

THE BL. WILLIAM WAY. THE KINGSTON MARTYR'S LIFE & TIMES.

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ABSTRACT

William Way probably was baptised at St Petrock's church in Exeter on 21 May 1561. His father, also called William Way, was a man of substance who was a churchwarden at St Petrock's, which would have followed the Anglican rite of the time. William Way the younger underwent a short course at the English College at Rheims to become a missionary-priest in England. He left on 9 December 1586 fully aware of the great risks that he faced under the various anti-Catholic Acts then in force in England and of the sufferings there of former students of the College. Fr. Way was a hunted man until the time of his arrest in Lambeth around 29 June 1587. Thereafter he was held in the Clink prison in Southwark. On 16 September 1588, after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, he was tried at Newgate Sessions, convicted of high treason and sentenced to death. On 23 September 1588, probably in the market place at Kingston upon Thames, he was hung, drawn and quartered with great cruelty. The signs were that he welcomed martyrdom. He was beatified in 1929. A shrine to the Bl. William Way was unveiled at St Agatha's Catholic Church, Kingston, on 15 August 1971.

INTRODUCTION

This paper reviews the life and times of the Bl. William Way, the Martyr of Kingston upon Thames. A paper dated 14 January 2020 focused mainly on the site of his execution on 23 September 1588. Since then, further research has revealed more about events during the Martyr's lifespan up to the time of his execution. For the avoidance of doubt, when the terms "*the Kingston martyr*", "*the martyr*" and "*William Way the younger*" used hereafter they refer to William Way, the man executed in Kingston upon Thames on 23 September 1588 and later beatified by the Catholic Church. Furthermore, when the term "*William Way the elder*" is used it refers to the putative father of Bl. William Way, the Kingston martyr.

EARLY LIFE

Katherine Longley, formerly a Surrey County Council Archivist, wrote that William Way, the second son of Robert Way, was baptised in St Kerrian's Church, in Exeter, Devon, on 5 August 1562. She cited the researches of Miss O. M. Moger, who was previously Hon. Archivist of Exeter Cathedral Library. Miss Moger's own sources were not provided.¹ St Kerrian's was in the centre of Exeter which, in the Tudor period, was a large and important walled town with a population of about 8,000 people. The town mainly was engaged in the wool trade and it was an important port.²

The Diaries of the English College when in Rheims, where he trained for the priesthood, confirmed that William Way, the Kingston Martyr, came from the Exeter Diocese [see below].³ Examination of baptismal records of St. Kerrian's church confirmed Longley's report. However, there was another candidate to consider. Baptismal records of St Petrock's Church, a neighbour of St Kerrian's, showed that another William Way, the son of William Way, was baptised there on 21 May 1561.⁴

Nicholas Orme, 2014, wrote that St Kerrian's Church, demolished in 1873, was small and situated in wealthy part of Exeter. Along with St Petrock's Church, it was depicted in Hooker's and Holdenberg's map of Exeter published in 1587 and **Figure 1** shows that the two churches were neighbours.⁵

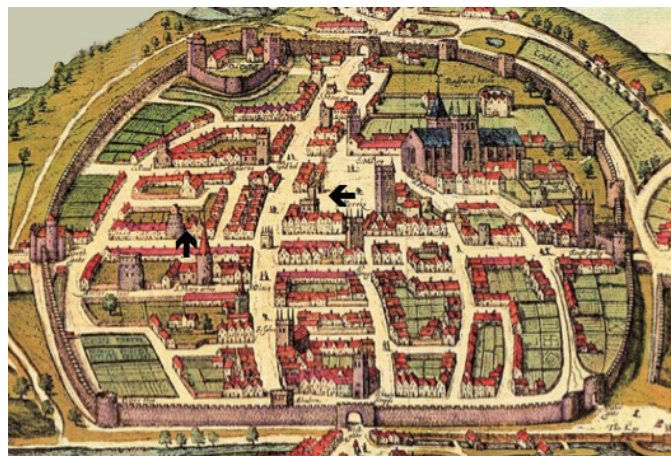


Figure 1. Image of the walled city of Exeter in 1587, prepared from Hooker's and Holdenberg's map by John McCarthy. The vertical arrow indicates St Kerrian's Church. The horizontal arrow indicates St Petrock's Church.

