary life in England and Scotland just as much as Benet of Canfield's genius found expression as a spiritual director at Paris. Campbell returned to England about the year 1606, fortified with missionary faculties granted by Charles cardinal de Lorraine in his capacity as apostolic legate. Within a short time the Capuchin was arrested north of the Scottish border and found himself once

²⁰ MARTIN, *Nugent*, 84.

²¹ Some authors suppose that Constantine Morgan of England, another Capuchin, made an unsuccessful missionary attempt in England during the pontificate of Gregory XIII (1572-85) - v.g. GODEFROY DE PARIS, *Les frères-mineurs capucins en France* I, fasc. 2, 140-141. There appears no solid evidence for the belief that he actually worked in England as a Capuchin, though he had done so previously as a secular priest.

more transported to the Tower of London. After he had spent two years under lock and key French influence again interceded for him. On this occasion he was released due to the intervention of Vitri, a Frenchman and an intimate friend of James I, and after the French ambassador in England had given a guarantee that Campbell would not return²². James I took a frank pride in what came out of Scotland, and the fact that Campbell was a relation of the earl of Argyll was an added inducement to royal clemency.

4. - *Foundation of the Mission to Great Britain, 1608*

Nugent arrived in Rome for the general chapter of May 1608 as a delegate of the Belgian province, acutely aware that this was the moment and the place to gain official approval for a Mission to Great Britain²³. It cannot be pretended that he was equally interested in the three kingdoms of James I; a Mission to Ireland was his main object. He was genuinely concerned, however, for the persecuted Catholics of England and Scotland. Moreover, he was hard-headed enough to accept the fact that Ireland, for all its unswerving loyalty to Rome, was regarded as of minor importance when the interests of the Church in England were also under consideration.

Nugent's opening gambit at the chapter had all the measured subtlety of Italian diplomacy. The question was raised — almost casually — whether Campbell was entitled to work in England and Scotland now that the cardinal of Lorraine, who granted him the missionary faculties, had died the previous November. The case was discussed, and the body of official Capuchin opinion was obviously weighted against any of the friars being allowed to continue working in a country where it was forbidden to wear the religious habit in public, and where a normal conventual life could not be followed.

The situation was critical, but for Nugent who was thoroughly acquainted with the mentality of the continental Capuchins the events were happening just as expected. He realized that if an adverse decision were taken it would remain a formidable obstacle, to be quoted by Capuchin authorities as a precedent whenever permission for a Mission to the British Isles might again be sought even in more favourable circumstances. Any such self-denying ordinance would retain its force as long as anti-Catholic laws held sway in the three kingdoms. And in the year 1608 that meant the foreseeable future.

Not for the first time Nugent went over the heads of his superiors.

²² BENEDICT OF BOLTON, *art. cit.*, in *Coll.Franc.* 4(1934) 580; Bentivoglio to Rome, Brussels 17 Sept. 1611, ed. R. Belvederi, *Guido Bentivoglio, diplomatico* II, Rovigo 1948, 215.

²³ For the events at the general chapter of 1608 concerning the Mission to the British Isles see MARTIN, *Nugent*, 86-94.

He brought the problem direct to Paul V, confident that he was known personally to the pope. Paul V, as Camillo Borghese, had been one of the Inquisition cardinals who witnessed Nugent's outspoken self-defence at his trials in 1599 and 1600. Nugent expounded his arguments with conviction and emotion. Which was to take precedence — Capuchin regulations or the spiritual welfare of the persecuted Catholics in the British Isles? To the Capuchin delegates in Rome this would have seemed an unfair over-simplification of the problem, but in fact it did reduce the question to its stark essentials. Nugent ended his appeal to Paul V on a note of his own helplessness in the face of Capuchin doubts about the proposal. Paul was roused and exclaimed, « But we will inflame them! ». The immediate result was the papal brief of 29 May 1608 establishing a Capuchin Mission to Great Britain. It was hardly an accident that in this foundation charter of the Mission to « England, Scotland and Ireland » the Holy See indicated an order of importance and interest²⁴.

While the capitular fathers were in Rome there occurred another event of more than passing importance for the future history of the Mission. Ange de Joyeuse was in Rome as delegate from the Paris Province, and in some way he became acquainted with a young convert, George Leslie of Aberdeen, then a student at the Scots College²⁵. By the time Ange left Rome Leslie had seen the path to a new vocation. He was to attain a troubled fame both in life and after death under the title « The Scottish Capuchin ».

The papal brief of 29 May 1608 would remain no more than a pious gesture unless men, money and a recognised continental base were forthcoming. The general, Girolamo da Castelferretti, showed his goodwill by appealing to the capitular fathers at Rome from the different continental countries to assist the Mission by receiving and training youths from the British Isles²⁶. Lest this appeal might have been forgotten once the delegates returned to their respective provinces, the procurator general, Michelangelo da Rimini, sent a circular letter to the non-Italian provinces on 17 June 1609 exhorting in particular the provinces of Belgium, Paris, Lorraine, and Lyons to

²⁴ « Paulus, divina providentia V, Pontifex Maximus, praesente Illustrissimo ac Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali Barberino Protectore Scotiae ac Vice-Protectore Hiberniae, Missionem Patrum Capucinatorum Sancti Assisnatis in Maiorem Britanniam, ac eius omnes insulas, quae ad Angliam, Scotiam et Hiberniam reduci communiter solent » (*Bull. Cap. V*, 278; printed in MARTIN, *Nugent*, 301; see also *ibid.*, 92 n.38). An original sealed copy of the decree is in the Archives de l'Aube, Troyes, *II.H.I(2)*; this came from the Irish Capuchin archives at Charleville, and is probably the copy which Nugent secured in Rome.

²⁵ FRÉDÉRIC CALLAËY, O.F.M.Cap., *Essai critique sur la vie du P. Archange Leslie*, in *Études Franc.* 31(1914) 499-500.

²⁶ MARTIN, *Nugent*, 94.

receive and train in their novitiates those young exiles from the British Isles who wanted to become Capuchins²⁷.

Nugent felt confident that the Capuchin ideal would attract men from Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales, but it was a common experience of seminaries and religious orders that English-speaking nationals and their continental fellows did not readily live in harmony together. In any case he was convinced that a separate friary was needed where attention could be devoted to the particular training needed for those returning as missionaries to the unusual religious circumstances of the British Isles. For this reason he wrote to Rome on 26 February 1610 asking that a continental house be given over as a base for the Mission. The general, Girolamo, who was harassed with many requests that he send friars to assist the forces of the Counter-Reformation in the disputed religious areas of Europe thought to solve two demands with one decision. Although the Capuchins in Switzerland were rapidly regaining whole districts for Catholicism they were unable, due to shortage of man-power, to accept all the pressing invitations to open new houses. With this in mind the general replied to Nugent on 17 May 1610 suggesting that the Mission to the British Isles establish its base at Thonon in Switzerland²⁸.

The general's double objective is understandable, but it was wishful thinking to believe that a house in the south-west of Switzerland, near to Geneva, could serve as an effective base for a Mission to the British Isles. Nugent knew from observation that the rapid growth of the English and Irish Jesuits, the revival of the English and Irish secular clergy as well as of the Augustinians, Dominicans and Franciscans, was inseparably connected with the English, Irish and Scots colleges in Spain, France and the Low Countries. It was France and the Low Countries which figured largely in Nugent's mind. He therefore declined the offer.

