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Antiquary of

the Hall



F.H.

GEORGIUS CARLETONVS $\alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\sigma\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\delta\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma$.

Age, tu solus regni cor.

Per duode, *na regit manu*, Orbis cor * Sol est, regni cor tu (Pater:) ut Sol
di Sol aureus, Orbe micat, regno sic tua scripta micant.
astra Virgil:

Si Cor principium ^{ALIVD} vitæ est, tota Anglia recte
 Per tua jam dici Vivere scripta potest.

Vic. Per S.T.B.



QUI Sicut in DOMINE IN FORTIBVS

Glory be to God.

Peace be to England.

DEUS TERRA
Excelsi fecit
Salutem.

Exod. 7

Lift up hearts & hands & praise of Lord.

DEO
LIBERATORI

HIC
DIGITVS
DEI

BORAH.

SALOMON.

Ecclesiastice vera.

A
THANKFULL
REMEMBRANCE
OF GODS MERCIE.

by
G.C.N.

sanctus est Dominus in operibus suis.

er aquas.

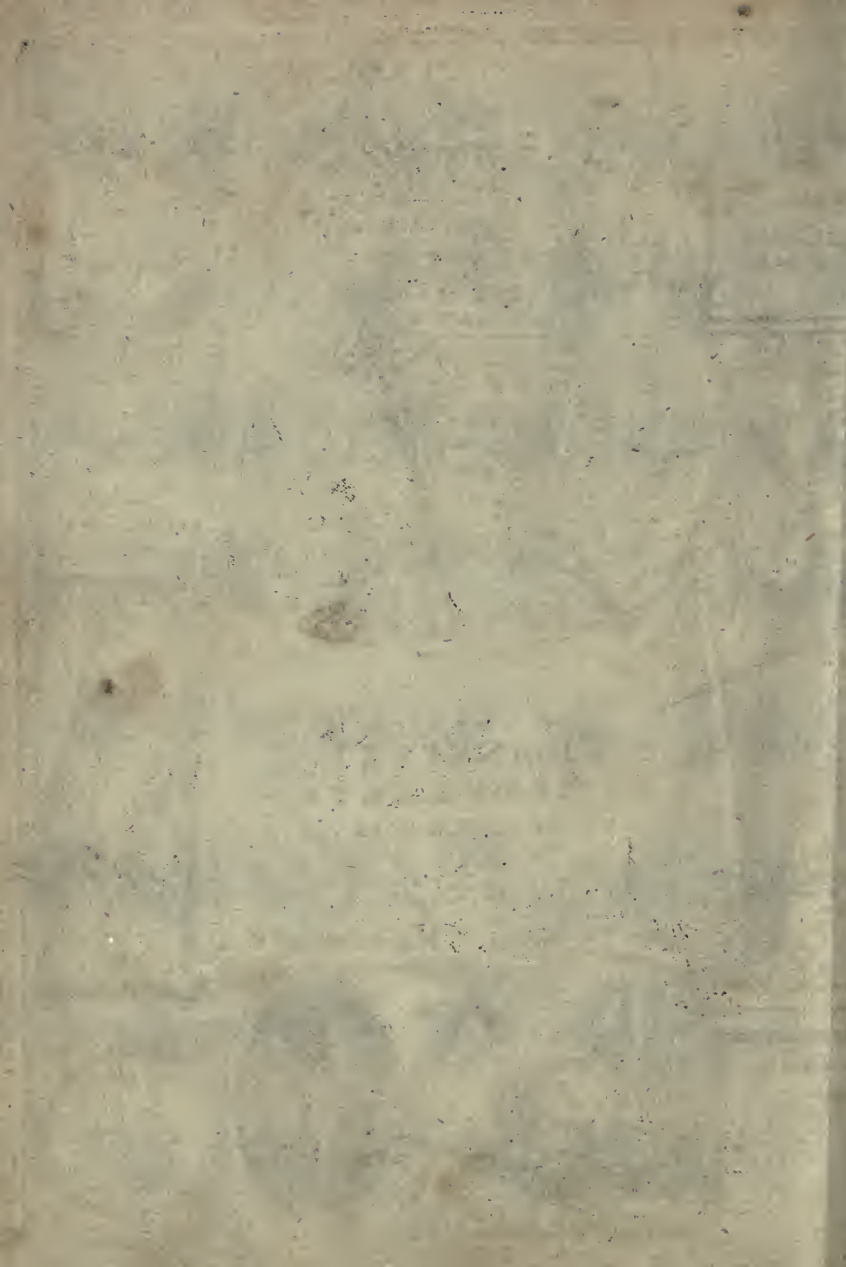
Per Ignem

Spas. Sc.

Ecclesia Malignantium.

Tic. un.

London Printed for Robert Milbourne, and Humphry Robinson.



A
T H A N K F V L L
R E M E M B R A N C E
O F G O D S M E R C Y .

In an Historicall Collection of the
great and mercifull Deliverances of the
Church and *State* of ENGLAND, since the
Gospel beganne here to flourish, from
the beginning of Queene
ELIZABETH.

Collected by GEO: CARLETON,
Doctor of Divinity and Bishop of
CHICHESTER.

The third Edition revised, and enlarged.

P S A L M . I I I . 2 .

*The works of the Lord are great, and ought to be
sought out of all them that love Him.*

L O N D O N ,
Printed by M. Flesher for Robert Mylbourne
and Humphrey Robinson at the signe of the three
Pigeons in Pauls Church-yard.

I 6 2 7 .

A
THE ANTIKVIL
REMEMBRANCE
OF GOOD MARRIAGE

In an Historical Collection of the
great and merciful Deliverance of the
Church of England from the
Popish Tyranny and Usurpation
in the Year of our Lord 1554.
By JOHN BISHOP

Collected by GEORGE CARRINGTON
Doctor of Divinity and Bishop of
CHESTER.

The third Edition revised, and enlarged.

PSALM III. 2.
The works of the Lord are great, and ought to be
feared of all them that love Him.

LONDON
Printed by M. Fisher for Robert Maltman
at the Sign of the Gunpowder, in St. Dunstons Church-yard
1702.



TO
THE HIGH, NOBLE,
AND MOST VERTVOVS,
CHARLES;
PRINCE OF GREAT
BRITAIN, Duke of CORN-
WALL and of YORKE, &c.

*the spirit of wisdom with
increase of Honour.*

SIR:



As the great Works
of God ought to bee
had in remembrance
of all men, so this dutie is
more required of Prin-
ces then of other men.
Because *their* charge
is greater then the charge of *other* men: for

The Epistle Dedicatory.

they must answer both for the government of *themselves* and of *others* under them. Wherefore having observed the workes of God in delivering this *Church* and *State* from the cruell plots of the adversaries, from the beginning of *Queene Elizabeth* to this time: I found my selfe most obliged to present this to your *Highness*; both because my service, next to his *Majestie*, is most due to your *Highness*, & because the remembrance of the great Works of God is a *Glasse* fit for a *Prince* to look on. For your *Highness* may be assured that the Adversaries will not change their disposition, unlesse either we were reduced to their *blindness*, or they drawne to embrace the *truth* with us. I have made this *Collection*, that by examples of *things past* we may better judge of *things to come*. My labour herein is nothing. For I *make* not the Story, but *take* it of others. And when I light upon the best Narration, as that of the *Gun-powder treason*, I have set it downe as I find it without alteratiō. Because as that cannot be mended, so to set a worse Narration in the place thereof were no lesse then to abuse the Reader.

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

der. I leaue the honour entire to them that have made the Story, I take no part thereof to me. Onely my care hath beene of *observe* upon those great Deliverances *the Works of God*, that God may be *glorified* and the cause *justified* which God hath maintained from Heaven. S I R, I suppose it is hard to finde a Narration containing more *miraculous* Protection of Gods Church, since that time wherein God shewed his *Miracles* in protecting the people of *Israel*. Which consideration may serve to *fasten* your *Highness* to the love and *service* of that great G O D, that doth so *strongly* maintaine his *servants*. That as hitherto you have had a gracious experience of his grace and goodnesse towards you ; so your noble heart may grow every day more and more in the love and obedience of the truth. Wee are all charged by G O D S VVord to *pray for Kings and Princes*. That charge which G O D hath laid upon us all, no man can put off. But when your *Highness* hath effectually made knowne your singular care and love to the com-

mon

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

mon good, to the rejoycing of all faithfull men; this must needs draw the hearts of all faithfull men neerer to your *Hightnesse*. And this is a part of your happinesse; for the feare of God and love of Subjects is able to make *Kings* and *Princes* strong against all their enemies. *God give his judgments to the King and his righteousnesse to the Kings sonne*, and therewith, all blessings, grace and honour here, and glory hereafter.

Your *Hightnesse* ancient *Chaplain*,

and most humble *Servant*,

GRO: CICESTRIENSIS.

A THANKFULL REMEMBRANCE OF GODS MERCIE.

CHAP. I.

The weake estate of this Kingdome at Queene Elizabeths entrance. Her government blessed with might and money beyond expectation all on a suddaine, to the terrour of the enemies of the Gospell and comfort of the Professors thereof. The ancient government of the Low-Countries, what it was. The treason of Arthur Pool discovered and defeated. The Popes Excommunication and curse against Queene Elizabeth turned by Christ (whose Gospell she maintained) into a blessing.



The Entrance of Q. Elizabeth.



Aving a purpose to observe GODS
great and mercifull deliverances of
the Church of *England*, and GODS
holy protection of the same, against

B

the

the manifold, most daingerous, most desperate practices of the adversaries, that have with strange malice and cruelty sought the destruction thereof; and intending to fetch the beginning of this search from the beginning of the Raig of Queene ELIZABETH of blessed memory: I knew no better way how to enter into this Narration, then to begin with the consideration of the State of Queene ELIZABETH at her first entrance; for therein will appeare a wonderfull Worke of God; and my intention is to observe the great Workes of God that God may be glorified.

Q. Eliz. entered, *Anno*
1558.

When this famous Queene first entred, she found the State much afflicted, and weakned. All the great States about her were enemies, Friends none. King *Philip*, who offered his love and kindnesse to her, and would have married her, offering to obtaine the Popes dispensation for him to marry two Sisters; as the like dispensation was obtained by *Ferdinand* his great Grand-father, for his daughter *Katharine* to marry two brothers, he offering this kindnesse, and being refused and rejected, grew first into dislike and discontent, afterwards into hatred, and at last brake out into open Wars. The French King *Henry* the 2. with whom she sought peace, fell off also into open Wars. His sonne *Francis* having married *Mary* Queene of *Scotland*, was moved by the *Guyssians* to cause the Armes of *England* to be joyned to the Armes of *Scotland*, and to professe the Queene of *Scots* the heire of *England*, and because *Elizabeth* was accounted by them an Heretike, therefore they

they sought to put her by, to set the Queene of *Scots* in her place, so should the French King have *England* also. For the effecting of this, they sent their Armies into *Scotland*, purposing from thence to have subdued *England*. In so much that *Sebastianus Martignius*, a young Noble man of the Family of *Luxenburg*, who was sent into *Scotland* with a thousand foote, and some Companies of Horse, could hardly be dissuaded from entring *England* presently. So that *Spaine*, *France* and *Scotland* were enemies. The State was then much troubled and oppressed with great debt, contracted partly by *Henry* the eight, partly by *Edward* the sixt in his minoritie, and partly by Queene *Mary*. The treasure was exhausted; *Calis* was lost. Nothing seemed to be left to her but a weake and poore State, destitute of meanes and friends. If shee would have admitted the Popish Religion, then might all these difficulties have beene removed. But establishing the Gospell, shee vnderstood well, that shee drew all these troubles upon her owne head, yet shee gave the glory to God, and in hope of Gods holy protection, shee established Gods holy Truth. And verily shee did not serve God in vaine. For it is a thing to be wondred at, that the Land being then without strength, without Forces, without Souldiers, yea, without Armour; all things necessary should be so suddenly furnished. Shee had provided Armour at *Antwerp*, but King *Philip* caused that to be stayed. Yet shee was not discouraged,

raged, but laid out much money vpon Armour, though she found the Treasury but poore. She procured Armour and Weapons out of *Germany*. She caused many great Guns to be cast, of Brasse and Iron. And Gods providence and favour appeared in her protection. For new Mines of Brasse were found at *Keswick*, that had long bin neglected. From whence there was not onely sufficient matter to supply her wants, but abundance thereof to bee transported to other Countries. The stone called *Lapis Calaminaris*, whose use is needfull for working in Brasse, was also at the same time first found in *England*. There was provision made at home also for the making of gunpowder. Which was done first here by her commandement. For before, it was bought and imported: *Berwick* before her time, was weake, and had but 500 Souldiers: She fortified the Towne, made the new inner wall, and increased the number of Souldiers, and their stipends, that provision might be made for the training up of experienced Souldiers and martiall men. She provided a Navy, the best furnished that ever *England* saw. Neither needed she to doe as her Father and Ancestours were wont to doe, when they wanted Ships, to send for Ships and hire them from *Hamburg, Lubeck, Dantisk, Genua, and Venice*; for she had them ready at home to serue her. Yea all the good Townes vpon the Sea-coast, beholding this incredible alacrity and forwardnesse in their Prince, strived also to imitate the same, and therefore with great chearfulnesse and readinesse built

Ships

Ships for Warre. So that in a short time, the Queens Ships and those of the Subjects joynd together rose to such a number; that they were able to imploy twenty thousand men in Sea-fight at once. The Noble-men, the Gentle-men, and Yeomen did all strieve to answer so noble a resolution of their Prince. And therefore great store of Armour and Weapons were every where provided. And braue spirits were bred and inabled to service, whereby they became an helpe and ornament to their Country. So that *Queene Elizabeth* was quickly grown so strong, that all her adversaries were not able to hurt her. And was not this a great worke of God? That so weak a Woman should be able to defend her selfe against so many, so potent enemies? Yea, and not onely to match them, but to maister them? This was Gods doing. Behold what it is to trust in *God*, and not in an arme of *Flesh*. God will haue his great works to be had in remembrance, that all men, especially Princes, may bee taught to know that their safety is not in worldly policy, but in God which never forsaketh them that trust in him. Here then we haue a worke, for which we are bound to glorifie God. *Elizabeth*, a Prince, at the beginning weak, destitute of friends, unfurnished of treasure, unprepared of all things, had in no other account of her great neighbours round about her, but as one left as a prey to the strongest that would invade her and her kingdome; yet preparing her heart to God, giving God the glory, establishing his truth in her Land, trusting in him, she was in a

few yeares made strong against her enemies; they feared her more then shee feared them. This is an example can hardly be paralleled. It was a worke of God in defence of his Church here, and wee yeeld all glory and praise unto God for his mercies shewed herein. From this example Princes may take a worthy instruction to rest upon God, and to seeke his glory, and know assuredly, that when they are at the weakest state, if they give their heart to God, and their service to his true Religion, God will raise them to greatnesse, who hath promised to *honour them that honour him*, and threatned that *they that dishonour him shall be despised*. Before I leave this example of Gods protection of this noble *Queene* in her first entrance, Let this be remembred, that as all the great Princes adjoining, with the Pope and all, were her great enemies, so there were no friends able to helpe her: for they that were friends, and would have helped if they could, stood all in need of her help. The *Scots* were sore troubled with the *French Armies* procured by the *Guyssians*, but shee helped them, and protected the King in his minority, and freed that State from the tyranny of the *French* government. The *Low-countries* were tyrannized by the Duke *D'Alva*, who changed their government, and inhibited their meetings in Councell. For to speake somewhat of the ancient government of that people; to stop the common imputations cast upon them by such as are not well affected to them. Their government was by a generall assembly of the States. Their Governours were

1 Sam. 2. 30.

were such as were borne within the seventeene Provinces, no strangers. These were anciently the Clergie, the Nobilitie, and the Deputies of the Provinces, and of good Townes, meeting together in their generall Assemblies. These so meeting made lawes and orders whereby that State was governed. The Deputies were sent to the generall Assemblies, by the Suffrages of the people, and upon cause they were recalled by the people, and other sent in their roomes. This manner of government some of the Dukes of *Burgundy* and some others disliked, as giving too much power to the people, and too little to their Dukes: and therefore laboured to change it, but could not. *Charles* the fift Emperour would gladly have changed their government, but when hee saw that it could not be done without the commotion of the whole State, he left it undone. *Philip* the second, Anno 1549. July 8. tooke his oath, which he made and renewed againe Anno 1555. to keepe, maintaine, and preserve these Countries in their ancient rites, priviledges, and customes, without breaking them, or suffering them to be broken, in any sort or manner. But when the Duke *D'Alva* was Governour there under the King, he practised the contrary, and professed that the King was not to governe them as his ancient inheritance, but as upon a new Conquest, making what lawes hee would, and setting what government best pleased him. Whereupon his whole drift and practise was for a new Conquest of all the Provinces and Townes. The pretence of Religi-

on was sought : but it was resolved by the Counsell of *Spaine*, to change the whole government, and to erect a new. This appeared as well by the Dukes open profession, as by those designs which he practised vpon the persons of some of the Nobility, and vpon the good Townes. For when the Earles of *Egmont* and *Horne*, were apprehended and put to death, mistrusting nothing, because they knew no cause to mistrust : they that did this could not pretend Religion, because these Earles were of the Popish Religion. They could not pretend any disloyalty against them, for their firme loyalty and their great services to the King made them so confident ; onely it was thought that these Noble men would never yeeld to the change of the government of that State, therefore they were cut off. The like appeared in the strange surprises and cruelty practised against many townes, which were of the Popish Religion. For divers townes that were firme to the *Spaniard* in the point of Religion, and in obedience to the King, when Armies were sent to them, entertaining the Armies in all obedience, opening their gates, shewing all love and friendship to the *Spanish* Armies, were of a suddaine surprised, and brought to utter ruine ; the *Spaniards* killing and massacring all, taking their goods, abusing their wiues and daughters, as the manner of such barbarous men is in a new Conquest, exercising more cruelties against their professed friends, then they could doe to their enemies. Such barbarous cruelties were practised
against

against the Towne of *Machlin, Maestrich, Zutphen, Naerden, Antwerp*, and others who were their friends, agreeing in the same religion with them, holding as then, their obedience firme to the King: yet were they spoyled, killed, ransacked, and overthrowne like enemies. Which strange crueltie declared that it was not religion that mooved this crueltie, but that which the Duke *D'Alva* did openly professe, that the King must hold all the *Low-Countries* by a new conquest, that so he might change the government, and impose what lawes he would.

It may seeme a strange use of the Popes Authority which King *Philip* made, when from the Pope he got a dispensation of that oath, which he had taken at his entrance into the *Low-Countries*. That is an use of a Pope fit indeede for them that would doe whatsoever they list without conscience, or the feare of Gods lawes, or mans. If such an use may be made of the Popes power, then Popish Princes must needs in the sight of the world, seeme to have a great advantage over others. But if they may so dispense at their pleasure with oathes and promises, then may all those of the religion see plainely that there are neither humane nor divine bands or securitie that can binde Papists: for when they please, the Pope will free them from all bands of conscience, from the lawes of GOD, of man, of nature, of nations. But God will not be thus served. And therefore by Gods just judgments they that relie upon such vngodly practises, loose more in the end, then they gaine

by such profane dealings. This was the cause of their troubles in the *Low-Countries*. That State being then so troubled, could yeeld no helpe to *Queene Elizabeth*, yet did she yeeld help to them.

The King of *Denmark* and the Protestants in *France* were not able to helpe her, nor to helpe themselves without her meanes. This must needs be acknowledged an extraordinary blessing of God, to make her able to withstand the greatest enemies, and to helpe all that were distressed for Religion.

This famous *Queene*, though troubled by foraine States in the beginning of her raigne, yet had great peace and quietnesse at home. This was the fruit of true religion: her Subjects lived in peace, and tranquillitie; no motions then attempted, onely in the fourth yeare of her raign, *Arthur Poole*, and his brethren comming of the race of *George Duke of Clarence*, who was brother to *Edward* the fourth, and *Antony Forteskue*, who married their sifter, with some other of that conspiracie, were brought to their tryall, for that they had conspired to flie to the *Guise* into *France*, and thence to come with an Armie into *Wales*, and there to declare the *Scottish Queene*, to be *Queene of England* and *Arthur Poole Duke of Clarence*. All which they freely confessed at their tryall; yet protesting that it was not their purpose to execute this Designe, as long as *Queene Elizabeth* lived, who as they supposed should die within a yeare: for so some cosening *Astrologians* had told them. Whereupon they were condemned, yet their lives were spared in
respect

respect of their blood. Wherein wee may acknowledge the goodnes of God in discovering such a plot before it tooke strength, and the noble nature of the Queene, that dealt so nobly with her owne blood.

Thus the Land within rested in great quietnes, for some yeares. The Church was established, and increased, learning flourished, godlinesse and true pietie prevailed, Popish ignorance was driven into corners. The *Papists*, that then were, were content to keepe themselves quiet. Either they kept their Religion private to themselves, or els they came to our Churches, as most of them did. But the enemy of all goodnesse envying this peaceable state of *England*, stirred up the Pope to give occasion to new troubles, and to wrap the Kingdome into daingers. Whereby as the Church hath bene more troubled, then it was before, so the *Papists* have got nothing by the bragaine, but lost much, by stirring up the peaceable inclination of the Prince against them, by prouoking the State to make severe lawes to curbe them, who might have lived quietly, if they had not procured their owne trouble.

Paulus IIII. was Pope when Queene *Elizabeth* began to raigne; this Pope was not troublesome against her. His successor was *Pius IIII.* who seemed to be a moderate man. For he was mooved by the Count of *Feria*. (who served the King of *Spaine*) to excommunicate Queene *Elizabeth*, but he thought it not good to proceed to such extremities. For seeing the Popes authoritie is a thing

consisting rather in the conceits of some men, then in any truth and substance: If it should once appeare that this thunder-bolt of excommunication, whereby he hath so much terrified the world, should prove idle, ineffectuall without all power, then might this great authoritie fall into contempt, and so be made ridiculous. Whether for this cause or what other, he would not be perswaded to use this extremitie against the Queen, but sent Letters, shewing some love and kindnesse, by an Abbot *Parpalia*, by whom also he sent certaine secret Mandates. Which what they were was not openly knowne. But some, acquainted well with State affayres then, reported that the Pope offered to recall and disanull the sentence as unjust which was given against her Mothers marriage, and to confirme the *English Liturgie* by his authoritie, granting also the use of the Sacrament under both kinds, so that she would joyne her selfe to the *Romane Church*, & acknowledge the Popes supremacie. And for the effecting hereof, a great summe of gold was promised to some that should be used as instruments for this purpose. But *Queene Elizabeth* remaining SEMPER EADEM, ever like her selfe, utterly denied to have any thing to do with the Pope.

But



In nomine Domini incipit optine malum.

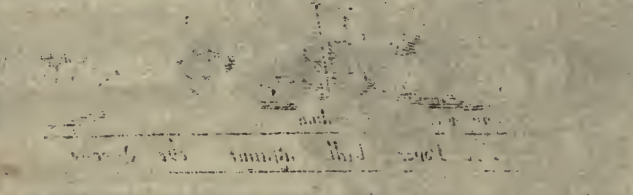
Fredericus Hulfers
Invent. & sculpsit

The Popes bull against the Queene.

But the next Pope, *Pius V.* that succeeded, tooke another course, whether a better or worse, let the event declare. For in the year 1569. hee sent out an excommunication against her and all adhering to her, wherein her subjects were absolved from the Oath of their Allegiance, and from all other offices and duties, and that all that should obey her were accursed. Which thing brought more trouble upon the *Papists*, then upon the Queene, or any of her obedient subjects. And hath openly declared to all the world, that the Popes curse is a thing proceeding from private spleene and malice, and now nothing feared but contemned, when all men may see that the Popes curse is turned by the favour of God into an extraordinary blessing, and

This Bull was
dated Anno
Dom. 1569.
Quinto Cal.
Mart.

that the Pope is not Christs Vicar in these ministe-
 ries, because he is contrary to Christ, and Christ
 contrary to him. The *Pope* cursing, and *Christ* bles-
 sing, the *Pope* seeking thereby to destroy the
Queene, *Christ* maintaining her, made her stronger
 after this curse then ever she was before. Yet it is
 true that many troubles did rise thereby, but God
 turned them all unto her good, that men may un-
 derstand the fruit of true religion established,
 which bringeth the protection of God with it.



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CHAP.

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CHAPTER II.

The rebellion of the Earles of Westmerland and Northumberland related distinctly by Hieronym. Catena, so strongly plotted, so secretly carried, by the hand of God disappointed and broken into peeces. Leon: Dacres his overthrow by it. This is the fruit of Popery, and the first effect of the Popes Bull.



*The rebellion of the Earles of Northumber: and Westmoreland * Frithubis. in. et saup.*

He first poysoned fruit of this excommunication was rotten before it could ripen. There was an intention of a great and terrible Rebellion. The Duke of Norfolk was excited to stirre what Forces he could, and to joyne with the Earles of Westmerland and Northumberland: at the same time an Army

mie was to come out of *Ireland*, and another Armie to be sent from Duke *D'alua* in the *Low-Countries*. If all these had joyned together, as the intention was, God knoweth what might have ensued. But there is no counsell can prevaile against God. All the plot was broken in peeces without any other trouble, saving that which fell upon the plotters themselves and their instruments. The King of *Spaine*, who watched all opportunities to doe mischief, wrote one Letter to the Duke of *Norfolke*, exciting him to raise a power within *England*, and wrote another to the Earle of *Ormond*, to raise a tumult in *Ireland*. But both the Duke and the Earle shewed the Letters to the Queene, declaring thereby a purpose to be loyall. The Duke suffered himselfe to be wrought upon too much by pernicious instruments. The instruments were the Bishop of *Ross*, who lay in *London* under pretence of being Ambassadour for the Queene of *Scots*, and one *Robert Ridolf*, a Noble-man of *Florence*, who lay in *London*, in the habit and pretence of a Factor. These pestiferous instruments laboured to perswade the Duke to marry the Queene of *Scots*, who being next heire to the Crowne of *England*, would bring great hopes with her, and by subtile and pernicious counsell drew the Duke so farre, that against his promise made to the Queene, he began to thinke of that marriage, and the hopes that might follow the same, and entred into a secret course of writing and receiving Letters from the Queene of *Scots*, by secret characters. All which together with a Commentary sent to him by the

Scots Queene, the Duke commanded his Secretary *Higford* to burne. But he laid them under the Matt in the Dukes Chamber. And being apprehended, declared where they were. At the Dukes arraignment a Letter was produced written to him from the *Scots Queene*; signifying her grieffe for that the Earles of *Westmerland* and *Northumberland* were up in armes before the Duke had raised his powers. For *Queene Elizabeth*, finding whereunto things tended, apprehended the Duke, and sent for the Earles to come to Court, but because they had once excused their absence, shee sent peremptorily for them, all excuse laid aside, upon their alleigiance to come up. Supposing that if they were innocent, they would come, but if guiltie, then should their purpose sooner breake out into open fight. As it fell out. For they supposing by this, the plot to be betrayed, brake out into open rebellion, before the helpe which they looked for from other parts could come to them. This rebellion was plotted by the Pope *Pius V.* and by the King of *Spaine*, and was so cunningly handled, and carried with such secrecie, that it was well knowne to strangers before it was knowne to us whom most the matter concerned. And no marvaile, seeing strangers were the devisers and first authors of it. I will therefore declare it in the words of a stranger, who set it forth in Print at *Rome*, before in was well knowne in *England*. *Hieronymus Catena* in the life of *Pius V.* writeth thus.

“ When *Pius V.* was inflamed with a zeale to restore the *Romane Religion* in *England*, and to dis-

"place Queene *Elizabeth* out of that Kingdome;
 "and yet could not have his *Nuntio* Apostolicall,
 "nor any other publick person fit to effect this
 "thing: he ordered the matter so, that *Robert Ri-*
 "*dolf*, a Gentleman of *Florence* (who stayed in
 "*England* under colour of merchandise) should
 "stirre up the minds of men upon the destruction
 "of *Elizabeth*. Which thing he diligently execu-
 "red, not onely among the *Catholikes*, but also a-
 "mong some *Protestants*, who conspired together
 "herein; some out of private hatred against them
 "that aspired to the Kingdome, others out of a
 "desire of a change. Whilst these things were se-
 "cretly carried, a contention rose betweene the
 "*Spanyard* and *Elizabeth*, upon the occasion of a
 "summe of money going to the Duke *Dalva*, but
 "intercepted by *Elizabeth*.

" This occasion the Pope apprehended to per-
 "swade the *Spanyard*, that he would helpe the con-
 "spiratours in *England* against *Elizabeth*, that so
 "he might have his affaires in the *Netherlands* in
 "greater securitie, and the *Romane* Religion might
 "be restored in *Britaine*. The Pope also perswa-
 "ded the *French*, shewing him that this he ought
 "to the *Scots* Queene, affianced to him, and wor-
 "thily to the *Scots*, who by their incurfions had
 "withdrawne the Forces of *England*, that they
 "could do lesse helpe to the *Protestants* of *France*,
 "neither did the noble conspiratours of *England*
 "deserve lesse favour of him, who by their cunning
 "have hindered the Queene of *England* to give
 "any helpe openly to the *Protestants* of *France*. In

" this respect the *French* King promised them ayd
 " for the deliverance of the *Scots* Queen, but failed
 " of performance of any thing. In the meane time,
 " *Ridolphus* effected thus much, that the conspira-
 " tours shoud draw the Duke of *Norfolk* into their
 " societie, and make him chiefe therein, to whom
 " they promised marriage with the *Scots* Queene,
 " whereto she consented. The Pope to set these
 " things forward, by his Bull published, deposed
 " *Elizabeth* from her Kingdome, and absolved
 " her subjects from al oath and alleagiance, sending
 " the printed Coppies to *Ridolphus*, which might
 " be dispersed over *England*. Whereupon the
 " Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland* tooke
 " Armes against their Prince, who presently, mo-
 " ney and meanes failing, withdrew themselves
 " into *Scotland*. The Duke of *Norfolke* with others
 " were committed to prison. Among them was
 " *Ridolphus*, whom the Pope had appointed to
 " helpe the conspiratours with an hundreth and
 " fifty thousand Crownes, which thing he could
 " not doe being clapt up in prison. But when the
 " Queene could not pierce into the secrets of the
 " conspiracie, he was sent out of prison with o-
 " thers, and then he distributed those Crownes
 " to the conspirators. Who sent him to the Pope
 " to informe him that all things were prepared in
 " a readinesse and ordered against *Elizabeth*: and
 " to intreat the *Spanish* King to joyne his Forces
 " from the *Netherlands* as soone as may be: the
 " Pope commended the Enterprise, albeit, the
 " Duke *Dalva* did not like it, as being full of dif-

" ficulties, when as *Ridolphus* in his journey told
 " him the matter. The Pope sent *Ridolf* to the
 " *Spanyard*, under another pretence, and to the
 " King of *Portugall* with instructions; and at the
 " same time writing to the Duke of *Norfolk*, pro-
 " mised him aid. Hee did much urge the *Spanyard*
 " to help the conspiratours, & to the end he might
 " the more vehemently stirre him up, he promised,
 " if neede were, himselfe would goe for to helpe
 " them, and would ingage all the goods of the Sea
 " Apostolike, Chalices, Crosses, and holy Vest-
 " ments. Declaring that there was no difficultie in
 " it, if he would sent *Chapinus Vitellius* with an ar-
 " my into *England* from the *Low-countries*. Which
 " thing the King of *Spaine* commanded to be done
 " with great alacritie. And the Pope provided mo-
 " ney in the *Netherlands*. These things were not
 " pleasing to the Duke *Dalva*, both because hee
 " envied *Vitellius* this glory, wherein hee rather
 " wished his owne sonne to be imployed, and be-
 " cause he feared some hostile invasion out of
 " *France*, and proposed it to be considered, whe-
 " ther *England* being overcome would fall to the
 " *Spanyard*, whether the *French* would not resist
 " that project, and whether the Pope were able to
 " bring help enough to effect so great a matter.
 " Notwithstanding the *Spanish* King expressly
 " commanded him to set upon *England*. *Ridolf*
 " was sent back with money to the *Netherlands*.
 " But see how God would have it: All the matter
 " was opened to *Elizabeth* by a stranger without
 " the Kingdome. The Duke of *Norfolk* was ap-
 " prehended.