Although Professor Orme outlined the early history of St Kerrian's, he did not refer to any of its sixteenth century parishioners. He noted that St Petrock's was situated almost opposite the Exeter Guildhall in an area where some of the richer citizens lived.⁶ Robert Dymond's history of the Parish of St Petrock, first published in 1882, showed that William Way the elder was a churchwarden there in 1557-1558, in 1558-1559, in 1566-1567 and in 1567-1568. Dymond recorded that in 1566-1567 William Way the elder was the treasurer of Exeter's Company of Merchant Venturers.⁷ If this was this man who was the father of William Way, the Kingston martyr, he was a man of substance in Exeter.

At this stage, it was impossible to determine whether the martyr was the man baptised at St Kerrian's Church, North Street, Exeter, on 5 August 1562, the son of Robert Way, or whether he was the man baptised at St. Petrock's Church, High Street, Exeter, on 21 May 1561, the son of William Way the elder. However, Dymond noted that in 1557-1558, when William Way the elder was a churchwarden, William Floyer was a tenant of a building called "*Elyot's House*" [Figure 2]. It was recorded that in 1565 William Floyer or Flowre was no longer the tenant of Elyot's House and in 1567-1568 four pence was paid for the ringing of Master Floyer's death knell.⁸ Perhaps this was the William Flower, Floyer or Flowre, or a descendant of his, whose surname the martyr decided to take as an *alias* when he secretly re-entered England.⁹ Records of the church of St Thomas The Apostle, Exeter, showed that William Floyer, son of William Floyer, was baptised on 6 April 1561. Perhaps the William Way the younger was acquainted with William Floyer/Flower, the younger.¹⁰

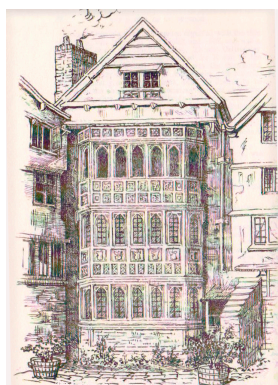


Figure 2. Elyot's House in St Petrock's Parish, Exeter, from Dymond, 1882.

The records of St Petrock's Church during the reigns of Henry VIII, Mary I and Elizabeth I evidenced the changing effects of the Reformation. In 1539-1540 Henry VIII was for the first time described as "*Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head of the Anglican Church*". In 1547-1548, during the reign of Edward VI, a more extreme form of Protestantism prevailed, the rood loft was taken down and in 1548-1549 the religious wall paintings were erased. During the reign of Mary I, Catholicism was restored and in 1555-1556, the rood loft was re-installed. Protestantism was restored during the reign of Elizabeth I and in 1561-1562 the rood loft was again removed. In 1563-1564 the rood loft door was "*stopped up*".¹¹ Within about 25 years the parishioners of St Petrock would have seen significant changes to the fabric of their church as a consequence of religious upheaval. It seemed likely that the parishioners of the nearby St Kerrian's Church would have experienced similar changes. Additionally, according to Professor Orme, about 1560, they were obliged to attend their parish churches on Sundays and festivals for prescribed Anglican morning and evening prayers. In the churches, altars and images of saints had been removed, daily services and antiphons had ceased and the celebration of Holy Communion was rare.¹²

Were our two William Way children, born within about eighteen months of one another, baptised as Catholics or Anglicans? Christopher Haigh, 1993, wrote that at the end of Queen Mary's reign Catholicism was the religion of a large majority of English people.¹³ However, it seemed likely that in 1561-1562, the parishioners of St Kerrian's and St Petrock's churches, in the centre of Exeter, close to the Cathedral, would have practiced the form of Anglicanism that prevailed at the time.¹⁴ The respective fathers, Robert Way and William Way the elder, would have been, for legal purposes, Anglicans who had their sons baptised as Anglicans.