Nugent had reason to feel satisfied when he was appointed guardian of the Capuchin friary at Douai in August 1610. He could hope to draw recruits to the Capuchin order from the English and Irish colleges at Douai, and the next few years were to show that these hopes were well-founded. But all Nugent's plans were knocked awry when he received a letter from the general, dated 28 August 1610, appointing him commissary general of the new Capuchin Mission to the Lower Rhine²⁹. In fact, he was commissioned to introduce the Capuchins to Germany.

²⁷ *Ibid.*; printed *ibid.*, 302.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 95.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 97.

5. - *The English-speaking Capuchins in the Rhineland*

Nugent was never one to lie down under adverse circumstances. He undertook his assignment with energy, establishing a Capuchin centre at Cologne, but he did not relinquish his object of a Mission to the British Isles. With that tenacity which was instinctive to his nature he resolved to organize the Mission as best he could from the Rhineland. The general was agreeable to this compromise, and even suggested that the majority of the Capuchin pioneers who were to accompany Nugent to the Rhineland should be Irish, and that he might also summon to Germany such Irish students as were in France and the Low Countries³⁰. Nugent acted on the general's suggestion. Two priests, Edward Bath and Barnaby Barnewall, joined him from France, and a Capuchin student, John Baptist Browne, came from the Low Countries. The most encouraging sign was the arrival at Cologne of seven young men, who had just finished their classical studies in the Irish college at Douai, and wished to become Capuchins³¹.

England and Scotland were not forgotten. The intrepid John Chrysostom Campbell, who was in France recovering from his two years' imprisonment in the Tower of London, saw a new opportunity for a Capuchin Mission at work in Great Britain. He and Nugent had been fellow-students twenty years previously during the golden years of their youth in the Scots-Irish College at Pont-à-Mousson. While he knew the Irishman's almost ruthless ability to attain his objects he recognized that goodwill and will power could go only a limited distance. He appreciated the meagre financial resources at Nugent's disposal and brought him a sudden windfall in the person of Thomas Sackville, son of Thomas, the first earl of Dorset³².

Young Sackville was a Catholic, an adventurous spirit who was prepared to put his sword and money at the service of the Catholic cause. He had gained his spurs in 1595, fighting like so many other young Christian noblemen of the time against the Turks in Hungary. By 1611 he was in France, exhorting the papacy to renewed effort on behalf of the Catholics in Great Britain. Conscious of the need for English Catholic experts in the battle of the books, he volunteered to support a group of English priests on the continent whose pens were to uphold the Catholic cause³³. While this ambitious scheme was

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, 120, 122.

³² For Thomas Sackville (1571-1646), and his father, Thomas (1536-1608), first earl of Dorset, see *Dictionary of National Biography* XVII, London 1909, 585-589; G.E.C., *Complete Peerage* IV, London 1916, 422-423.

³³ Bentivoglio to Rome, Brussels 17 Sept. 1611, ed. R. Belvederi, *Guido Bentivoglio* II, 212-215.

under discussion Sackville became acquainted with Campbell at Paris. The two travelled to Brussels on foot, Sackville disguised as a pilgrim, and proposed their plans to the resident papal nuncio, Bentivoglio. The nuncio wrote in cipher to Rome, stating that Sackville had offered to pay 2,000 *scudi* towards the building of Capuchin houses at Cologne and Mainz, as centres where English, Scottish and Irish novices might be trained for missionary work in their native countries³⁴.

It is safe to assume that the money went to Cologne. Sackville returned to Paris, while Campbell joined Nugent at Cologne³⁵. Epiphanius Lindsay, another Scot, also went to Cologne³⁶. He was a Capuchin of heroic fibre whose labours will be mentioned later in this article. We know that at least two English Capuchins, Fathers Anselm and Joseph, helped to strengthen the little group from the British Isles at Cologne³⁷.

Campbell was too restless by nature and too convinced that his vocation lay as a missionary in Great Britain to remain for long in the Rhineland. In 1612 he set off with Nugent's permission for his third return to England³⁸. The French ambassador who had guaranteed that the Scottish Capuchin would not re-enter the kingdom was now dead, and Campbell believed that he was thereby freed in honour from the promise to remain in exile³⁹.

The growing prospects for the Mission to Great Britain under Nugent's direction began to attract young Englishmen to the Capuchins. In 1612 three students of the English College at Douai joined the order⁴⁰. The following year another student of the college followed their example⁴¹.

The Capuchins at Cologne were an instant success and had little option but to give themselves to the constant demands of the religious revival in the Rhineland. Nevertheless, the English-speaking friars, who composed the majority of the Capuchin group at Cologne, were alert for any contact with the British Isles. A group of twenty five English actors, all Protestants, stopped at Cologne on their way to Prague to the court of the Elector Palatine Frederick V, newly married to Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England. All were converted to

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 214.

³⁵ O'CONNELL, *Hist.Miss.*, 61; ARCHBOLD, *Evangel.Fruict*, 49.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Their signatures are included in a document from the English-speaking Capuchins to Cardinal Borghese, Cologne 3 Sept. 1614; see MARTIN Nugent, 138 n.3.

³⁸ O'CONNELL, *Hist.Miss.*, 61, 314.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 61; BENEDICT OF BOLTON, *art. cit.*, in *Coll.Franc.* 4(1934) 581.

⁴⁰ *Diaries of the English College, Douai*, ed. T. Knox, London 1878, 34-35.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

the Catholic Church before leaving Cologne, largely due to Nugent's trenchant exposition of Catholic doctrine⁴².

Nugent was one of those responsible for the conversion of Benjamin Carrier, a fellow of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, who was chaplain and preacher to James I⁴³. Carrier, shaken in his Protestant faith by reading the works of the early Christian fathers, had gone to the continent, and while in Germany visited Nugent and the Capuchins at Cologne. His conversion to Catholicism was hastened as a result of discussions with Nugent.

Even in favourable circumstances it would have been difficult for an English-speaking group in the Rhineland to organize a Mission to the British Isles, but dissensions within the Capuchin community at Cologne disrupted any such effort. Nugent was deposed from his office as commissary general because of the accusations that in his missionary efforts in the Rhineland he was adopting novel methods which ran counter to traditional Capuchin practices. The crisis among the Capuchins at Cologne might have passed off peacefully but for the character of Cornelio da Recanati, the Italian commissary general who replaced Nugent⁴⁴. Cornelio was zealous and energetic, but narrow in his outlook and vindictive in his methods. He made no secret of his conviction that the English-speaking group, and Nugent in particular, were responsible for lowering Capuchin standards by introducing new-fangled practices. When it became evident to Nugent and his companions that there was no abiding resting place for them at Cologne Nugent wrote to Rome on 24 November 1613 asking for a separate house for the Mission to Ireland; it was also to serve the English and Scottish Capuchins. The Capuchin procurator general, Clemente da Noto, sent a sharp reply on 16 December, stating with a sweeping disregard for the geographical and historical differences between Ireland and Great Britain that the continental Capuchin provinces were slow to accept Irish recruits to the order since these came from a country heavily infected with heresy and obdurate in its errors⁴⁵.