"prehended and put to death. Which thing the
 "Pope tooke heavily, the *Spanyard* condoled, who
 "before the Cardinall of *Alexandria* the Popes
 "Nephew, said, that never any Conspiracie was
 "more advisedly begun, nor concealed with more
 "constancy and consent of mindes, which in all
 "that time was not opened by any of the conspi-
 "rators: that an Army might easily be sent out
 "of the *Low-countries*, in the space of 24. hours,
 "which might suddenly have taken the Queene
 "and the Citie of *London* unprovided, restored re-
 "ligion, and set the *Scots* Queene in the Throne.
 "Especially when as *Stukley* an English fugitive
 "had undertaken at the same time with the helpe
 "of 3000 *Spanyards* to reduce all *Ireland* unto
 "the obedience of the King of *Spaine*, and with
 "one or two shippes to burne all the English
 "Navie. Thus farre *Catena* writeth of these
 things, opening some things that before were not
 knowne to the English. The Booke was Printed
 at *Rome An: Dom. 1588.* by the priviledge of Pope
Pius V.

This is the Narration of a *Papist*, published at
Rome by [the authoritie of the Pope. It may
 seeme strange to men that have any feeling of the
 feare of God, that a Pope should so boldly pub-
 lish his owne shame to all the world. The Pope
 doth practise treason against States, sets his in-
 struments to raise rebellions, stirreth up Princes
 against Princes, one Kingdome against another,
 and when he doth this, he will not understand
 that he is, in this doing, the instrument and ser-

vant of the Devill to disorder the world. If any would excuse this, as being done against an Heretike: that excuse will not serve here; for I speake not of excommunicating supposed Heretikes, but of raising rebellions against Princes, to set the Subjects to murder the Prince, or to stirre up one Prince to murder another, these things be wicked and ungracious practices, but the *Papists* are growne to such an obduration in these sinnes, that they judge these no sinnes, to murder, or secretly to poyson, or by any horrible mischief to compass their owne ends. The things that are by the Lawes of God, of Nature, of Nations, wicked and abominable, against the Ordinances which God hath set in the world, must forsooth change their nature, if the Pope command them; nay, if any of their superiours command such things, their doctrine of *blind obedience* sets them upon any mischief, and so they doe not only *teach for doctrines mens traditions*, but *make doctrines for mens destructions*. If the Popes presume that they have such a priviledge, that the things which are horrible sinnes in other men, are no sinnes in them: this were in effect as much as for the Pope to proclaime himselfe *the Man of sinne*, that runneth into all sinfull courses *with greedinesse*, with an open profession of the same. For what can any man of sinne doe more, then to *command sinne*, to *warrant sin*, to *commit sin*, to *glory in sin*; If all this be done by the *Pope*, who can iustly deny him this title of *the Man of sinne*?

But blessed be the name of God, that alwayes deliuered his Church here from such wicked practices, and hath brought the mischiefe that these wicked men have devised, upon their owne head. Now let all understanding men judge where God is, where godlinesse is, where Religion and the feare of God is. Whether with them that by bloody, uniuert, unlawfull practices seeke their owne ends, or with them that are persecuted by this bloody Nation, and in patience suffer all their mischievous and cruell practices, committing the matter to God the revenger of blood, and trusting in God, rejoyce under his holy protection, being kept in safetic by him that commandeth all the world? For what power could be able to keepe his Church from being swallowed up by such cruell aduersaries, but only the hand and holy protection of our God? Must not wee then glorifie his name that hath done so great things for us? And for our aduersaries, they have their power limited, and they have their time limited, and set forth unto them beyond which they cannot passe. But the soules of them that rest under the Alter, whose blood hath beene shed on every side by this bloody generation, for the testimony of Christ, these cry out with a lowd voyce, *Vsquequo Domine? How long Lord, holy and true? Doest thou not judge and revenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?* Yea so blinde are these blood-suckers, that they labour still to increase this cry; but GOD will give patience to his Saints, and in his time cut

Apo. 6, 10.

Pfal. 59. 5.

cut off this wicked Nation. *Be not mercifull O Lord to them that sin of malicious wickednesse.*

Pfal. 124. 6.

Thus then this rebellion that was so strongly plotted, so secretly carried, was by the hand of God disappointed, and broken into peeces. Wee have cause to blesse the name of God therefore: *Praysed be the Lord, that hath not given us as a prey to their teeth.* Thus can we comfort our selves in God. But can our adversaries comfort themselves in their owne mischiefes? The issue was, the *Pope* and the *Spanyard* were disappointed, the *World* wondered how this *State* was so soone quieted. The *Earles Northumberland* and *Westmerland* seduced by a *Priest* that the *Pope* had sent, one *Nicholas Morton*, came to *Durham* where they had the *Mass* set vp. From thence they marched to *Clifford-Moore*, not far from *Wetherby*, where hearing that the *Scots Queene* (for whose deliverance they tooke Armes) was carried from *Tutbery* to *Coventry*, under the custodie of the *Earles of Shrewsbury* and *Huntingdon*, and that the *Earle of Suffex* on the one side had gathered a strong Armie against them, that *Sir George Bowes* was behind them, having fortified *Bernard Castle*, that the *Lord Scroop* and the *Earle of Cumberland* had fortified *Carliel*, and gathered an Armie there in readinesse, that the *Souldiers of Berwick* with the power of *Northumberland* were in *New-castle*, they turned back againe and besieged *Bernard Castle*. *Sir George Bowes* and his brother *Mr. Robert*, being driven by an hard siege, and wanting provision, yeelded the *Castle*, and they
and

An. Dom. 1569.

and the souldiers were dismissed, carrying their armes with them as it was covenanted. Vpon the first newes of the feares, which the Earle of *Suffex* brought against them, the Earles fled to *Hexham*, from thence, seeking by wayes, to *Naworth Castle*. Whence the two Earles fled into *Scotland*, the Earle of *Northumberland* hid himselfe in the house of *Hector* of *Harlaw* an *Armstrang*, having confidence in him that he would be true to him, who notwithstanding for money betrayed him to the Regent of *Scotland*. It was observed that *Hector*, being before a rich man, fell poore of a sudden, and so hated generally that he never durst goe abroad, in so much, that the Proverb *to take Hectors cloake*, is continued to this day among them, when they would expresse a man that betrayeth his friend who trusted him. The Earle was afterward delivered into *England*, and condemned of high treason and beheaded. *Westmerland* found meanes to hide him a while with *Fernihurst* and *Bucklough*, and escaped into the *Low-Countries*, where being sustained by a poore Pension of the King of *Spaine*, he lived a poore life all his time.

This is the fruit of *Poperie*. It bringeth Noble houses to destruction. It pittied their hearts, against whom the rebellion was raised, to see such Noble persons brought to such a destruction. But the *Pope* is without pittie and mercie, the *Priests* and *Iesuites* that bring such noble men into such snares, have no pittie nor mercy. Therefore it behooveth all noble persons to be wise, and to avoyd pestiferous waies, that is, to shut their eares against

Priests and *Iesuites*. These be pernicious instruments, that secretly convey themselves into great mens favour, to bring them to ruine, they tell them of the Religion of their Fathers, but true Religion bringeth a blessing, and Religion that bringeth alwayes a curse is to be suspected. And to say truth, the Religion of *Rome*, as now, is not the Religion of our Fathers. For Religion was changed in the *Trent Councell*, and therefore they cannot say they have now that Religion which their Fathers had. And that Religion was changed in the *Trent Synod*, is by learned men sufficiently proved; and we are readie to maintaine it: for where the *rule of faith* is changed, there must needs follow a change of *Religion*, and a change of the *Church*. But in the *Trent Councell* the rule of faith is changed. And therefore men may observe a great difference between these men that are now called *Papists*, and their forefathers. God blessed their Fathers, because they served God in sinceritie, according to that measure of knowledge which was revealed to them; for he that serveth God truly, according to that measure of knowledge which he hath, and holdeth the rule of faith, is without doubt accepted of God, and God doth blesse such. But after that God hath revealed a greater measure of knowledge, by the spreading of the favour of his Gospel, they, who then forsake the truth offered, are followed with great curses. And therefore we may plainly observe the curses of God upon them that forsake God and his truth; Where the *Pope* curseth, wee see that God doth blesse, and

no evill followeth : where *God* doth curse, wee see destruction followeth.

This rebellion was scarce extinguished, when another little flame rose from this greater combustion. *Leonard Dacres* the second sonne of *William Lord Dacres of Gillestrand* (whose eldest brothers sonne was killed with a Valting horse) was much grieved to see so great a patrimony to goe from him to the daughters of the *Baron* whom the Duke of *Norfolk* their Father-in law had joyned in marriage with his sonnes. This so troubled *Leonard Dacres*, that having no other way to revenge himselfe, he tooke the course of impatient and discontented men, to revenge all upon himselfe, and joyning himselfe to the rebels, strived but in vaine, to deliver the *Scots Queene*. When they were in armes, then was *Leonard Dacres* at Court, and offred the *Queene* all his helpe against them, and for that service was sent home. But (as it came to light afterward) in his journey by messengers with the rebels he had communication, and encouraging them, undertooke to kill the Lord *Scroop*, and the *Bishop of Carliel*. Which when he could not effect, he tooke *Grastocke Castle*, and other houses of the *Lord Dacres*, and fortified *Naworth Castle*, holding it as in his owne right, and gathered souldiers about him. Against him came the Lord *Hunsdon*, with the trained souldiers of *Berwick*. *Leonard* not trusting to his fortified places, came to meet the Lord *Hunsdon*, and meeting him when he passed the River *Gelt*, after a sharpe battel, finding himselfe put to the worse, his men killed,

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he fled into *Scotland*. And so went into the *Low-Countries*, and in a poore estate died at *Lovaine*. The *Queene* be Proclamation pardoned the multitude which he had drawne to take his part.

This man ran a strange course. When he might have beene out of dainger, he run into a quarrell which he might evidently see to be lost before he came to it. But he was *drunke* with the cup of *Rome*; for who would run such courses but drunken men? It may teach others to beware of those that bring such poysoned and intoxicating cups from *Rome*.

CHAP-

CHAPTER III.

A Commotion in Ireland inflamed by Io: Mendoza, extinguished by the Earle of Ormond. The King of Spaine pretends the enlargement of the Scots Queene, but intends the enlargement of his owne Dominion. Don Iohn of Austria goeth about to deliver and marry the Scots Queene. He sends out a perpetuall Ediēt of peace, and presently breaketh out into warre. He dyeth on a sudden, and so his purpose was disappointed.



O proceed and to declare the pestilent fruit of the Popes excommunication, which wrought still to the confusion of them that served it. At this time in Ireland, Edmond and Peter Boleys,

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brethren to the Earle of *Ormond*, joyning with *James fitz Morice* of *Desmonds* family and with others, sought to doe service to the *Pope* and *Spaniard* against Religion, and with a purpose to draw *Ireland* away from the obedience of *Queene Elizabeth*. To this end they made a league among them. To inflame this rebellion *Iohannes Mendoza* came secretly out of *Spaine*: and to extinguish the flame the Earle of *Ormond* went out of *England* into *Ireland*, who laboured so effectually that he perswaded his brethren to submit themselves. They were put in prison, but that they might not be brought to judgment, the Earles daily intercession prevailed with the *Queene*. It grieved the Earle exceedingly to see such a blot upon so noble a family; And the *Queene* was willing to preserve the honour of the house; as for the reliques of that rebellion, they were in short time dissipated by the wisdom of the *Lord Deputy*, and the industry of *Sir Humphrey Gilbert*.

This was but a small motion: but it sheweth the restless spirits of the *Pope* and *Spaniard* against our *Church* and *State*. And we render thanks to *God* for breaking the purposes of our adversaries before they grew great. This is his goodnes toward his *Church*; and his judgment upon the adversaries.

The King of *Spaine* never rested to stirre up troubles to *Queene Elizabeth*, pretending the deliverance of the *Scots Queene*, but it appeareth that his intention was for himselfe, as the Duke *Dalva* understood it. This is evident by that which we have mentioned out of *Catena*. For

Duke *Dalva* was in some feare that if *Queene Elizabeth* were overthrowne, yet the Kingdome of *England* might not fall to the *Spanyard*, but to the *French*. So that it was in their intention certainly to be cast upon the *French* or *Spanyard*, and here was no reckoning made of the *Queene of Scots*. So that howsoever the pretence was for her deliverance, yet there was another thing intended. For seeing *Queene Elizabeth* was excommunicated, and deposed, if shee could once be overthrowne, then they made no other reckoning but that *England* would fall to the strongest. Now the *Spanyard* thinking himselfe the stronger, sought this prerogative for himselfe, and therefore he ceased not to raise troubles to the *Queene*, & the rather, because hee held it a thing impossible for him to recover the *Low-countries* unlesse he had *England*. But because he found it a matter of great difficultie to set upon *England*, his first enterprize was to set upon *Ireland*. But when that succeeded not, at last with all Forces that might be raised with many yeeres preparations, hee set openly upon *England*. But these things are to be spoken in order. Onely this I premise, that we may know from whom all our troubles have proceeded.

Many conspiracies brake out one after another, under pretence of delivering the *Queene of Scots*. To effect this thing, *Thomas Stanly*, and *Edward* his brother, the yonger sons of the Earle of *Darby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Rolston*, *Hall*, and other in *Darbyshire* conspired. But the sonne of *Rolston* which was Pensioner to the *Queene*, disclosed the conspiracy.

And

Anno Dom. 1570

And they were imprisoned, all except *Hall*, who escaped into the *Ile of Man*. From whence by the commendation of the Bishop of *Ross*, he was sent to *Dumbriton*. Where when afterward the Castle was wonne, he was taken, and brought to *London* where he suffered death:

Anno Domini, 1571

Before the Duke of *Norfolk* was beheaded there were that conspired to deliver him out of prison. The Bishop *Ross* at this time a daingerous instrument against *England*, and as daingerous against the *Scots* Queene, for whom he laboured, gave desperate counsell to the Duke, that with a choice company of Gentlemen, he should intercept the Queene of a suddaine, and trouble the *Parliament*. To shew that this was easie, he gave some reasons. But the Duke abhorred to heare of that counsell as pernicious & daingerous: Sir *Henry Percie* at that time offred to the Bishop of *Ross* his helpe to free the *Scots* Queene, so that *Grange* and *Carr* of *Fernihurst* would receive her at the borders, and his brother the Earle of *Northumberland* might be delivered out of *Scotland*. But when hee was suspected for the inward familiaritie which he had with *Burghly*, and deferred the matter a longer time, this counsell came to no effect. As did also that of *Powel* of *Samford*, one of the Gentlemen Pencionaries, and of *Owen*, one that belonged to the Earle of *Arundel*. These two undertooke the same businesse also for the *Scots* Queenes deliverance, but the Bishop of *Ross* stay'd that, because he tooke them for men of a meaner ranke, than to be fit for that busines. After the Duke was the second
time

time imprisoned, many were for this matter imprisoned also. The Earles of *Arundel & Southampton*, the Lord *Lumly*, the Lord *Cobham*, *Thomas* his brother, *Sir Henry Percy*, *Banister*, *Lowther*, *Godier*, *Powel*, and others were committed, who in hope of pardon told that they knew.

Barnes & Mathers, joyned with *Herle* in a bloody practice to deliver the *Duke*, and kill certaine of the Privie Councillers. But *Herle* being the chiefe in the villany opened the Project. When *Barnes* was brought before him, & found *Herle* to be the accuser, he smiling upon him, said, *Herle, thou hast prevented me, if thou hadst staid but one houre longer, I should then have stood in thy place the accuser, and thou in my place to be hanged.*

When *John Duke of Austria* came into government of the *Low-Countries*, he found the States strong. The crueltie that the *Duke of Dalva* & others had used, was so far from bringing them into a servile subjection, that it rather armed them with resolution to defend their liberties, their lawes, their religion, & their lives. Which may admonish great Princes to use moderation in government; for much hath beene lost by crueltie, nothing gotten by it; but nothing can serve to moderate restlesse spirits; such a spirit brought *Don Iohn* with him into the *Low-Countries*, who beholding the unlucky ends of them that strove to deliver the *Queene of Scots*, hee notwithstanding sought to worke her deliverance, and to marry her, and so to enjoy both *England* and *Scotland*. But to hide his purpose the better, hee made show of a perpetuall

Anno Dom. 1572

An. Dom. 1576.

di& for peace, as he called it: and for that purpose sent *Gastellus* to *Elizabeth*: Who throughly understanding the *Dukes* meaning, yet as if she had been ignorant, sent *Daniel Rogers* to *Don Iohn* to congratulate for his perpetuall Edi& of Peace. Albeit she certainly knew, that he had resolved to deliver and marry the *Scots Queene*, and in his conceit had devoured the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, by the perswasion of the *Earle of Westmerland*, & and of other fugitives, and by favor and countenance of the *Pope* and the *Guyfes*. And that *Don Iohn* had a purpose out of hand to surprize the *Ile of Man* in the *Irish seas*, that he might have a fitter opportunitie to invade *England* out of *Ireland*, and the North coast of *Scotland* where the *Scots Queene* had many at her devotion, and the opposite parts of *England*, as *Cumberland*, *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, *Northwales*, had many that, as hee was informed, favoured Popery.

The truth is, *Don Iohn* of *Austria* (as it was knowne from *Peresius* Secretary to the King of *Spaine*) being before this carryed away with ambition, when hee was disappointed of the hope which hee had of the Kingdome of *Tunis*, practised secretly with the *Pope* for the overthrow of *Queene Elizabeth*, marrying of the *Scots Queene*, and subduing *England*. That the *Pope* might excite the King of *Spaine* to warre against *England*, as out of a desire to the publick good. *Don Iohn* before he came out of *Spaine* to goe to the *Netherlands*, did forward this motion in *Spaine* what hee could, and afterward sending *Escouedus* out of
the

the *Netherlands* to *Spaine*, did desire to have the havens in *Biscay*, whence a Navy might invade *England*. But King *Philip* (happily reserving *England* as a morsell for his owne mouth) neglected *Don Iohn* as a man too ambitious. *Queene Elizabeth* understood not these things untill the *Prince of Orange* opened them to her, *Don Iohn* in the meane time prosecuteth the matter of the marriage with secrecie. And to dissemble the matter sent messengers to *Queene Elizabeth*, to hold her with a tale of perpetuall peace; but of a sudden brake out into warre, and tooke divers Townes and Castles by sleight and trechery, and wrote to *Spaine*, that the best course is to take *Zealand* before the more inner Provinces: and being prone to beleve that which hee desired, hee wrote that *England* might be had with greater ease then *Zealand*, and hee laboured by *Escouedus* to perswade the *Spanish King*. But the *Queene* seeing all tend to warre in the *Netherlands*, entred a league with the *States* for mutuall helpe, and sent *Thomas Wilkes* into *Spaine* to complaine of the heady courses of the *Duke of Austria*. And in the meane time prepared for warre. But behold, when *Don Iohn* was in the height of his pride and ambition, in the flower of his age, in the midst of businesse and preparations, hee dyed on a sudden, as some thought of the *Plague*. Some thought that upon grieffe, that hee was not so respected of the King his Brother, hee ended his foolish Ambition with his life, after that hee had imbraced in his ambitious desire the Kingdome of *Tunis*, where-

An. Dom 1577.

Hee dyed Anno
Dom. 1578.

upon *Guleta* was lost in *Africa*, and after that the Kingdome of *England*: and had confirmed a league with the *Guyssians*, without the knowledge of the *French & Spanish* Kings, for defence of both Crownes. Thus was the enemy disappointed; the Queene, the Land, the Church preserved; And have we not cause to remember these Workes of God, and to give God the glory of his own worke, that is, of delivering his Church? *England* was as a Stage, whereupon divers entred to play their parts, one after another. The part that they played was alwayes treason; some was kept farther off by Gods providence, to do lesse harme; some brought the danger nearer home. But GOD taking the protection of his Church in *England*, none prevailed. And could any other power but the power and protection of God preserve a land from so many, so deadly daingers? Let all mouthes be stopped, and let this continuall course of deliverance be acknowledged the Worke of God.

CHAPTER IV.

Stucley his attempt and practice with the Pope and Spanyard, for the subduing of Ireland and England with Italian souldiers, by Gods providence annulled.



Stucley encouraged by Pope and King of Spayne rayseth rebellion ..

THE next man that came upon this Stage, was *Thomas Stucley*, but the malice that he and the Pope by his employment intended against *England*, was turned cleane another way by Gods providence.

Thomas Stucley an *English*-man borne, when he had spent his estate in ryot, prodigality, and base meanes, went into *Ireland*, An: 1570. And gaping

for the Stewardship of *Wexford*, and missing the same, began to utter contumelious words against the best deserving Prince, but he was contemned as one that could doe no hurt. From *Ireland* he went into *Italy* to *Pius V.* Pope. It is a thing incredible what favour he got with the old *Pope*, that breathed nothing but the destruction of *Elizabeth Stucley* with magnificent ostentation, (as he was a man singular in ostentation) made the *Pope* believe, that with three thousand *Italians*, he would drive the *English* out of *Ireland*, and burne the *Queenes Navie*. And indeed these things he most wickedly attempted afterward, but to his owne destruction.

Pius V. having procured all the troubles that possibly he could against *Queene Elizabeth*, seemed to die for spite that he could not hurt her. After him succeeded *Gregory 13.* This *Pope* had secret consultations with the King of *Spaine* for the invading of *Ireland* and *England* both together. Meaning under the maske of Religion, to serve their owne ambitious ends. The *Popes* end was to make his sonne *James Boncompagno*, whom he had lately made *Marquesse of Vineola*, now King of *Ireland*. The *Spanyards* end was, secretly to helpe the *Rebells of Ireland*, as *Elizabeth* did the *Dutch*, and in faire words entertaine a shew of friendship on both sides. The King of *Spaine* had a farther reach, even to get the Kingdome of *England* by the *Popes* authoritie, that from thence he might with more ease tame the *Dutch* that were confederate against him. This hee found hard for him to doe,

doc, unlesse he were Lord of the Seas, which he saw he could not be, unlesse he had *England*. And there was no doubt but as he owed the Kingdomes of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Navarre* to the beneficence of the *Pope*, so with all his heart he would have held *England* by the like favour.

They knowing that the greatest strength of *England* stood in the navy of the *Queenes* shippes, and Merchants shippes, which were also built and framed for the use of warre, thought that the best way to lessen the Navie, was to set on the Merchants of *Italy* and *Netherlands*, to hire many of the Marchants shippes, seeking diverse severall pretenses, and having hired them, to send them unto the farthest Navigations, that whilst these are absent, the *Queenes* Navy might be overthrowne with a greater Navy: And then at the same instant *Thomas Stucley*, the *English* fugitive, might joyne his forces with the rebels of *Ireland*. *Stucley*, a bareworne deceiver, did no lesse couzen this next succeeding *Pope*, then he had done his predecessor, with admirable bragges. He promised the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Popes bastard sonne, and got such favour with the old ambitious *Pope*, that he honored him with the titles of *Marquesse of Lagen*, *Earle of Wexford and Caterboghe*, *Viscount of Morough*, and *Baron of Ross*. These be famous places in *Ireland*: And made him generall of *DCCC*. *Italian* Souldiers, the King of *Spaine* paying their stipends, and so sent him into the *Irish* warre. *Stucley* came with these to *Portingale*, the mouth of *Tagus*, purposing to subdue *Ireland*.

Gregor. 13.

But the purpose of God was otherwise. And that which the *Pope* and *Spanyard* had with such deli-beration projected, was by the councell of God dissipated and brought to nothing. For *Sebastian* King of *Portugall*, to whom the chiefe conduct of the forces against *England* was committed; (for this Prince, puffed up with a heat of youth and ambition, had long before offered all his power to the *Pope*, to be imployed against *Mahometanes* and *Protestants*) was then intised and drawne by many great promises of *Mahomet* sonne of *Abdalla* King of *Fess*, unto the *African* warre. *Sebastian* being thus drawne from the *English* Warres another way, dealt with *Stucley*, that first of all he would carry his *Italian* souldiers into *Mauritania*; *Stucley* finding the *Spanish* King not against this project, (for the *Spanyard* disdained that the *Popes* Bastard should be King of *Ireland*) went with *Sebastian* into *Mauritania*, and was killed in that memorable battell, wherein three Kings, *Sebastian*, *Mahomet*, and *Abdal Melech* were all slaine. And so *Stucley* had too honourable an end of a dishonourable life.

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By the death of *Sebastian* the *Spanyard* was cleane drawne away from thinking of the *English* invasion for a time, and set all his forces upon the invasion of *Portugall*. If this occasion had not drawne away the *Spanyard*, a great tempest of Warre should have fallen upon *England* (if any credit may be giuen to the *English* fugitives) for they declared that those huge Armies, which the *Spaniard* had provided against *England* out of
Italy

Italy, were now all to be employed upon the subduing of *Portugal*: neither would he be by any meanes perswaded then, to thinke of the *English* invasion, albeit the *English* fugitives did much urge him, and the *Pope* promised a *Cruciata* in this Warre, as in the holy Warre was used. The King of *Spaine* was so wholly defixed upon *Portugal*, that nothing could remove him from that resolution. Now when it was knowne that *Stucley*, and all his *Italians* in *Mauritania* were slaine, and that the *Spaniard* thought of nothing but *Portugal*, the *English* Navy, that watched for *Stucley* upon the *Irish* Seas, was called home, and all was quiet in *England* and *Ireland*.

By this *Pageant* we may observe how zealous these holy Fathers of *Rome* are, not to win soules to *Christ*, but to winne *Kingdomes* to their *Bastards*. Two *Popes* proceed in the same course of malice and malediction against *Queene Elizabeth*, and one *English* fugitive makes them both fooles. But our part is to remember who governeth the world, and turneth the wise and politike counsellors of all the enemies of his Church into foolishnes. We give God the prayse, and remember these things for no other end but to give the glory to him.

CHAPTER V.

Nich: Sanders setteth on the rebells in *Ireland*, animateth them in their bloody practices, getteth a consecrated Banner from the *Pope* for them. San-

Josephus, with 700 Italians and Spanyards sent from the Pope and King of Spaine over into Ireland to help the rebels, yeeldeth the Fort. The Earle Desmond, a great maintainer of this rebellion, killed by a common Souldier in his wandring. Sanders the firebrand of the rebellion falleth mad & dyeth miserably of famine. Observations hereupon. The explication of that place 2 Thes. 2. 10. applicable to the Papists in respect both of their doctrines and doings.



IN the next place comes up *Nicholas Sanders*, that in the defence of the *Romane visible Monarchy ecclesiasticall* had written. But finding that he could doe no good by writing, he falleth now unto another course; to be the firebrand of a Rebel.

Rebellion in *Ireland*. *James fitz Morice*, being praded for a former Rebellion, withdrew himselfe into *France*, promising the *French King*, that if he would send helpe, he would joyne all *Ireland* to the *French Scepter*, and restore the *Romane Religion* in the *Isle*. But being wearied with delayes, and finding himselfe derided, from *France* hee went to *Spaine*, and promised the same to the *Spany-ard*. Who sent him to the *Pope*. From the *Pope* at the earnest sute of *Nicholas Sanders* an *English Priest*, and one *Alan* an *Irish Priest*, he obtained a little money. And to *Sanders* authoritie Legatine was granted, he got forsooth a consecrated Banner, and Letters of commendation to the *Spanyard*, and so returned into *Spain*. From *Spain* he came into *Ireland* with those Priests, three shippes, and a small company of souldiers. He landed at *Smerwick* in *Kirria*, a *Cherones* in *Ireland*, about the first of *July*, An. 1579. Where, when the place was first orderly consecrated, he raised a fort, and withdrew his shippes. Which shippes were presently surprised and carried away by *Thomas Courtney* an *English Gentleman*, who with a warre ship stayed by chance in a near haven, and so excluded the *Spanyards* from the benefit of the *Sea*. *John Desmond* and *James*, brethren to the Earle of *Desmond*, speedily joyne themselves to their cousin *fitz Morice*. The Earle himselfe, who heartily favoured the cause, counterfeiting the contrary, called his men together, in shew to resist them, but craftily caused the Earle of *Clanricket* to withdraw himselfe, who was comming to helpe

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him against the rebels.

The *Lord Deputy*, understanding by certaine messengers that the enemies were landed, sent *Henry Davil*, an English Gentleman, a man of valour, and who had good acquaintance with the *Desmonds*, to the Earle of *Desmond* and to his brethren, commanding them presently to set upon the Fort, which the enemies had raised. But that they refused to doe, as a thing full of daingers. And as *Davil* returned, *Iohn Desmond* followeth him; and overtaketh him at *Trally* in an Inne. And in the night time, having corrupted the host, came into his chamber, with some other cut-throats, having drawne swords in their hands; where *Davilus* slept in securitie with *Arthur Carter*, an old souldier, a man of worth, Deputy-governour of *Monmuth*. But being awaked with the tumult, when he saw *Iohn Desmond* with a naked sword rushing towards him, What is this matter my sonne, quoth he, (for so he was want familiarly to call him :) nay, said *Desmond*, I am no more thy sonne, nor thou my father; for thou shalt die. And presently thrust him and *Carter*, which lay with him, through with many wounds and killed them both. *Davilus* his foot-boy defended his Maister with his naked body, receiuing many wounds to save his Maister if he could. Then he killed all *Davils* servants, which lay scattered in diverse places. And returning to the *Spanyards*, all imbrued in blood he gloried of the slaughter which he had made. Let this, said he, be a pledge of my faith to you and to the cause. Doctor *Sanders* commended this action

action, as a sweet sacrifice before God. *James fitz Morice* blamed the maner of the slaughter, he wold have had it rather in the way, then in their bed. The *Earle*, when he heard of it, utterly detested it.

When the *Spaniards* saw but a few *Irish* joyne themselves with them, and they poore and unarmed, farre otherwise then *fitz Morice* had promised, they began to distrust, to cry out they were undone, to bewaile their fortunes, seeing all wayes was shut up so, that they saw no meanes to escape by Sea or Land. *Fitz Morice* exhorts them to expect with patience a while; he told them great forces were comming to helpe them. And himselfe tooke a journey to the holy crosse of *Tipparraria*, pretending to performe a Vow which he made in *Spaine*, but in truth, to gather together the seditious of *Conach* and *Vlster*.