The Act of Supremacy in 1559 confirmed Queen Elizabeth as supreme governor of the Anglican Church and made it a felony to assert the authority of a foreign prince, prelate or other authority. It sought to abolish the authority of the Pope and a third offence under the Act was deemed to be high treason with the prospect of the death penalty. The Act of Uniformity in 1559 obliged William Way the elder, who was a churchwarden, to fine people twelve pence every time that they failed to attend their parish church.¹⁵ Hitherto, in Queen

Mary's reign, say in 1555-1556, to avoid legal sanctions, Robert Way and William Way the elder, would have wished to have been seen as Catholics. But, whether in Queen Elizabeth's time they remained as recusant Catholics in their hearts and minds remained to be seen. Christopher Haigh indicated that by 1564 the Council of Trent ruled against Catholics attending Anglican services, even to avoid punishment. This would have been another problem for the conscience of a Catholic who chose to be a "*church papist*" who while he behaved as an Anglican parishioner, nevertheless secretly practiced Catholicism.¹⁶ Fr. John Gerard called such people "*schismatics*" and his autobiography, first published in 1609, indicated that they were relatively common in his experience.¹⁷

What education did William Way the younger, receive in Exeter? According to Professor Orme, there were teachers of basic reading and Latin grammar in the Elizabethan city.¹⁸ Therefore on the assumption that his father lived in one of the relatively well-off parts of Exeter, the young William Way would have received a basic education in Exeter, although no school registers of the Elizabethan period were discovered. He may have received further education elsewhere to bring him to the standard required for admission to the English College – see below.

Mention already has been made of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, 1559. During the early life of the Kingston martyr, before he was ordained in France, other anti-Catholic Acts were in force. In 1570, Pope Pius V promulgated the Bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*. Among other things, this declared Queen Elizabeth a heretic, purported to depose her, nullified the allegiance of her subjects and incited revolution. In reaction to this, Acts passed in 1571 made it high treason to deny the Queen's right to the crown, to declare her to be a heretic, to bring Papal Bulls into England and to absolve or reconcile a person to the Catholic Church or to be so reconciled. Additionally, Catholics abroad were required to return to the realm to worship as Anglicans and all priests were required to subscribe to the 39 Anglican Synodal Articles. This prescription was intended to stop the ministry of the old Catholic priests who were established in the time of Queen Mary: the "*Marian Priests*". They were required to deny beliefs central to Catholicism including transubstantiation, the Mass and the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹⁹

FRANCE, THE ENGLISH COLLEGE IN RHEIMS

The Douay Diaries recorded that in March 1584 William Way was tonsured to symbolize that he was ready for holy orders, he became a deacon in April 1586 and was ordained priest in the Cathedral of Laon on the sixteenth of September 1586.²⁰ The English College, founded in 1568 by Fr. Robert Allen, later a Cardinal, was part of the University of Douay.²¹ It instructed new priests to be missionaries in England to replace the old Marian priests who were dying out, at the risk of Catholicism eventually disappearing there. The College moved to Rheims in 1578.²² According to Fr. Thomas McCoog S.J., the students were trained for the problems that they would encounter in England. They were generally schooled in disputations and studied passages of Scripture that confirmed the principles of Catholicism and texts which favoured Anglican arguments, thereby to be able to refute them. The students learned Greek and Hebrew so that they could read both Testaments in the original languages to avoid *“the sophisms which heretics extract from the properties and meanings of words”*. There were also disputations on articles chosen from the *Summa Theologia* of St Thomas Aquinas. Private study included the decrees of The Council of Trent and works of the Venerable Bede and St Augustine. Also, students were taught *“the chief impieties, blasphemies, absurdities, cheats and trickeries of the English heretics, as well as their ridiculous writings, sayings and doings.”*²³ Dr Thomas Knox recorded that in 1577 the course of studies lasted about three years, the students were carefully chosen, none were under 25 years of age when ordained and all were *“of irreprovable life and conversation and of very good testimony, most of them not only well skilled in the Latin and other learned tongues, but brought up to degree both in art and divinity”*.²⁴