Meantime Cornelio da Recanati did not relax his campaign against the English-speaking friars. Matters had come to such a pass by September 1614 that they sent a piteous appeal direct to Pope Paul V⁴⁶. They declared that Cornelio was making life unbearable for them and according to common report was determined to drive

⁴² MARTIN, *Nugent*, 126.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁴⁴ For this unhappy phase of Capuchin history at Cologne see *ibid.*, 138-159.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*; printed *ibid.*, 307-308.

the little group from the British Isles into a new exile, or as they expressed it, into dispersion among the gentiles. They pointed out that when similar national antipathies had arisen among the Benedictines, Franciscans and Jesuits it was solved by establishing separate houses for the English-speaking members of these orders.

Letters from Albergati, the papal nuncio at Cologne, to Borghese, the cardinal secretary of state, during 1614 corroborate the statements of the English-speaking group. Cornelio had gone so far, the nuncio reported to Rome on 26 October 1614, as to expel them from the monastery at Cologne without the letters of introduction which, strictly speaking, were necessary for their reception in Capuchin houses elsewhere⁴⁷. The Irish friars nevertheless settled with other Capuchin communities in Germany and France, while Nugent went back to the Low Countries. From there he arranged that the new friary to be built at Charleville in northern France by Charles de Gonzague, duke of Nevers, be given over to the use principally of the Irish but also of the other friars from the British Isles.

One of the English friars, Father Angelus, set out for England, and worked in London until arrested in 1618 and imprisoned⁴⁸. It was in this same year that Francis Nugent arrived at Rome for the general chapter, armed with letters from Irish, English and Scottish Catholic authorities appealing for an increase in the number of Capuchins working in Great Britain and Ireland. Anthony Lord Montague of Cowdray wrote a restrained but moving letter on behalf of the English Catholics; Baron Maitland of Thirlestane, The MacDonald of Clanranald, and Thomas Dease of the Irish College at Paris appealed warmly for friars to succour the oppressed Catholics of Scotland⁴⁹. Dease also wrote on behalf of the Catholics in Ireland, as did Christopher Cusack, president of the Irish College at Douai, Conor O'Reilly an exiled Irish chieftain, and Hugh O'Donnell, earl of Tyrconnell⁵⁰.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 147-148.

⁴⁸ CUTHBERT, *Capuchins* II, 337.

⁴⁹ The letters are cited in O'CONNELL, *Hist.Miss.*, 170-173, 182-183, 193-196. See MARTIN, *Nugent*, 183-186. - For Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Cowdray of Battle Abbey and Cowdray Park, Sussex (1574-1629), see G.E.C., *Complete Peerage* IX, London 1936, 100; J. GILLOW, *Bibliographical Dictionary of English Catholics* V, London 1902, 78-82. He has been described as « perhaps at this period the greatest supporter of the persecuted faith in England ». He was accused of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, and imprisoned in the Tower of London in November 1605, but released in August 1606. He was married to Jane, daughter of Thomas Sackville, first earl of Dorset, and sister to Thomas Sackville who in 1611 contributed 2,000 *scudi* for the Capuchin Mission to the British Isles (see above n.34). - James Maitland (1568-1625?), son of Sir William, a devoted adherent of Mary, Queen of Scots, was disinherited and lived abroad. For the Maitlands see G.E.C., *Complete Peerage* XII, Pt. 1, London 1953, 699-702; for James see *Scots Peerage* V, ed. J.B. Paul, Edinburgh 1908, 295-296. - For the MacDonalds of Clanranald see *ibid.*, 39-40, 562.

⁵⁰ For Dease, Cusack, O'Reilly, and O'Neill see MARTIN, *Nugent*, 184 n.90-92, 94 n.47.

It was now that Nugent presented his ambitious proposal to the Capuchin superiors in Rome — he asked that a special unit of organization be established comprising three continental friaries to serve Missions in England, Scotland and Ireland⁵¹. Probably even Nugent was surprised when the Capuchin Congregation for the Missions accepted the proposal in principle and submitted it for further consideration to a special commission⁵².

This is a moment in Capuchin history when we can see Nugent tense with anxiety, waiting for the result. He was a man who would pray fervently for a favourable decision, but who would also leave no human means unexplored to influence the result. It was a magnificent opportunity though fenced around with thorny difficulties. With a director of Nugent's organizing ability and practical genius there was a strong likelihood the scheme would become a reality. The one thing necessary was the consent of the Capuchin superiors. This was refused. Nugent was disappointed but not surprised when the commission severely pared down his demands. A series of decrees was issued giving the colour of reality to the Irish Mission, but a discreet silence was preserved about the Mission to England and Scotland⁵³.

Meanwhile the tenuous Capuchin connection with England and Scotland was being strained to snapping point. During the year 1618 Father Angelus was recognised as a Catholic priest and imprisoned in London⁵⁴. He remained behind bars until the death of James I in 1625. The courageous John Chrysostom Campbell had landed in Scotland with two Jesuits on 11 November 1613⁵⁵. Two years later he was made vividly aware of his precarious existence on hearing of the capture and execution of Father John Ogilvie, one of the two Jesuits⁵⁶.

Campbell managed to evade capture for a further four years until a priest-hunter, George Fortune, got on his track. The Capuchin was taken near Berwick late in 1619⁵⁷. He found himself in familiar surroundings when the Lieutenant of the Tower of London received

⁵¹ O'CONNELL, *Hist.Miss.*, 200-201, 314-315.

⁵² MARTIN, *Nugent*, 186.

⁵³ *Ibid.*; printed *ibid.*, 315.

⁵⁴ CYPRIEN DE GAMACHES, *Mémoires de la Mission des Capucins de la province de Paris près la reine d'Angleterre depuis l'année 1630 jusqu'à 1669*, ed. Apollinaire de Valence, Paris 1881, 363. Cyprien de Gamaches, O.F.M.Cap. († 1679), went to London with the French Capuchins in 1630, and worked there for thirty years (see *Lex.Cap.*, 487).

⁵⁵ W. FORBES-LEITH, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James I*, Edinburgh 1885, 297.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 309-314.

⁵⁷ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1619-1621*, London 1930, 64.

orders in November to keep him a close prisoner⁵⁸. On this occasion Campbell had a prolonged taste of English prisons. With an almost monotonous repetition the French ambassador interceded on his behalf for the third time; in this case it was Cadenat, ambassador-extraordinary from the French king. Campbell's banishment from the kingdom was decreed on 21 February 1621⁵⁹. The following April two of the king's messengers were given the task of conveying him from the Tower to Dover, where they were to ensure that he was securely put aboard a ship outward bound from His Majesty's dominions⁶⁰. He never again returned to Great Britain.

At this particular stage the concern of the French government for the Scottish Capuchin signified something deeper than detached official sympathy. Friar Joseph was now in the counsels of the French king. Due to his prompting Louis XIII gained permission from James I in 1621 for two French Capuchins to serve the chapel of the French ambassador in London⁶¹. This was the first tentacle of domination over the English Mission directed from Friar Joseph's cell in the rue Saint-Honoré. The ambassador, Tanneguy le Veneur, comte de Tillières, was strongly attached to the Capuchins. His chaplains, Ange de Raconis and Archange de Luynes were distinguished men⁶². Père Ange was a former Huguenot with a ready gift for religious discussion. He quickly gained sympathy and converts among the nobility in London⁶³. Père Archange was a relative of the duc de Luynes, and this fact combined with his temperate zeal gained him the *entrée* to English court circles.

6. - Nugent appeals on behalf of Scotland

Nugent, for all his friendships and sympathies with the French Capuchins was not willing to allow them an exclusive right to England as a mission territory⁶⁴. The foundation of the Congregation of Pro-

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 349.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 377.