Whilst he was thus in journey with a few horse and twelue foot, as he passed by the land of *William á Burg* his kinsman, and taking some horses from the Plow, because his horses tyred: the husbandmen made Hue and cry, and raised the neighbourhood to recover the horses. Amongst those that went to recover the horses, were the sonnes of *William á Burg*, forward young men, who pursued them so sharply, that they overtooke them. *Fitz Morice* seeing *Theobald á Burg*, and his brethren, who had indeed in a former rebellion taken part with *fitz Morice*: Cousins, quoth he, let us not strive for two or three paltry lades. I doubt not, but if you knew the cause why I am returned into Ireland, you would joyne your selves with me. *Theobald* answered,

It repenteth me, my Father, and all our friends of the last rebellion. But now wee have sworne our fealty to our most gracious Princeesse, who hath granted to us our lives, and we will keepe our faith and alleagiance: and therefore restore the horses, or I will make thee restore them. And withall, he ran upon him with his Speare. They fought a while together. *Theobaldus* and another of his brethren with some other were slaine. *Fitz Morice* also himselfe being runne through with a Speare, and his head shot through with a bullet, was slaine with divers of his men. *Queene Elizabeth*, hearing of this chance, wrote Letters full of sorrow and love to *William á Burg*, comforting him for the death of his sonnes. She honoréd him with the title of *Baron of Conel Castle*, and rewarded him with a yeerely Pension. The old man, being over-joyed with such unexpected favours, died not long after.

Sir William Drury then Lord Deputy, came neare to *Kilmaloch*, and sent for the Earle of *Desmond*: who comming to him, promised his faith & alleagiance to his Prince, and sware that himselfe and his men should fight against the rebels. Whereupon he was dismissed to gather his companies, and to returne to the Lord Deputy. *Iohn Desmond* the Earles brother, who was by the rebels put in the place of *Fitz Morice*, lying in ambush, did intrap *Herbert & Prife*, with the bands which they led, & killed them, Himselfe being hurt in the face. Some supplies came out of *England*, and *Perrot* was sent with six warre-ships to defend the coast: the Lord Deputy grew so sicke that he was forced to withdraw

draw to *Waterford* for his healths sake; and appointed *Nicholas Malbey*, governour of *Connach*, a famous and approved Souldier, to follow the Wars. And worthy Sir *William Drury* soone after died. *Malbey* sent to the Earle of *Desmond*, and often admonished him of his dutie & promise: and seeing it not good to linger in such a business, he brought his forces into *Conil*, a woody country, against the rebels. There was *John Desmond*, who, in battell array and with the Popes consecrated banner displayed, received the forces of *Malbey*. It was sharply fought on both sides. But the vertue of the English prevailed; *John Desmond* fled first away and left his men to the slaughter. Among them was found *Alan* the Irish Priest, who exhorting them to the battell had promised them the Victory. *Malbey* by a messenger sent for the Earle to come & his Forces with him: and when he in vaine expected him foure dayes, he came to *Rekel* a towne of *Desmond*. Here the Earle began to shew himselfe plainly for the rebels, after that he had a long time used dissimulation in his words and countenance. The same night the rebels set upon *Malbey* his tents in the dark, but finding them well fortified, they went away and did no harme. After the death of Sir *William Drury*, *William Pelham* was sent Lo: chiefe Iustice into *Ireland*, with the authoritie of a Deputy, untill a Deputy should be sent; & the Earle of *Ormond* was made governour of *Munster*, who sent *Desmonds* sonne (which he had with him as a pledge) to be kept at *Dublin*. *Pelham*, chiefe Iustice cometh to *Munster*, sends for *Desmond*; but he sending

ding Letters by his wife excuseth himselfe. Whereupon the Earle of *Ormond* was sent to him, to admonish him to deliver into the hands of the Lord chiefe Iustice *Sanders* the Priest, the forrain souldiers, and the Castles of *Carigofoil*, and *Asketten*, & to submit himselfe absolutely, and turne his forces against his brother and the other rebels. Which thing if he would doe, he might obtaine pardon of his rebellion, otherwise he was to be declared a traitor and enemy to his Country. Whilst he held off with *delayeres* and *delusions*, he was declared a traitor in the beginning of *December An: 1579*. That he had dealt with forraine Princes for invading and subverting his Countrey: That he had retained *Sanders* and *fitz Morice*, rebels: That he had helped the *Spanyards* after they were gone out of the Fort at *Smerwick*: That he had hanged the *Queenes* faithfull subjects; had advanced the banner of the *Pope* against the *Queene*; that he had brought strangers into the Kingdome. After this proclamation, the chiefe Iustice appointed the wars against *Desmond* to be prosecuted by the Earle of *Ormond*. The Earle of *Ormond* with his forces destroyed *Conilo*, the only refuge which the rebels had; he drave away their Cattell, and gave them a prey to be divided among his souldiers. He hanged the Bailife of *Youghall* before his doore, because he had refused to take a band of English into the Towne. And then began to besiege the *Spanyards* in *Strangical*; but they, fearing such a thing, had conveyed themselves out of dainger. Yet the *English* followed them, and killed them all. And e-

very

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very way through *Munster* pressed the rebels most sharply. *Desmond* & his brethren were so hard driven, hiding themselves in their lurking holes, that they wrote to the *chiefe Iustice*, signifying that they had taken upon them the patronage of the *Catholicke* faith in *Ireland*, and prayed him to take part with them. This shewed their cause was desperate, they had no hope, unlesse hee that was come purposely against them would helpe them. The *chiefe Iustice* laughing pleasantly at the motion, went to *Munster*, and called the Nobles to him, and kept them, neither would dismiss them, untill they had given pledges, and promised their helpe against the rebels to joyne with him and the Earle of *Ormond*. They therupon dividing their bands, sought out the rebels. They forced the Baron of *Lixnav* to yeeld himselfe: they besieged *Carigofoil*. Castle, which *Iulius* an Italian with a few *Spanyards* maintained, and breaking the walls by the force of great Ordnance, they entred and killed or hanged all that kept the place with *Iulius* also.

At this time came *Authur* Lord Grey Lord Deputy into *Ireland*, An: 1580. Soone after his coming, about seaven hundred *Italians* and *Spanyards* sent from the *Pope* and King of *Spaine*, under the government of *San-Iosephus*, an *Italian*, came into *Ireland*, under the pretence of restoring the *Roman* Religion, but the purpose was to divert the *Queens* forces and cal her from other cares to *Ireland* only. They tooke land without any trouble at *Smerwick* in *Kirria*, for *Winter*, that had a good while stayed in that coast with ships, waiting for them, was

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now returned to *England*, thinking they would not come in winter. They made the place strong, & called it *Fort del or*. But, as soone as they heard that the Earle of *Ormond* was comming towards them, by the perswasion of the *Irish* they left the Fort, and betooke themselves into the valley *Glamingel*, which was compassed about with high mountaines and woods. The *Earle* tooke some of them, who being questioned of their number and purpose, they confessed that 700 were come; that so much armour is brought that may serve 5000, that moe are daily expected out of *Spaine*; that the *Pope* and King of *Spaine* are relolved to drive the *English* out of *Ireland*; that for that end they have sent a huge summe of money, which they have delivered into the hands of *Sanders* the *Popes Nuntio*, of the Earle of *Desmond*, and *Iohn* his brother. That night the *Italians* and *Spanyards* were much to seeke, not knowing what way to turne themselves, not knowing to hide themselves, as the *Irish* doe, in dens and bogs, and therefore in the darke they went backe to their Fort; neare to which the Earle of *Ormond* had pitched: but being unprovided of Ordnance, and other things needfull for oppugnation, he stayed for the comming of the *Lord Deputy*. Who soone after came, accompanied with *Zouch*, *Raleigh*, *Dennie*, *Macworth*, *Achin*, and other Captaines. At that time came *Winter* out of *England* with warr-shippes, much blamed for withdrawing himselfe when there was need of his service.

The *Lord Deputy* sent a trumpetter to the Fort

to demand what they were, what businesse they had in *Ireland*? Who sent them? Why they had fortified a place in the *Queenes Kingdome*? And withall to command them presently to depart. Their answer was, that of them some were sent from the most holy Father the *Pope of Rome*, some from the *Catholike King of Spaine*, to whom the *Pope* had given *Ireland*; for as much as *Queene Elizabeth* had lost her right in *Ireland* by reason of heresie. And therefore that which they had taken they would hold, & get more if they could. When the *Lord Deputy* and *Winter* had consulted of the maner of the siege, they brought some *Culverings* out of the shippes in the darke of the night; and digging through the banke, they drew them the nearest way, and placed them. The *Souldiers* also mounted their great *Ordnance* against the wall, and did beat upon the *Fort* continually foure daies together. The *Spaniards* once or twice made sallies out, but still to their losse. Of the *English* none was killed, saving only *Iohn Cheke*, a goodly yong man and valiant, the sonne of that learned Knight *Sir Iohn Cheke*.

San-Iosephus, who was governour within the *Fort*, a weake man and terrified with the daily shot, began quickly to thinke of yeelding. And when as *Hercules Pisanus* and other *Captaines* dissuaded him earnestly from that, as a thing unworthy of military men, urging that all should prepare for a defence, lest by their negligence they might withdraw the courage of the *Irish*, which were comming to helpe them. But he, being a

man of singular cowardise, assayed the mindes of the souldiers, and wrought so, that the souldiers seditiously offred force to the other Captaines, that at last they consented to yeeld. Whereupon the fift day, when they saw no hope of helpe neither from *Spaine* nor *Desmond*, they put out a white flagge, and demanded parley. Which thing was denied them, because they had joyned themselves with the rebels, with whom it was not lawfull to have any parley. Then they demanded that with bag and baggage they might depart, but neither was this granted. Then they intreated that this favour might be granted at least to the Governour and some few besides, but that, though they much besought it, could not be granted. But the *Lord Deputy*, inveighing against the *Pope*, commanded that without any condition they should simply yeeld themselves. And when they could obtaine no more, they put out their white flagge againe and cryed *misericordia, misericordia*. And so submitted themselves simply to the *Lord Deputie* his mercy. Who presently fell into cōsultation, what were best to do. The adversaries were in number as many as the *English*, and dainger was feared of the *Irish* rebels, who were more then 1500. at hand. The *English* wanted visualls and apparell, so that they were ready to make a tumult, unlesse they might be relieved by the spoiles of the enemies out of the fort, and shippes were wanting to carry away the enemies. At last they came to this conclusion, (The *Lord Deputy* being much unwilling & weeping) that the Captaines should bee

pre-

preserved, the rest should be all slaine promiscuouſly in terror of others that might attempt so hereafter. The *Irish* should bee hanged; which was presently executed. The *Queene* was not pleased at the manner of this execution, and wished it had beene undone, hating cruelty, though necessary, against such as haue once yeelded and was hardly after drawne to admit any excuse of the slaughter committed. This was done *An. 1580.* Some three yeares after the Earle of *Desmond*, of a noble house but of a barbarous nature, who barbarously had sworne, that *He would rather forsake God, then forsake his men*, wandring from place to place, was at last found of a common souldier in a poore Cottage. The Earle was in a poore estate, unknowne, till the souldier had almost strucke off his arme. Then hee descryed himselfe and was killed. *Nicholas Sanders*, that had drawne the *Earle* into this rebellion, was at the same time spent with famine and forsaken of all succour: and being impatiently grieved at the evill successe of this Rebellion, proceeding so much against his desires, seeing neyther the *Popes* blessing, nor the consecrated Banner, nor the authority by the *Pope* committed to him could doe him any help, hee lost himselfe, and ranne starke mad, wandring up and downe in the mountaines and woods; and finding no comfort dyed miserably. When he was dead, there were found in his scrip some Orationes and Epistles wiitten to confirme the Rebels, filled with great promises of the *Pope* & *Spanyard*. Thus Gods justice met with a restless and wretch-

ed man, and that foule mouth was *stopped up* with famine, that was ever *open* to stirre up rebellions against the State, that had uttered so many blasphemies against God, and his holy truth, and invented so many strange lyes against men. This man first of all men devised a notorious lye against the birth of the *Queenes* mother; which none of her enemies ever heard or knew, she being in the hatred of so many *Papists*, that would not have spared to have spoken evill, yet was it never heard or knowne for forty yeares after. And the account of the time doth proue it false, and himselfe like a forgetfull lyer, doth plainly refute himselfe. This *Pageant* of the *Pope* and his *Legat Sanders* we may not let passe without some observations, Seeing there is no way to exsatiare their *crueltie*, wee pray that it may pleale God to remove their *cæcitie* and obduration, if it be his good pleasure, that they may once truely see themselves and their ungracious actions, whereof the sight is now taken from them by reason of their blindnesse. For we hold this to proceed rather from their blindnesse, then from a wilfull and obstinate striving against the knowne truth; but this we warne them, to labour to know the truth, and to set their hearts to seeke it, lest they be wrapped farther and farther into that great judgment, wherein, as yet, they are under his power *which worketh with all power and signes and lying wonders, in all deceivablenesse of unrighteousnesse, among them that perish, because they receive not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.* And there.

therefore God shal send them strong illusions; that they should beleve lyes, that all they might be damned which beleved not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousnesse. Two things are here contained in these words, which jump with these Priests and Seminaries which the Pope sendeth forth; the doctrine which they teach, and the actions which they practise. Their doctrines which they teach are lyes. The Apostle warned us they should beleve lyes; this is a just judgment upon such as love not the truth: Their usuall practise is unrighteousnesse. What greater lyes can be invented then to say, that *Whatsoever the Pope will allow for a tradition of his Church, that is the Word of God.* A lye with a wiNES, and withall a blasphemy against the most High. What greater unrighteousnesse, then to give away other mens possessions to strangers that have no right to them; to dispossesse Kings; to give Kingdomes which is none of yours to give; to kill; to murder; to massacre, to doe any act of unrighteousnesse at the commandement of the Pope or any superior: These I am sure are the practises of unrighteousnesse; would ro God these men would once looke backe upon themselves and their owne actions, and consider what a difference is betweene the ancient Bishops of Rome and these of late; betweene godly Divines and the Popes Clergie. The ancient Bishops did never draw the sword to propagate the faith; the Apostles left no such example to them, but by their labours in Preaching, and their patience in suffering they gathered a Church and established the faith; but behold,

how

how unrighteousnes and villany is now come in place! An ungracious bloody wretch kils a man in his bed, a man that was his friend; such a thing chancing in the Warres may be borne with, but in bed to murder his friend, is an extraordinary signe of barbarous crueltie: And yet, that *Sanders* the Popes Legat should pronounce this thing to be a sweet sacrifice to God, this passeth all imagination. Can any either practise these things, or commend these practices, but onely such men as the Apostle describeth, that are given up to beleeve lyes, and to worke unrighteousnesse? If any man shall answer me here with that old worne Cuckow song, that these things are not understood by them to be *unrighteous* which the Pope commandeth, that they doe these things in *obedience* to Christ his Vicar. I answer, they that would make such an answer, are either such as are men of *conscience*, or altogether *without conscience*. If they be men *without conscience*, I have nothing to say to such, but wish them better then they doe to themselves, that they had some feeling of conscience. If these men, have any sparke of *conscience*, then I would intreate them seriously to consider what is that which the Apostle, in the place before cited, calleth the deceivablenes of unrighteousnes; For this word sheweth that there is some plaine and *down-right unrighteousnesse*, and also some *deceivablenesse of unrighteousnesse*. What is that *deceivablenesse of unrighteousnesse*? Surely there is something herein for them to study, that are so ready at the *Popes* command to doe unrighteous things;

things; and make not *Gods Word*, but the *Popes word* to be the rule to know what is righteous, what unrighteous. When the law of *God*, the law of *nature*, the law of *nations*, the law of *our Land*; when, I say, all lawes forbid a thing, & onely the *Pope* commands it, and commands it against all lawes; then if a man obey the *Pope* in such things, he is deceived and he doth unrighteously. *Here is the deceivablenesse of unrighteousnesse.* But you must understand that these men are thus deceived by him whose coming is by the working of *Satan*, with all power and signes and lying wonders, and in all deceivablenesse of unrighteousness in them that perish, because they receive not the love of the truth. Let men that have any care to save their soules, learne to love the truth; the truth will deliver them. And let them observe that maintaining of *false doctrines* and of *unrighteous actions*, are things joyned together, one followeth the other. Now because wee see false doctrines or lyes maintained by *Papists*, and unrighteous and ungracious actions by them ordinarily attempted; therefore we hold them undoubtedly to be the servants of *Antichrist*, who are given up to beleve lyes, because they love not the truth. But for our selves, wee know that the Scriptures are the word of *God*: We beleve the Scriptures: We trust in *God*: We worship him as himselfe hath revealed and commanded: If our enemies wrong us, we have recourse to *God* by prayer; wee have found by continuall experience that *God* taketh the protection of them that thus trust in him: Wee have trusted in him, we have found his protection:

We rest in patience and commit the vengeance to God. Is there any man in the world that knoweth any thing of religion, that can denie that we are in a good state, and our enemies in a desperate state? we have comfort, but they can have none. *Consider this you that forget God, lest he pluck you up, and there be none to deliver you.* Now, which is our chiefe end in these collections, for our deliverance we blesse the name of God; and we doe acknowledge with all humilitie and thanksgiving, that all our deliverances come from the undeserved love and favour of our most gracious God and father. And we finde our selves most strictly obliged unto this dutie; because wee see God hath made our enemies his enemies: they cannot fight against us, but they must fight against God; how much then are wee bound to honor & serve this great God of heaven and earth, that hath shewed such favour to his Church in England?

CHAPTER VI.

The institution of the Colledges of seminary Priests to be the incendiaries of England; difference from the foundation of ancient Colledges. The feates of Father Parsons and Edm. Campian and others to draw the allegiannce of the English from their Queene. This drew upon them severitie of Lawes, established in Parliament against Papists and approved by the parallel example of the Lawes made against the Donatists in S. Augustines time.



T this time, An: 1580. the seminary Priests and Iesuites increasing in England, necessary lawes were provided against them. These in truth were main-

maintained by the adversaries of *England* as a *seminary* of rebellion; for so still they proved. Their first foundation was at *Daway* in the *Low-Countries*, where by the procuring of *William Alan* an *Oxford-man*, afterward *Cardinall*, there was a Colledge provided for them, in the yeare 1568. where fugitive *Priests* were brought up, not so much in *Religion*, as in new and strange practices of *treason*. The *Pope* assigned them a yearly stipend. Thus they stood for some yeares. But when the *Low-Countries* began to bee troubled with *Warres*, *Requesenus*, who was governour there under the *Spanish* King, did thrust out all *English* fugitives out of the *Low-Countries*. Whereupon they that were willing to make use of such instruments to trouble *England* thought good to give entertainment to them. And therefore two Colledges were set up for the *English* fugitives, the one at *Rhemes* by the *Guises*, another at *Rome* by *Pope Gregory 13*. From these Colledges they were sent into *England* under pretence of *Religion*, but indeed to withdraw subjects from obedience to their Prince, & to draw the Land unto the subjection of strangers. They called themselves *Seminaries*, because they were to sowe the seede of the *Roman* Religion in *England*; And what is that seed of *Roman Religion*, but the seed of *Rebellion*? Certainly so it hath ever proved. These men, to shew their zeale to their new founders, and their hatred to their Country, disputed and defined the *Popes* authoritie by Gods law to have the plenitude of power over the whole world in all things *Ecclesiasticall* and *Politically*: out of which
plenitude

plenitude he might excommunicate Kings, and after excommunication depose them from their thrones, and adsolve their subjects from all oathes of allegiance. Thus was the Bul of *Pius V.* published *An: 1596.* From whence rose the rebellion in the North of *England*, and those rebellions of *Ireland*, of which we have spoken. *Hanse, Nelson, Main, Sherwood* Priests then taught that *Queene Elizabeth* was a schismatike and an heretike, & therefore worthily to be deposed; for which they suffered deservedly; but still others were sent into their places; and though they came in upon desperate points, as souldiers upon a breach, yet others followed as desperate as the first. And would not understand that they ventured both soule and body in the cause of the *Pope* against *Christ*; for such is the cause of treason being commanded by the *Pope* and forbidden by *Christ*.

The *Priests* and *Iesuites* at this time spent all their learning and skill to stirre up rebellion in *England*, giving out in corners and in publick Printing Bookes, to declare that the *Pope* and King of *Spaine* had conspired, that *England* should be overthrowne and left as a prey. This was done of purpose to confirme their owne side, and to deterre others from their obedience to their Prince. Whereupon the *Queene* set out a Proclamation, signifying that she had never made attempt upon any Prince, onely defended her owne, not invading the Provinces of other Princes, though she had beene prouoked with wrongs, and invited by opportunitie. If any Princes should oppugne

An. Dom 1580.

her, shee doubted not but by Gods favour she should defend her owne, and had therefore Mustered her Forces by Land and Sea, and was readie against any hostile incursion. She exhortheth her faithfull subjects to hold their faith and allegiance firme to GOD, and to their Prince, Gods Minister. For others that had shaken off the love of their Countrey and obedience to their Prince, She commandeth them to carry themselves modestly, and not to provoke the severitie of justice; for she would no longer endure sparing of evill men, lest so shee might be cruell against the good.

Among the *Iesuites* that came then into *England*, *Robert Parsons* and *Edmund Campian* were chiefe; they had procured a temper or qualification of the Bull of *Pius V.* obtained of *Greg. 13.* in these words; *Let petition be made to our holy Father, that the Bull declaratory of Pius V. against Elizabeth and her adherents be interpreted: which the Catholikes desire to be understood so, that it binde her and heretickees alwayes, but not Catholickes, things standing as they doe; But onely then when the publike execution of the Bull may be had.* These foresaid favours the Pope granted to *Robert Parsons* and *Edmund Campian* now ready to goe into *England* the 13. day of *Aprill 1580.* in the presence of *Oliver Marnarcus* assisting. This was procured to give some content to the Recusants that were offended at the publication of the Bull, and found that it did them more harme then good. *Parsons* and *Campian* came secretly into *England*, and changed their exterior habit and apparell, that they might the better

ter passe unknowne. Sometimes they went like *ruffians*, sometimes like *ministers*, sometimes like *noble men*, sometimes like *souldiers*, sometimes like *apparitours*; they walked secretly from Recusants houses to Recusants houses, and did in words and writings roundly set forward the businesse for which they came. *Parsons* was the superior, a man of a seditious and turbulent spirit, armed with audaciousnes, he brake out so farre among the *Papists* against the *Queene*, as to propose the project of deposing of her. In so much, that some *Papists* themselves (as they themselves have said) did thinke to have delivered him into the hands of the Magistrate. *Campain* was somewhat more modest, yet by a Booke which he had much laboured and brought with him, which, as himselfe saith, might bee taken with him, if he were apprehended, did provoke the Ministers of the Church of *England* to disputation; the Booke was intituled, *A Booke of ten Reasons* or Arguments, written politely in Latin to confirme the doctrines of the Church of *Rome*. *Parsons* wrote more virulently against *Mr Charke*, who had written soberly against *Campians* provocation: but *Campians ten reasons* were throughly and solidly answered by *Dr Whittaker*. *Campian* was taken, and brought to disputation, where it was found that in learning and knowledge hee came farre short of that expectation which himselfe had raised of himselfe; the whole disputation was afterward set forth in Print. In the meane time many threatenings were published against the *Church* and *State*

of *England*, and much speech was of the *Pope* and the *Spaniards* preparations to subdue *England*.

By which manner of proceedings it may appear that the end why these and other such were sent into *England*, was not to draw men to God, but to betray the Land to strangers; for these men cared not what became of *England*, so the *Church of England* might be displanted, and *Popery* set up againe. For which purpose we may observe the Colledges for *Seminaries* set up at *Rhemes* and *Rome*. These Colledges did strangely swarve from the end and foundation of the ancient Colledges. The ancient Colledges were founded for learning and *Religion*; these for meere *faction*: the ancient Colledges were for the furtherance of *godlinesse* and pietie, these for the practises of *ungodlinesse*, and ungracious treasons. Let no man tell me that the ancient Colledges were founded by *Papists*, and so were these *Seminaries*, and therefore for the maintenance of the same *Religion*: for this is nothing but colouring and daubing of their new practises from the sight of the ignorant; for all their hope is in the ignorance of men, hoping that they shall have the greatest part, because the greatest part are ignorant. But now God in his mercy hath so plentifully revealed the truth, the ignorance of men is not so great as the *Papists* would have it; for men are taught to know that in the *Councell of Trent*, there hath beene hatched a new birth of *Popery*. Where they have changed the rule of faith, which was ever maintained in the *Church of Rome* before that time. Whereupon there

there followeth a change of the *Church*, a change of *Religion*. They that founded the ancient Colledges, knew not this *new Church*, this *new Religion*, which is *newly* hatched in the *Trent Councell*. Therefore these *late Colledges of Seminaries* are founded upon a *new Religion*. This new Religion of *Rome* is nothing but the practice of Treasons against States. Surely it must be a strange Religion that must be maintained by ungodly practices. There was never any Religion that allowed such practices. And herein the *Papists* exceed the *Heathen*, who, being guided onely by the light of nature, yet have disallowed such ungodly and ungracious practices which the *Papists* use. Let all men consider whence this *new Religion of Rome* proceedeth, that in ungodly practices is founded and maintained; that all such practices proceed from the devill, no man can doubt: that God hath preserved this *Church of England* all frō these practices, this is that which causeth us to trust in God, and to give all the glory of our deliverance to his holy name.

Edmund Campian, Ralfe Sherwin, Luke Kirby, Alexander Briant were taken in the yeare 1581. and being brought to judgement were accused of treason against the *Queene and State*; that they were directed by the *Pope*, came into *England* to stirre up sedition, and to make a strong partie; and hereupon they were condemned as offending against the lawes. *Campian* was demanded whether he tooke *Queene Elizabeth* to be *Queene of England* by right and law? to that he refused to answer.

answer. Then he was demanded, if the *Pope* should send an Armie into *England* against the *Queene*, whether he would take the *Popes* part, or the *Queenes*? To this he protested openly, that he would take the *Popes* part, and confirmed it by his hand-writing; he was put to death and some others for the same cause. When as yet from the time of the rebellion there was but five put to death in this cause. The *Queene*, thinking that mens consciences should not be forced, did often complaine; that she was necessarily driven to these courses, unlesse she would suffer a mischief to fall upon her selfe and her subjects by them that sought to colour their treasons under a pretence of conscience and *Catholike* Religion. And yet she thought that some of the poore *Priests*, that were sent, were not acquainted with the secret plots of treason; but found that their superiors used these as instruments of their wicked intentions; and they yeelded the whole disposing of themselves to the judgement of their superiors. For they that were then and afterward apprehended being demanded, whether by the authoritie of the Bull of *Pius V.* the subjects were so absolved from their oath and allegiance, that they might take Armes against the Prince? Whether they held her for a lawfull *Queene*? Whether they yeelded their consent to the opinions of *Sanders* and *Bristow* concerning the authoritie of that Bull? Whether, if the *Pope* should warre against the *Queene*, they would take his part or hers? To these things they answered, some so ambiguously, some so fiercely, some by

prevarication

prevarication or by silence shifting; that divers other *Papists*, who were not acquainted with the secrets of their villanies, began to suspect that surely they nourished some secret mischief; and *John Bishop*, otherwise much addicted to their Religion, wrote and soundly proved that the Constitution obtruded in the name of the *Councell of Lateran*, from which they founded all their authority to absolve subjects from their allegiance, and to depose Princes, was indeed nothing but a decree of *Innocentius III.* nor was ever admitted in *England*. Yea, that Councell was no Councell, and that nothing was decreed there by the Fathers.

Suspitions were still increased, by reason of the number of *Priests* daily comming into *England*, and creeping in corners, who secretly sought out the minds of men, and taught that Princes excommunicated were to be throwne out of their Kingdomes; that Princes that professed not the *Roman* Religion were fallen from the title and Kingly authoritie; that they who had taken orders were by the libertie of the Church freed from all jurisdiction of Princes; neither were bound to their lawes, or bound to reverence their Majestic; that the Magistrates of *England* were not lawfull, and therefore not to be accounted as Magistrates. Yea and moreover, that what things soever had bin established by the *Queenes* authoritie, after the publishing of the Bull of *Pius* the first, were void altogether by Gods law and mans law, and to be respected as things of no account. Neither did they

dissemble their purpose, that they were come into *England* for this end, that this Bull might be effected, & that they might in private confessions reconcile men, and so absolve them from all faith and allegiance toward the *Queene*. This thing seemed to be more easily effected, when men were absolved from all mortall sinne, as the *Priests* perswaded them, and this way was the safest, because the most secret and under the seale of Confession.

These practices extorted of the Parliament held then in *January, An: 1582.* new laws and more severe against these Popish practices. By which laws it was made treason to dissuade any subject from their allegiance to their Prince, and from the Religion which was then established in *England*; or to recõcile any to the *Romish church*, the same punishment was to be inflicted upon them which were so perswaded or reconciled. To say Masse, was punished with two *hundreth markes* and a yeares imprisonment, and to be farther punished untill they had payed. To be present at Masse willingly, was punished with an *hundreth marke fine* and a yeares imprisonment: They that refused to come to their Parish Churches were to pay *twentic pound a moneth*.

This maner of punishing refractary men, that in matters touching the Church were troublesome and seditious, was taken from an ancient manner of punishing such men in the time of *S^c Augustin*; for he speaketh divers times of the *Pecuniary mallet* of the Emperours, which was inflicted upon the *Donatists*. And because the seminary Priests and *Iesuites*,

suites, who have bin punished not for *Religion* but for *Treasons* in the execution of civill Iustice for offending against the lawes of the Land, have given out that they have beene persecuted for Religion, and some of them have beene made Martyrs: (these be a new kinde of *martyrs* not for *Christs* cause, but for the *Popes* cause against *Christ* and against his word and commandement.) It shall not be amisse to observe the state of the Church in *St. Augustines* time, and the judgment of the Church then, which in diverse resemblances doth answer to our times; for then the Emperour had that power and authoritie, which we now give to our Kings. The Pope had no more authoritie then, then we would yeeld him now, if he would maintaine the doctrine that the Popes then did. The *Pope* was then under the Emperour; the Emperour punished both *Pope* & others, if they offended his lawes. *Parmenianus* a Donatist complained they were punished by the Emperour, and persecuted, and called their persecution Martyrdom, as did the *Papists* that were punished. *St. Augustin*, answering the *Donatists*, saith; *Si quisquis ab Imperatore, &c.* It every man that is punished by the Emperour, or by the Iudges which he sendeth must presently be accounted a martyr, then shall we have all prisons full of Martyrs, &c. And after hee saith: Therefore not every one that in some question of Religion is punished by the Emperour must presently be accounted a Martyr, for hee is justly punished for *superstition*, which hee thought to be religion. No man verily that in

Lib. 1. cap. 9.
cont. Epist.
Parmen.

"any respect is a Christian dare avouch this; for
 "such men, proceeding like blinde men, see not
 "that they who thus thinke, proceed so faire, as
 "to prove that the very devils may thus challenge
 "to themselves the glory of Martyrs, because they
 "suffer this persecution by the christian Emperors,
 "for as much as their temples are destroyed over all
 "the world in a manner, their Idols are broken in
 "peeces, their sacrifices are forbidden, they who
 "honour them are punished if they be found.
 "Which if it be madnesse to maintaine, then it fol-
 "loweth, that *righteousnesse* is not proved by *suf-*
 "*fering*, but by *righteousnesse*, *suffering* is made glo-
 "rious: theretore the Lord said not *Blessed are they*
 "*that suffer persecution*, but he addeth that which
 "maketh the difference betweene pietie and sacri-
 "ledge, *blessed are they which suffer persecution for*
 "*righteousnesse, &c.* And after hee saith: If these
 "men, being convicted of their wicked practices,
 "shall acknowledge that they who are thus puni-
 "shed for their mad tricks may not be accounted
 "Martyrs, but yet they will say that these things
 "ought not to belong to the Emperour to punish:
 "(*Just as the Papists say, the punishment of their*
 "*Clergy belongeth not to the Magistrate*) I dema.d
 "then, saith *Augustin*, Whether they thinke that
 "the superiour Powers ought not to have care of
 "Religion, and of punishing false religion? The
 "*Apostle* saith, *The workes of the flesh are manifest*;
 "*which are adultery, fornication, uncleannesse, wan-*
 "*tonnesse, Idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, debate, emu-*
 "*lation, wrath, contentions, seditions, heresies, envy,*

Mat. 5.