The exact date of William Way's admission to the College was not recorded in the Diaries. But, they showed that he was ordained in 1586, when he would have been aged at least 25. The records of contemporaneous students indicated that his course lasted about two years.²⁵ Therefore, it could be assumed that he entered the College in 1583, when about 23 years of age.²⁶ This would put his birth date at about 1560, which would suggest that the Martyr was more likely to have been the son of William Way the elder, who was baptised in St Petrock's Church, Exeter, on 21 May 1561. What the

Kingston martyr did before he left Exeter and went to Rheims, or how he travelled there was not discovered.

Two years before he was ordained priest, the *Act against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and such other like disobedient persons*, also known as “*The Jesuits Act 1584*”, became law in England. Under the penalties for high treason, it obliged all Catholic priests to leave the country within 40 days unless they swore an oath to obey the Queen. Those harbouring them faced severe penalties. Jesuits or seminary priests were forbidden to be in England and faced penalties for high treason, including death by hanging, drawing and quartering. Fr. William Way would have been fully aware of the personal risks that he faced when he started his mission in England. Indeed, Dr Knox recorded that the students were informed that their late companions were being tortured in various ways and executed for their faith. He noted that “*far from being terrified by these horrors or hesitating in their purpose they only felt more eager for the combat*”.²⁷ Thus, Fr. Way would have been aware that Cuthbert Mayne, from Exeter Diocese, the Douay proto-martyr, ordained in 1575, had been hanged, drawn and quartered at Launceston, Cornwall, in 1579. And, he would have been aware that the priests Edmund Campion, Alexander Briant, from Exeter Diocese, and Ralph Sherwin similarly all had been martyred in succession at Tyburn on the first of September 1581. The Diaries reported this event on 21 December 1581.²⁸ These four martyrs later were canonized.

ENGLAND, CAPTURE, TRIAL AND EXECUTION

The Douay Diaries recorded that the newly-ordained Fr. William Way, left the College on 9 December 1586 for his mission in England.²⁹ Four days after he had been ordained, on 20 September 1586, Anthony Babington and his co-conspirators were executed as traitors in London for plotting to murder Queen Elizabeth and to put the Catholic Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots on the throne. This was known as “*The Babington Plot*”.³⁰

Katherine Longley wrote that Fr. Way chose the dangerous area south of London for his mission.³¹ Here, a large number of Puritans lived and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Carlisle, Winchester and Rochester had residences. It was assumed that Fr. Way would have started his mission by January 1587. In February 1587, Mary, Queen of Scots, was

executed in Fotheringhay Castle. She had been implicated in The Babington Plot.³²

No records of the conditions of Fr. Way's missionary work were found. But, an idea of what it could be like to be a hunted Catholic priest was gained from Fr. John Gerard's autobiography. In particular there would have been a need to dress appropriately and to keep a low profile so as not to attract the attention of the priest hunters known as pursuivants.³³

Fr. William Way was arrested in Lambeth, around 29 June in 1587 and put in the Clink prison which was owned by the Bishop of Winchester. Conditions here appeared to be rather lax and possibly Fr. Way was able to continue his mission from the prison. Fr. Gerard was incarcerated in the Clink from Summer 1594 - Spring 1597, having previously been held in the Counter prison for a few months. He looked on the change of prison "*as a translation from Purgatory to Paradise*". The Clink gaolers could be bribed not to pry too deeply into the Catholic prisoners' affairs and keys to cell doors were obtainable. Moreover, it was possible for Fr. Gerard to say Mass and to administer the Sacraments. There was sufficient liberty to enable Fr. Gerard to take up his apostolic work again.³⁴

Fr. William Way had been betrayed on 18 August 1586 by Fr. John Hambley who, according to the Diaries, was trained in Rheims and left for England 6 April 1585. Katherine Longley wrote that, upon capture in Salisbury, Fr. Hambley made a full confession of his own activities and provided details of all the Catholics that he had met in England, the names of all the College's staff and students that he could remember, including William Way. Clearly, the Fr. Way's arrival in England was expected by the authorities and although he had used the *alias* "*Flower*", his real surname was known to the prison staff.