⁶¹ DEDOUVRES, *Joseph de Paris* II, 92-94.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 94-95.

⁶³ Propaganda to Nugent, 27 May 1623, mentions a letter from Père Ange de Raconis telling of the encouraging progress in London, of many nobles converted, and of the king's favour (*Archivum de S. Congregatione de Propaganda Fide*, Rome [= APF], *Lettere*, 1, 14r). Propaganda was apparently referring to the *Informazione o relatione delle cose necessarie per la Missione d'Inghilterra* written by Père Ange from London 29 Oct. 1622: now in APF, *Scritt.rif.cong.gen.*, 347, 23r-v.

⁶⁴ The French Capuchins of the Normandy Province were refused a Mission to England.

paganda in 1622 afforded Nugent an opportunity to press for an independent Mission to England and Scotland. In his first letter to Propaganda, on 16 June 1622, he referred to his work on behalf of the Mission to England and Scotland, which he described as begun by the authority of Paul V⁶⁵. Four months later, in a lengthy report which he composed for Propaganda on 19 October 1622, he accentuated the need to avail of the favourable political circumstances for the development of a Mission to Great Britain⁶⁶. It is noticeable that he treated of Scotland rather than England. He told of the completely inadequate number of priests trying to satisfy the spiritual needs of Scottish Catholics. He commented that special provision should be made in the continental seminaries for Highland Scots, and suggested that a college for this purpose be established in Rome⁶⁷.

He concluded the report with a request to have the Mission erected as an autonomous unit responsible directly to the general. To strengthen his request he pointed out that as a result of restrictions imposed by the Walloon Capuchins the number of missionaries sent to the British Isles during the previous seven years was limited to five to Ireland, three to England, and two to Scotland⁶⁸. This statement indicates that Nugent was in fact trying to fulfil his obligations to all three countries. We know the names of the friars in Ireland in 1623 — Bath, Comyn, Glynn, Laurence Nugent. Fathers Angelus, Anselm and Richard were the Capuchins in England. Father Epiphanius was one of the two in Scotland. Who was the other? Perhaps Nugent had already given Archangel Leslie permission to go to Scotland, and therefore considered him as one of those « sent ». Archangel landed in England in 1623.

Nugent wrote from Brussels to Cardinal Barberini on 18 November 1622 repeating his suggestion that three houses be grouped together as a mission unit to serve the British Isles⁶⁹. The following April he wrote from Charleville to Cardinal Ludovisi asking frankly

in 1626. See synopsis of the refusal from Propaganda in GUILDAY, *English Catholic refugees*, 296 n.2. It is unlikely the refusal was due to Nugent's influence. More probably it may be traced to Friar Joseph who had already allocated England to the friars of his own Paris Province.

⁶⁵ Printed in MARTIN, *Nugent*, 324-325.

⁶⁶ *APF, Particolari*, 1, 436r-451v.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 445r-v.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 449v. In a letter from Charleville to Cardinal Ludovisi, 9 April 1623, Nugent recorded that there were then four Capuchins in Ireland, three in England, two in Scotland (*APF, Scritt.rif.cong.gen.*, 347, 183r-v).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 294, 39r-40r. See above n.51.

that the Holy See put pressure on the Capuchin general⁷⁰. He returned once again to what he had originally proposed at the general chapter of 1618 and reiterated in November 1622 — the establishment of three friaries on the continent as a separate unit to serve Missions in England, Scotland and Ireland. He urged that the unusually favourable political situation — the Spanish marriage negotiations were then afoot — should be availed of. Propaganda showed unaccustomed alacrity by replying on 27 May⁷¹. The Congregation praised him for his comments on the Mission, and announced that acting on his advice it had instructed the Capuchin general that now was the acceptable time to develop a missionary enterprise in Great Britain. There was the final encouraging remark that the pope was keenly interested in the project.

7. - *Negotiations with James I of England*

Since the year 1621 King James had begun to display a tolerant and almost benevolent attitude towards the Catholics⁷². Observers acidly commented that the hope of a marriage between the prince of Wales and the Infanta was acting as a demulcent on James's harsh Presbyterian principles. James succeeded in raising the hopes of the Spaniards and the Catholics. Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador in London, showed diplomatic dexterity in his encouragement of the king's plans.

During the year 1622 diplomatic relations were unofficially established between the papal nuncio at Brussels and the English court⁷³. The Capuchin, Giacinto da Casale, gladly accepted the royal hand of friendship proffered from London. Another friar, Alessandro d'Ales, passed back and forward between London and Brussels during the years 1622-1623.

The letters of Trumbull, the English ambassador at Brussels, show that he and Nugent had been in touch with one another at least

⁷⁰ APF, *Scritt.rif.cong.gen.*, 347, 183r-v. A note added by the secretary of Propaganda to this letter states that at a meeting of the Congregation on 23 May 1623 it was decided to urge the Capuchin General to bestir himself about a Mission to England: « Die 23 Maii 1623. Sanctissimus iussit commoneri per Procuratorem Curiae Generalem ut de missionibus aliis in Angliam finiendis cogitet consultis prius aliis patribus melius informatis ». This directive of the pope is not mentioned in the official *Acta* of the Congregation.

⁷¹ APF, *Lettere*, 1, 14r.

⁷² L. PASTOR, *History of the popes from the close of the middle ages*, transl. F.I. Antrobus and F.R. Kerr, vol. XXVII, 164-165.

⁷³ MARTIN, *Nugent*, 204-205. Of special value on this subject is G. ALBION, *Charles I and the court of Rome*, London-Louvain 1935.

since the year 1617⁷⁴. When The MacDonald of Clanranald wrote to Nugent in April 1618, encouraging the development of the Capuchin Mission to Scotland, he stated that James I and his advisers held the Capuchins in high esteem⁷⁵. There was a belief current among the friars that Anne of Denmark, James's wife, who was supposed to have died a Catholic in 1619, had been attended in her last moments by a Capuchin missionary in England⁷⁶. This reflects their wishes rather than the historical reality. When Nugent wrote from Brussels to Cardinal Barberini on 18 November 1622 he declared that the king of England was well-disposed towards the English Catholics⁷⁷. He mentioned that he had already visited Trumbull on a few occasions, and had been encouraged by him to write to King James on behalf of his Catholic subjects.

The visits of the Capuchin, Alessandro d'Ales, to London as a papal agent during the years 1622-1623 were welcomed by the king who hoped to drive a bargain with the Holy See by improving the lot of English Catholics in return for the restitution of the Palatinate to his son-in-law, Frederick V. The prince of Wales had several friendly religious discussions with a group of Capuchin friars during his romantic but fruitless visit to the Spanish court in 1623, and is supposed to have given one of them, Zacharias Boverio da Saluzzo, a standing invitation to visit him in England⁷⁸.

James I was aware of the considerable power exercised by two Capuchins in the diplomatic sphere — Giacinto da Casale on behalf of the papacy in German affairs, and Joseph of Paris as a colleague of Richelieu in France. Moreover, as far as James was concerned the Capuchins were innocent of the sinister motives and methods attributed to the Jesuits. It was not surprising therefore that James expressed himself as willing to treat personally with Nugent about the restoration of the Palatinate to Frederick V, or at least to his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of James. The details of the negotiations preceding Nugent's intended visit to James have been told elsewhere⁷⁹. Agreement about the visit had almost been reached when there was

⁷⁴ See MARTIN, *Nugent*, 207.