Ibid. cap. 10.

Gal. 5. 19.

"murthers, drunkennesse, gluttony, and such like).
 "What reason can these men render, why it
 "should be justice for the Emperours to punish
 "Idolaters, murtherers, and such, and not by the
 "same reason to be like justice in them to punish
 "Heretickes? When as they are accounted in the
 "same fruits of iniquitie by the Apostolicall au-
 "thoritie. If the Magistrate be not bound in duty
 "to punish such sinners, why doth hee beare the
 "Sword? and why is he called the *Minister of God*
 "*for vengeance against them that doe evill?* Vnlesse
 "haply some of them be so ignorant as to inter-
 "pret this honour given to the Magistrate of ho-
 "nour Ecclesiasticall, that by the *Sword* may be
 "understood a spirituall censure, which worketh
 "excommunication: But the Apostle most provi-
 "dently doth plainly open in the processe of the
 "same words, what he meaneth; for hee addeth,
 "*for this cause you pay tribute:* and in another place,
 "*Give to Caesar those things that are Caesars, and to*
 "*God the things that are Gods.* But these men are
 "disobedient in both; for they neither give to
 "God his true worship, nor to Kings humane
 "feare and reverence. *Where further hee decla-*
 "*reth,* that against these *Donatists,* that held their
 "Conventicles against the lawes established, the
 "Emperours mulct was exacted, and the place
 "where such Conventicles were kept was to be
 "forfeited to the Emperours Exchequer. *Thus*
 "*farre Augustin.*

By this we see that the estate of the Church then
 was much like the estate of the Church in these
 times.

Mat. 22

Cap. 12.

CHAPTER VII.

The Priests seditious Bookes against the Queene brings on Somervils furious attempt to kill her. They move with the Ladies of honour to doe it. The Queenes mildnesse and wonderfull mercy towards this vermine. Mendoza the Spanish Ambassador, for practising against the Queene is thrust out of England. Throgmortons confession and condemnation for treason.



After this, in the yeare 1583. the priests and Iesuites wrote very seditiously daingerous Bookes against Queene Elizabeth and some other Princes excommunicated. These Bookes, being written

Anno Domini 1583

written with great bitternesse, did prevaile so farre with some that admired the Popes power, that they drew them cleane from obedience of their Prince; so that, like men that had cast off the yoke, they entertained a hatred of her. Amongst other, one *Somervil*, a Gentleman, was so bewitched by them, that he secretly sought entrance to the *Queenes* presence, and breathing out nothing but blood against the Protestants like a mad man he set upon one or two by the way with a drawne sword in his hand. And being apprehended, he confessed that his purpose was to have killed the *Queene*. (Did ever any of the *Donatists* or *Circumcellians* practice a more furious attempt, then this man?) For this he was brought to judgment, and, by his discovery, *Edward Ardern* his father in law, a Gentleman of *Warwickshire*, and *Arderns* wife, and their daughter *Somervills* wife, and *Hall* a Priest, were condemned as guiltie to *Somervils* practice. After three dayes *Somervil* was found strangled in the prison. (For feare be-like that he might have discovered more) *Ardern* being condemned, was hanged the next day. This is the common end that Priests bring such Gentlemen unto, who are willing to heare them and be perswaded by them.

The next yeare after, (for seldome did any yeare passe without some treason) some English Gentlemen began to practice the deliverance of the *Queene of Scots*. *Francis Throgmorton* fell first into suspition, by certaine Letters intercepted written to the *Queene of Scots*. As soone as he was committed

mitted to prison and beganne to confesse something, presently *Thomas Lord Paget*, and *Charles Arundel*, a Courtier, secretly fled the land and went into *France*. These men, meeting with other deuoted to the *Roman Religion*, did much complaine, recounting their sorrowes among themselves, that the *Queene* was estranged from them without their fault by the cunning of *Leicester* and *Walsingham*, that themselves were exposed to unworthy contumelies and ignominies; that singular tricks were found out, and secret snares laid so cunningly, that improvident men, will they nill they, must needs be intangled in such snares; that to remaine at home there could be no safety for them. It was thought at this time, that some cunning was practiced to feele mens affections; and that counterfeit Letters were written under the name of the *Scots Queene* and of some fugitives, knowne traytors to the State; which Letters might be left in the houses of Recusants, and that spies were sent abroad to gather rumors and to catch suspitions. Divers were drawne into snares. Among others, *Henry Earle of Northumberland*; and *Philip Earle of Arundel* was commanded to keepe his house; his wife was committed to *Sir Thomas Shirly* to be kept; and *Henry Howard* the Dukes brother was often examined of Letters sent from the *Scots Queene*, from *Charles Paget*, and from one *Mope*, then unknowne. Some blamed the narrow searching of things, & the manner of drawing men into dainger. Others thought that all the meanes that might be used to prevent the

Queenes dainger, and to save her life was but necessary. And indeed the outrageous maliciousnesse of the *Papists* against the *Queene* brake out daily; for by Bookes imprinted they exhorted the *Queenes* maids & Ladies of honour to doe the same against the *Queen* which *Judith* did against *Holofernes*. The author of that Booke was not found, *Gregory Martin* was suspected, a man learned in the Greeke and Latin tongues, and chosen by the Duke to be the bringer up of his childrē. *Carter* the Stationer that caused the Books to be printed, was punished for it.

The *Queen*, that was much traduced for crueltie, knowing her owne mildnesse, and desirous to leave a good remembrance of her name behind her, was much offended with the Iudges of the *Papists* apprehended, if they passed any cruell sentences against them, which might be injurious to her honor. Infomuch that they were forced to excuse themselves by publike writings, wherein they protested, that the Priests were much more mildly used thē they deserved: that no question of religion was moved to them, but onely of such pernicious machinations against their Country, against their Prince, whereof they were either found guiltie, or, by the discovery of others, suspected. That *Campion* was never so racked, but that presently hee was able to walk, or to subscribe to his confessions. But for *Briant*, who stubbornly denied to utter by speech or by writing, who was the man that wrote these secret things which were found about him; to this man meat was denied untill by writing he would ask it. For all this the *Queen* was not satisfied, and therefore she commanded the *Exa-*

miners to abstaine from tormenting men, and the Iudges from punishing. And short after, she commanded *seventie Priests* to be sent out of *England*, whereof some were condemned to die, all of them were intangled within the dainger of the lawes. The chiefe of these were *Gasper Haywood*, the sonne of *Haywood* the Epigrammatist, who of all the Iesuites first entred *England*; *James Bosgrave*, which was also a Iesuite; *Iohn Hart*, the most learned among them, with whom Doct: *Reinolds* had conference; and *Edward Rishton*, a wicked and ungratefull man, who wrote a booke presently after, shewing forth the poyson of a cankred heart against the *Queene*, to whom he owed his life.

The *Lord Paget* and *Arundel*, who went into *France*, were narrowly observed there by *Edward Stafford* the Ambassadour Leiger there for *Queene Elizabeth*; but he could not find out what they practised; yet he dealt with the *French King*, that they, *Morgan*, and some other *English* fugitives, who were knowne to be practisers against their Prince and their Country, might be thrust out of *France*. But it was answered that if they practised any thing in *France*, the King would by law punish them, but if they had practised any thing in *England*, that of such things the King could take no notice, nor by law punish them: that all Kingdomes were free for fugitives: that it behooved Kings to maintaine their owne liberties: That *Elizabeth* not long before had admitted into her Kingdome *Montgomery*, the Prince of *Condie*, and others of the *French* Nation, & that *Segneres* Am-

bassadour of the King of *Navarre* was in *England*, practising of some things that concerned the *French State*.



The Spanish Embassad: thrust out of England.

In the meane time, *Bernardinus Mendoza* the King of *Spain* his Ambassadour for *England* stole secretly into *France*, fretting and fuming that hee was thrust out of *England* by a violation of the right of an Ambassadour: when as indeed he was a man of a troublesome spirit, and had abused the reverend right of Ambassadours, by the practices of treason against this State wherein he was. Hee was commanded to depart out of the Realme, whereas many thought fit that he should have bene with some severitie censured for violating the office of an Ambassadour. For he had practised with *Throg-*

morton and others to bring in strangers into *England*, to invade the land, and to remove the *Queene*. And being gently reprovved for these things, hee was so farre from offering to excuse these things with a modest answer, that he began to accuse the *Queene* and the *Councell* for the money taken from the Merchants of *Genua*, and for helping the *States* of the *Netherlands*, of the Count *Aniow*, of *Antony* of *Portugall*, and charged them with the spoyles that *S^r Francis Drake* had taken from the *Spanyards* in the west *Indies*. But that the *Spanyard* might the better understand that this, which *Queene Elizabeth* had done in sending away *Mendoza*, was no violating of an *Ambassadour*, but a censure of *Mendoza* his wicked practices, *Sir William Wade* was sent to *Spaine*, who might plainly informe the King, how unworthily he had behaved himselfe in his ambassage; and might also signifie, that the *Queene* would not have this sending away of him to be interpreted a renunciation of friendship, but that she would maintaine all offices of humanitie, if he would send any other that were carefull to conserve friendship betweene them, so that the like offices were performed to her *Ambassadour* in *Spaine*. The *Spanish King* would not admit *Wade* to his presence, but referred him to his *Councell*: *Wade* hereupon declared boldly, that the custome was received among Nations, that even in burning warre *Ambassadours* were admitted into presence of their enemies, and that *Charles the first*, Emperour, Father to the King of *Spaine*, admitted into his presence an *Herald* who denounced to him

him wars from the *French King* & denied to communicate the instructions of his Ambassage to his Councillers. *Idiacius* the Kings Secretary could by no cunning fish out of *Wade* what were his instructions, untill hee understood the whole matter from *Mendoza* then lurking in *France*. Then the Secretary, laying aside his publike person, did familiarly declare to *S^r William Wade* that he was sorry that some men did labour craftily to dissolve friendship among Princes and to nourish hatred betweene them; The injury that was done, was not done to the Ambassadours, but to the *Catholike King*; that there was no cause for him to accuse *Mendoza* to the King who was sufficiently punished with an ignominious extrusion out of *England* for the fault, if, there were any, which he committed. Neither might he complaine if he were not admitted; for the *Catholike King* did nothing herein but quit like with like, seeing *Mendoza* was dismissed from the *Queene*, unheard. And as shee referred *Mendoza* to her Councel; so the King had referred him to the *Cardinall Granvillanus*. *Wade* answered, there was great difference in their cases; for himselfe he had never offended the *Catholike King*: but *Mendoza* had grievously offended against the *Queene*, and for a long time through his owne insolency disdained to come, and had committed many things unworthy the office of an Ambassadour. Yet he could not be admitted, but returned unheard. The crimes that he would haue objected against *Mendoza* were taken out of the confession of *Throgmorton*. For *Francis Throgmorton*, when he

was apprehended, sent privily one packet of Letters to *Mendoza*.

Throgmorton.
An. Dom 1584.

His other packets being sought & opened, there were two Catalogues found; In the one of them were the names of all the *havens* of *England* that were for forces to land in: In the other were contained the names of the *Noble men* which here and there throughout *England* favoured the *Roman Religion*. These papers when *Throgmorton* saw produced, he cryed out that they were counterfeited, that he had never seene them before, that they were devised for his destruction. But when he was againe brought to the rack, he denied not to answer what he knew to the questions proposed. Being therefore demanded of those *Catalogues*, to what purpose they had beene written, he made this narration; that not many yeares since he went to the *Spaw water*, where, with *Ieney* and *Fr: Inglefeld* he had counsell and communication how *England* might be taken by strangers, and the forme of the government changed. For that purpose he described the names of the havens and of *Noble men*; that *Morgan* had certified him by Letters out of *France* that the *Catholike Princes* were resolved to invade *England*; that the *Queene of Scots* should be set at libertie by the forces of the *Guises*. To this project there was nothing wanting but money and the helpe that was expected out of *England*. To effect this the better, *Charles Paget* under the name of *Mope* was secretly sent into *Sussex*, where the *Guise* purposed to take land: that he had communicated the matter to *Mendoza*,

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and

and told him the names of the noble-men, who knew all these things before fully of the conspiratours : Neither denied he that himselfe had promised his helpe to *Mendoza*, and withall that hee admonished *Mendoza* of those Nobles that were fit for him being a publike person to deale withall, which himselfe being a private man could not doe without dainger. And that he had taken order with him and concluded of the meanes to be used, namely, that the chiefe *Catholikes*, as soone as ever the forraine forces drew neare, should muster souldiers in the *Queenes* name, who should joyne themselves with the forraine forces. Thus much hee confessed willingly.

Yet when he came to judgment in the *Guild Hall* at *London*, he denied all, and said that all these were fained devices to save him from the racke, and openly accused the *Queene* of *crueltie*, the *examiners* of *falshood*; seeking a starting hole from the space of time which passed betwene the time of the committing his crime and the time of his judgment; for in the *XIII.* of *Elizabeth* certaine crimes are made treason, for which no man should be called in question, unles the delinquent were accused within six moneths after the crime committed, and the crime were proved by witnessse and oath of two; or by the partie his owne free confession. Now he pleaded that this time was past, and therefore that he was not to be called into judgment. But the Judges answered and shewed that the crimes objected against him, were of another kind; for he had offended against an
old

CHAPTER VIII.

New practices of our enemies discovered not without a miracle by Creightons torne papers. The mischievous but unsuccessfull conclusion of Alan, Inglefield and Ross against Queene Elizabeth and King James. Parries treason opened : his confession, and execution. Lawes in Parliament enacted against Priests and Recusants. Philip Howards intention to leave the Land discovered before it could be effected.



Torne Papers blowne into the Ship.

F.H. sc.



VEENE ELIZABETH at this time, sought a faire opportunitie and meanes to set the *Queene of Scots* free : and for that purpose had sent *Sr William Wade*, that was now returned out of *Spaine*, to
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conferre with her of the meanes, and was about to send *S^r Walter Mildmay* to bring that matter to a farther end. But some terrours and feares broke in between them which disturbed that project. Especially by a discovery of papers which *Creighton*, a *Scots* Iesuit sayling into *Scotland*, did teare then when he was taken by *Dutch* pyrats. *Creighton* tore the papers, and threw them into the Sea; but they were by the force of the winde blowne backe againe into the shippe, nor without a miracle, as *Creighton* himselfe said; the papers being brought to *S^r William Wade*, with much labour and singular skill hee joyned them together againe; and found that they contained new practices of the *Pope*, the *Spanyard*, the *Guises* resolution to invade *England*.

Whereupon, and because many other rumors of daingers were increased; to the end that the wicked and treasonable practices; might be in time prevented, and the *Queens* life and safetic might be procured, upon whose safety both the estate of the *Kingdome*, and of *Religion* depended: A great number throughout all *England*, of all sorts of men out of common charity, whilst they shewed their love and care of the *Queene*, bound themselves by an *association* (as then it was called) by their mutuall promises, subscriptions of their hands and seales, to prosecute all such by all their force even to death whosoever should attempt any thing against the life of the *Queene*. The Earle of *Letchester* was supposed to be the author of this association. Surely it was usefull, and held many

in order. The *Queene of Scots* tooke this as devised to bring her into dainger, and was so continually set on by seditious spirits, that if they may have accessse are able to draw the greatest Princes to destruction. And what hath beene their practice but to bring great personages and great houses to ruine? Lamentable experience sheweth openly the fruit of their malice and wicked plots for *treason*, which they call *religion*. The *Scots Queene* led on by her blind guides dealt somewhat rashly, but with importunity to the *Pope* and *Spanyard* by *S^t Francis Inglesfeld*, that by all meanes they would with speed undertake their intended businesse. There were some also that laboured to draw *Queene Elizabeths* affections altogether from the *Scots Queene*; They told her that *Cardinall Alan* for the *English Catholikes ecclesiasticall*, *Inglesfeld* for the *Laicks*, and for the *Queene of Scots*, the *Bishop of Ross* had undertaken, and were among themselves agreed, and with the consent also of the *Pope* and *Spanyard* had fully resolved upon these points: That *Queene Elizabeth* should be deprived of her *Kingdome*; the *King of Scots* as a manifest favourer of heresie, should vitterly be disinherited of the *Kingdome of England*; that the *Scots Queene* shall marry some noble-man of *England*, which is a *Catholike*; that this man must be chosen *King of England* by the *Catholikes of England*; that the choise so made must be confirmed by the *Pope*; that the children of him so chosen begotten of the *Scots Queene* must be declared *successors in the Kingdome*. All these things were confirmed to be true by testimony

mony of *Hart* the Priest. Who was this noble English man, that should marry the *Scots Queene* was now much inquired after; *Sir Francis Walsingham* sought it out with all diligence, yet found it not out. There was suspicion of *Henry Howard*, brother to the Duke of *Norfolke*, who was noble by birth, vnmarried, and a faviourer of that Religion, and in great grace and favour with them.

These things that were discovered by *Throgmorton*, by *Creightons* papers, and other meanes, were matters which bred suspitions and feares, though they were never so effected as they were intended. But we find by these things, that *France* and *Spaine* and the strength of the *Pope* were here all combined against *Queene Elizabeth* and *King James*, for no other cause, but for their religion; because both *Queene Elizabeth* and *King James* had established the same religion. Against which religion all the great powers of the world were combined, and were therefore ready with their utmost indeavours to roote out these two Princes from *England* and *Scotland*. If a man shall consider the Councels, the Pollicies, the strength of these great powers which were set against these two Princes, it is a matter to wondred at, how they should stand against so deepe and desperate dangers. Here I wish that a *Papist* of any understanding would take this matter into his consideration. And looke but a little further to the end and event of things. What man purposed, What God wrought. What became of these two Princes, *Queene Elizabeth* and *King James*, against whom the world thus

thus conspired? *Queene Elizabeth* after so many malicious projects against her by open warres, by secret conspiracies, yet lived to see all the malicious practices against her *defeated and overthrowne*, the practisers themselves *ruinated*, her people and Kingdome *defended*, Gods truth *maintained*, her service for the truth *rewarded*, and after all, dyed quietly in her bed, and hath left a blessed memory behind her. King *JAMES* that was in the same cause with her, in the same manner threatned for his Religion, to be made incapable of the inheritance of *England*, and then neither could he have holden *Scotland*, for he must either have all his right, or lose all; for there is no middle-way in the inheritance of Kings; yet after all these threatned daingers by the great powers of the world, after a number of daingerous and devilish practices against him at home, he hath not only quietly possessed that which he had, but is in the peaceable possession of *England*, with such love, such gladnesse of heart and common rejoyfing, that the like hath not been knowne in former times. And which was never done by any before, though much wished, and attempted He hath in his royall person knit *England* and *Scotland* together; He hath not only maintained the truth of Religion by his authoritie, as all Christian Princes are bound to doe; but also by his *wisdom*, by his *learning* confirmed the truth, drawne many to the knowledge of it by his learned Labours. Wherein he hath not only farre exceeded all his progenitours in this Kingdome, but hath left all the Kings and Emperours in the world

world farre behind him in this honour; so that since the beginning of the time of Grace to this day, the world never saw a King so furnished and inabled to maintaine the *truth*, and to discover the blindness and superstition of *false Religion*. And therefore hath God blessed him with extraordinary blessings, the love of his subjects, the peaceable estate of *Ireland*, which before his time was never governed in peace, especially the fruit of Religion, and the reward of Religion maintained is the greatest blessing that Kings can looke for. This hath beene, and is the state of these religious Princes; so that men shall say, *Doublelesse there is a reward for the righteous; verily there is a God that judgeth the earth*. And because my purpose in writing this Booke is to declare the great Workes of God in the defence of this Church of *England* since Religion planted here by Queene *Elizabeth*; and to give God all the glory both of the planting and maintaining thereof: We therefore remember these things with great gladnesse and joy of heart to Gods glory, giving thanks to his holy name for the favours that he hath exhibited to his Church hereby the faithfull service of these two royall servants of God, in whom is truly verified that which the Prophet *Esay* foretold, speaking of Gods favour to his Church: *Kings shall be thy nursing Fathers, and Queenes shall be thy Nurces*. In these things we can lift up our hearts to God, and give him the glory and thanks for al his goodnesse. But can our adversaries doe the like, whose practises against these noble Princes were wicked and

Pfal. 58. 11.

malicious, and by God cōfounded? Let men see & confesse the hand of God in maintaining them that maintaine his truth, and dishonouring them that dishonour him.



Parry not able to kill the Queene.

An: Dom: 1585.

The next yeare, that is, *An: 1585.* there was a *Parliament* held, wherein there was in the lower house a Law proposed against *Iesuites*: Which was judged needfull and accepted of all without contradiction, saving only *William Parry*, a Welch man, obscure, of meane fortunes, yet a Doctor of the civill Law; He spake against that law which then was exhibited, and said it was a cruell bloody law, and desperate, and pernicious to the English Nation: Being required to shew his reasons for that strange opinion of his, hee obstinately refused so to doe,

doe, unlesse it were before the *Queenes* councell: Whereupon he was committed to prison. But after his reasons were heard and his submission made, he was againe admitted into the assembly. Presently after, he was accused by *Eward Nevil*, (who chalenged the inheritance of the *Nevils*, and the title of the *Lord Latimer*, as next heire male.) *Edward Nevil* charged him for practising the *Queenes* death.

This *Parry* some two yeares before returning out of *Italy*, to the end that he might win favour & credit with the *Queene*, declared secretly to her what *Morgan* and other fugitives had practised to her destruction. Making semblance to the *Queene*, that he was conversant with them for no other end but only to search out their secret purposes, that so he might the better be a meanes to provide for the *Queenes* safetie. Whereupon the *Queene* did not easily give credit to *Nevil* the accuser. Yet she commanded *Sr Francis Walsingham* to aske *Parry*, whether he had not dealt with some person discontented and suspected of that matter, only to try the man. Which thing being demanded, he utterly denied. The foole saw not, that by this meanes the *Queenes* lenitie opened a way for him to escape the dainger; for surely if he had signified, that only for to try the man he dealt with *Nevil*, whom hee knew to be a man discontented and suspected, as he had foretold the *Queene*, he might have avoided the dainger; but they who in their heart once have given intertainment to wickednesse and treason, though otherwise they be of wit and sharpe understanding

derstanding, are made blind, by a just judgment of
 God. Now when as *Nevil* had no witness against
Parry: there was no great difference betwene *Par-*
ry his word and *his*. But *Parry*, after some sharpe
 words had passed betwene them, was imprisoned
 in the Tower. Where he freely cōfessed thus much.
 “ In the yeare 1570 (*said he*) I was admitted a
 “ sworne servant to the *Queene*, I remained devo-
 “ ted to her Majestie till the yeare 1580. At vvhich
 “ time I fell into great dainger of my life, with great
 “ ignominy, (for he had broken into the chamber
 “ of *Hugh Hare*, in whose debt he was, and woun-
 “ ded him, whereupon being condemned by law,
 “ his life was saved by the *Queenes* pardon) after
 “ that, I lived much vexed in minde, and getting
 “ leave to travell I went into *France* and had no
 “ purpose to returne, because I had given my selfe
 “ to the *Catholick* Religion. At *Paris* I was recon-
 “ ciled; At *Venice* I had communication with *Bene-*
 “ *dict Palmius* a Iesuit touching the afflicted *Catho-*
 “ *likes* in *England*, and I signified that I had found
 “ out a way to helpe them, if the *Pope*, or some
 “ learned Divines would avouch it to be a lawfull
 “ course. He commended this thing as pious: He
 “ commended me to *Campegius* the *Popes* Nuntio
 “ at *Venice*, and *Campegius* to the *Pope*. I moved
 “ that I might come to *Rome* with safetie. Where-
 “ upon Letters of publike credence were sent to
 “ me by the Cardinall of *Come*: but these were not
 “ large enough, and therefore other more large
 “ were sent. But then was I returned into *France*.
 “ Where meeting with *Morgan*, he signified, that
 there

there was an expectation, that I should performe “
some especiall service to God, and to the *Catho-“*
like Church. I answered, that I was most ready to “
kill, if it were the greatest subject of *England.* O “
but (said he) and why not the *Queene* her selfe? I “
said that this also might be easily done, so that it “
might appeare to be lawfull. For *Warr* a Priest, “
whose advice I asked in this matter, suppressing “
the names, told me plainly, that it was not law- “
full, (and *Creighton* the Iesuite is of the same opi- “
nion, teaching that *evill must not be done, that* “
good may come: that God is more delighted with “
adverbs than *nounes*, and the thing that is done “
well and lawfully pleaseth him better then a thing “
good: and that by the destruction of one many “
soules are not to be redeemed, without an ex- “
presse commendement of God.) Yet for all this, “
seeing I had in *Italy* bound my selfe by letters and “
promise, I could not goe backe, if the *Pope* did ap- “
prove it, & would grant me a plenary Indulgence. “
Which I requested in my letters to the *Pope* by “
Ragazonius the Popes Nuntio in *France.* Who co- “
mended the enterprise, & sent my letters to *Rome.* “
Being returned into *England,* I gat access to the “
Queen. And all being removed, I opened the “
whole conspiracy, yet hiding many things with as “
great art as possibly I could. She heard it undaun- “
ted, unterrified. I departed daunted and terrified. “
Neither can I forget that which she said, that no “
Catholikes were to be brought into question for “
Religion or for the *Popes* supremacy, so that they “
carry themselves as good subjects. In this time “

" whilst I stayed daily in Court, seeking to be pre-
 " ferred with the Mastership of S. *Katharines*, I
 " received Letters from the Cardinall of *Come*,
 " wherein the attempt was commended, & I was
 " absolved in the *Popes* name. These Letters I
 " shewed the *Queene*; how they did worke with
 " her I know not : but with me they wrought so
 " farre, that they set a new courage in me to at-
 " tempt the enterprise, and tooke all scruple out
 " of my mind; yet it was not my minde to offer
 " any force, if by any reason she might be per-
 " swaded to deale more gently with *Catholikes*.
 " And to the end I should not commit slaughter,
 " alwayes when I had accessse to her I laid aside my
 " dagger. So oft as I considered her and her Prince-
 " ly vertues, I was distracted by an ambiguous care,
 " for my *owes* were in heaven, my Letters and
 " promises with men. And to thy selfe I revolved
 " these things in my minde. She never deserved
 " well of me. It is true she pardoned my life; but
 " for such a cause to take away my life, were tyran-
 " nicall. Thus not content with my state, I depar-
 " ted from Court; and I light upon Doct. *Alans*
 " Booke written against the justice of *England*.
 " Who teacheth that Princes being excommuni-
 " cate for heresie are to be despoiled of their King-
 " domes and lives : that Booke did very sharply
 " stirre me up to finish mine attempt; I read this
 " Booke to *Nevil*, whom I entertained at my
 " Table; and this was done full sixe moneths be-
 " fore he accused me. After this he came to me,
 " And let us dare, said he, to doe something, seeing
 of

of the *Queene* we can obtaine nothing. And he " proposed some things of the delivery of the " *Scots Queene*. I did here interpose; O but I have " a greater matter in my head, and more profita- " ble for the *Catholike* Church. The next day he " came, & sware upon the Bible that he would keep " my counsell & constantly prosecute whatsoever " was usefull for the *Catholike* Religion. And I " sware in like sort. Our determination was to set " upon the *Queene* with ten horsemen as she was " riding in the fields, and so to kill her. Which " thing *Neuil* concealed all this while. But when " the newes came, that the E. of *Westmerland* was " dead, whose inheritance he hoped to have pre- " sently, not respecting his oath, he opened these " things against me. These things *Parry* confessed " in the presence of the Lord *Hunsdon*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham*, privie Councillers; & farther by his Letters to the *Queen*, to *Burghly* Lord treasurer, & to the Earle of *Leicester*, he acknowledged his fault and craved pardon.

Some few dayes after he was brought to *Westminster* hall to judgment, Where the heads of his accusation being read, he confessed himselfe guiltie. Sir *Christopher Hatton*, to satisfie the multitude present, thought it fit that the crime should punctually be opened out of his own confession. Which *Parry* himselfe acknowledged to be free, not extorted: and the Judges intreated that he would reade them. But the Clarke of the Crowne read them: and the Letters of the Cardinall of *Combe*, and *Parry* his Letters to the *Queene*, to the Lord *Burghley*,

Burghley, and the Earle of *Leicester*, all which he granted to be true. Yet he denied that he was at any time resolved to kill the *Queen*. He was therefore commanded to speake, if he had any thing to say why judgment should not passe. Here he answered with perturbation, as one troubled with the conscience of the crime, *I see I must die, because I was not resolved*. And being desired to speake more plainly, if he would say any thing, *My blood*, said he, *be among you*. When sentence of death was pronounced against him, he ragingly cited the *Queen* to the tribunal seate of God. Being brought to the gallowes, he bragged much that he had bin a faithfull keeper of the *Queen*, because he had not killed her. Thus like a glorious *Roman Catho-like*, never once in one word commending himselfe to God, he died like a traytor in the Court before *Westminster Hall*, where the Lords and Commons were then assembled in Parliament.

In this Parliament some lawes were enacted for the *Queenes* safetic against the *Iesuites* and *Priests*, who attempted daily horrible treasons from the Bull of *Pius V.*

“ It was therfore enacted that within forty daies
 “ they should all depart the Land. If any came in
 “ againe after that and stayed here, they should
 “ be guiltie of treason: that if any received them
 “ wittingly and willingly, or interteined them,
 “ nourished, or helped them, such should be guiltie
 “ of felony: that they who are brought up in
 “ the *Seminaries*, if they returne not within fixe
 “ moneths after warning given, and should not
 submit

“submit themselves to the *Queene*, before a Bi-
“shop or two Iustices of peace, they should be
“guilty of treason. And they who had submitted,
“if they should within ten yeares come to the
“Court or nearer then ten miles of the Court,
“that then their submission should be void. They
“who sent any money by any means to the Stu-
“dents of the *Seminaries*, should be guiltie of Præ-
“munire. If any of the Peeres of the Realme, that
“is, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Viscounts, Barons
“of the parliament should offend against these
“lawes, he should be tryed by his Peeres. They
“who know any *Iesuites* or *Priests* to lye lurking
“in the Realme, and within twelve dayes doe not
“detect them, shall be fined at the *Queenes* pleasure
“and put in prison. If any be suspected to be one
“of those *Iesuites* or *Priests*, and shall not submit
“himselſe to examination, for his contempt hee
“shall be imprisoned untill he submit. He that shall
“send any Christian, or any other to the *Semina-*
“*ries* and Colledges of the Popish profession shall
“be fined an hundred pounds. They that are so
“sent, shall not succeed in inheritance, nor enjoy
“any goods what way soever they may chance.
“And so shall it be to them that within a yeare
“returne not from those *Seminaries*; unlesſe they
“conforme themselves to the Church of *Eng-*
“*land*. If the keepers of havens permit any to passe
“the Seas without the *Queenes* licence or the li-
“cense of sixe Councillers, except Mariners and
“Merchants, they shall be removed from their
“places; the Ship-master that carries them shall
lose

“lose the Ship and all the goods in her, and be imprisoned a whole yeare.