Sir Francis Walsingham, a member of the Privy Council and the Crown's spymaster, ordered Richard Young, a Justice of the Peace, to interrogate the various Catholic priests held in prisons in London. In late July and early August 1588, Philip of Spain's Armada, part of a plan to invade England and re-install Catholicism, was defeated.³⁵ On 26 August 1587 Young reported that Fr. William Way was one of a group that were "*especiall*" because they were very obstinate, perverse, full of slanderous speeches, so evilly affected towards Queen Elizabeth and the realm that they justly deserved death and

did not merit the Royal Mercy. Walsingham's activities with his network of spies and cryptographers were described in Stephen Alford's book "*The Watchers*" published in 2012.³⁶

The circumstances of Fr. Way's trial at the Newgate Sessions, probably on 16 September 1588, and his execution in Kingston on 23 September 1588 probably in the Market Place, was outlined in the paper of 14 January 2020. He was one of about 30 Catholic victims executed around London and elsewhere between 28 August and 31 October 1588. John Hungerford Pollen wrote that the judge Serjeant John Puckering planned the execution sites to be distributed over a wide area to enable the inhabitants of as many places as possible to witness the executions of Catholic priests. London and Middlesex obtained the biggest share, partly because it was thought that London's anti-Catholic citizens would greatly enjoy the spectacle. Pollen hinted that the need for a particular area to have an execution might have been the basis of charges against certain of the martyrs. This would support the view of Shaan Butters that Kingston was chosen to appease local Puritans.³⁷

The site of Fr. Way's execution in Kingston was reviewed in the paper of 14 January 2020. A reasoned case was made that it was more likely to have been in Kingston Market Place rather than at the town gallows on Kingston Hill - see **Figure 3**. Nothing was discovered when researching this paper to weaken this case. However it is possible that after his death sentence Fr. Way was held in Newgate Prison and was taken from there to Kingston for his execution.³⁸ In summary, the postulated sequence of events is:

Monday 16 September 1588, conviction at Newgate Sessions. **Between 16 September 1588 and Saturday 21 September 1588**, taken from Newgate Prison a nearby jetty. Arrived at Kingston jetty by boat and walked about 250 m to the Stockhouse Gaol. **Monday 23 September 1588**, dragged by a horse about 300 m on a hurdle to a makeshift gallows in Kingston Market Place and executed there.

Fr. John Cremin wrote that in June 1951 a Festival of Britain pageant was held in Molesey Catholic Parish. It depicted the Martyrdom of Bl. William Way and 1500 people walked in a procession that ended at Hampton Court. In the 1960s, a Bl. William Way Society existed among Catholics at Surrey County Hall in Kingston and held regular meetings. Moreover, on 15 August 1971,

the Martyr's shrine was unveiled in St Joseph's Chapel, St Agatha's Catholic Church, Kingston.³⁹



Figure 3. Photograph of Kingston Market Place taken in early February 2020 by David A. Kennedy. The evidence suggested that here, on 23 September 1588, the Bl. William Way was hung, drawn and quartered with great cruelty.