⁷⁵ Cited in O'CONNELL, *Hist.Miss.*, 196.

⁷⁶ ARCHBOLD, *Hist.Ir.Cap.*, 133. For the question of Queen Anne's alleged conversion to Catholicism see Albion, *op. cit.*, 194.

⁷⁷ APF, *Scritt.rif.cong.gen.*, 294, 39r.

⁷⁸ ALBION, *op. cit.*, 33-34. For Charles's invitation to Boverio see ARCHBOLD, *Evangel.Fruit*, 7, 406-407. In 1633 Boverio, Alessandro d'Ales and two other Capuchins again attempted to convert Charles to Catholicism; see P. HUGHES, *The conversion of Charles I*, in *Clergy Rev.* 8(1934) 118-119.

⁷⁹ MARTIN, *Nugent*, 204-214.

a hitch over the form which the safe conduct was to take in writing, and there were delays due to Trumbull's suspicions of Nugent.

Unexpectedly Nugent decided to forego meeting the king. He took his courage in his hands and slipped into England in disguise, unaware that a royal messenger with the safe conduct was pursuing him. He stayed secretly for a short time in London with Sir John Francis Bath, an intimate friend of the all-powerful Buckingham. Sir John was an Irishman and a brother of a Capuchin, Edward Bath. It is likely that Nugent while in London sought out the Capuchins, Fathers Anselm and Richard, and visited Father Angelus who was still in jail. Had Nugent but known that James I was genuinely anxious to see him he would doubtless have availed of the opportunity and turned it to the benefit of the Capuchin Mission to Great Britain. Instead, he made his way to Chester, disguised as a Walloon merchant, and thence to Ireland⁸⁰. We shall meet him in London again in 1629.

8. - *Friar Joseph intervenes*

The lot of the Catholics, at least in London, noticeably improved during the shuttling back and forward of amicable proposals between James I and Rome. Catholics no longer concealed their chapel-going; their children were sent to the continent for education without any interference from the government. It was especially in court circles that Catholics began to take a cautious initiative.

Nevertheless, it was Friar Joseph and his French *confrères*, not Nugent and his fellow-subjects of the Stuart king, who made use of the religious toleration. The Capuchins in France were conducting a highly-successful series of campaigns among the Huguenots, and were to signalise their prominent part in the work by founding a friary at La Rochelle in 1628. Friar Joseph, the director of these Missions, had the friendship of Richelieu and the support of Louis XIII. Francis Nugent, in contrast with Friar Joseph, was a lone individual constantly sharpening his wits as he tried to devise new ways of using his personal friendships for the furthering of the Missions to Ireland, England and Scotland.

Friar Joseph's imperial imagination now spun a vast plan for Missions to Morocco, Tunisia, Constantinople, Greece, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Smyrna, Persia, Egypt, Canada, India and Ethiopia. It is a tribute to his practical genius that all of them were successfully undertaken⁸¹. England always had a prominent place in Friar Joseph's

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 214-215.

⁸¹ For Friar Joseph's contribution to the foreign missions see DEDOUVRES, *Joseph de*

plans, and it also was marked out for a French Capuchin Mission. By a decree of 2 May 1625 Propaganda granted Friar Joseph and Père Léonard de Paris the right to Missions in England and Scotland⁸². Nugent was apparently not even consulted, though he was director of the established Mission to Great Britain.

This interest of the French Capuchins in England and Scotland was laudable and to be commended by all wishing the return of these countries to the Catholic Church. But for all his good intentions Friar Joseph made the mistake of those who become possessed by the power they yield. He wished to dominate. He was not content to undertake a Mission to England and Scotland. He decided that English and Scottish Capuchins should be withdrawn from Great Britain. He announced this decision to Propaganda on 25 October 1625, when triumphantly telling of the capture of La Rochelle⁸³. In a further letter of 12 March 1626 he informed Propaganda that two experienced French Capuchin missionaries were ready at Paris to travel to London in the suite of the French ambassador, whom he described as a man of piety and well-disposed towards the Capuchin order⁸⁴. Friar Joseph promised that the number of missionaries would be gradually increased. He added almost casually that the two Capuchins in Scotland had been recalled to the continent but had not yet arrived perhaps, he conjectured, because the letters to them had been intercepted.

His Grey Eminence was so preoccupied with his world-wide schemes that he was oblivious of the thoughtless, even ruthless, way he was treading underfoot the dreams of a little group of English and Scottish Capuchins who were hoping for a Mission independent of foreign control. It was bitter medicine in particular for Father Angelus to swallow. Imprisoned at London in 1618 and released in 1625, he had spent some months recuperating in France before returning to England with the Welsh friar, Archangel of Pembroke⁸⁵. Archangel, already distinguished in France, made a name for himself by his tireless work in London. But there was no redress against Friar Joseph's command. Angelus and Archangel returned to France,

Paris II, 7-135; G. DE VAUMAS, *Lettres et documents du P. Joseph de Paris concernant les missions étrangères, 1619-1638*, Lyons 1942; Idem, *L'activité missionnaire du P. Joseph de Paris*, in *Rev.d'Hist.des Missions* 15(1938) 336-359.

⁸² APF, Acta, 3, 229r-v n.11 (13 June 1625); see also *ibid.*, 221v.

⁸³ APF, *Scritt.rif.cong.gen.*, 101, 294r-v.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 289r. This letter also includes a report on the Missions to England and Scotland.

⁸⁵ CYPRIEN DE GAMACHES, *Mémoires*, 363-365. For a sketch of Angelus's life see *ibid.*, 355-367.

never again to see England⁸⁶. Father Anselm, another English Capuchin also had to make his way out of the country. A third English friar, Father Richard, was unable to obey Friar Joseph's command since he was then imprisoned in London⁸⁷.

Even the two Capuchin missionaries in distant Scotland were not exempt from Friar Joseph's orders. Archangel Leslie and Epiphanius Lindsay travelled to London with breaking hearts on their way to the continent. Lindsay's missionary career was so remarkable and the indignation of Scottish Catholics so intense that he was halted in London and allowed back to Scotland⁸⁸.

Friar Joseph's plans for a Catholic revival under French Capuchin auspices were at first delayed by the presence at London of the Oratorians. When Henrietta Maria came to England in May 1625 she brought twelve Oratorian priests under the leadership of the famous de Bérulle⁸⁹. He accompanied her as confessor, but was forced to leave England in November 1625 under threat of expulsion. Ten of the Oratorians followed him during August 1626⁹⁰. De Bérulle, whose shining merits were recognized by his creation as a cardinal in 1627, became discouraged about the prospects for a Catholic revival in England, and by the time of his death on 2 October 1629 there remained only one Oratorian at London, a Scot, the official confessor to the queen⁹¹.

Once the cardinal was dead Friar Joseph was able to let plans for England take full shape. When the new French ambassador, the marquis de Fontenay-Mareuil, came to London in February 1630 he was accompanied by ten friars under the direction of Père Léonard de Paris⁹². Friar Joseph himself made strenuous efforts to join the Mission, but neither the king of France nor Richelieu was willing to part with him. The French Capuchins were graciously received by their Majesties, and lodged in a house built by the queen adjoining her splendid palace, Somerset House.

Archbold noted the irony of history by which the house belonging to the earl of Somerset, uncle and tutor of Edward VI, became the

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 366-367.