The severitie of these lawes (which were no lesse then necessary for such times and such mischiefes) made the *Papists* in *England* afeard, and among others, *Philip Howard* Earle of *Arundel*; in so much as, fearing lest hee might offend against those lawes, he purposed to leave his countrey. He had his blood restored by the *Queenes* favour three yeares before. And after that being disfavoured by reason of secret suggestions of certaine great personages against him, he secretly gave himselfe to the *Papish* Religion, and made choice of an austere life. Surely if good instructions might have beene admitted to him, he might have beene easily and happily confirmed in the truth. He was once or twice called before the Councell table, and refuted the things objected to him. Yet was he commanded to keepe his house. Six moneths after hee was set at libertie, and came to the Parliament; but the first day, whilst the Sermon was Preached, he withdrew himself out of the company. The Parliament being ended, being as then resolved to depart, he wrote to the *Queene* a long and mournfull complaint, which Letters he commanded should be delivered after his departure: he complained of the envie of his potent adversaries, whereunto he was forced to yeeld; seeing they triumphed over his innocency. He recounted the unfortunate destinies of his ancestors, of his great grandfather condemned, his cause not being heard: of his grand-father, who for matters of small moment was beheaded; and

and of his father, whom he affirmed to be circumvented by his adversaries, who yet never had an evil minde against his *Prince* nor *Country*. As for himselfe, lest he should succeed the heire of his fathers infelicitie, said he, to the end that he might serve God and provide for the health of his soule, he had forsaken his *Country*, but not his allegiance to his *Prince*. After these Letters were delivered, he went into *Sussex*, and having provided a shippe in an obscure corner, and now being ready to take shippe, he was apprehended by the meanes of those whom he trusted, and by the Master of the ship discovered, and was sent into the Tower as a prisoner.

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CHAP.

CHAPTER IX.

The lamentable end of Henry Percy Earle of Northumberland in the Tower. A pretended title of the King of Spaine to the Crowne of England. Savage a barbarous fellow, upon the instigation of Rhemish Priests, voweth to kill Queene Elizabeth. Babingtons treasonable practise to take away the Queenes life, upon a motion from Ballard the Priest, defeated; and he with his Complices deservedly punished.



AT that time was Henry Percy Earle of Northumberland in the Tower, suspected to be of counsell with Throgmorton and the Lord Paget and the Guises to invade England, and to free the

the *Scots Queene*. Hee was found dead in his bed, shot with three Bullets under his left pap; the chamber doore bolted on the inside. The *Crowners* enquest found a dagge and gun-powder in the chamber, and examining the man that bought the dagge, and him that sold it, they found that the Earle had beene the cause of his owne death. Three dayes after, the Lords met in the *Starre-chamber*. The Lord Chancelour *Broumley*, briefly declared that the Earle had entred into treasonable counsels against his Prince and Countrey, which now when he perceived that they were come to light, troubled in conscience for the thing, hath offred force to himselfe. And to satisfie the multitude then present he willed the *Queenes* Attorney Generall and the rest of the *Queenes* Councell plainly to open the causes why he was kept in prison, and the manner of his death. Whereupon *Popham*, then Attorney, beginning from the rebellion of the North sixteene yeares before, he declared, that for this rebellion and for a purpose to deliver the *Scots Queene*. that he was called into question, acknowledged his fault, submitted himselfe to the *Queenes* mercy, was fined five thousand markes; That the *Queene*. of her clemencie tooke not of that fine so much as a farthing, and after his brothers death confirmed him in the honour of the *Earledome*. Notwithstanding all this, he had entred into pernicious counsel to deliver the *Scots Queene*, to overthrow the *English Queene* with the State and Religion: that *Mendoza* the Spaniard had told *Throgmorton* that

Charles Paget under the name of *Mope* had secretly dealt with him in *Suffex* of these things: that the *Lord Paget* had signified the same to *Throgmorton*, as appeared from *Creighton* the *Scots* Ieluites papers. And that *Charles Paget* had shewed the same things to *William Shelley* when he returned out of *France*. And that *Egerton* the *Queenes Sollicitour* inferred the same from circumstances, and a care of concealing the matter: That when as there was none in *England* that could accuse the Earle of this crime, except the *Lord Paget*; (with whom *Throgmorton* had familiaritie) he had provided a shippe for the *Lord Paget* by *Shelley*, a few dayes after *Throgmorton* was apprehended. So was the *Lord Paget* sent away into *France*. And when *Throgmorton* began to confesse some things, the Earle departed from *London* to *Petworth*, & sending for *Shelley* told him that he was in dainger of his life and fortunes, he intreated him to keepe counsell, and to put away those that knew of the departure of the *Lord Pages*, and of the coming of *Charles Paget*. Which was presently done, and himselfe sent far off that servant which he used to send to *Charles Pages*. The *Sollicitour* addeth, that when he was in prison, he dealt often with *Shelley*, the keepers being corrupted, to understand what those things were which he had confessed: But when by a poore woman secretly sent betweene them, *Shelley* had signified, that he could keepe counsell no longer, that there was great difference betweene their two conditions, that he must come under the racke, which the Earle in respect of his place

place and order was freed from, and had written to him what hee had confessed: The Earle thereupon sighd and said, as *Pantin* his Chamberlaine hath confessed, that *Shelly* his confession had undone him. After, the manner of his death was declared by the testimony of the *Enquest*, and by *Pantins* testimony. Many good men were very sorrowfull, that a man of such nobilitie, wisdome and valour was so lost.

My purpose is in this Narration, to observe the great and manifold deliverances of this Church. When I am drawne by the course of the History to open these practices, in which noble men have beene misled, this I confesse I relate with great commiseration; for seeing that *Noble houses* are the *honour* of the *King*, the *ornament* of the *Kingdome*, there is no man, that loveth the honor of his owne Country, that can write or speake of the fall of such men but with griefe and sorrow. Of such I will make no other observations, but onely the testification of mine owne sorrow. But yet here I must observe one thing for the good and instruction of their posteritie, or the like, that they may take heed of these pernicious instruments *Priests*, *Iesuites*, and those that are infected yea and poysoned with the infection of them. These gracelesse Merchants have utterly undone many Noble persons, which without their restlesse suggestions and counsels might and doubtlesse would have beene great ornaments to their Countries both in peace and warres. Was there ever any noble house in these times ruinated without the practice of these wicked

wicked miscreants? Let all the blood that hath beene shed in this Land in the *Northern rebellion* and at other times be laid upon these wicked instruments of blood. And let the world consider the outrageous wickednesse of this generation, that having in former times sucked the blood of the Saints as greedie instruments of the *great Whore* that is *drunke with the blood of the Saints*: now by a just, but strange judgment of God they are fallen into such practices, as shed their owne blood and the blood of such as are misled by them. God is to be revered in all his judgments, and let not *men* strive against *God* to maintaine a cause which God will overthrow with all the maintainers thereof.

And it is not much to be marveiled, if these cunning stirrers have deceived some of our Nobles; for we see that they have couened great Kings and Princes. For soon after this in the year 1589. these pernicious medlers, these *Iesuites* shewed themselves in other colours. For when these bloody instruments that had so long laboured the ruine of *England*, and were out of hope to restore the *Romish Religion* to *England*, either by the *Scots Queene*, which was now more strictly kept; or by the King then of *Scotland*, who had plainly professed and established the Gospell in his Kingdome: they fell now to a new and a strange practice, which might make the world to wonder: they began out of their false and lying forgeries to set a foote an imaginary title of the King of *Spaine* to the right and succession of the *English Crowne*.

To

To this purpose, as *Pasquirus* discovered, they sent into *England* one *Shamiers*, (if it be not a counterfeit name) a Iesuit, which might draw the discontented Nobles unto the *Spanish* side, and throw the *Scots* *Queen* headlong into daingers and despayre, signifying to her, that if she should be troublesome to hinder their designes, that neither she nor her sonne should raigne here. And stirred up new troubles in *France* to withdraw her cousens the *Guises* from hindering their devices, by wrapping them in new garboiles against the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condie*. In which the King of *Spaine* had a hand, to set *France* in troubles, that he in the meane time might the better proceed in his intentions for *England*. These desperate courses drew the *Scots* *Queene* into more dainger.

At this time a most desperate and pernicious conspiracy brake out; which, as by the free confessions of the conspirators appeareth, was thus. Some *English* Divines of the *Rhemish* seminary, whilst they seemed to admire as men astonished or rather doting an omnipotency in the *Pope*, did labour to perswade themselves that *Pius V.* his bull against *Queene Elizabeth* was indited by the *Holy Ghost*; & that it was a thing meritorious to kill excommunicated Princes, yea, and that it was martyrdom to lose their lives in that quarrell. *Giffard*, a Doctor of *Theologie*, *Gilbert Giffard*, and *Hodgeson*, Priests, did so hammer these devices into the corrupt head of *Iohn Savage* (who they say was a *Bastard*) that he being *heady* and *bloody* (a fit instru-

ment for *Iesuites*) made a vow to kill *Queene Elizabeth*. At the same time they set out a Booke (for no other purpose, but with great cunning to draw the *Queene* and *Councell* into securitie, and to lay their ungracious plots more deeply, and so with more ease to come to that mischievous end they shot at.) In which Booke they admonish the *Papists* in *England* that they practise no hurt to the *Queene*, for that they were only to use such weapons as are lawfull for *Christians* to use, that is, *teares*, *spirituall armour*, *daily prayers*, *watchings*, *fastings* against their adversaries; this was their Fox-craft. And withall they spred a false rumour by their whisperers, that *George Giffard*, one of the *Queenes* Gentlemen *Pencionaries*, had sworne to kill the *Queene*, and for that cause had wiped the *Guise* of a great summe of money.

At Easter following, *Iohn Ballard*, a Priest of the *Rhemish* seminary, who had assayed the minds of many *Papists*, to whom hee travelled to conferre with through *England* and *Scotland*, was now returned into *England*. This man had dealt with *Bernardin Mendoza*, now the ordinary *Spanish* Ambassadour in *France*, and with *Charles Paget* for an invasion of *England*. Declaring that now was the fittest opportunitie for that service, whilst the military men were absent, being then employed in the *Low-Countries*. A fitter time could never be hoped, for as much as the *Pope*, the *Spanyard*, the *Guise*, the Duke of *Parma* had resolved to invade *England*, to turne the Warres from the *Netherlands*. And albeit *Paget* had made it evident that,

as long as the *Queene* lived, the invasion of *England* would be in vaine; yet was *Ballard* sworne and sent into *England*, to procure all the helpe that might be to the conspiratours and the libertie of the *Scots Queene*.

At Pentecost following, that *silken Priest* came into *England* in a *Souldiers habit* with a feigned name, called *Captaine Foscue*. This man had conference in *London* with *Anthony Babington*, a Gentleman of *Darbyshire*, yong, rich, wittie, and learned above the expectation of his yeares, and being addicted to the *Romish Religion* had a little before got into *France* without leave. Where he had familiar conversation with *Thomas Morgan*, and with the Bishop of *Glasco*, the *Scots Queenes* Ambassadour. These men, extolling the heroick vertues of the *Scots Queene*, made to him great ostentation of assured hopes of honor by her meanes to be obtained. The ambitious young man was easily drawne to take hold of that faire glistering estate proposed by them. And they were as readie cunningly to set him forward; and before he had well thought of the matter, they commended him by Letters to the *Scots Queene*. For when he was returned into *England*, she saluted him favourably with her Letters; from that time *Morgan* used his helpe in sending Letters to her, untill she was committed to the custodie of *Amice Paulet*. For after that, the yong man finding the dainger, ceased. With this *Babington*, *Ballard* had conference of the things aforesaid. But he thought assuredly, so long as *Queene Elizabeth* lived, that the invasion

of *England* would come to nothing. But when *Ballard* signified to him that *Queene Elizabeth* would not long be alive (for *Savage*, who had vowed to kill her, was now come into *England*;) *Babington* thought not good that so great a matter should be committed to *Savage* onely, lest he might be stopped from the enterprife. But rather to sixe valiant and resolute Gentlemen, in which number *Savage* should be one, that he might not be condemned for not performing his vow. Whereupon *Babington* tooke a new course for the invasion, touching the ports where the strangers might land, & the forces that should be joyned with them, and the delivering the *Scots Queene*, and the Tragick slaughter of *Queene Elizabeth*, as he called it.

Whilst he was fixed in these cogitations, he received Letters by an unknowne boy, written from the *Queene of Scots* in that familiar character which was used betweene them. She blamed him, but mildly, for his long silence, and willed him to send her the Packet of Letters sent for *Morgan* and delivered by the *French Ambassadors Secretary*. Which he did accordingly. And by the same messenger sent to her a Letter, wherein he excused his silence, for that he wanted opportunitie of sending, since that she was in the custodie of *Amice Paulet*, a puritan, a meere *Leicestrian*, and a most bitter enemy of the *Chatholick* faith. Hee declared what he had resolved with *Ballard*, that sixe Gentlemen were chosen to performe the tragicke slaughter, and that himselfe with an hundred

dreth other would deliver her. Hee intreated that to these *Hereick Actors* (so hee called them) rewards might be proposed, or to their posteritie, if they should faile in the action. The twenty-seventh of *Iuly*, answer was made to these Letters. *Babington* his forward desire of promoting the *Chatholick Religion* was commended. Hee was warned that it might be undertaken considerately and that nothing be moved before they were sure of externall forces: that an association among them might be made, as if they feared the *Puritanes*: that some trouble might be stirred in *Ireland*, whilst the stroke might be given here at home: that *Arundel* and his brethren, and *Northumberland* should be drawne to the side; *Westmerland*, *Paget*, and others might be secretly called home. The way to deliver her was also prescribed; either to overturn a Coach in the gate, or to set the Stables on fire, or to intercept her whilst she rode to take the ayre betwene *Chartly* and *Stafford*. Last of all *Babington* was warranted to undertake for rewards, and to pawne his credit to the sixe Gentlemen and others.

Now had he gathered about him certaine Gentlemen inflamed with a fiery zeale of the *Romish Religion*. Of whom the chiefe were *Edward Windsore*, brother to the L: *Windsore*, a yong Gentleman of a soft disposition; *Thomas Salisbury* of a Knights house in *Denbigh-shire*; *Charles Tilney*, an ancient Gentleman, the onely hope of the Family, one of the *Queenes Pencionaries*, whom *Ballard* had reconciled to the *Roman Church*; both proper

yong men: *Chidioc Tychburn* of Hampshire; *Edward Abington*, whose father was the *Queenes* Cofferer; *Robert Gage* of Surrey; *John Travers*, and *John Charnock* of Lancashire; *John Iones*, whose father was *Queene Maries* Tailour; *Savage*, *Barnwell*, a Gentleman of Ireland, *Henry Dun*, Clarke of the first fruit Office. Into this societie *Polly* also insinuated himselfe, a man well acquainted with the affayres of the *Scots Queene*, a man well skilled in the art of simulation and dissimulation. Who was thought daily to reveile all their counsels to *Sir Francis Walsingham*, and to thrust them headlong into mischiete, who were forward enough of them selves to evill. *Albeit Navus*, the *Scots Queenes* Secretary, warned them to beware of him.

To these did *Babington* communicate the matter; but not all to each one. His owne Letters and the *Scots Queenes* Letters he shewed to *Ballard*, to *Tychburn*, and *Dun*. He dealt with *Tilney* and *Tychburn* to be the strikers. They at first denied to defile their hands with the blood of their Prince. *Ballard* and *Babington* labour to prove it lawfull to kill Princes excommunicated; and if right should be violated, then for the Catholike religion it is to be violated. Hereupon, hardly perswaded, they yeeld their consent in a sort. *Abington*, *Barnwel*, *Charnok*, and *Savage* readily and roundly without scruple sware to kill her. *Salisbury* could by no meanes be perswaded to be a *Queene*-killer, but to deliver the *Scots Queene* he offered his service willingly. *Babington* designeth *Tychburn* above the number to help the percussors, of whose fidelitie and courage he

he had perswaded himselfe much. But he was now absent, travelling abroad. *Babington* commands that they impart the matter to none, except first an oath be taken to keepe silence. These conspiratours now and then conferred of these matters in *Saint Giles fields*, in *Pauls-Church*, in *Tavernes*, in which they had their daily feasts, being now puffed up with the hopes of great matters. Sometimes commending the valor of the Nobles of *Scotland*, who lately had intercepted the King at *Sterling*: and of *Gerard the Burgonian*, who killed the Prince of *Orange*. And so farre they proceeded in their foolish vanitie, so strangely infatuated, that those that should strike the *Queene* they had pourtrayed in lively pictures, and in the midst of them *Babington* with this Verse.

Hi mihi sunt comites, quos ipsa pericula ducunt.

But when this Verse was disliked, as seeming too plaine: for it, they set in place these words: *Quorsum hac aliò properantibus?* These pictures were taken, as it was said, and brought to the *Queene*; who knew none of their countenances but onely *Barnwells*, who used often to come in her presence following the causes of the Earle of *Kildare*, whom he served: and she tooke notice of him by other markes. Verily one day, as shee was walking abroad, she saw *Barnwel*; she looked sharply and undauntedly upon the man, and turning to *Sir Christopher Hatton*, Captaine of the *Guard*, and to some others: *Am not I* (quoth she) *well guarded,*
who

who have not so much as one man in my company that hath a sword? For *Barnwel* told this to the other conspiratours, and declared how easily shee might have beene killed, if the conspiratours had then beene present. *Savage* in like sort reported the same.

Now there was nothing that so much troubled *Babington* as the feare lest the promise of externall forces might faile. And therefore, to make that good, he resolved to goe into *France*, and to send *Ballard* secretly before, for whose passage hee had procured licence for money under a counterfeit name. And to remove all suspition from himselfe by *Polly* hee insinuateth himselfe into *Sir Francis Walsingham*, and dealeth earnestly with him to intreat of the *Queene* licence for his passage into *France*, promising to doe some especiall service in searching and discovering the secret attempts of the fugitives of the *Scots Queene*. He commended the purpose of the young man, and promised not onely to obtaine him licence to travell, but he promised withall great and goodly rewards to him, if hee would doe such a service; yet holding him in suspence, hee delayed the matter, and knew his purpose and drift well, having fished all out by an especiall skill he had in discovering treasons, but especially by the discovery of *Gilbert Giffard*, a Priest, he was made acquainted with their intentions, which they thought were kept so secret that the *Sunne* had not knowne any thing thereof.

This *Giffard* was born at *Chellington* where the *Scots Queene* was kept, and sent by the fugitives into

into *England*, under the name of *Luson*, to put *Savage* in minde of his vow undertaken, and to lurke as a fit meanes to transmit Letters betweene them and the *Scots Queene*, because in so daingerous a businesse they could not draw in to serve their turne herein neither the Countesse of *Arundel*, nor the Lord *Lumley*, nor *Henry Howard*, nor *S^r George Shirly*.

The fugitives, to try whether the way was safe by *Giffard* to transmit Letters, first sent blankes many times sealed like Letters and packeted, which when by the answers they perceived to be truely delivered, now growne more confident, wrote often of their affaires intented in secret Characters. But *Giffard* before this, whether vexed in his conscience, or corrupted before with money, or terrified with feare, had opened himselfe to *Sir Francis Walsingham*, and declared with what purpose he was sent into *England*, and offered all his service as from the love to his Country and his Prince, and promised to communicate to him all the Letters that he received either from the fugitives or from the *Scots Queene*. *Sir Francis*, imbracing the opportunitie offered, intertained him courteously, and sent him into *Staffordshire*, and wrote to *Sir Amice Pawlet*, willingly to suffer some of his servants to be corrupted by *Giffard*, to & winke at it. But he being unwilling, as he said, to suffer any of his household servants by simulation to become a traytor; yet, though unwillingly, he suffered that the brewer, or the man that provided Provender for his horse, who dwelt neare him, might be corrupted

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by *Giffard*, *Giffard* easily corrupted the brewer with some peece of gold, who, by a hole in the wall where a stone was set which might be removed, sent letters secretly and received others, which alwayes by messengers provided for the purpose came to the hands of *Sr Francis Walsingham*. Who opened the seales, copied out the Letters, and by the singular cunning of *Thomas Phillipps* found the secret Character, and by the skill of *Arthur Gregory* sealed them up againe so cunningly, that no man could suspect that they were opened, and then sent them to the parties to whom they were directed. Thus were disclosed those former Letters from the *Scots Queene* to *Babington* and his answers, and others againe from her to him, (in which there was a Postscript cunningly added in the same Character, to write the names of the six Gentlemen, and happily some other things.) Moreover, the same day, the Letters to *Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassadour, to *Charles Paget*, to the Lord *Paget*, to the Archbishop of *Glasco*, and to *Sir Francis Inglefeld* were all coppied out and transmitted.

The *Queene*, as soone as she understood so rough a tempest hanging over her head both from inward traytors and forraine enemies, she commanded, to the end that the conspiracy might the sooner be quelled, that *Ballard* should be apprehended. Whereupon he was suddenly taken, in the very nick, when he was ready to depart into *France*. Being taken in *Babingtons* house. Hereupon *Babington* was afraid and sore troubled, and

vexed with a thousand cogitations he came to *Tychburn*, and with him adviseth what is best to doe. His advice was that the conspiratours should presently disperse themselves and fly, yet *Babington* thought it best to send *Savage* and *Charnok* presently to kill the *Queene*. But first to put *Savage* in braver and more courtly apparell, that so he might have a more easie passage. And of this project he had the same day speech with him in *Pauls-Church*. But presently changing his minde, and concealing his secret cares and feares, he wrote Letters to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, being then in Court, wherein with great earnestnes he intreated that now at last he might have licence to deparre into *France*; and withall he made suit for *Ballards* deliverance, who might be of great use to him in his proposed businesse. Sir *Francis* with faire promises keepes him, from day to day in hope; That *Ballard* was taken, he layeth all the fault upon *Yong*, that cunning hunter of *Papists*, and upon some other *Catch-poles*; and warneth *Babington* to take heed to such kind of men, as friendly admonishing him, and easily perswadeth the yong man, that untill the *Queene* might be at leasure to signe the Bill for his passage, he would returne to *London*, and lodge in his house at *London*, to the end that they might conferre more secretly of so great matters. And that by his often comming, the fugitives might not have any suspition, when he came into *France*. In the mean time, *Skidmor*, Sir *Francis Walsingham* his servant was commanded to observe him most strictly, and should be with him whither so-

ever he went; in shewing that so he might be safer from messengers that otherwise might apprehend him. Thus farre *St Francis Walsingham* had closely carried this businesse without the knowledge of other of the privy Councell, and would have proceeded farther : But the *Queene* would not; lest (as she said) *by not preventing the dainger when shee might, shee might seeme rather to tempt God then to trust in God.* Whereupon *Sir Francis* from Court wrote to his man that he should observe *Babington* with an especiall care, This Letter was not sealed, but so delivered that as the man read it, *Babington* sitting at Table with him did also reade it. Whereupon, finding himselfe guiltie and suspecting that all was disclosed, the next night when he and *Skidmor* and one or two of *Sir Francis* his servants had supped somewhat freely in a Taverne, he rose as going to pay the reckoning, and leaving his cloake and rapier, fled away in the darke to *Westminster*. Where *Gage* changed apparell with him, who presently put off the same againe in *Charnoks* chamber, and put on *Charnoks*. And conveyed themselves both into *St Johns Wood* neare to the *Citie*. Whither *Barnwel* and *Dun* came to them. In the meane time they were declared traytors throughout *England*. They hiding themselves in Woods and by-ways, after they had in vaine expected money from the *French* Ambassadour and horse from *Tychburn*, they cut off *Babingtons* hayre, and defaced his native beautie with rubbing his face over with the greene huskes of Walnuts. And being forced by hunger they

they came to *Bellamy's* house, neare to *Harrow* on the Hil, who was a great favourer of the *Romish Religion*. Where they were hid in barnes and fed, and cloathed with rusticall apparell. After ten dayes they were found and brought to *London*. Hereupon the Citie witnessed their publicke joy by ringing of bells, by bonfires in the streets, by singing of Psalmes, in so much that the Citizens had great thanks given them from the *QUEENE*.

The other conspiratours were soone caught, many of them neare the Citie; *Salisbury* in *Staffordshire*, his horse being killed under him by them who followed him; and *Traverse* was taken with him, after they had swimm'd over the river *Wever*; And *Jones* in *Wales*, who was not acquainted with the invasion intended, but onely receiued them into his house, after he knew them to be proclaimed rebels, and hid them, and had furnished *Salisbury* as he fled, and his man (who was a Priest) with a changed cloake. Onely *Windsore* was not found. Many dayes were spent in examining of them, who by their confessions betrayed one another concealing nothing.

All this time the *Scots Queene* and her servants were kept by such a diligent watch of Sir *Amice Pawlet*, that those things were altogether hid from her, though now well knowne over all *England*. But after that these were apprehended, Sir *Thomas Gorge* was sent to acquaint her with these things in few words. Which he did purposely when shee thought least of the matter, as shee was taking horse to ride a hunting. Neither was

the permitted to returne, but in shew of honour she was carried about to Noble mens houses. In the meane time, *John Maners, Edward Ashton, Richard Bagot,* and *William Wade* (who ignorant of the whole matter had beene sent into these parts) receiving authoritie from the *Queene*, did commit *Nanus* and *Curle*, Secretaries, and other servants to such as might keepe them asunder, that they might not conferre together among themselves nor with the *Scots Queene*. And breaking up the Chamber-doores they tooke all Chests and Boxes wherein they found Letters, and sent them sealed with their seales to the Court. After that *Sir Amice Pawlet*, being commanded, tooke all the money, lest she might corrupt some for money and gave his promise to restore all againe. When the packets of Letters were opened before the *Queene*, the Letters of many forrainers were found, and Copies of many Letters to others, and about sixtie Tables of secret Characters; and some Letters from certaine Noble men of *England*, with a full declaration of their love and services. Which thing notwithstanding, *Queene Elizabeth* dissembled that matter in silence, and accordingly used that word: *Video, taceo; I see and say nothing*. But they smelling the matter, lest they might seeme to favour the *Scots Queene*, after that began to shew themselves enemies against her.

Now *Giffard*, after hee had played his part in this play, was sent away as a banished man into *France*; leaving before he went an indented paper with the *French Ambassadour Leiger* in *England*
with

with this instruction, that he should deliver Letters which he might receive from the *Scots Queene* or from the fugitives to none other, but onely to him who exhibited a paper answering to that indented paper. Which paper was by him sent secretly to *Sir Francis Walsingham*. *Giffard* returning into *France*, after a few moneths was imprisoned for his filthy life; and suspected of these things dyed miserably; confessing many of the foresaid matters, which was also found in his papers.

The XIII of *September* seven of the conspiratours being brought to judgment, confessed themselves guiltie and were condemned of treason. Other seven came the next day, who denied that they were guiltie; and committed themselves to God and their Country; yet were they condemned by their former confessions. Onely *Polly*, though guiltie of all, yet when hee affirmed that he disclosed some of those matters to *Sir Francis Walsingham*, was not called to judgment. The twentieth of that moneth, the first seven were hanged and quartered in *S. Giles fields*, where they used to meet. *Ballard*, the contriver of all the mischief, asked pardon of God and of the *Queene* conditionally, if hee had sinned against her. *Babington* (who without feare beheld *Ballards* death, whilst the rest were upon their knees in prayer) freely confessed his sinnes, and after hee was taken downe from the Gallowes, cryed out in Latin, *Parce mihi Iesu*: the rest in their order likewise were hanged and quartered.

After

After the punishment of these, *Navus* a French man and *Curlusca Scot*, Secretaries to the *Scots Queene*, were called into question upon the Letters that were taken in the lodging of the *Scots Queene*, and freely confessed that those Letters were of their owne writing, dictated by her in *French*, and so taken by *Navus*, turned into *English* by *Curle*, and written in secret Characters; whereby she was at last brought into question, which brought her also to her end.

The thing which wee observe upon this Narration, is to continue our complaint of these gracelesse instruments the *Priests* and *Iesuites*, that by their wicked suggestions bring Princes, Nobles, Gentlemen of good place, which might have done good service to their Prince and Countrie, such I say doe these wicked instruments bring to ruine, and seeme to take a pleasure in the destruction of men. May we not see how they come in secretly, and scraule in corners like Serpents? It is true, the *enmitie* is of old set betweene the *Womans seed* and the *Serpents seed*: and the *Church* which is the *womans seed* hath felt the experience hereof at all times. But never had any *Church* in the world a more lively experience hereof, then this *Church of England*, against whom all this hath beene wrought. The *Church* is the *house of God*, and this *Church of England* is here with vs *Gods house*. It is apparent that this house was built not upon the *sand* but upon a *rocke*; for the *winds have blowne* fiercely upon it, the *waters have risen* against it, the *great and huge tempests*

pests have beaten upon it, and yet it standeth. And for this we prayse Gods name, that it standeth still. And for this purpose is this small Worke undertaken, to give the watch-word to all them that feare God and love the comming of our Lord, to give most humble and most hearty thanks unto God for this inestimable favour of God, that after all these assaults which have beene greater in dainger, more in number then any Nation in the world at this day can number, that after all, I say, our Church standeth and flourisheth: this is our rejoycing in God, in his goodnesse and mercy. But now consider who oppugne us? *the serpents seede*, for can any man with any reason deny these men to be the seed of the serpent? I meane the *Seminary Priests & Iesuites*. Are not these the seed of the serpent? They plot and practise treasons, they raise rebellions, their heads and hands are full of blood and murther. And what can the serpent his seed doe more? They are men acquainted with the *deepenes of Satan*, they lay snares and wicked plots for destructions of States, and lest men should descry their mischiefe, they set a cleane contrary countenance upon their actions, giving out that their weapons are *Preces & lachryma, Prayers and teares*, and that it is unlawfull for them to use any other weapons; even then when they are about their most bloody designs: and what can the serpents seed doe more? Can the seed of the serpent proceed more maliciously, more cruelly, more deeply in blood then these have done? Then let them be knowne to be the

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seed

*Comica facie me-
ras agunt trage-
dias.*

Cap. 9. *A thankfull Remembrance*

Seed of the serpent. As for us, we rejoyce to be the
Seed of the Woman, the true Church of God: we
suffer, we are reviled, slandered, called *Heretikes*:
We learne of our Master to *indure the crosse, to de-
spise the shame: We run with patience the race which
he hath set before us.* And we serve God not in
vaine; for we see that there is a reward for them
that serve him.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The French Ambassadors plot with Stafford to take away the life of the Queene detected by Stafford himsefe. The end of Yorke and Stanley, traytors to their Countrey.



Stafford clearing him-selfe.

TH next year following, which was the year 1587. the Scots Queene being before condemned but yet reserved alive, discontented persons like evill spirits did continually haunt her; though shee her selfe would have beene quiet, yet would not they let her rest, untill their busie and pernicious working brought her to her grave, for l'Aubespinaeus the French Ambassadour Leiger in

An Dom. 1587.