THE MARTYR'S SHRINE AT ST. AGATHA'S CHURCH

Fr. Cremin recorded that the bust forming the centrepiece of the shrine was the work of “Mrs Herbert of Dorking, teacher of sculpture at Kingston School of Art” – see **Figure 4**. As no image of Fr. William Way has ever been discovered, it seemed likely that the bust was based on the state of mind indicated by a statement attributed to Fr. John Gerard that he was “*much given to abstinence and austerity*” and “*had such desire of martyrdom that others being sent for to the Sessions and not he, he did weep and cry, and was much grieved that fearing that he had offended God, he went presently to confession; but when he was sent for, he had so much joy that he seemed past himself*”. Another source of the impression possibly was that attributed to Fr. Christopher Grene, that William Way was “*a man most mortified by great abstinence and other austerities, lying ever in prison upon the boards and wearing continually a shirt of hair, so desirous of martyrdom that he would many times cry out - Oh, shall I never come to it.*”⁴⁰



Figure 4. The bust at the Shrine of the Bl. William Way, St Agatha's Church, Kingston upon Thames. Photograph by David A. Kennedy.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Which of the two candidates was most likely to have been the Kingston martyr? The evidence suggested that he was William Way, who was baptised at St Petrock's Church, Exeter, on 21 May 1561 the son of William Way the elder. Furthermore, there appeared to be a connection with William Flower of Exeter, or a descendant of his, and whose surname the martyr chose as an *alias* for his mission in England. It was not possible to investigate further the genealogical evidence that must have been used by Miss Moger, Katherine Longley's source, to identify the other William Way as the Martyr because it was not cited in Longley's paper of 1952.⁴¹

The Kingston martyr's father appeared to be a well-connected man of substance in Exeter. And, while he was a churchwarden in an Anglican Church where his son was baptised, the possibility that he was recusant Catholic could not be dismissed. The martyr would have received a basic education in Exeter, perhaps supplemented by more elsewhere, to qualify him for admission to the English College in Rheims. It appeared that he undertook a "*crash course*" lasting about two years to meet the need, at the time, for missionary-priests in England. For comparison, currently the academic course of training for the priesthood at St John's Seminary usually lasts six years.⁴² Until the time of his arrest, the martyr would have conducted his mission as a hunted priest and while he was in the Clink prison probably he was able to continue his apostolic work. The evidence suggested that Fr. William Way was prepared for martyrdom and probably he welcomed it at the end. One of the inspirations for the bust at St Agatha's

Church was perhaps the report that when process of martyrdom started, when he was sent for trial “...**he had so much joy that he seemed past himself**”. A timeline for the Bl. William Way can be found below.

BL. WILLIAM WAY, THE KINGSTON MARTYR – TIMELINE	
21 May 1561.	William Way baptised at St. Petrock’s Church, Exeter, the son of William Way. Available evidence makes it likely that this child became the Kingston Martyr.
1570.	Bull, <i>Regnans in Excelsis</i> promulgated by Pope Pius V. Queen Elizabeth I declared a heretic, purported to depose her, nullified allegiance of subjects, incited her assassination & revolution.
1571.	Acts passed in reaction to the Papal Bull. High treason to deny the Queen’s right to the Crown, to declare her a heretic or schismatic, to bring Papal Bulls into England, to absolve persons to the Catholic Church or to be so reconciled. Subjects abroad to return or to obtain a Queen’s Licence to travel abroad. Penalty was forfeiture of all property. All priests to subscribe to 39 Articles of Anglican Church.
1 September 1581.	Priests Cuthbert Mayne, Alexander Briant & Ralph Sherwin executed at Tyburn. Later, all were canonized.
1583.	William Way admitted to the English College in Rheims.
20 September 1586.	Babington conspirators executed for a plot to assassinate Queen Elizabeth & to install a Catholic Queen, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots.
18 August 1586.	William Way betrayed as a missionary by Fr. John Hambley.
16 September 1586.	William Way was ordained priest in Laon Cathedral.
9 December 1586.	William Way, left the English College for England.
By early January 1587.	William Way began his mission in England.
8 February, 1587.	Mary Queen of Scots, implicated in the Babington plot, was executed.
29 June, 1587.	William Way arrested in Lambeth, & in Clink prison in Southwark.
By mid August 1588.	Defeat of Armada, part of Philip of Spain’s plan to invade England & restore Catholicism.
28 August 1588.	William Way was interrogated by Richard Young JP who reported that the priest deserved death & did not merit the Royal Mercy.
16 September 1588.	William Way was tried at the Newgate Sessions, convicted of high treason & sentenced to death.
23 September 1588.	At Kingston, probably in the Market Place, William Way hanged, drawn & quartered with great cruelty.
8 December 1929.	William Way declared Venerable by Pope Pius XI.
15 December 1929.	William Way Beatified by Pope Pius XI.
June 1951.	Festival of Britain pageant in Molesey Parish which depicted the Martyrdom of Bl. William Way. 1500 people walked in a procession that ended at Hampton Court.
1960s.	A Bl. William Way Society existed among Catholics at Surrey County Hall in Kingston upon Thames & regular meetings were held.
15 August 1971.	Bl. William Way’s shrine unveiled in St Joseph’s Chapel, St Agatha’s Catholic Church, Kingston.