⁸⁷ Friar Joseph to Propaganda, 12 March 1626 : *APF, Scritt.rif.cong.gen.*, 101, 289r. La-gonissa, papal nuncio at Brussels, to Propaganda, 31 July 1627, mentioned that Fr. Angelus was then imprisoned at London (*ibid.*, 129, 279v). Was this a confusion with Fr. Richard?

⁸⁸ CYPRIEN DE GAMACHES, *Mémoires*, 338.

⁸⁹ DEDOUVRES, *Joseph de Paris II*, 106.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 107-108; ARCHBOLD, *Evangel.Fruict*, 207.

⁹² ALBION, *Charles I and the court of Rome*, 106-107.

centre of a Catholic revival in London⁹³. Nor was it an exaggeration on Archbold's part to speak of a Catholic revival. The French Capuchins were a sensation in the city⁹⁴. At first they had been constrained to wear black cassocks and long coats in order to appear less conspicuous. Such a concession to religious prejudice irked the friars who by training and experience had a disregard, and almost a disdain, for public criticism. After a few weeks the cassocks were laid aside. The foreign friars in strange religious dress became as great a curiosity for London as the coloured slaves or the birds with fantastically coloured plumage which explorers were bringing from the fabulous lands of the New World.

The laying aside of the long black coats was symbolic of the intention to take London by storm. Crowds flocked to the queen's chapel. Sir Nicholas White of Leixlip, county Dublin, assessed from personal observation that about six thousand people heard Mass there on Sundays and holy days⁹⁵. This statement may have been an exaggeration but it nevertheless indicates how the tide was turning in favour of Catholicism in London. Services were held daily from six in the morning until noonday. On Sundays and holy days there was a special instruction in religious controversy beginning at 1 p.m., followed by sung Vespers and a sermon. Instruction in Catholic doctrine was given publicly three times a week in both French and English. The leading Catholics were brought together in the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary. The variety, dignity and colour of the Catholic ceremonies helped to draw congregations hungry for external religious expression after the bare ritual of the Anglican and Presbyterian services.

The Capuchin superior wrote from London to Propaganda on 6 October 1636 telling of the continuous demand for confessions which were heard in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek and Latin; he reported that there was an average of eight hundred communions a week, and that up to that time seven hundred converts had been received⁹⁶. The French Capuchins, for all their zeal, were moderate and charming in their approach. It was for this reason they were able to win over a weekly average of two or three of the nobility, and even to count Anglican clergymen among their

⁹³ ARCHBOLD, *Evangel.Fruict*, 231.

⁹⁴ ALBION, *op. cit.*, 107; ARCHBOLD, *Evangel.Fruict*, 207, 210, 289; DEDOUVRES, *Joseph de Paris* II, 110-120.

⁹⁵ ARCHBOLD, *Evangel.Fruict*, 289-290.

⁹⁶ GUILDAY, *English Catholic refugees*, 296 n.2. See also P. HUGHES, *art. cit.*, in *Clergy Review* 8(1934) 118.

converts⁹⁷. Needless to say there was not wanting a current of bitter opposition from the Puritan body. Lewd sketches appeared in public places showing the friars in the company of courtesans. This type of propaganda was more a consolation for the Protestants than a harm to the Catholics. The Capuchins showed their growing confidence and success by holding a colourful ceremony for the laying of the foundation stone of their new church in September 1635⁹⁸.

Despite its striking success the French Capuchin Mission was as yet only scratching at the surface, and was limited to London, important as that was for its influence on the country as a whole. Optimistic Catholics such as Friar Joseph saw too rosy a vision of the future, impressed as they were by a government with its quota of crypto-Catholics, a series of outstanding conversions among the nobility, the exclusive choice of Laudian-minded divines as bishops, hopes for the conversion of the archbishop of Canterbury and even of the king. Religion was intertwined with politics and economics. Beyond the assured comfort and etiquette of the court a vigilant Puritanism was gaining more and more strength among the squire and merchant classes, the backbone of the country.

The French friars remained as chaplains to the queen throughout the Civil War and Commonwealth periods. They returned with her to England on the restoration of Charles II in 1660. With her death in 1666 their official status at Somerset House ceased⁹⁹. Already at the general chapter of 1656 the Paris Province had announced the abandonment of the Mission to England¹⁰⁰, but the Irish Mission continued to keep one or two friars in the country¹⁰¹, and it was they and their successors who maintained the Capuchin tradition in England into the eighteenth century¹⁰².

It will be readily seen that the French Capuchin missionaries

⁹⁷ ALBION, *op. cit.*, 196-197. Archbold (*Evangel.Fruict*, 210) records that Henry Sedgrave of Cabra, county Dublin, who saw the French Capuchins at work in London, judged they were the best suited for such a milieu.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* Cyprien de Gamaches, who assisted at the ceremony, describes it in *Mémoires*, 28-32.

⁹⁹ CUTHBERT, *Capuchins* II, 340. Guilday (*English Catholic refugees*, 296) says they stayed on for some years with Queen Catherine of Braganza.

¹⁰⁰ Stated in a petition of the Irish friars for permission to allow some of their friars to remain in England (undated but c.1658) : *APF, Scritt.rif.cong.gen.*, 311, 144r.

¹⁰¹ « Rationes negandi Missionem in Angliam Patribus [Capuccinis] Normandiac » (*Ibid.*, 145r). Several other documents of the period, 1640-50, speak as if the Irish friars were trying to re-establish themselves rather than maintain continuity - v.g. Capuchin procurator general to Propaganda, c.1652 (*ibid.*, 297, 83r).

¹⁰² WILLIAM OF MOATE, O.F.M.Cap., *Story of the Capuchin Franciscans in England*, Rochdale 1924, 9, 11, 17-36.

suffered from certain disadvantages which militated against their striking permanent roots in England. They were subjects of a foreign power which was always a rival and sometimes an opponent of England¹⁰³. They spoke a different language and viewed affairs with a different mentality. Their scope was limited to London, nor do they appear to have had the intention of operating outside its bounds. The fact that the Mission received much of its prestige and influence from the patronage of Queen Henrietta Maria was a decided advantage in the social circumstances of the seventeenth century, but a too great dependence on this royal connection meant that with her death the French Mission suffered an irreparable loss.

One can understand and forgive all these defects, some of which were inherent in the very structure of a Mission directed from the Paris Province. What one cannot so readily stomach is the French decision to abolish the established Mission staffed by « natives of the kingdom ». Friar Joseph, firmly believing in *Gesta Dei per Francos* as a first principle of his politico-religious activities¹⁰⁴ dreamed of the French Capuchins setting afoot the conversion of England to Catholicism. The decision to make England a preserve for the French Capuchins was intended to exclude not only English and Scottish friars; when the Italian Capuchin, Zacharias Boverio da Saluzzo, wished to come to England in 1632 on the strength of a permission from Charles I he found himself prevented by the French friars¹⁰⁵.

One may accept the decision to exclude all but French Capuchins from the city of London. There the French friars were an unquestioned success, particularly among the court nobility. The courageous but limited activities of English and Scottish Capuchins appear slight by comparison. It is a different matter to try and excuse the ruling that all « natives of the kingdom » were to leave Great Britain. The fact that there was no protest from Nugent against the introduction of the French Capuchins — and he was ever one to protest readily — raises the suspicion that he was won over to Friar Joseph's viewpoint. The more accurate judgement would appear to be that Nugent,

¹⁰³ Fr. Richard, an English Capuchin, to Cardinal Barberini, London 16 May 1636, attacked Friar Joseph's policy for a French-controlled Mission to England. He stated that the Capuchins were in bad odour, suspected as spies of Friar Joseph - he commented « nomen P. Josephi in Anglia est odiosum » (*APF, Scritt.rif.cong.gen.*, 135, 159r-160r).