England, a man wholly devoted to the *Guifian* faction, went about to helpe the captived *Queene*, not by faire meanes but by treason. Firſt he conferred ſecretly to kil the *Queene* with *William Stafford* a yong Gentleman, eaſie to be drawne to new hopes, whoſe mother was of the *Queenes* bed-chamber; his brother was the *English* Leiger in *France* at this time. Afterward he dealt more plainly with him touching this project by his ſecretary *Trappius*; Who promiſed to *Stafford*, if he would undertake that matter, not onely great glory, great ſtore of money, but eſpeciall grace and favour with the *Pope*, with the *Guiſes*, and with all the *Catholikes*. *Stafford*, his conſcience grudging at ſo great a wickedneſſe, refuſed to undertake it. Yet he commended one *Moody*, a cut-throat, a man fit for ſuch a buſineſſe, that if money were given him would undoubtedly undertake and diſpatch the buſineſſe. To him went *Stafford*, where hee found him kept in priſon in *London*, and told him that the *French* Ambaſſadour would gladly ſpeake with him. He answered that he willing, ſo that he might be freed out of priſon. In the meane time, he intreated that *Cordalion* another of the Ambaſſadours ſecretaries might be ſent to him, with whom he had familiar acquaintance. The next day *Trappius* was ſent to him with *Stafford*. Who when *Stafford* was removed, conferred with *Moody* of the manner of killing the *Queene*. *Moody* propoſed a courſe to do it by poiſon, or by a ſacke of twentie pound of Gun-powder to be laid under the *Queenes* chamber and to be fired ſecretly. Theſe

courſes

courses pleased not *Trappius*, but he wished that a man of such courage might be found, as was that *Burgonian* who killed the Prince of *Orange*.

These things were presently revealed to the *Queenes* Councell by *Stafford*. Whereupon *Trappius* now purposing to goe into *France* was intercepted and examined of these things. Afterward the *Ambassadour* himselve the twelfth of *Ianuary* was sent for unto the house of Secretarie *Cecil*, & came in the evening; where were together by the *Queenes* command, *Cecil* Lord *Burghley* Secretary, the Earle of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton* and *Davison* another Secretarie: These signifie to the *French* Ambassadour, that they sent for him, to let him know the cause why they intercepted *Trappius* his Secretarie, when he was ready to goe into *France*; and they did open every thing which *Stafford*, *Moody* and *Trappius* himselve had confessed. And that they might testifie the same in his presence they commanded them to be called in. The Ambassadour, who bending his brows heard these things with much impatience, rising up, said, that himselve being an Ambassadour would not heare any accusations to wrong his King or in the prejudice of Ambassadours. But when they answered, that these men should not be produced as accusers, but onely that he might be satisfied that these things were not fained nor false; then he rested. As soone as *Stafford* was produced and began to speake, he presently interrupted him, and railing upon him, affirmed that *Stafford* first proposed the matter to him; and that himselve had threat-

ned to send him bound hand and foot to the *Queene* if hee would not desist from so wicked an enterprise; yet that he spared him for the singular affection which he bare to the mother, the brother, and sister of *Stafford*. *Stafford* falling upon his knees protested in many words upon his salvation, that the Ambassadour proposed the matter first to him. But when the Ambassadour seemed to be extraordinarily moved, *Stafford* was commanded to depart, and *Moody* was not produced.

Hereupon when *Burghly* had mildly charged the Ambassadour to be guiltie of such a conceived wickednesse, both from his owne words, and out of the confession of *Trappius*: he answered, that if he had beene conscious, yet being an Ambassadour he ought not to disclose it but to his owne King. But *Burghley* interposing told him, that if it were not the office of an Ambassadour (which thing is yet in question) to disclose such a mischievous practice which bringeth the life of a Prince in dainger; yet was it the office of a Christian to repress such notorious injuries, not onely for the safetie of a Prince, but for the safety of any Christian. But the other stoutly denied that; and withall said, that not long since, the *French* Ambassadour being in *Spaine* and having notice of a conspiracie to take away the *Spanish* Kings life, yet disclosed it not to the *Spanish* King, but to his owne King, and was therefore commended of the King and of his Councillers. The Lord *Burghley* gave him a grave admonition, to take heed that hereafter he offended not in such a point
of

oftreason against the Prince, and not to forget the office of an Ambassadour, nor the Prince her clemency, who would not wrong good Ambassadors by the punishment of an evill one; and though he were not *punished*, yet was he not *justified*, but did carry with him the *guilt*; though not the *punishment* of such an offence.

Though this intended evill came to no effect, as all the other bloody practices have beene without effect: yet may wee make good use of it to blesse Gods name for all his great and manifold deliverances. That it was disappointed, it was his goodnes: for against those Kings that had not given their service to God for the maintenance of true Religion great and bloody practices have beene committed by lesse and more contemptible means. And as we have just cause to blesse God for all his deliverances, so the adversaries of our peace have just cause to feare, to examine their owne doings and seriously to consider, whether they have not all this while striven against God, in striving so long against those whom God doth so miraculously defend.

Not long after this followed the ignominious prodition of *William Stanly*, and *Rowland York*. This *York* was a *Londoner*, a man of loose conversation and actions, and desperate. He was famous among the *Cutters* of his time for bringing in a new kind of fight, to run the point of a rapier into a mans body; this manner of fight he brought first into *England*, with great admiration of his *audaciousnesse*. When in *England* before that time
the

the use was with little bucklers and with broad swords to strike, and not to thrust, and it was accounted *unmanly* to strike *under the girdle*. This man, provoked as he tooke it by some injury of the Earle of *Leicester*, fled to the *Spanyards*, and for some time after served among the *Spanyards*. Afterward being reconciled was made Captaine of a Sconce neare to *Zutphen*. After all this, he was so set upon revenge, that being corrupted with money he did not only betray the place to the enemy; but drew also *Stanly* with him, being a man that had served with great fidelitie and valour in the *Irish* warres. *Stanly* was not easily perswaded to be false, but this desperate fellow never ceased to draw him into the fellowship of wickednesse with him by many asseverations and oaths often repeated; telling him that it was certainly knowne in *England*, that he was of *Babingtons* conspiracie; that he was already discovered by their confessions, and that out of hand he should be sent for to the gallowes. Thus he perswaded *Sanly* to betray the rich and well fenced Towne of *Deventer* to the *Spanyards*, against his oath given to *Leicester* and to the *States*. And seeking some pretence of honesty against a fact so dishonest & disloyall he seemed to please himselfe in this, that he had restored a place to the *true Lord*, which was held from him by *rebells*. And being extreame *Popish* he sent for *Priests* to his company, which consisted of 1300. *English* and *Irish*, to instruct them in the *Popish religion*; boasting that this should be the *seminary legion*; which should defend the *Roman Religion* with

Armes,

Armes, as the *seminary Priests* defend it with *writings*. To this purpose *Alan*, who a little after was *Cardinall*, sent *Priests* presently to him, & wrote a *Booke* also, wherein he commended this proditorious act from the authoritie of the *Bull* of *Pius V.* against *Queene Elizabeth*, and stirred up others to such perfidiousnes, as if they were not bound to serve and obey a *Queene* excommunicated. But looke, I pray, to the end.

The *Spaniards* set *Yorke* and *Stanly* together in contention one against the other; and soone after they poyson *Yorke* and take his goods: his body after three yeares was digged up by the commandement of the *States*, and hanged till it rotted. They drew *Stanly* and his companies out of *Deventer*, and tossing them from place to place they make them the object of all daingers, and so used them with all contumelies, that some of them dyed for hunger, others secretly fled away. *Stanly* himselfe went into *Spaine* in hope of reward, and offered his help to invade *Ireland*: but neither found he entertainment according to his expectation, neither could he be trusted; for the *Spaniards* used to say, that *some honour might be given to a traitor but no trust*: It was now too late for him to learne, but yet hee learned, that he had most of all betraied himselfe.

CHAPTER XI.

The Spanish preparations of the Invincible Navie. The Duke of Parma treateth of a peace. Delegates sent over about it. The conference of the Delegates broke off without fruit.



Com his qui aderant pacem erant pacificus

English Embassi: sent unto the Duke of Parma. for peace.

A.D. 1588.

*Gregorius
obitus mi-
rabilis an-
1588.*



VE are now come to that fatall yeare, which the *Astrologers* called the *Marveilous yeare*; some said it was the *Climactericall yeare* of the world. And they that trust not in the *living God* but in *superstitions* tooke the opportunitie of this *fatall yeare*, as they supposed, now utterly to overthrow the *Church of England and State*. Which before they could not doe. The *Pope* and *Spaniards*

Spaniards laid up all their hopes upon this yeares destinie.

The rumors of warre daily increased, at last it was certainly confirmed by the newes on all sides, that in *Spain* there was an *Invincible Navie* preparing against *England*; that the most famous Captaines in military knowledge and the best Souldiers were sent for into *Spain*, from *Italie*, *Sicilie*, yea from *America*. For the *Pope* and some religious *Spaniards* and *English* fugitives now recalled the *Spaniard* to the cogitation of surprising of *England*, which purpose was interrupted by the *Portugall* warres. They exhorted him earnestly to doe God this service, that had done so much for him: now that he enjoyed *Portugall* with the west *Indies* and many rich *Ilands*, to adde *England* to all, were an especiall service of God fit for his *Catholike Majestie*. By this meanes he might add these flourishing Kingdomes to his *Empire*; and so keep the *Low-countries* in peace, secure the navigations to both *Indies*. That the preparations of *Spain* were so great that no power was able to resist it. They made him beleve that it was an easier matter to overcome *England*, then to overcome the *Dutchland*, because the navigation from *Spain* to *England* was much shorter then to the *Netherlands*. And by surprising of *England* the other would easily follow.

Hereupon the consultation began to be had of the best way and meanes to oppresse *England*. *Alvarus Bassanus*, the Marquess of *S. Croffe*, who was chiefe commander in the Navy, advised first to

make sure some part of *Holland* or *Zealand* by the land-forces of the Duke of *Parma* and by sending before some *Spanish* ships, so to take some place on a sudden, where the *Spanish* navie might have a receptacle, and from whence the invasion might with convenience begin. For in the *English* Sea, which is troublesome, the windes oft changing, the tydes unknowne, the Navie could not be in safetie. With him agreed *Parma*, who much urged this expedition. Yet others disliked this counsell, as a matter of great difficultie and dainger, of long time, of much labour, of great expence, of uncertaine successe. And that neither secretly nor openly it could be performed, and easily hindered by the *English*. These thought that with the same labour and expences *England* might be wonne: and the victorie would be sure, if a well prepared armie from *Spaine* might with a strong Navie be landed on *Thames* side, and on a sudden surprise *London* the chiefe Citie by an unexpected assault. This seemed a thing most easie to be effected. And therefore all agreed upon it. Yet some among them thought good that a denunciation of the warre should be made by an *Herald*, which they held a politick device both to remove suspition out of the mindes of neighbour Princes, and to force the *Queene*, as they supposed, to call to her help forraine mercinarie souldiers, conceiving that according to the usuall insolencie of mercenaries they would tumult and spoile the cuntry; & so might the *Queene* be brought into hatred of her owne people: that so all things in *England* would be brought

brought into a confusion, which might be helped by the *English Catholikes*. But neither could this advice be heard. For they being confident of their owne strength, thought it was sufficient to commend the *invincible Navie* to the prayers of the *Pope* and of their other *Catholikes*, and to the intercession of *Saints*: and to set out a Booke in print to the terrour of the *English*, in which Booke all the preparation was particularly related. Which was so great through *Spaine, Italy, and Sicily*, that the *Spaniards* themselves were in admiration of their owne forces, and therefore named it the *Invincible Fleet*.

The Duke of *Parma* also in *Flanders* by the commandement of the *Spaniard* built ships, and a great company of small broad vessels, each one able to transport thirty horses, with bridges fitted for them severally; And hired Mariners from the East part of *Germany*; And provided long peeces of wood, sharpned at the end, and covered with iron, with hookes on the side; And twentie thousand vessels with an huge number of faggots; and placed an Army ready in *Flanders* of 103 companies of foot, and 4000 horsemen. Among these were 700 *English* fugitives, which were had of all other in most contempt. Neither was *Stanly* respected or heard who was set over the *English*, nor *Westmerland*, nor any other who offered their helpe; but for their impietie towards their owne Country, were shut out from all consultations, and as men unominous rejected not without detestation. And Pope *Sixtus V.* that in such a purpose would not be

wanting sent Cardinall *Alan* into *Flanders*, and renewed the Bulls declaratory of *Pius V.* and *Greg. XIII.* He excommunicateth the *Queene*, deposeth her, absolveth her subjects from all allegiance, and as if it had beene against the *Turkes* and *Infidels* he set forth in Print a *Cruciata* wherein he bestowed plenary indulgences out of the treasure of the Church upon all that would joine their help against *England*. By which meanes the Marquess *à Burgaw* of the house of *Austria*, the Duke of *Pastrana*, *Amady* Duke of *Savoy*, *Vespasian Gonzaga*, *Iohn Medices*, and divers other Noble men were drawne into these warres.

Queene Elizabeth, that she might not be surpris'd at unawares, prepareth as great a Navie as she could, and with singular care and providence maketh ready all things necessary for warre. And she her selfe, which was ever most judicious in discerning of mens wits and aptnes, and most happy in making choise when she made it out of her owne judgment and not at the commendation of others, designed the best & most serviceable to each severall employment. Over the whole Navie she appointed the Lo: Admirall *Charles Howard*. In whom she reposed much trust, and sent him to the west parts of *England*, where Captaine *Drake*, whom she made Vice-admirall, joyned with him. She commanded *Henry Seimour* the second son to the Duke of *Somerset*, to watch upon the *Belgick* shore with 40 *English* and *Dutch* shippes, that the Duke of *Parma* might not come out with his forces. Albeit some were of opinion, that the enemy

was

was to be expected and set upon by land forces, according as it was upon deliberation resolved in the time of *Henry the 8.* when the *French* brought a great Navie upon the *English* shore.

By Land there was placed on the South shores twentie thousand. And two Armies besides were mustered of the choifest men for warre. The one of these, which consisted of a thousand horse, twenty-two thousand foot, was the Earle of *Leicester* set over. And camped at *Tilbury* on the side of *Thames*. For the enemy was resolved first to set upon *London*. The other Army was governed by the Lo: *Hunsdon*, consisting of 34 thousand foot, and two thousand horse to guard the *Queene*.

The Lord *Grey*, *S^r Francis Knolles*, *S^r Iohn Norrice*, *S^r Richard Bingham*, *S^r Roger Williams*, men famously knowne for Military experience, were chosen to confer of the land fight. These thought fit that all those places should be fortified with men and munition, which were commodious to land in either out of *Spaine* or out of *Flanders*, as, *Milford haven*, *Falmouth*, *Plimmouth*, *Portland*, the *Iste of Wight*, *Portsmouth*, the open side of *Kent* called the *Downs*, the mouth of *Thames*, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hul*, &c. That trained souldiers through all the *Maritim* provinces should meet, upō warning given, to defend these places: that they should by their best meanes and power hinder the enemy to take land, if he should take land, then should they wast the country all about and spoyle every thing that might be of any use to the enemy, that so he might find no more victualls then what he brought upon his

his shoulders with him. And that by continuall *Alarmes* the enemy should find no rest day or night. But they should not try any battell, untill divers Captains were met together with their Companies. That one Captaine might be named in every Shire which might command.

At this time divers told the *Queene*, that the *Spaniards* were not so much to be feared without, as the *Papists* within; for the *Spaniards* durst make no attempt upon *England* but upon confidence of their helpe within. And therefore, for the securitie of the whole, their heads were upon some pretences to be cut off; Producing for this thing the example of *Henry 8.* For when the *Emperour* and *French King* at the *Popes* instigation were combined and ready to invade *England*, King *Henry* presently executed the Marquess of *Exceter*, the Lord *Montacute*, *Edward Neuil*, and others, whom he suspected to favour the enemies; which thing as soone as he had done, the intended invasion was stopped and proceeded no further. But this advice the *Queene* utterly disliked, as being cruell, she thought it enough to commit some of the *Papists* to *Wisbich Castle* in custody; and casting her eyes and mind on every side, she stirred up her Nobles with Letters often, though they were carefull and watchfull of themselves. She certified *Fitz Williams*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, what she would have done there. She sent to the King of *Scots* to warne him to take good heed of *Papists*, and the *Spanish* faction. But he, knowing well what a tempest and desolation was hanging, and threatning
both

both alike, having already set his heart upon the maintenance of true religion, and resolving to take part with the truth in prosperitie and adversitie, which is onely able to save and deliver her maintainers; had a little before refused to heare the Bishop of *Dumblan* sent thither from the *Pope*; and had caused a league to be made among the *Protestants* of *Scotland* for resistance of the *Spaniards*; and himselfe comming to *Anandale* with an Army besieged *Maxwel* and tooke him and committed him to prison, who was lately returned out of *Spaine* against his faith and allegiance, and came with an intent to favour the *Spanisb* side; he declared the *Spaniards* should be held as *enemies*, and against them caused all with great alacritie to be ready in Armes.

Among these preparations for warre, which were great on both sides, the counsels of peace were not utterly cast away.

Two yeares before, the Duke of *Parma* considering how hard a matter it was to end the *Belgick* warre so long as it was continually nourished and supported with aide from the *Queene*, he moved for a treatie of peace by the meanes of Sir *James Croft*, one of the privie Council, a man desirous of peace and *Andrew Loe* a *Dutch-man*, and professed that the *Spaniard* had delegated authority to him for this purpose. But the *Queene* fearing that there was some cunning in this seeking of peace, that the friendship betweene her and the confederate Provinces might be dissolved, and that so they might secretly be drawne to the *Spaniard*; she de-

ferred that treatie for some time. But now, that the Warres on both sides prepared, might be turned away, she was content to treat of *Peace*, but so as still holding the *Weapons* in her hand.

For this purpose in *February* delegates were sent into *Flanders*, the Earle of *Derby*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sr *James Croft*, Dr *Dale*, and Dr *Rogers*. These were received with all humanity on the *Dukes* behalfe, and they presently sent Dr *Dale* to him, that a place might be appointed for the treating, and that they might see the authority to him delegated from the *Spanish King*. He appointed the place neare to *Ostend*, not in *Ostend*, which then was holden of *English* against the King: his authoritie delegated he promised then to shew when they were once met together. He wished them to make good speed in the businesse, lest somewhat might fall out in the meane time which might trouble the motions of peace. *Richardotus* spake somewhat more plainly, that he knew not what in this *interim* should be done against *England*. Not long after D. *Rogers* was sent to the *Prince* by an expresse commandement from the *Queene* to know the truth, whether the *Spaniard* had resolved to invade *England*, which hee and *Richardotus* did seeme to signifie. He affirmed that hee did not so much as thinke of the invasion of *England* when he wished that the businesse might proceed with speed. And was in a maner offended with *Richardotus*; who denied that such words fell from him. The 12. of *April*, the Count *Aremberg*, *Champigny*, *Richardotus*, D. *Maesius* and *Garnier*, delegated from

from the Prince of *Parma*, mett with the *English* and yeelded to them the honour both in walking and sitting. And when they affirmed that the *Duke* had full authoritie to treat of Peace; the *English* moved that first a truce might be made. Which they denied, alledging that that thing must needs be hurtfull to the *Spaniard*, who had for six moneths maintained a great Army, which might not be dismissed upon a truce but upon an *absolute peace*. The *English* urged that a truce was promised before they came into *Flanders*. The *Spaniard* against that held, that six moneths since a truce was promised; which they granted, but was not admitted. Neither was it in the *Queenes* power to undertake a truce for *Holland* and *Zealand*, who daily attempted hostilitie. The *English* moved instantly that the truce might be generall for all the *Queenes* territories, and for the Kingdome of *Scotland*: but they would have it but for foure *Dutch* townes which were in the *Queenes* hands, that is, *Ostend*, *Flushing*, *Bergen up zom*, and the *Briel*; and these onely during the treating and twenty dayes after, and that in the meane time it might be lawfull for the *Queene* to invade *Spaine*, or for the *Spaniard* to invade *England* either from *Spaine* or *Flanders*. Whilst these delaies were made concerning the truce and place, which at last was appointed at *Bourburg*; *Croft* upon an earnest desire to peace went privately to *Bruxells* without the knowledge of the other Delegates, and privately proposed some Articles. For which afterward by *Leicesters* motion he was imprisoned: albeit those

articles proposed by him were in the judgment of the other commissioners not to be disallowed. But *delegates* have their *limits* circumscribed, which they are not to passe. At last when the *English* could not obtaine an abstinence from armes, and could by no meanes see the Charter by which the Duke of *Parma* had this authority granted to treat of peace, they proposed these things; that the ancient leagues betweene the King of *England* and the Dukes of *Burgundy* might be renued and confirmed; that all the *Dutch* might fully enjoy their owne priviledges; that with freedome of conscience they might serve God; that the *Spanish* and forraine souldiers might be put out of *Dutchland*, that neither the *Dutch* nor their neighbouring Nations might feare them. If these things might be granted, the *Queene* would come to equall conditions concerning the Towns which now she held, (that all might know that she tooke up armes not for her owne gaine, but for the necessary defence both of the *Dutch* & of *herselfe*) so that the money which is owing therfore be repayed. They answered: that for renuing the old leagues there should be no difficulty, when they might have friendly conference of that thing. That concerning the priviledges of the *Dutch*, there was no cause why forraine Princes should take care, which priviledges were most favourably granted, not onely to Provinces and Townes reconciled, but euen to such as by force of armes are brought into subjection. That forraine souldiers were held upon urgent necessity, when as *Holland, England, and France*, were all

all in armes. Touching those Townes taken from the King of *Spaine*, and the repaying of the money, they answered that the *Spaniard* might demand so many *myriads* of crowns to be from the *Queene* repayed him, as the *Belgick* warre hath cost him, since the time that she hath favoured and protected the *Dutch* against him.

At this time *D. Dale* by the *Queenes* command going to the Duke of *Parma* did gently expostulate with him touching a Booke Printed there, set out lately by *Cardinall Allan*, wherein he exhorteth the Nobles and people of *England* and *Ireland* to joyne themselves to the King of *Spaines* forces under the conduct of the Prince of *Parma*, for the execution of the sentence of *Sixtus V.* Pope against the *Queene*, declared by his Bull. In which she is declared an *hereticke*, *illegitimate*, *cruell* against *Mary the Scots Queene*, and her subjects were commanded to helpe *Parma* against her: (for at that time a great number of those *bulls* and *bookes* were printed at *Antwerp* to be dispersed through *England*.) The Duke denied that he had seene such a *bull* or *booke*, neither would he doe any thing by the *Popes* authoritie; as for his owne King he must obey. Yet he said that he so observed the *Queene* for her Princely vertues, that, after the King of *Spaine*, he offered all service to her. That he had perswaded the King of *Spaine* to yeeld to this treatie of peace, which is more profitable for *England*, then *Spanish*. For if they should be overcome, they would easily repaire their losse: But if you be overcome, the Kingdome is lost. To whom *Dale* replied: that

our *Queene* was sufficiently furnished with forces to defend the Kingdome. That a Kingdome will not easily be gotten by the fortune of one battell, seeing the King of *Spaine* in so long a warre is not yet able to recover his ancient patrimony in the *Netherlands*. Well, quoth the *Duke*, be it so. These things are in Gods hands.

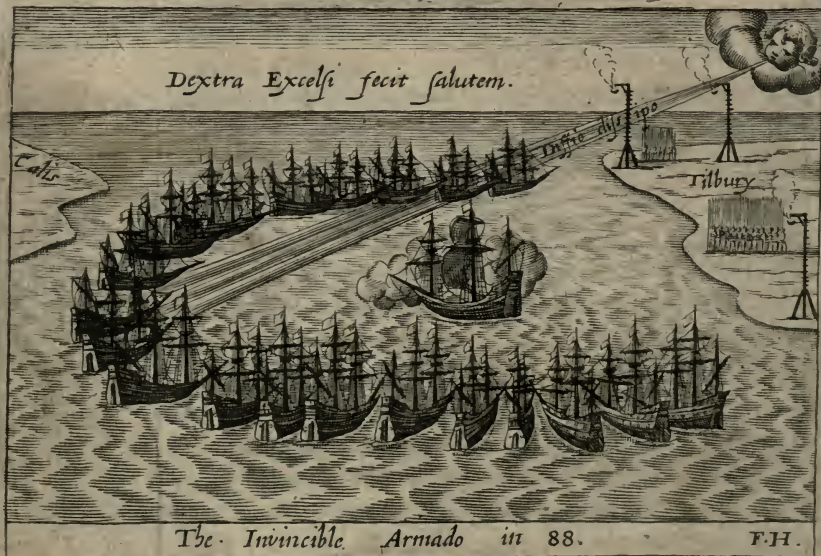
After this the Delegates contended among themselves by mutuall replications, *weaving* and *unweaving* the same *webb*. The *English* were earnest in this, a toleration of Religion might be granted at least for two years to the confederate Provinces. They answered, that as the King of *Spaine* had not intreated that for *English* *Catholickes*: so they hoped that the *Queene* in her wisdom would not intreat any thing of the King of *Spain* which might stand against his honour, his oath, and his conscience. When they demanded the mony due from the *States* of *Brabant*, it was answered, that the money was lent without the Kings authoritie or privitie. But let the accompt be taken, how much that money was, and how much the King hath spent in these Warres, and then it may appeare, who should looke for repayment. By such answers they drive off the *English* of purpose untill the *Spanish fleet* was come neare the *English* shore and the noyse of Gunnes were heard from Sea. Then had they leave to depart, & were by the *Delegates* honorably brought to the borders neare to *Calis*. The *Duke* of *Parma* had in the meane time brought all his forces to the Sea-shore. Thus this conference came to nothing; undertaken by the
Queene,

Queene, as the wiser then thought to avert the *Spanish Fleet*; continued by the *Spanyard*, that he might oppresse the *Queene*, being as he supposed, unprovided and not expecting the dainger. So both of them tryed to sow the *Fox-skin* to the *Lions*.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XII.

The Invincible Armie described. At the first setting out shaken sore with a tempest. The gests of each day related particularly and punctually. They trusted in their strength, we in the name of our God; They are fallen, and we stand upright.



THe Spanish fleet the best furnished with men, munition, engines, and all warlike preparation, that was ever seene upon the Ocean, and by that arrogant Title called *Invincible*, did consist of 130 Shippes, wherein there were 19290 Souldiers; Mariners 83 50; chained rowers 2080; Great Ordnance 2630. The chiefe commander was *Perezius Gus-*

Gasmannus, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*. (For *Antonius Columna*, Duke of *Palian* and Marquess of *S. Croffe*, to whom the chiefe government was allotted, dyed whilst things were preparing.) And under him *Iohannes Martinus Recaldus*, a man of great experience in Sea affayres. The 30 of *May* they looked out of the river *Tagus*, and purposing to hold their course to the *Groin* in *Gallitia* they were beaten and scattered by a tempest: three Gallies by the helpe of *David Gwin* an *English* servant and by the perfidiousnesse of the *Turkes* which rowed were carried away into *France*. The fleet with much adoe after some dayes came to the *Groin* and other harbours neare adjoyning. The report was that the fleet was so shaken with this tempest, that the *Queene* was perswaded, that she was not to expect that fleet this yeare. And *S^t Francis Walsingham*, Secretary, wrote to the *Lo: Admirall*, that he might send back foure of the greatest Ships, as if the warre had beene ended. But he did not easily give credit to that report, but with a gentle answer intreated him to beleve nothing hastily in so important a matter, that he might keepe those ships with him, though it were upon his owne charges. And finding a favourable winde turned sailes toward *Spain*, to surprise the enemies shaken ships in their harbours. When he was not far from the shore of *Spain*, the wind turned, and he being charged to defend the *English* shore, fearing that the enemies unseene might by the same wind be driven to *England*, he returned to *Plimmouth*.

With the same winde the 12. of *Iuly* the Duke

of *Medina* with his *fleet* departed from the *Groin*. And after one day or two he sent *Rhodericus Telius* into *Flanders*, to admonish the Duke of *Parma*, giving him notice that the *fleet* was approaching, that he might be ready. For *Medina* his commission was to joyne himselfe with the Shippes and Souldiers of *Parma*, and under the protection of his *fleet* to bring them into *England*, and to land his land-forces upon *Thames* side. Now as the relator of this Story hath taken paines to declare what was done each day, I will follow him herein.

The 16 day there was a great calme, and a thicke cloud was upon the sea till noone: then the North winde blowing roughly, and againe the Westwinde till midnight, and after that the East: the *Spanish* Navie was scattered and hardly gathered together untill they came within the sight of *England* the 19 day of *Iuly*. Vpon which day the Lord Admirall was certified by *Flemming* (who had beene a *Pyrat*) that the *Spanish fleet* was entred into the *English Sea* which the Mariners call the *Channell*. And was descried neare to the *Lizard*. The Lord Admirall brought forth the *English fleet* into the Sea, but not without great difficultie, by the skill, labour, and alacritic of the Souldiers and Mariners, every one labouring; yea the Lord Admirall himselfe had his hand at the worke.

The next day the *English fleet* viewed the *Spanish fleet* comming along with towers like Castles in height, her front crooked like the fashion of the *Moone*, the *horne*s of the front were extended one from the other about seaven myles asunder, sailing with

with the labour of the windes, the *Ocean* as it were groaning under it; their saile was but slow, and yet at full saile before the wind. The *English* gave them leave to hold on their course, and when they were passed by, came behinde them and got the help of the winde.

The 21 of *Iuly*, the Lord Admirall of *England* sent a Pinnace before, called the *Defiance*, to denounce the Battell by shooting off some Peeeces. And being himselve in the *Arch-royall*, (the *English* Prætorian Shipp or Admirall) he set upon a Shipp which he tooke to be the *Spanish Admirall*, but it was the Shippe of *Alfonfus Leva*. Vpon that he bestowed much shot. Presently *Drake*, *Hawkins*, *Frobisher* came in upon the *Spanish* hindmost Shippes which *Recaldus* governed. Vpon these they thundred; *Recaldus* laboured what he could to stay his men who fled to their Navy, untill his shippe beaten and pearced with many shot did hardly recover the Fleet. At which time the Duke *Medina* gathered together his dissipated Fleet, and setting up more saile they held their course. Indeede they could doe no other, for the *English* had gotten the advantage of winde, and their Shippes were much more nimble and ready with incredible celeritie to come upon the enemie with a full course, and then, to turne and returne, and bee on every side at their pleasure. When they had fought two houres, and taken some triall of their owne courage and of the *Spaniards*; The Lord Admirall thought good not to continue the fight any longer then, seeing that fortie ships were absent which

were scarce drawne out of *Plimmouth* haven. The night following *S. Catharin* a *Spanish* shippe being sore torne with the fight was received into the midst of the *Navie* to be mended. Here a great *Cantabrian* shipp of *Oquenda* wherein was the treasurer of the *Campe*, by force of *Gunpowder* that had taken fire was set on fire; yet was the fire quenched in time by the shippes that came to helpe her. Of these that came to helpe the fired shippe one was a *Galeon*, in which was *Petrus Waldez*; the foremast of the *Galeon* was caught in the tackling of another shipp and broken. This was taken by *Drake*, who sent *Waldez* to *Dertmouth*; the money fifty-five thousand *Ducats* he distributed among his souldiers. That night he was appointed to set forth light but neglected it and some *German* merchants shippes comming by that night, hee thinking them to be enemies, followed them so farre, that the *English* navy rested all night when they could see no light set forth. Neither did hee nor the rest of the *Navie* finde the *Admirall* untill the next day at even. The *Admirall* all the night preceding with the *Beare* and *Mary Rose* did follow the *Spaniards* with watchfulness. The *Duke* was bu-
 fied in ordering his *Navy*. *Alfonfus Leva* was commanded to joyne the first & last companies. Every Shipp had his station assigned according to that prescribed forme which was appointed in *Spaine*, it was present death to forsake his station. This done he sent *Glicius* an *Auncient* to *Parma*, which might declare to him in what case they were, and left that *Cantabrian* ship of *Oquenda* to the winde
 and

and sea, having taken out the money and mariners and put them in other shippes. Yet it seemeth that he had not care of all: for that shippe the same day, with fifty mariners and souldiers lamed and halfe burnt, fell into the hands of the *English* and was carried to *Weimuth*.