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¹ Katherine Mary Longley, 1952, He was especial... Blessed William Way martyred at Kingston upon Thames, 1588, Southwark Record, July 1952, pp.141-146. Miss Moger held this appointment before 1955 - see Anne Whiteman, The re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5, pp.111-131, note 1, at p. 131.

² Tim Lambert, A brief history of Exeter, Devon, England.

<http://www.localhistories.org/exeter.html>

³ The Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory, Editors, 1878, The first and second diaries of the English College, Douay, London, David Nutt.

<https://archive.org/details/firstseconddiari00engl/page/n7/mode/2up>

The Diaries recorded that the Diocese of Exeter consisted of the counties of Devon and Cornwall. When the martyr joined the College, Douay was in the Spanish Netherlands, now it is in northern France and is spelled "Douai". When he was there, the College was in Rheims – see text.

⁴ I am grateful to Devon Archives and Local Studies Service for providing images of the original baptismal records and to Carolynne Cotton of Kingston History Centre for translating them.

⁵ Nicholas Orme, 2014, The churches of medieval Exeter, Exeter, Impress Books, pp.121-122.

⁶ Orme, 2014, p.148.

⁷ Robert Dymond, 1882, The history of the Parish of St Petrock, Exeter. As shown by its churchwardens' accounts and other records, Whitefish, MT, USA, Kessinger Legacy Reprints.

⁸ Robert Dymond, 1882.

⁹ David A Kennedy, 2020.

¹⁰ Baptismal records of St Thomas The Apostle, Exeter, Ancestry. <https://www.ancestry.co.uk>

¹¹ In a medieval church, the rood loft, or singing gallery, was on top of the rood screen. This was a decorative stone or wooden screen which separated the nave from the chancel, and had a central gate. Most were pierced with a lattice work of carved wood and were richly decorated. A carved and painted crucifix was erected on a pedestal above the rood screen. This had the figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist on either side of Jesus on the cross. See

<https://www.nationalchurchestrust.org/what-see-inside/rood-screen-great-rood-and-rood-loft>

¹² Orme, 2014, p.65.

¹³ Christopher Haigh, 1993, English reformations. Religion, politics and society under the Tudors, p. 266.

¹⁴ In 1559, The Act of Uniformity, 1 Eliz.I, c.2, abolished Mass and made the Second Book of Common Prayer the only permissible, indeed compulsory, form of worship in English churches. See Malcolm Pullan, 2013, The lives and times of the forty martyrs of England and Wales, 1533-1680, Second Edition, London, New Generation Publishing, p.97.

¹⁵ Francis Xavier Walker, 1961, The implementation of the Elizabethan statutes against recusants, 1581-1603, PhD Thesis, London, University College, p.6.

¹⁶ Christopher Haigh, 1993, p. 259.

¹⁷ John Gerard, S.J, 2012, The autobiography of a hunted priest, translated from Latin by Philip Caraman, S.J, San Francisco, Ignatius Press.

¹⁸ Professor Nicholas Orme, personal communication.