¹⁰⁴ « C'est de la France que doit venir le remède comme estant le cœur de ce corps » - Friar Joseph to the prioress of Lencloître, quoted in G. FAGNIEZ, *Le Père Joseph et Richelieu* I, Paris 1894, 72.

¹⁰⁵ P. HUGHES, *The conversion of Charles I*, in *Clergy Rev.* 8(1934) 115-117. For the permission granted to Boverio see ARCHBOLD, *Evangel.Fruit*, 7.

prematurely infirm with arthritis and still concerned for the safety of the Irish Mission in view of the opposition of the Walloon Capuchins, could not afford to alienate Friar Joseph.

When he was passing through London in 1629 he dealt not merely with Capuchin affairs but with the major problem then agitating the Catholic Church in Great Britain. Richard Smith, bishop of Chalcedon (1625-55), was being defied by the vast majority of the regular clergy under his vast jurisdiction in England, Wales and Scotland. They claimed to be independent of his jurisdiction because of the wide faculties they held from the Holy Office¹⁰⁶. Nugent gave his support to Smith, and in this ran counter to the policy of the other regulars¹⁰⁷. One cannot help suspecting that Nugent hoped to stand well with Bishop Smith, and thus benefit the Capuchins in Great Britain. If this was his policy it was in vain. A papal brief, *Britannia* (9 May 1631), settled the dispute in favour of the regulars.

Of more immediate concern to Nugent was the status of the Irish friars at London. He was satisfied with an arrangement, presumably arrived at with the consent of Bishop Smith and of the French Capuchins, that some Irish friars might remain in the London district¹⁰⁸. It was argued that the Irish brethren were not « natives of the kingdom », and therefore not bound to observe Friar Joseph's decree¹⁰⁹. One or two of them were to stay in London as links of communication between Ireland and Charleville.

9. - Scotland and the Capuchins

If Nugent would not protest against Friar Joseph's decision of October 1625 one prominent Scottish Capuchin did. Archangel Leslie and Epiphanius Lindsay were the only Capuchins working in Scotland

¹⁰⁶ P. HUGHES, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England*, London 1942, 329-377.

¹⁰⁷ R. O'Ferrall and R. O'Connell, O.F.M.Cap., *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, ed. S. Kavanagh, I, Dublin 1932, 212-213, state that there was then (i.e. about the year 1661) a substantial body of documents on this incident of Nugent's life in the Capuchin archives at Charleville; the documents showed that Nugent tried to heal the division between the secular and regular clergy when he was going through London in 1629 and again in 1630 when on the return journey to the continent. See also O'CONNELL, *Hist.Miss.*, 341-342; MARTIN, *Nugent*, 261-262.

¹⁰⁸ WILLIAM OF MOATE, *The story of the Capuchin Franciscans in England*, 15. The names and activities of these Irish friars remain unknown. It was an Irish Capuchin who received Henry Ayscough into the Catholic Church in 1627; Ayscough later became a Jesuit (*ibid.*, 9). - See a petition of the Irish Capuchins to Propaganda, undated but about 1658, in *APF, Scritt. rif.cong.gen.*, 311, 144r, on the need to maintain some of their number in England as links between the friars in Ireland and France.

¹⁰⁹ CUTHBERT, *Capuchins* II, 339.

when orders arrived from Paris that they were to leave the country. The spirited protests of Scottish nobles wrung from Friar Joseph the concession that Lindsay might return to his work. Archangel Leslie, his heart gnawed by the thought of his deserted Catholics in Scotland, made his way to Italy. He did not conceal his ire with Friar Joseph's policy of exclusion¹¹⁰.

It was only complete ignorance of the desperate condition of Catholicism in Scotland which could have made Friar Joseph include Scotland in his draconian decree. Thomas Dease, rector of the Irish college at Paris, had written to Nugent on 7 February 1618 pleading that the occasion of the general chapter in Rome should be made the opportunity of explaining to the pope how perilous was the state of Scottish Catholicism¹¹¹. The lack of priests there meant that Catholicism was languishing at death's door from spiritual starvation. The Irish Capuchins, he insisted, by their zeal, heroic lives and facility in the Gaelic tongue were the ideal missionaries for the work.

In a further letter of the same year he returned to this theme¹¹². He summed up the condition of the Scottish Catholics with the moving sentence from Jeremias: « The little ones have asked for bread, and there was no one to break it unto them » (*Lam.* 4, 4). Dease mentioned that the Irish Franciscan Observants at Louvain had been asked to undertake a Mission to the Highlands, but had given no sign that they were anxious to begin the work. He was unaware of the serious difficulties the Irish Franciscans had to overcome, nor could he foresee that they would write some of the most moving pages in the history of the Missions to Scotland¹¹³.

When The MacDonald of Clanranald wrote to Nugent from Naples in April 1618 appealing for missionaries to the Highlands he corroborated Dease's statements¹¹⁴. He declared that as far as he knew there were then only six priests to serve the needs of these Catholics¹¹⁵. It was in response to such heart-rending appeals that

¹¹⁰ Archangel Leslie to Colonel Semphill, 30 Jan. 1630 - partly cited in FRÉDÉRIC CALLAËY, *Essai critique sur la vie du P. Archange Leslie*, in *Études Franc.* 31(1914) 512.

¹¹¹ Cited in O'CONNELL, *Hist.Miss.*, 182-183.

¹¹² Dated « 5 Idus Intercalares » - cited *ibid.*, 185-191. See also the letter from Baron Maitland to Nugent, Antwerp 23 Feb. 1618, making a similar appeal - cited *ibid.*, 193-195. See *supra* n.49.

¹¹³ See C. GIBLIN, O.F.M., *The Irish [Franciscan] Mission to Scotland in the seventeenth century [1619-47]*, in *Franciscan College Annual* (Multyfarnham) 1952, 7-24; Idem, *The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c.1670*, *ibid.* 1954, 7-20; Idem, *The Irish Franciscan Mission to Scotland, 1619-1646: documents from the Roman archives*, Dublin 1964.

¹¹⁴ Cited in O'CONNELL, *Hist.Miss.*, 195-196.

¹¹⁵ « In illis enim partibus non nisi sex ecclesiasticos viros, partim sacerdotes saecula-

Nugent sent Epiphanius Lindsay to Scotland in the year 1620. In a later letter Epiphanius made the almost incredible statement that at the time of his arrival there were only three priests in the whole country, to the best of his knowledge¹¹⁶.

The more accurate but still depressing picture appears from a report on the Church in Scotland sent to Propaganda by two Minim missionaries during the year 1623¹¹⁷. In this frank document they explained that in all Scotland there was no secular priest. The needs of the Catholics were served by a bare fifteen priests from religious Orders, whom they listed as four Minims, four Jesuits, three Scottish Observant Franciscans, one Irish Observant, two Capuchins and one Benedictine. The writers stated that though the Catholics suffered from the lack of sermons only the four Minims and one of the Capuchins were authorized preachers¹¹⁸. They complained that the Jesuits remained as chaplains to the nobles, and left it to the other priests to serve amid the hardships and increased dangers of the poorer areas. The report mentioned that outside Scotland there were two Scottish Capuchins — the first was John Chrysostom Campbell, then in the Province of Lorraine, whom they described as of the highest character, a noted preacher, and of wide experience both in missionary work and English prisons. The other Capuchin, Archangel Leslie, was briefly described as a well-known preacher, and was stated as being then in England¹¹⁹.