The 23 of the same moneth, the *Spaniards* having a favourable North winde turned sailes upon the *English*; the *English* being much readier in the use of their ships fett about a compasse for the winde, and having gotten advantage of the winde, they came to the fight on both sides. They fought a while confusedly with variable fortune: whilst on the one side the *English* with great courage delivered the *London* shippes which were inclosed about by the *Spaniards*; on the other side the *Spaniards* by valour freed *Recaldus* from the extream danger he was in: there was not greater effuminations by beating of Ordnances at any time, then was this day. Yet the losse fell upon the *Spanish* side because their ships were so high that the shot went over the *English* ships, but the *English*, having a faire marke at their great shippes, shot never in vaine. Only *Cock* an *English* man being caught in the midst of the *Spanish* shippes could not be recovered, he perished but with great honour revenged himselfe. Thus a long time the *English* shippes with great agilicie were sometimes upon the *Spaniards* giving them the one side, and then the other, and presently were off againe, and tooke the sea to make themselves ready to come in againe. Whereas the *Spanish* heavie shippes were troubled and hind-

dred and stood to be marks for the *English* bullets. For all that, the *Admirall* would not admit the *English* to come to grapple and to boord their ships, because they had a full armie in their ships, which he had not; their ships were many in number, and greater, and higher, that if they had come to grapple, as some would have had it, the *English* that were much lower then the *Spanish* shippes must needes have had the worle of them that fought from the higher shippes. And if the *English* had beene overcome, the losse would have beene greater then the victory could have beene; for ours being overcome would have put the kingdome in hazard.

The 24 day, they rested from fight on both sides. The *Admirall* sent some small Barkes to the next *English* shore to supply the provision. And divided all his Navie into foure squadrons. The first was under *his owne* government; the second *Drake* governed; the third *Hawkins*; the fourth *Frobisher*. And he appointed out of every squadron certaine little shippes, which on divers sides might set upon the *Spaniards* in the night, but a sudden calme tooke them, and so that advice was without effect.

The 25 day, being *S. James* day, *S. Anne* the Galeon of *Portugal*, not being able to hold course with the rest, was set upon by some small *English* ships, for whose aide came in *Leva*, and *Didacus Telles Enriques* with three Galeasses: which the *Admirall* and the Lord *Thomas Howard* espying, made in against the Galeasses (the calme was so great that they

they were drawne in by boates with cords) and did so beat upon the *Galeasses* with great shot, that with much adoe and not without great losse, they hardly recovered the *Galeon*. The *Spaniards* reported that the *Admirall* of *Spaine* was that day in the hindmost company, and being nearer the *English* ships then before was sore beaten with the *English* great Ordnance, many men slaine in her, her great Mast overthrowne. And after that, the *Admirall* of *Spaine* accompanied with *Recaldus* and others did set upon the *English Admirall*, who by the benefit of the winde turning escaped. The *Spaniards* hold on their course againe, and send to the Duke of *Parma*, that with all speed he should joyne his Shippes with the Kings Fleet. These things the *English* knew not, who write that they had stricken the *Lanterne* from one of the *Spanish* shippes, the *stemme* from another, & had sore beaten a third, doing much harme to her. That the *non Parigly* & the *Mary Rose* fought a good while with the *Spaniards*, and the *triumph* being in danger, other shippes came in good time to helpe her. Thus it is in battell, they who are present and actors report not alwayes the same of the same things, each reporting what himselfe observed.

The next day the Lord admirall knighted the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Shiffeld*, *Roger Townsend*, *Iohn Hawkins*, and *Martin Frobisher* for their valour well employed in the last fight. After this they resolved not to set upon the enemy untill they came into the straight of *Calis*, where *Henry Seimour* and *William Winter* stayed for their

com-

comming. Thus with a faire gale the *Spanish* Fleet goeth forward, and the *English* followed. This great *Spanish Armado* was so farr from being esteemed *Invincible* in the opinions of the *English*, that many yong Noble-men and Gentlemen, in hope to be pattakers of a famous victory against the *Spaniards*, provided shippes of their owne charges and joyned themselves to the *English* Fleet, among whom was the Earles of *Essex*, of *Northumberland*, of *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecilles*, *H: Brookes*, *Charles Blunt*, *Walter Raleigh*, *William Hatton*, *Robert Cary*, *Ambrose Willoughby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Arthur Gorge* and other Gentlemen of name.

The 27 day at even, the *Spaniards* cast Anchors neare to *Calis*, being admonished of their skilfull sea-men, that if they went any farther they might be indangered by the force of the tyde to be driven into the *North Ocean*. Neare to them stood the *English Admirall* with his Fleet within a great Gunnes shot. To the Admirall *Seimour* and *Winter* now joyne their shippes; so that now there were an hundred and fortie shippes in the *English* Fleet, able and well furnished for fight, for saile, and to turne which way was needfull: and yet there were but fiftene of these which bore the burden of the battell, and repulsed the enemy. The *Spaniard*, as often he had done before, so now with great earnestnesse sent to the D. of *Parma* to send fortie *Flic-boats* without the which they could not fight with the *English* because of the greatnesse and slownesse of their owne shippes, and the agilite of the *Eng-*
lish

lish shippes. And intreating him by all meanes now to come to sea with his Army, which Army was now to be protected as it were under the wings of the *Spanish Armado* untill they tooke land in *England*. But the *Duke* was unprovided and could not come out at an instant. The broad ships with flat bottoms being then full of chinks must be mended. Victuals wanted and must be provided, the Mariners being long kept against their wills began to shrink away. The Ports of *Dunkerk* and *Newport*, by which he must bring his Army to the sea, were now so beset with the strong shippes of *Holland* and *Zealand*, which were furnished with great and small Munition, that he was not able to come to Sea, unlesse he would come upon his owne apparant destruction and cast himselfe and his men wilfully into a headlong dainger. Yet he omitted nothing that might be done, being a man eager and industrious and inflamed with a desire of over-comning *England*.

But *Queene Elizabeth* her providence and care prevented both the diligence of this man and the credulous hope of the *Spanyard*. For by her commandement the next day the *Admirall* tooke eight of their worst shippes and dressed them with wild-fire, pitch, & rosen, & filled them full of brimstone, and some other matter fit for fire; and these being set on fire by the ministry and guiding of *Yong & Prowse* were secretly in the night, by the helpe of the wind, set full upon the *Spanish Fleet* as they lay at Anchor. When the *Spanyards* saw them come neare, the flame shining & giving light over all the

sea: they supposing those ships besides the dainger of the fire to have bin also furnished with deadly engines to make horrible destruction among them; lifting up a most hiddeous woefull cry, some pull up *Anchors*, some for hast cut their *Cables*, they set up their *Sailes*, they apply their *Oares*, and stricken with a *Pannick terrour* in great hast they fled most confusedly. Among them the *Prætorian Galeas* floating upon the Seas, her Rudder being broken, in great dainger of feare drew towards *Calis*, and sticking in the sand was taken by *Amias Preston*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Harvey*; *Hugh Moncada* the governour was killed, the Souldiers and Mariners were either killed or drowned, in her there was found great store of gold, which fell to be the prey of the *English*; The Ship and Ordnance fell to the share of the Governour of *Calis*.

The *Spaniards* report that the *Duke*, when he saw the fiery ships comming, commanded all the fleet to put up their *Anchors*, but so as the dainger being past, every shippe might returne againe to his station. And he himselve returned, giving a signe to the rest by shooting off a *Gunne*. Which was heard but of a few, for they were farre off scattered, some into the open *Ocean*, some through feare were driven upon the shallowes of the shore of *Flanders*.

Over against *Graveling* the *Spanish fleet* began to gather themselves together. But upon them came *Drake* and *Fenner* and battered them with great Ordnance: to these *Fenton*, *Southwel*, *Beeston*, *Crosse*, *Riman*, and presently after, the Lord *Admirall*,

rall, *Thomas Howard*, and *Sheffield* came in and all joyned together. The Duke *Medina, Leva, Oquenda, Recaldus*, and others with much adoe getting themselves out of the shallowes susteined the *English* force, aswell as they might, untill most of their ships were pearced and torne. The Galeon *S. Matthew*, governed by *Diego Pimentellus*, comming to aid *Francis Toletan* being in the *S. Philip*, was pearced & shaken with the reiterated shots of *Seimour* and *Winter* and driven to *Ostend*, and was at last taken by the *Flushingers*. The *S Philip* came to the like end. So did the Galeon of *Biscay*, and diverse other.

The last day of this moneth, the *Spanish fleet* striving to recover the Straights againe, were driven toward *Zealand*. The *English* left off pursuing of them, as the *Spanyards* thought, because they saw them in a manner cast away. For they could not avoyd to be cast upon the shallowes of *Zealand*. But the winde turning they got out of the shallowes, and then began to consult what were the best for them to do. By common consent they resolved to returne into *Spaine* by the *Northern seas*, for they wanted many necessaries, especially shot, their ships were torne, and they had no hope that the Duke of *Parma* could bring forth his forces. And so they tooke the Sea and followed the course towards the *North*. The *English* navy followed, and somtimes the *Spanish* turned upon the *English*, in somuch that it was thought by many that they would returne back againe. Vpon which report the *Queene* came into the Campe at *Tilbury* and mu-

stered the Army, riding among them with a *Leaders staffe* in her hand, and did by her presence and speech animate both Captains and souldiers with incredible courage.

The day wherein the last fight was, the Duke of *Parma* after his vowes offred to the *Lady of Halla* came somewhat too late to *Dunkerck*, & was received with some opprobrious words of the *Spaniards*, as if in favour of *Queene Elizabeth* he had slipd the fairest opportunitie that could be to do the service. He to make some satisfaction punished the purvieours that had not made provision ready; secretly smiling at the insolency of the *Spaniards*, when he heard them glorying, that what way soever they came upon *England* they would have an undoubted victory; that the *English* were not able to indure the sight of them. *Bernardinus Mendoza* did indeed by Bookes in *France* sing a foolish and lying triumph song before the Victory. The *English* Admiral appointed *Seimor* and the *Hollanders* to watch upon the coasts of *Flanders*, that the Duke of *Parma* should not come out; himselte followed the *Spaniards* upon their backs untill they were past *Edenborough frith*.

The *Spaniards* seeing all hopes faile and finding no other help for themselves but by flight fled a-maine and never made stay. And so this great Navy being three yeares preparing with great cost was within a moneth overthrowne, and, after many were killed, being chased away: (of *English* there were not one hundreth lost, nor one shippe lost, saving that of *Cocks*) was driven about all *Bri-*

tain by *Scotland, Orcades, Ireland*, tossed and shaken with tempests and much lessened, and came home without glory. Whereupon some money was coyned with a *Navy flying away* at full saile and this inscription; *Venit, vidit, Fugit*. Other were coyned with the *ships fired*, the *Navy confounded*, in honour of the *Queene*, inscribed; *Dux femina facti*. As they fled, it is certaine that many of their ships were cast away upon the shores of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. More then 700 souldiers & Mariners were cast upon the *Scottish* shore, who at the Duke of *Parma* his intercession with the *Scots* King the *Queene* of *England* consenting, were after a yeare sent into *Flanders*. But they that were cast up upon the *Irish* shore by tempests came to more miserable fortunes; for some were killed by the wild *Irish*, others by the *Deputies* command; for he fearing that they might joyne themselves to the wild *Irish* and *Bingham* the Governour of *Connach* being once or twice commanded to slay them having yeilded, but refusing to doe it; *Fowle* the under-Marshall was sent, and killed them; which cruelty the *Queene* much condemned, whereupon the rest being afraid, sick and hungry with their torne shippes committed themselves to the sea, and many were drowned.

Queene Elizabeth came in publicke thanksgiving to *Pauls* Church her Nobles accompanying her, the Citizens were in their colours, the Banners that weretaken from the enemies were spred: she heard the Sermon, and publicke thanks were rendred unto God with great joy. This publicke

joy was augmented when Sir *Robert Sidney*, returned out of *Scotland*, brought from the *King* assurance of his Noble minde and affection to the *Queene* and to *Religion*: Which as in *sincerity* he had *established*, so he purposed to *maintaine* with all his *power*. Sir *Robert* was sent to him, when the *Spanish Fleet* was comming, to congratulate and to give him thanks for propense affection towards the maintenance of the common cause; and to declare how ready shee would be to helpe him, if the *Spaniards* should land in *Scotland*; and that he might recall to memory with what strange ambition the *Spaniard* had gaped for all *Britain*, urging the *Pope* to excommunicate him, to the end hee might be thrust from the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and from the succession in *England*; and to give him notice of the threatning of *Mendoza* and the *Popes Nuntio*, who had threatned his ruine if they could work it; and therefore warned him, to take especiall heede to the *Scottish Papists*. The *King* pleasantly answered, that he looked for no other benefit of the *Spaniard*, then that which *Polyphemus* promised to *Vlisses*, to devoure him last after all his fellowes were devoured.

Now these things be such as, whensoever we thinke upon them, we cannot choose but lift up our hearts to *God*; for he hath put a *song* of joy and *thanksgiving* in our *mouthes*, and taught us to lift up our eyes to him from whence commeth our *helpe*. Our *help* commeth from the *Lord* which hath made the *heaven* and the *earth*, he will not suffer thy *foot* to slip, for he that keepeth thee will not slumber,
behold

behold he that keepeth Israel will neither slumber nor sleepe, the Lord is thy keeper, the Lord is thy defence at thy right hand. Then let others boalt of their strength or wisdom, or deepe policies, their invincible armies by Sea and land : wee glory in the name of our God, which hath done so great things for us. If a man with an unpartiall eye looke upon these, though he be an *enemie*, though he be a *Iesuite*; he must needs confesse that God was on our side, yea though he be an *Atheist*, as *don Petro Waldeſ*, who scorningly speaking and thinking of Religion yet confessed, that now hee perceived that *Christ was a Lutheran*. The enemies of Religion could not but secretly acknowledge the hand and great power of God to be for us against them. Now this being a thing confessed on all sides, that God was with us against the *Spanyard*, why will not our adversaries that are men of understanding enter into the consideration of this cause which God hath so often, so mightily maintained? *The workes of the Lord are great, and ought to bee had in remembrance of them that feare him*. And this dutie is required of us that have seene the great workes of God, to declare them to other : *for one generation shall praise thy workes to another generation, and declare thy power*. The workes of God, must bee sought out, had in remembrance, and declared to other. The word of God is the rule of our faith, a direction to us, a *Lanterne to our feet*, and a *light to our paths*, but the word of God being confirmed to us by his *workes* is made more sweet to us. This must needs be comfortable to

Pal. 111.

Psal. 145.4.

us that have the word of God among us, sent unto us, planted among us by his owne hand; we were as farre from deserving this favour, as they that sit in darkenesse and in the shadow of death; for so we *sate in darkenesse, and in the shadow of death*; so long as we sate in the *ignorance of Popery*; but whē it pleased God of his owne free mercy to send his light among us, the truth of his Gospel, and out of the same fountaine of his goodnesse and mercy raised beleeving Princes among us which have established his true religion in our Land, a *Queene of such Piety, a King of so great Knowledge and Learning and Piety*, as knoweth the truth and is so able to *maintaine it*: God I say having of his goodnesse raised such blessings to us, hath neuer ceased to maintaine his owne worke. Let us neuer cease to give him the glory. But can our adversaries take any comfort in their doings? The King of *Spain* may once enter into the consideration of things, he may remember how he and his predecessours have beene so many times beguiled by the *Pope*, how often hath the *Pope* and his *Iesuites* consecrated his banners, promised him victory against us as against Heretikes forsaken of God and man; let them know that *that there is a God that ruleth the world*, and not the *Pope*. If they would have their designs to prosper, they must follow the examples of our godly Princes, who are blessed for the sincerity of Religion which they imbrace. They must give over injustice and cruelty; for the cruelty of the *Spaniards* have lost them all that they lost in the *Netherlands*: Their
pride

pride and cruelty was highly raised against us, but to their owne hurt and dishonour, not to ours, because we trust in God. They would have extinguished the true lights of *Britain*, (which then did shine like two glorious Candles put in their sockets and held up in the hand of *Christ*, and as now, to the comfort of both nations, joynd in one great light) these they laboured to extinguish, and to tread downe the soule of the *Turtle*; but our Prayer is, *Give not the soule of thy Turtle Dove unto the Beast, and forget not the congregation of the poore for ever. Consider thy covenant, for the darke places of the earth are full of the Habitation of the cruell. Arise O Lord and maintaine thine owne cause, remember the daily reproach of the foolish: forget not the voice of the enemy; for the tumult of them that rise against thee ascendeth continually.* God saved the soule of his *Turtle*, he remembered the congregation of the poore that trusted in him, he considered his covenant, he maintained his owne cause, and of this wee rejoyce. But where are those darke places of the earth which are full of the habitation of the cruell, as the *Prophet* saith? Surely let the *Iesuites* looke to that, and let them expound those words if they be able, for surely no man can expound those words, but he shall finde *superstition* & *cruelty* inseparably joynd together; their *superstition* maketh the places of their habitations darke places; their *superstition* breedeth *cruelty*; for greater cruelty the world hath not seene then hath proceeded from them: truly then may we sing with the *Psalmist* that *the darke places of the earth are full*

Psal. 74. 19.

of the habitations of the cruell. There is no hope to amend these *Iesuites* that have given themselves over to the service of *the man of sinne* and to the practice of impiety, of such I say there is no hope to perswade them, because *they love not the truth*. But the *Kings* and *Princes* that have beene so long abused and beguiled by them may in time understand the difference betweene truth and falshood, and many joyne with our religious Kings against the great *Deceiver*, and our hope is, that they will understand his deceits and illusions, and forsake him : for otherwise they must perish with him. They that are wise will understand and consider the cause which God hath so long, so strongly maintained; they will consider the power, the fury, and rage of our adversaries have beene continually frustrated by Gods power; they may consider that these extraordinary blessings upon Gods Church among us, and the memorable judgments of the adversaries, are but forerunners of some greater stroakes and heavier judgments of God against them, if they will not turne and forsake superstitious vanities, and serve God with us. Which God grant, that the Kingdome of Christ may bee *inlarged*, his true Religion strongly *maintained*, his name *glorified*, his people *comforted*, and let all, that worship not the Lord Iesus and love not his coming, perish.

CHAP. XIII.

Stephen Ferrera de Gama with other discontented Portugalls practising against Don Antonio their King, who was fled into England for succour, were taken by Queen Elizabeth & delivered to King Antonio, and their Letters were intercepted, whereby it appeared, upon examination and boulting out of the matter, that they had practised with the King of Spaine not onely to doe away King Antonio, but also to take away Queene Elizabeths life by poyson, and that, by the meanes of Doctor Lopez a Iew, the Queenes Physician, for fifty thousand Crowns promised him and to be payed by the instruments of the Spanyard. Ferrera's treason against Don Antonio discovered by a Letter, sent to Doctor Lopez in a little peece of paper wrapt in an handkerchief, intercepted by the King. Lopez his stiffe deniall of his privitie to this treason against King Antonio brings out (by good examination made by the commisioners, and by the severall Confessions of his Confederates) not onely that, but his intended trechery against Queene Elizabeth. Manoel Lowys Tinoco his first examination, and the two Letters taken with him, the one from Secretary Ibarra, the other from the Count Fuentes. Pedro Ferrera his examination gives light to the discovery of the secert villany intended. Stephen Ferrera de Gama his examination. Manoel Lowys his second examination, and the enlargement of his Confession under his owne hand. Doctor Lopez with much adoe at last confesseth that Ferrera had promised him fiftie thousand Crownes

Cap. 13. *A thankfull Remembrance*

to be payd out of the King of Spaines Coffers, to poyson Queene Elizabeth, and these were the goodly Wares of Doctor Lopez, precious and of high esteeme in the eye of the Spanyard, as Manoel Lowys expounded that mysticall Letter written in a Merchants stile. This practice of poysoning, it was one of the sinnes of the Canaanites, it was brought into the Church by Popes, and reckoned among the sinnes of the Antichristian Synagogue, and taught for Doctrin by the Romish Rabbies.



Lopez compounding to poyson the Queene.



After this great tempest from Spaine was past, the Sunne did shine as pleasantly on England, as before. By all the Spanish preparatious there was not a man called from his husbandry in

in *England* nor any artificer from his trade; there was not so much as one cottage burned. Did ever the *English* make any journey into *Spain*, and returned without doing no more harme then the *Spaniards* did to us? The *English* made after this, two journeyes into *Spain*, and in both did that which they intended to doe, that is, ransacked Townes, and put to flight the Armies which incountred them. But this is beyond the limits of my purpose, which is onely to declare our deliverances, and to give thankes and honour to God for the same.

Now we come in the next place to declare the fowle practise of Doctor *Lopez*. A thing hatefull and detestable to thinke on. Wherein, in the judgment of an honest man, the King of *Spain* lost more honour then if in a set battell he had lost the field. For the losse of a field may be recovered, but the losse of reputation by practising or procuring villany can never be repaired. The matter was thus discovered. When *Don Antonio* King of *Portugal* was driven out of his Country and came into *England*, some Gentlemen of *Portugal* followed the distressed King for a time. But finding his estate to grow worse and worse and in the end desperate and without hope of recovery: they began to think of a course to helpe themselves, as they supposed, by forsaking and betraying King *Antonio*, and reconciling themselves to the King of *Spain*. And then their care was to recommend themselves to the *Spaniard* by some especiall service, and knowing treasonable practises to be a service wel accepted of him entred into a deepe and villanous practise

use of treason, not only against *Don Antonio*, but also against the life of *Queene Elizabeth* and the whole State. The manner of descrying of it was thus.

In the yeare 1593 The *Queene* was given to understand that a Gentleman of *Portugal* named *Stephen Ferrera de Gama*, a follower of the King *Don Antonio*, upon some discontentment had a purpose to goe to the King of *Spaine*, and had practised to procure the eldest sonne of the King *Antonio* and diuerse other *Portugals* servants and followers of the said King to offer their service to the King of *Spaine* & seeke to their peace with him. Hereupon the *Queene* gave directions to the Earle of *Essex* about the midst of *October* for the apprehension of the said *Ferrera*, and to have his papers searched. Who lay at that time in *London* in the house of Doctor *Lopez* one of her Majesties *Physicians* for her household. Betweene *Lopez* and *Ferrera* there was very strict & inward friendship. *Ferrera* being taken and brought to *Windsor* was delivered over to the King *Don Antonio*, who remained then at *Eaton*. At the time of his apprehension strict order was given by the Earle of *Essex* to the Post for the *Low-Countries*, that all such Letters as might come to his hand directed to any *Portugal* should be presently sent to his Lordship. The same direction was given by his Lordship to sundry Ports, especially to *Dover*, *Rye*, and *Sandwich*; and like order was taken for the stay of any *Portugal* that might repaire into this Realme at those places. This order and direction was no sooner given, but the ordinary Post

An. Dom. 1593.

at *London* sent diverse Letters to his *Lordship*, directed to *Portugal* Merchants and others of that Nation remaining about *London*. Among the rest there were Letters addressed to one *Diego Hernandez* from *Francis Torres*, written in the *Portugal* language in stile of Merchandise and in a disguised hand. By which Letters it did appeare that this *Hernandes* had advertised matters of great importance to the enemy. *Ferrera*, being narrowly examined and shewed those Letters, did acknowledge that those Letters were addressed to himselfe under that fained name, and that *Francisco Torres* was a *Portugal* that had served the King *Don Antonio* called *Manoel Lowys*, and remained now at *Bruxells* about the Count *Fuentes*, and the Secretary *Ibarra*. He confessed further under his hand that *Don Emanuel*, eldest sonne to King *Don Antonio*, had beene wrought to submit to the King of *Spaine*. And that both himselfe and diverse other *Portugalls* attending on the King here meant to seeke their peace with the King of *Spaine*. And that Doctor *Lopez* was acquainted with the purpose of *Don Emanuel*. And further, how he himselfe had written to *Don Christophoro de Moro* and the Secretary *Ibarra*, to offer his service to the King of *Spaine*, and had received Letters from them in acceptance of his service and offers.

The *Queene*, being made acquainted with this declaration and how farre Doctor *Lopez* was touched in the same, was nevertheless so farre from suspecting him, that her Highness gave direction he should be used to peruse the papers of *Ferrera* being

being in the *Portugal* Language. At the same time a *Portugal* called *Manoel Pays*, a follower of King *Don Antonio*, by the order afore taken was apprehended at *Dover* with a great packet of Letters, which *Ferrera* had delivered to him to be conveyed to *Manoel Lowys* being then at *Bruxells*. And within a few dayes after, the Post of *Antwerp* arrived at *Dover*, and a *Portugal* called *Gomes d'Avila* was set on land there. Who both were stayd at that port, and diligently searched. And both the Letters and their persons sent to the said Earle.

In the Packet of *Manoel Pays* among other things was a Letter which *Ferrera* sent to *Stephen Ibarra*, and a Letter which *Lopez* had sent to *Ferrera* from the Court, *Ferrera* being at the house of *Lopez* in *London*. There was found also a Letter from *Christoforo Moro*, a *Portugal* by birth; One whose advise the King of *Spaine* chiefly used in subduing the Realme of *Portugal*. And is so used by the King as an instrument in those services which men of birth will not lightly undertake. It appeared that this *Ferrera* had beene a notable Spy, advertising the King of *Spaine* and his Ministers, which thing he could not doe of himselfe, but by the helpe of some other here within the Realme that did furnish him from time to time with intelligence. In the Letters sent from *Manoel Lowys* to *Ferrera*, *Lowys* saith, that the Merchants
 “ on the other side do wonderfully esteeme and
 “ commend his Wares & Merchandises to be espe-
 “ ciall good, rare, welcoloured, & in great request.
 “ Assuring him of good accompt and returne, and
 they

“ they confesse they never had any Factor that
 “ sent so *choise Wares*. And therefore they desired
 “ to continue him there some time. They com-
 “ mended the *jewel* he sent, and reported how the
 “ *Amber* and *Muske* was highly esteemed. And
 “ spake of *Broad-cloth*, *Scarlet*, *Threds of Pearles*,
 “ a *Diamond*, and sundry kinds of *Merchandises*,
 so sorted and matched as it might easily appeare
 those words did serve for *Cipher* to colour great
 matters. By these and other Letters it appeared
 that *Ferrera* had advertised some important and
 secret matter, of which answer and resolution
 was expected out of *Spaine*.

Vpon further examination, it was found that
Gomes d' Avila had beene sent two moneths be-
 fore, which was in the midst of *September*, from
Ferrera to *Manoel Lowys* and the Secretary *Ibarra*;
 Who was Secretary at Warres for the King in the
Low-Countries. A man whose vile disposition ap-
 peared, that wanting (belike) other vertuous parts
 to advance himselfe did seeke to get credit by
 dishonest meanes.

As soone as *Gomes d' Avila* was brought to the
 Court he used all meanes he could to let *Lopez* un-
 derstand of his apprehension. And intreated an he-
 nest Gentleman that understood the *Spanish*
 tongue, being by chance in the Earle of *Essex*
 chamber at that time, to tell him so much. Who
 meeting with *Lopez* in the base Court at *Windsor*
 did the message, & observed suddaine alteration in
Lopez his countenance. Hereupon by the cunning
 of *Lopez* much meanes was used for his enlarge-

ment; for *Lopez* feared that the other would not conceale him. Therefore he found the meanes that a woman, which *D' Avila* had used for his wife should worke the delivery of her supposed husband. The Woman being a cunning peece did sollicit it with great importunity very diligently. And under colour of her importunitie *Lopez* himselte moved her Majestie for his enlargement. *Gomes* confessed that there was a great summe of money certainly to be sent hither; And named fifty thousand crowns. Many shiftings were used and pretences, that this money was onely for *Don Antonio*. And the Letters were expounded by *Ferrera* to import onely matters of *Portugal*. But afterward it was confessed that the Letters which *D' Avila* brought were in answer to the Letter made by *Lopez* to take away the *Queenes* life. And when answer should come out of *Spaine*, when and in what sort it should be done, and of the money which was promised for this service (as they termed it,) *Manoel Lowys* himselte for more assurance should bring the answer. Now because it did appeare by these Letters and confessions that a *Portugal* called *Francis Caldera*, who came over hither with the *Vidam* of *Chartres* and remained for the most part with the *French* Ambassadour, did concurre with these parties to advertise all things he could learne about the *Vidam*, or the Ambassadour; order was taken also for his apprehension.

In the meane time *Lopez* bestirred himselte in giving hard information to her Majestie and others,

thers, of the King *Don Antonio*. How cruelly he had dealt with *Ferrera*. He declared what service might be drawne from him, if he were let escape, that there was no fitter instrument in the world to worke a peace between those two kingdomes, and said that they two had already laid a good foundation to worke upon for that matter. Hee shewed extraordinary courtesie and all complements to those who by her Majesties order dealt in that matter. He sticke not (such was his impudency) to propound to her Majestic what a good deede it were to couden the King of *Spaine*. Which speech, uttered by him purposely, her Majestic did both greatly mislike and sharply reprehend. Hee devised very lewd suggestions against such as hee doubted would display his trechery, to make an impression before hand to diminish the credit whence the accusation might come.

Ferrera thought that he had satisfied all with a declaration which he had made of *Portugal* matters. Yet he doubted much that the answer which was to come and daily expected out of *Spaine* from the King about *the great service*, as they termed it, should fall into the Earle of *Essex* hands, who had taken such strict order, as (to use their own words) a paper could not escape. He practiseth with his keeper, a young man, one *Pedro Ferrera* put in trust by the King to be his keeper, of whom having made prooffe in some matters of lesse importance, the chiefe care he had, was to give warning to *Lopez* in any case to finde the meanes, that *Gomes D' Avila*, being expressly sent by *Lopez*

(whose arrivall was as yet kept from *Ferrera*) might be stayed on the other side, & all the Letters also stayed that might be sent hither by any *Portugal*. First he practised with this yong man to desire *Francis Caldera*, being then at the *French Ambassadors* house, who lay in *Eaton Colledge* not far from the lodging where the King remained, to passe by his window to speake two or three words with him. *Caldera* answered, he durst not put it in hazard, because it might turne to both their harms. And finding by the returne of the answer that *Pedro Ferrera* had done his message faithfully, he did adventure to trust him with a Letter to *Caldera*, before the said *Caldera* was restrained, wherein he willeth him in any wise to wish *Doctor Lopez* to prevent the comming over of *Gomes D'Avila*. For if he should be taken, the Doctor were utterly undone. Answer was returned, that the Doctor had already taken order in that matter, and sent twice or thrice, and that he would spare no expence, though it should cost him three hundreth pounds to stay those Letters. But these things long after were discovered.

Ferrera having no meanes to send againe to *Caldera*, who now was close prisoner at *Dutton Parke*, wrote to the Doctor in a little peece of paper, and sent the same in an handkercher, which by the Kings meanes was intercepted. And thereupon *Ferrera*, being examined and imagining that *Doctor Lopez* had delivered his Letter to the King *Don Antonio*, did set downe under his owne hand a declaration to shew that *Lopez* was acquainted with

with the submission set downe in writing, which *Don Emanuel* sent to the K. of *Spaine*. And that he had seene the letters from *Don Christophoro Moro* and the Secretary *Ibarra* to *Ferrera*, and how the Doctor had cunningly got *Andrada* out of prison, a *Portugal* that had practised with *Bernardino de Mandoza* to kill the King *Don Antonio*. And that the Doctor of long time had beene at the devotion of the King of *Spaine*.