¹⁹ Treason Act, 1571, Eliz. I3, c.1. Bulls from Rome Act, Eliz. 13, c.2. Fugitives Act, Eliz. 13, c.3. Ordination of Ministers Act, Eliz. 13, c.12.

<http://www.historyhome.co.uk/peel/religion/39articles.htm>

²⁰ Various records in the First and Second Douay Diaries. See endnote 3. See also <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14779a.html> & The first and second Diaries of the English College, Douay. And an appendix of unpublished documents, Classic Reprint Series, Forgotten Books.

²¹ Douay, modern day Douai in northern France, was then in the Catholic Spanish Netherlands.

²² Dr Thomas Knox, 1878, Historical Introduction, First and Second Douay Diaries, pp. xxvii, xxi & liv. See endnote 3.

²³ Thomas McCoog SJ, 1996, Playing the champion. The role of disputation in the Jesuit mission, in *The reckoned expense. Edmund Campion and the early English Jesuits*, Oxford, Boydell & Brewer Ltd. He relied on Dr Thomas Knox, 1878, pp. xi-xliii.

²⁴ Dr Thomas Francis Knox, 1878, pp. xli & xlvi - see endnote 3. Dr Knox quoted from a letter of 10 August 1577 from William Allen to Fr. Maurice Chauneu, Prior of the English Carthusians in Bruges.

²⁵ According to the Diaries, John Hambley, who betrayed Bl. William Way, joined the College on 28 May 1583, was ordained priest in September 1584 and left for England on 6 April 1585.

²⁶ Malcolm Pullan, 2013, reported that Bl. Way went to Rheims in 1584.

²⁷ Dr Thomas Francis Knox, 1878, pp. lxxxi & lxxxii.

²⁸ Second Douai Diary, December 1581 – see endnote 3. It took about four months for the news to reach the College community. The Diary recorded that St Cuthbert Mayne and St Alexander Briant came from Exeter Diocese. Pullan, 2013, recorded that St Cuthbert Mayne was born in Youlston, near Barnstaple, Devon and that St Alexander Briant was born in Somerset.

²⁹ Douay Diaries, 9 December 1586...

³⁰ See Stephen Alfold, 2012, *The watchers. A secret history of the reign of Elizabeth I*, London, Allen Lane, pp. 210-240

³¹ Katherine Mary Longley, 1952.

³² Stephen Alfold, 2012.

³³ John Gerard, S.J, 2012, *The autobiography of a hunted priest*, translated from Latin by Philip Caraman, S.J, San Francisco, Ignatius Press.

³⁴ John Gerard, S.J, 2012, pp. 94-110.

³⁵ Stephen Alfold, 2012.

³⁶ Stephen Alfold, 2012.

³⁷ John Hungerford Pollen S.J., 1908, *Unpublished documents relating to the English Martyrs*, Vol. 1, 1583-1603, London, Catholic Record Society, p.152.

<https://issuu.com/tcrs/docs/volume5>

Shaan Butters, 2013, *That famous place. A history of Kingston upon Thames*, Kingston, Kingston University Press, pp. 156-159.

³⁸ See John Gerard, S.J, 2012, who at p. 196, noted that condemned prisoners were held at Newgate.

³⁹ Fr. John Cremin, 1989, *St. Agatha's Kingston upon Thames. A parish history*, Sevenoaks, GCP publications Ltd.

⁴⁰ Edwin H Burton & J. H. Pollen, 1914, *Lives of the English Martyrs, Second Series, The martyrs declared venerable*, Vol. 1, 1583-1588, London, Longmans, Green & Co.

https://archive.org/stream/livesofenglishma01burtooft/livesofenglishma01burtooft_djvu.txt

Fr. Gerard's autobiography [see endnote 32] does not mention Bl. William Way. He was in the Clink prison from 1587-1588, while Fr. Gerard was incarcerated there from 1594-1597.

⁴¹ See endnote 2.

⁴² I am grateful to Fr. Julian Shurgold, St John's Seminary, Wonersh, Surrey for this information.