The reference to Archangel Leslie introduces the best known of the Scottish Capuchins¹²⁰. Born at Aberdeen he became a convert from Calvinism, and was to be found in the year 1608 as a student in the Scots College at Rome. A meeting with Ange de Joyeuse in that year persuaded him that his vocation lay with the Capuchins. We catch but glimpses of him during the following fifteen years. In

res, partim religiosos, elaborare existimaverim » (*ibid.* 196). Archangel Leslie, the Scottish Capuchin, to Ingoli, London 8 Aug. 1635, makes interesting comments on the state of Catholicism in Scotland (*APF, Scritt.rif.cong.gen.*, 135, 165r-166r).

¹¹⁶ Epiphanius to Cyprien de Gamaches - cited in CYPRIEN DE GAMACHES, *Mémoires*, 347-351.

¹¹⁷ John Brown and Francis Metellan, Minims, undated but written during or shortly before the year 1623 as may be judged from the reference to Archangel Leslie (*Bibl.Vat.*, *Barb.lat.* 8628, 81r-87v). Another copy in *APF, Scritt.rif.cong.gen.*, 312, 56r-63v, has the secretary's note (f.65v) - « 27 Jun. 1623 ».

¹¹⁸ *Bibl.Vat.*, *Barb.lat.* 8628, 84v.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 85r.

¹²⁰ For Archangel Leslie see *Lex.Cap.*, 118-119. There are many of his letters in the Propaganda Archives which are so far unused by his biographers.

1618 he wrote from Monte La Verna to Cardinal Barberini complaining with sarcastic indignation of the treatment meted out to his cousin, Thomas Dempster, the historian, who was also a convert. Driven from England as a papist he found himself treated as a heretic in Italy. How was he now to be classified, Leslie asked, — as an atheist?¹²¹

Permission to become a missionary in Scotland was not easily come by, but finally in the year 1623 Leslie crossed to London in the suite of the marqués de la Hinojosa, Spanish ambassador-extraordinary to the court of James I. From thence he went north to Scotland where for six years he showed what an active and audacious missionary could achieve. It was not in his nature to live a furtive existence. In 1624 he published a challenge to the Protestants — *Where was your Church before Luther?* — and drew a hard-hitting reply from Andrew Logie, archdeacon of Aberdeen. Leslie continued in his semi-public defiance of the Presbyterians until 2 December 1628 when the Scottish Privy Council ordered the arrest of « the Capuchin Leslie, commonly called Archangel »¹²². For a year he was forced to keep in close hiding, until the order from Friar Joseph dismissed him from Scotland.

He made his way to Rome, and there made plain to the Congregation of Propaganda the true state of Catholicism in Scotland. He and two English friars, Anselm and Richard, got permission in the year 1633 to undertake missionary work in Scotland¹²³. Neither Anselm nor Richard had his heart north of the English border. They lingered on at London until recalled to the continent on 20 July 1637¹²⁴. Leslie resumed his work in Scotland, and though he was obliged to flee to Ireland in 1635 to lie low with the Capuchins in Dublin¹²⁵ he continued doggedly at his missionary work until death claimed him about the year 1637 in his mother's house « against the mill of Aboyne » by the river Dee¹²⁶.

¹²¹ Cited in FRÉDÉGAND CALLAËY, *art. cit.*, in *Études Franc.* 31(1914) 504.

¹²² *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, ed. P. Hume Brown, 2nd ser. II., Edinburgh 1900, 499. See also *ibid.*, 498, 501, 502, 505, 508.

¹²³ Decree of Propaganda, 13 Aug. 1633, cited in C. GIBLIN, *The « Acta » of Propaganda: Archives and the Scottish Mission, 1623-70*, in *Innes Rev.* 5(1954) 51. The publication of these « Acta » is a valuable contribution to Scottish and Irish religious history.

¹²⁴ Cited *ibid.*, 52-53. See also *Bull.Cap.* VII, 331-332.

¹²⁵ ARCHBOLD, *Evangel.Fruict*, 220.

¹²⁶ Fr. Christie to Fr. Gordon at Rome, Douai 29 Dec. 1653, in M.V. HAY, *The Blair-Papers, 1603-1664*, London-Edinburgh 1929, 214.

10. - *Archangel Leslie and Epiphanius Lindsay*

Archangel Leslie's fame was posthumous, and grew from an uncritical biography written by Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, and later papal nuncio to Ireland¹²⁷. The historical dispute about the true facts of Leslie's life does not concern us here. A critical investigation has shown that there is sufficient of the unusual in his life to make him a memorable figure for Scottish Catholics¹²⁸.

Though a historiographical dispute may have made Archangel Leslie the best known of the Scottish Capuchins, the palm for heroic unobtrusive labour must be given to Epiphanius Lindsay. This is not the place to give any detailed account of his activities¹²⁹. He was of noble family, educated as a secular priest by the Jesuits at Louvain. His first taste of missionary life in Scotland ended in capture and a condemnation to death which was commuted to exile. He entered the Capuchin order in the Low Countries, and joined the English-speaking friars at Cologne about 1611. It was Nugent who sent him back to Scotland in 1620¹³⁰. The rector of the Scots College at Douai apparently had Epiphanius in mind when he wrote to the nuncio at Brussels on 29 September 1626 that there was one Capuchin whose zeal and work made him a bye-word both inside and outside Scotland¹³¹.

Epiphanius dedicated his life to the neglected Catholics of the poor areas. He went around disguised as a shepherd, carrying bagpipes which he played at the fairs and other gatherings where he hoped to meet with Catholics. Though his was necessarily a life of hardship he insisted on observing a continuous fast of one meal a day until forced to moderate this practice by his confessor, the Jesuit, Clerc. Three times he was sold by false friends, but on each occasion succeeded in making a narrow escape. So his hard life continued for forty years, until death brought him relief about the year 1660¹³². He was then

¹²⁷ See CUTHBERT, *Capuchins* II, 332-335.

¹²⁸ FRÉDÉGAND CALLAËY, *art. cit.*, in *Études Franc.* 31(1914) 487-517.

¹²⁹ For bibliographical indications see *Lex.Cap.*, col. 538.

¹³⁰ O'CONNELL, *Hist.Miss.*, 314.

¹³¹ B. DE MEESTER, ed., *Correspondance du nonce Giovanni-Francesco Guidi de Bagno, 1621-1627* II, Brussels-Rome 1938, 977.

¹³² It is generally assumed that he died about 1650, see *Lex.Cap.*, col. 538. But a letter of Fr. Chrysostom, a Scottish Capuchin, read to Propaganda on 1 July 1658, tells that Epiphanius though old was still an active missionary (*APF, Scritt.rif.cong.gen.*, 311, 169r, 178v).

aged eighty four. He was tended at the end by his Jesuit confessor to whom he gave his books and other few belongings so that he might die in complete poverty after the manner of St. Francis.

Archangel Leslie and Epiphanius Lindsay represented two very different types. Archangel was dashing, colourful and restless. Epiphanius was built of rugged endurance. Each was a true Capuchin. It was a tragic mistake of policy which deprived the Catholic Church in England and Scotland of the services of other such Capuchins.

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