Hereupon was *Lopez* examined before the Lo: Treasurer, the E. of *Essex*, and Sir *Rob: Cecil*. *Lopez*, like a *lew*, did utterly with great oathes and execrations denie all the points, articles, and particularities of the accusation. He had a little before burned all his papers touching these matters, that among them nothing might be found against him. After some other examinations, wherein his usuall answer was by oathes and execrations, he was committed to the Tower.

In the meane time the dispatch came out of *Spaine* and the answer in this great matter. *Manoel Lowys Tinoco*, who was reserved for this speciall service, was presently dispatched and trusted with the same. For none but *Portugalls* were used in this busines, and that was not done without a great mystery. For the King of *Spaine* with one stone would give two stroaks. If the practise should be discovered, it would be a riddance of so many *Portugalls*, and make that Nation more odious to Queen *Elizabeth*. *Lowys* thus comming to *Calais* stayed there a while to heare from friends, and to deliberate what course to take. At last

hee resolved to have a Pasport for colour of his comming over, making offer that hee would discover matters of great importance concerning her Majesty and the State. And so was he brought to the Court. The *Queene* appointed Sir *Rob: Cecil* to take his examination. And having afterward perused the declaration exhibited, and calling to minde how the Earle of *Essex* was onely acquainted with the examinations taken in those *Portugal* causes; imparted the same to the Earle. Who presently told her that this party was a principall actor in conveying of these *Portugal* practises, and the onely man of whom choice was made to bring the dispatch when it should come out of *Spaine*. Which now by all likelihood was returned. Wherefore the *Queene* commanded that hee should be examined by the Earle of *Essex* and Sir *Rob: Cecil*.

This *Lowys* in his examination declared great affection to the State, to advance matters of importance, and what great service he would doe to her Majesty, if he might bee secretly and speedily dispatched. And said the onely way to give him credit was to permit him to speake with *Lopez*. These earnest motions of his made the Lords more watchfull of him. Being examined what Letters hee brought, and concerning that answer from the *Spanish* King which he was to bring, hee forswore the bringing of any Letters. But being after this more strictly examined he produced two Letters, which all this while he had concealed and denied upon oath. These Letters were delivered
unto

unto him by Count *Fuentes* and Secretary *Ibarra*, and directed to *Ferrera*. The true Copies of the Letters were these.

From Secretary *Ibarra* to Steven
Ferrera de Gama.

“ **M**ANORL TINOCO goeth toward your
 “ Worship, and carieth a Letter of the
 “ Earle *Fuentes*, to whom for many re-
 “ spects this Letter shall referre you, and to that
 “ which more in particular your Worship shall
 “ understand of the said *Tinoco*, who by reason of
 “ the conferences and discourses past betweene
 “ us, goeth very well instructed and acquainted
 “ of the good forwardnesse and disposition that
 “ we have here both to direct and conduct all
 “ these affaires, the which in effect come to relie
 “ and to be resolved in the will and determinate
 “ resolution, with the which your Worship mea-
 “ neth to imbrace that which standeth with your
 “ liking. And doing on your part your indeavour,
 “ and that which by your letters I am fully per-
 “ swaded, you may assure your selfe to obtaine all
 “ that you may expect of him that can doe so
 “ much both to remaine a friend, and to remune-
 “ rate what good office soever is performed in his
 “ service, and so much for the benefit of the world.
 “ And you shall finde them here that shall assist
 “ you therein with all the truth and sinceritie
 “ that the confidence your Worship hath had in
 “ us doth require. *Bruxells* this 14 of *December*.
 “ 1593. From

From the Count Fuentes.

“ **T**He bearer goeth instructed, of that which
 “ here is offred, to informe you thereof by
 “ word of mouth. And for all that, I have thought
 “ good to write these few lines which is all to one
 “ effect.

“ First, if you shall have commoditie to goe in-
 “ to *Portugal* as they offred your Worship; let
 “ order be taken there, that in comming into *Spain*
 “ you advertise *Don Christoforo de Moro* where-
 “ soever he be, and to communicate in secret with
 “ him, and to follow the directions which shall be
 “ sent, that you may the better accomplish the ser-
 “ vice of his Majestie, for in so doing we will take
 “ in hand to accomplish with your Worship ac-
 “ cording to your desire.

“ The other point, that is, of those shaddowes
 “ your Worship speaketh in your relation, have
 “ beene the occasion not to intreat of the commis-
 “ sion. And that you desire to be informed of that
 “ which is offred, you may doe it. And sithence
 “ the principall matter is the service of the King,
 “ and your Worship as a man zealous doth desire
 “ it, consider wel before you take in hand your voi-
 “ age, if you can give order therein from thence,
 “ it shall be better then to discover it with your
 “ going. But this and the whole is referred to him
 “ who is instructed in those affaires, as are these
 “ presents also. And that which above all impor-
 “ teth, that you goe thither with the commission,
 for

“ for the profit that is to come thereof, and to your
“ Worship in your particular. And if in this meane
“ time it shal seeme good that *Barnardo Nunes* and
“ *Manoel Pays* goe to keepe accompt of that
“ which hath past their hands, it cannot prejudice
“ your Worship any thing in your affaires. So
“ much the rather if they shall goe in service of
“ his Majestie, as is their dutie. In the particular
“ of that yong Gentleman it seemeth not conveni-
“ ent to move any thing till we see the resolution
“ of your Worship, whom God keepe. From
“ *Bruxells* this 12. of *December*. 1593.

These Letters being first opened and advisedly perused by her Majestie, it did easily appeare to her that there was greater substance contained in them then the matters of *Portugal*. She did presently note the suspicious tearmes, namely the *shaddowes*, the *benefite of the world*. And now the Letter from Count *Fuentes* was divided into severall parts. First *treating of matters of Portugal*, then of *other matters*, which needs must be understood to concerne this Realme. Therefore *Manoel Lowys* was by the Earle and Sir *Rob: Cecil* dealt withall to expound the meaning and secret sense of those Letters, seeing it appeared by the same that he was made acquainted with the contents, fully instructed in this busines, and sent especially to direct and advance this practise, and to him all things were referred. But hee held his mouth so close and had his lesson so well cunned, as a man might easier plucke out his teeth then the truth by any perswasion. It was more folly for him to denie, that hee

was acquainted with the contents. And being further dealt withall, at last he confessed that hee verily thought the service required of the *Doctor* was a thing horrible to be named, much more to be imagined, and most detestable to be undertaken, to poyson her Majestie. And for reasons to induce him to conceive the same he did alledge that hee knew the *Doctor* of a Profession (meaning him to be a *lew*) to doe the King no service in his VVars, and by the credit with her Majestie and reason of accessse might easily doe such a villany.

Manoel Lowys was removed to the *Gate house* in *Westminster*, and when he was laid in his bed, all his cloathes were searched, and among other things were found two letters of credit in very ample manner without limitation of summe, which being strange and unusuall increased suspicion, and being examined upon them, he said they were given him for fifty crownes that was due to him.

These matters were hitherto caried with great closenes, yet so, that diverse waies some light appeared to descry the foule practise intended. After this many examinations passed, but the greatest light appeared in the examination of *Pedro Ferrera* the yong man that was the keeper of *Stephen Ferrera*, and by him used to further the entended practise.

Pedro Ferrera being examined, among other things confessed that *Stephen Ferrera* calling this examinee to thim, sayd *I hold you to be an honest man and intend to doe you good, and I doe meane to*

commit to your trust and secreſie a matter that doth greatly import me, which I intended my ſelfe to deliver in Spaine. The matter is conteined in theſe Letters: & then he gave to this examine certaine letters, one to *Chriſtofero Moro*, two to *Stephen Ibarra*, the fourth to *Manoel Lowys*.

Theſe letters thus received by this examine, *Ferrera* told him further by mouth: *If the letters which now I expect from Antwerp ſhould happen to be taken, I am loſt: for the King of Spaine cannot ſave me. And alſo if the letters, which I had about me at the time I was taken, had not beene burned, I had beene undone.* For in thoſe Letters was the whole reſolution taken for the poiſoning of the *Queenes* Maieſtie. He ſayd alſo that *himſelfe and Lopez* had written into Spaine, and made offer to give the *Queene* poiſon.

When this examine perceived that *Ferrera* and *Lopez* had determined the death of the *Queene*, he asked of *Ferrera*, if you take away the *Queenes* life what ſhall become of the *King* my maſter? *Ferrera* answered that they had heretofore written concerning the *King*, offering the like for him.

He gave alſo inſtructions to this examine to goe in all ſecreſie to the *Low. countreyes* and gave him little tickets ſent in his letters, which were little ſquare peeces of paper an inch every way: in them was with his owne hand written in ſome [1] in others [No]. Theſe were to be returned in the letters from thence, in this ſort. If the answer were come out of *Spaine* for the reſolution of the

King and assurance of the money, the little peece of paper wherein [1] was written must be returned inclosed in their letters, though the words of the letter should discourse of other matters: otherwise if the long expected answer were not come, then one of the other square papers must be sent backe included in their letters, wherein was of his owne hand written [No]. Here was an obscure and new invented cipher found out for so villanous and uncouth a practise, which all the wits of the world could never have discovered without the especiall goodnesse of God, which did guide the faithfull labours diligently imploied in this discovery.

Stephen Ferrera was removed to the Tower to be more severely examined: but obstinately denied the maine point, yet he confessed that *Andrada* imparted to him the *Doctors* offer. His confession *Febr. 18. 1593.* was, that aboute ten moneths past *Doctor Ruy Lopez* did write two letters in his own house in *London* addressed to *Christof: de Moro*, the which letters the Doctor did put into the hands of the said *Ferrera* to cause them to be delivered. The Letters were written by the hand of *Ferrera*, but indited by the mouth and word of *Doctor Lopez*. In which letter the said Doctor did promise to the King to doe for his services all that which the King should command him. And he said particularly to the said *Ferrera* that the King knew alreadye the busines, and for this regard the Doctor made him write in obscure and covered words, such as *Ferrera* did not well understand.

*Stephen Ferrera
de Gama.*

He doth beleve that, if the King had sent him money, the Doctor had poysoned the Queene. And farther saith, that the Doctor said to him every day, that he was ready to doe the service, but that he had no answere from thence. He remembreth that he saith to *Peter Ferrera*, that if the King of *Spaine* would send the money, without doubt Doctor *Lopez* would poyson the Queene. He saith that *Manoel de Andrada* about a moneth before he went out of *England* did declare to him that, if the King of *Spaine* would, Doctor *Lopez* would poyson the Queene of *England* and the King *Don Antonio* also. The speech used by *Andrada*, *Stephen Ferrera* did communicate to Doctor *Lopez* neere to the doore of his garden. Whereunto the Doctor answered: as for the King he shall die with the first sicknes which shall happen to him: but for the Queene, wee have no answere yet from the other side.

The knot of these treasons they had bound with oathes, secret conceiance, strange cipher and all close carrying for a time. But when *Ferrera* saw a resolution as peremptory to exact the truth, as his denials were obstinate to conceale it, he would faine have indented with the Earle, and craved his Lordships hand and promise, and thereupon he did offer to confesse: but the Earle would admit no condition, but willed him to yeeld where resistance would not prevaile. Then hee seeing himselfe so hardly followed did at the length yeeld and acknowledge that the confession of *Pedro Ferrera* was true. He confessed also, that

hee had seene the two letters of exchange, which *Manoel Lowys* brought with him, and saith that he never saw so large letters, and that upon them as much money might be taken up as they would demand: and that he beleeveth that if the Doctor had seene those letters he would have poysoned her Majestie: that the letter which *Gomes d' Avila* brought to *Stephen Ibarra* was written by himselfe the said *Ferrera* with the consent of the Doctor. In which letter he did advertise the said *Ibarra* that Doctor *Lopez* said, if he might have fifty thousand crownes given him, he was content and would undertake to poyson the *Queene of England*. And said, that the said letter was written in the house and lodging of the said *Lopez* at *London* in the moneth of *September* last. And that after he had written that letter, he did impart to Doctor *Lopez* what was written, and how he had sent the Letter by *Gomes d' Avila*. And hee saith that the Doctor said often to him that he wondred that the money and answer came not, and that he was ready, if the answer and money came, to poyson the *Queene*, and that he would goe live at *Constantinople*. Thus much *Stephen Ferrera*.

Manoel Lowys.

After this was *Manoel Lowys* re-examined
 “ *Feb. 22. 1593.* and confessed, I *Manoel Lowys* con-
 “ fesse that Count *Fuentes* and Secretary *Ibarra*
 “ called me to the Cabinet of the Court. And both
 “ of them together eyther of them for his owne
 “ part tooke my hands putting them within their
 “ owne, and told me that before they would de-
 clare

“clare unto me a certaine busines of great impor-
“tance, thou must give unto us thy faith and ho-
“mage to keepe it secret. That although thou
“happen to be taken there of the *English*, thou shalt
“not discover this secret, because it importeth the
“quietnesse of *Christendome*. And after I had given
“them my word and faith with all fidelitie and
“service in such an affaire, they told me. *Stephen*
“*Ferrera de Gama* hath written to us, how that
“*Doctor Lopez* hath offered and bound himselve
“to kill the *Queene of England* with poyson, upon
“condition that the King of *Spaine* should recom-
“pence his services according to the qualitic of
“them. And because it importeth much, I should
“tell *Stephen Ferrera* that, the Ambassage being
“given him, he should give order for this businesse
“and bring the newes himselve, or else that pre-
“sently with my proper Letter I should advertise
“them what Merchants friends of confidence *Do-*
“*ctor Lopez* had in *Antwerp* for to give order by
“them to send him the Commission he desired.
“And a Letter that I brought was nothing els, but
“to this purpose, to shew the same to *Doctor Lo-*
“*pez* and *Francis Caldera*. Who also looked for in-
“tertainment to concurre with the advises that
“they should get out of these parts. When I was
“to passe the Port, in truth I made these remem-
“brances. And the cause I did not discover those
“things afore this time was my faith, word and
“oath, which I had given to Count *Fuentes* and
“*Stephen Ibarra*. All which passed in the Citie
“of *Bruxels* in the house of Count *Fuentes*, and as
farre

“ farre as I can remember, it was the ninth day of
 “ *December* past. All this I certifie to have passed
 “ in great truth and certaintie, and so I affirme it
 “ under mine oath.

When *Lowys* had confessed thus much, shortly
 after voluntarily he set downe under his hand, and
 sent it to Sir *Rob: Cecil*, this inlargement of his
 confession.

Manoel Lowys.

“ *I Manoel Lowys* a Gentleman of *Portugal* doe
 “ confesse that it is true, that being in *Bruxels* in
 “ the house of Count *Fuentes*, he caused me to be
 “ called for, and demanded of me of what quali-
 “ tie and Country *Andrada* was. And after that I
 “ had told him all that I knew of him, he com-
 “ manded his Secretary to shew me all the Let-
 “ ters that *Andrada* had written to him from *Ca-*
 “ *lais*. He shewed me three Letters. In the first he
 “ signified that he was come from *England*, where
 “ he had beene prisoner a long time. And that
 “ he was sent by order of Doctor *Lopez* (who
 “ was a man very zealous and friendly to the ser-
 “ vice of the King of *Castile*;) Seeing the great
 “ robberies, hurts, and losses which the *Queene*
 “ of *England* caused to be committed by her sub-
 “ jects, he was determined to doe the King such a
 “ peece of service, as therby he might with great
 “ safetic satisfie himselte of the *English* Nation.
 “ But so as the King should recompence his ser-
 “ vices with honours and favours according to
 “ the quality thereof. For he was old and many
 “ waies indebted, and would now finde rest for his
 “ old age. And declaring the qualitie of the ser-
 vice

“ vice he told him that Doctor *Lopez* bound him-
“ selfe to dispatch the *Queene* with poyson.
“ Wherefore it behooved him to advertise the
“ King of *Spaine* thereof with all speed. And he
“ would attend at *Callais* untill the answere come
“ from *Madril*. In the other two Letters he deman-
“ ded answer, wondring that the King caused not
“ order to be given for the effecting of this busi-
“ nesse being of so great importance. And ere we
“ had read over these Letters, the Count came in
“ and told me that he had received a Letter from
“ the King, wherein he advertised him that he an-
“ swered not directly to the busines whereof *An-*
“ *drada* had given intelligence, because he had no
“ good opinion of him. Especially because *Ste-*
“ *phen Ferrera de Gama* had written nothing there-
“ of; And seeing I was in *Bruxels* he should learne
“ of me if I knew any thing of the matter. I answe-
“ red him that I knew no such thing, and that I
“ thought *Steph: Ferrera* was not acquainted ther-
“ with, because he had told me nothing thereof.
“ I prayed leave of the Count that I might in-
“ quire further of *Andrada*, who at this present
“ was come to *Antwerp*. He gave me leave to
“ doe so, and that I should also let him know I
“ had seene his Letters which he had written from
“ *Callais* to the Count *Fuentes*. Meeting therefore
“ with *Andrada*, I imparted these things to him.
“ And demanded of him if *Stephen Ferrera* were
“ acquainted therewith. He swore unto mee that
“ the Doctor would trust no man therein but him. I
“ told him the King of *Spaine* would give no credit

“ to his Letters, because he saw no Letter from
 “ *Steph: Ferrera* to assure him of the Doctors
 “ good will. And therefore it behooved him to
 “ write to him, that he must trust *Ferrera* there-
 “ with and impart to him his intention. Where-
 “ upon he sent his servant *John* with Letters to
 “ the Lord *Treasurer*. Wherein he gave advertise-
 “ ment of certaine publicke newes. Whereby I
 “ conceive that the Doctor was constrained to
 “ declare this matter to *Steph: Ferrera*. Where-
 “ upon he sent *Gomes d’ Avila*, who came at such
 “ time, as the next day the Post departed for
 “ *Spain*. By which meanes the order came from
 “ the King, wherewith the Count sent me, de-
 “ claring to me all this negotiation of Doct: *Lopez*
 “ in the same manner as I have confessed; Telling
 “ me many other matters of Credence, which I
 “ was to deale in with *Ferrera*, that the Doctor
 “ might be maintained in his purpose; Remem-
 “ bring him that he had daughters to marry, and
 “ that the King would bestow them and honour
 “ them; And that he should dispatch with speed.
 “ For he had order from the King to give whatso-
 “ ever he required. And therefore he should con-
 “ sider what Merchants in *Antwerp* he had for
 “ friends, that by them he might receive satis-
 “ faction. And should be carefull to give the King
 “ a mery Easter, Advertising him of the time when
 “ hee intended to put the matter in execution. For
 “ so it behooved. And that the Doctor should be
 “ more earnest therein, they gave mee a Letter
 “ which *Stephen Ferrera* should shew him telling
 him

“ him that he should be of good courage : for see
 “ here the Letter : and if you will have money,
 “ here is *Manoel Lowys* that shall goe fetch it ; And
 “ if you will not have it from *Antwerp*, tell me your
 “ minde, and let me have answer. Which Letter
 “ was only to incourage him, and not to any other
 “ effect; for *Andrada* had told them before, that the
 “ Doctor was determined upon dispatch of the bu-
 “ sines to goe to *Antwerp*, and that he would have
 “ no money made over into *England*. So this Let-
 “ ter was onely to incourage him. And I would to
 “ God the money could be gotten by it, there
 “ should want no diligence in me. For I want nei-
 “ ther good will to doe it, nor desire to doe some
 “ such service from henceforward, as may make
 “ recompence for the evill service I have done :
 “ Which I confesse, and with most obedient sub-
 “ mission doe humbly desire pardon. Submitting
 “ my selfe to the *Queenes Highness*, and to the noble
 “ minde and good inclination of *your Honour*, and
 “ of my Lord the *Earle of Essex*; Assuring *your Ho-*
 “ *nour* that all these things set downe in this confes-
 “ sion are very true, and for such I signe them with
 “ my hand in this prison where I remaine.

Manoel Lowys Tinoco.

After this *Steph: Ferrera* enlarged his confession,
 which was to the same purpose, declaring that Do-
 ctor *Ruy Lopez* was zealously bent to doe the King
 of *Spain* that great service to poyson the *Queene*
 of *England*.

Hereupon Doctor *Lopez* was examined againe.

For being once before examined in the Tower he answered with oathes and execrations and imprecations upon him, if ever he intended any evill against *Queene Elizabeth*. For *I love Queene Elizabeth*, said he, *better then I love Iesus Christ*. Some beleevd that therein he said truely; for he was a *Iew*. But now after these confessions of those *Portugalls*, the Doctor was againe exhorted to confesse so apparant, revealed, and acknowledged a truth. And had that favour shewed him, as these two persons were confronted with him; Who did not onely avow their confessions to his face, but very earnestly advised him to stand no longer obstinately in deniall of that which they two, his confederates, had delivered. And further voluntarily did offer to affirme that which they had set downe upon their corporall oathes. But the Doctor, like a perfidious renegate, most irreli- giously forswore the whole accusation.

Report being made hereof to her Majesty, and the plainnesse of the matter appearing so evidently in the whole course of the examinations taken, and one thing most notably to be observed, how *Ferrera* and *Lomys*, the one remaining on this side, and the other on the other side the Sea, and alwaies kept asunder, and in places distant untill that very time, did concurre in all points, circumstances, and matters, fully and wholly: It was thought meet that the Doctor should once againe be dealt withall, and admonished to bethinke himselfe to take a more Christian and honest course. Her Majesty therefore appointed the Earle of *Essex*, the Lord

Lord Admirall, and Sir Rob: Cecil to repaire to the Tower, and if he were not altogether gracelesse to perswade him to bethinke himselfe.

Being called before their Honours, and with grave and mild perswasions exhorted not to aggravate so foule offences with impudent and fruitlesse denials, against the testimonie of those which were acquainted with the whole course of his treasons, the one by him here, the other by them on the other side, and thereby also condemning and accusing themselves: he still fell to his byace, kneeled downe very solemnly, lifting up his hands, his eyes, and countenance toward heaven, besought God (in what sort I am loth to say) to heape vengeance upon him and his here, and in the world to come, if there were any such thing, &c. Being dealt withall in particulars, and shewed the agreement of those persons concurring with the Letters and all the circumstances: he was at a stay, and very beastly said, he could not tell what to say, *unlesse he might being drunke use such speeches.* It was told him hee was not so overshoot, but he could when hee came to himselfe remember what had passed in a matter of that quality. Then he made new protestations *he never meant any such thing.* It was told him that was not the question. But whether hee had any speeches or conference of any such matter. Whether did Ferrera write in such sort to make that offer? Then he stuck not to say *Ferrera might write so,* and he did let him write what he list, and so by like difficulty he before had used went on untill he had confessed all as followeth.

February 25. 1593.

Doctor *Lopez*, being advised to declare the truth of the practise and speech that passed betweene him and *Steph: Ferrera* about the poisoning of the *Queene*, doth confesse for discharge of his conscience, that such speeches passed betweene *Ferrera* and this *Examinee* at his house in *London*. And saith that after *Ferrera* had written to the Secretary *Ibarra* to assure him that the said *Lopez* was willing and did offer to poison the *Queene*, so he might have the 50000 crownes; The said *Ferrera* did acquaint the said *Lopez* that he had written in such sort to the Secretary *Ibarra*, and sent the Letters to him by *Gomes d'Avila*, but he doth protest that he never meant to doe it. But he doth affirme that *Ferrera* meant verily that her Majesty should be destroyed with poison in a Syropp. Which he said, because this *examinee* knew that her Majesty did never use to take any Syropp.

Hee confesseth further, that *Ferrera* told him there should one come in fashion of a Mariner that should bring the value of 50000 crownes in Rubies and Diamonds. And hee saith also that it cannot be chosen, but the King of *Spaine* was acquainted with this matter. For the money should have come from the King of *Spaine*. He doth further confesse, that *Steph: Ferrera* told this *examinee*, that if he would offer to the Count *Fuentes* this great service to poison her Majesty, he should be sure he should want no money. And hereupon hee was content that *Ferrera* should write to the said

said Count *Fuentes*, or the Secretary *Ibarra* to assure them that the said Doctor would undertake to poison her Majestie. But hee saith, when the money was come, hee meant to have brought the same to her Majestie, and to have told her what the King of *Spaine* had sent him to poison her Majestie. And he saith further, he would have told her Majestie of it long since but for feare of jealousie her Majestie might have conceived thereby. And the said Doctor *Lopez* doth further confesse, hee did often use to say to *Stephen Ferrera*, when will the money come? If the money were come, hee was ready to doe the service. Hee confesseth also, that he did first breake this matter to *Andrada* of the poisoning of her Majestie; to abuse the King of *Spaine*. And did give him charge to declare so much from him to the Secretary *Ibarra* and the Count *Fuentes*. And afterwards perceiving that *Andrada* had told this secret to *Steph: Ferrera*, the said Doctor doth answer that he did acquaint, and had conference with *Steph: Ferrera* of the same. And all this his confession he protesteth to be true and to containe the very truth.

Roger Lopez.

Thus farre was this wilde beast traced. A bare and silly excuse the traitor had onely to pretend. And for my part (saith the *Collector* of these examinations) I doe from the bottome of my heart thanke God, that this onely refuge was left him, to say, (the plot being prevented and failing in the execution) it was not meant and purposed in the intention;

intention; because it was undone. And God in his mercy grant that such wicked conspiracies against our Sovereigne the Lords Anointed may alwayes be so foreseene and prevented, that the wicked contrivers may never by the event and sequent be charged, but by the intent and practise. Which hath bene evidently manifested in this cause, by over many overt acts.

These three conspiratours having now confessed these lothsome treasons; *Manoel Lowys* was farther required to declare the true sense of the Letters he sent by *Gomes d' Avila*, which he willingly did under his owne hand in this sort.

xxvi^o Februarij 1593.

This Letter which I wrote to *Stephen Ferrera* by *Gomes d' Avila* concerning the point which speaketh of *pearles and the price* of them was to give him to understand, that the newes which he had sent (how that the *Doct^r would kill the Queene*) was very gladly accepted and much esteemed of the Count *Fuentes* and of *Ibarra*. And touching the point which concerneth the *Muske* and *Amb^r*, the Count *Fuentes* told me that hee did looke for a *resolution* from the King of great importance, and when it came, there should be a great matter. Which I did understand, that he did determine to send or procure to burne the *Queenes shipp*s, and to kill *Antonio Perez*, of whom they have great feare. For they feare that he should discover all the secrets which he knoweth, which are many. Seeing no man
knew

knew more secrets of the King then he.

He was in like manner to expound the letters from Count *Fuentes* and Secretary *Ibarra*, which hee did in this sort. Concerning the point of the letter from *Ibarra*, and the promises which in his offer *Ferrera* made, it is meant of the death of the *Queene*, whereof should arise great service to the King, and to the benefit of the whole world. Touching the second point of the letter of Count *Fuentes*: By the commission is understood the death of the *Queene*. And concerning the point which importeth the going thither with the commission for the fruit that shall come of it, is to give free order for the death of the *Queene*. And to give to understand that *Ferrera* thinking good to advertise by me in what termes the busines stood, and he being determined to remaine here, the Earle would send me into *Spaine* by posts to give account of all things to the King of *Castile*. Concerning the busines of the *Doctors* determination it imported much to know, if it were possible, the very day of the execution of his promises, telling me moreover that I should tell *Steph: Ferrera*, that he should procure to bring certaine knowledge of all those things I have spoken of, *viz:* of the *Ile of Wight*, of the *ships* of the *Downes &c.* For at that very instant the King of *Spaine* purposed to cause the *Queenes* ships to be burned and to surprise the *Ile of Wight*. Telling me that these things were of great importance for the service of the King of *Spaine*. But that it was convenient to handle all with that secrecie, that this voyage

might not be knowne.

This narration concerning *Lopez* containeth things of much observation, and differeth much from the other practises which were attempted. Though this secret practise of poysoning hath bene attempted by others besides *Lopez*, as by *Squire* and others, of whose doings I could not get good instructions. The villany of *Lopez* was very deepe, But he said he meant no harme. The ministers of the *Spanish* King, and the King himselfe was acquainted with it and gave directions in it: The money must be readie, fiftie thousand crowns; this money hee would not have to be brought into *England*, for so *Lopez* gave especiall charge hee would receive it at *Antwerp*, not in *England*: And yet the *Jew* meant no harme. For he would, saith hee, have brought the money to *Queene Elizabeth*. But when himselfe had given order that the money should not come into *England* but be readie at *Antwerp*, how could hee bring it to the *Queene*? Word must bee brought to the *Spanish* King of the very day wherein the poison was to be given, that hee might rejoyce in the wickednesse, and have his armies readie to invade some part of the Land and destroy the ships. The King of *Spaine* was much fallen from that shew of courage which hee made shew of in 88. For then hee came openly like a King, but now hee sought to come in by stealth; Not to winne, but to scale a Kingdome. Which in former times hath bene the *Castilian* practise. But the proper observation of this place is the meanes whereby this practise

was to be wrought, that is by *poisoning* of *Queen^e Elizabeth*, the most *unkingly*, the most *unmanly* resolution that could enter into the heart of a King, or of another man. And yet the King of *Spain* may seeme in some sort to be excused. For what can a *Popish* Prince doe, but follow the common examples and practises of them, to whose counsell and advise hee hath given himselfe over wholly to be governed? This practise of poisoning is one of those finnes which the *Popes* have brought into their *Church*. For it hath bene most commonly most ungraciously practised by *Popes*. Especially after *Silvester* was made Pope. After that time the *Papacie* was long oppressed with such as commonly practised *Sorceries* and *Poysoning*. For this is a thing generally observed both in the writings of the *holy* Scripture, and in *humane* Authors that *Poisoning*, *Witchcraft*, and *Sorcerie* are commonly reckoned finnes of one kinde. And therefore *φασμαδς* and *φασμακός* which properly signifieth a *Poisoner*, *Veneficus*, is commonly taken for a *Sorcerer*. And is numbred up among those finnes, *Deut. 18.* for which finnes *Moses* saith, *The Lord did cast out those Nations before Israel.* That which in the *Hebrew* in that place, is *מכשף* the *Septuagint* hath *φασμαδς*, the common *Latine* Translation hath *Maleficus*, others *Veneficus*. In *English* it is commonly translated a *Sorcerer*. But this *Sorcery* is understood *Poysoning*. This then was one of those finnes for which the Lord did cast out the *Canaanites* out of that Land. And therefore they, who with an ungracious

Deut 18.10.
Mecbafstheph.

boldnesse doe practise such sinnes, may justly expect the like judgments of God to cast them out of their Land, how firmly soever they may seeme to be confirmed in their habitations.

Now as this was one of the sins which threw out the *Nations* before *Israel*, so is it in the new Testament reckoned among the sinnes of the Church of *Antichrist*. Saint *John* recounteth the principall sinnes of that Synagogue *Idolatry, murder, sorcery, fornication, and theft*. And he declareth then when the judgments of GOD had scourged them for these sinnes, yet they repented not. His words; *They repented not of the workes of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and of silver, and of brasse, and of stone, and of wood, which neither can see, neither heare nor goe. Also they repented not of their murders, and of their sorcery, neither of their fornication, nor of their theft.*

Apoc. 9. 20. 21.

My purpose is not now to expound the place at large, neither is it fit for my present intention. But all understanding men may see how the sinnes of the *present Church of Rome* are deciphered, as if they were drawn with a *Pencil*.

That which we translate *Sorcery* is in the Originall, *φαρμακεια*, that is, *poysoning*. And is not this a great matter, that the practise of poysoning, which is so branded in the Scripture, as a kinde of *Sorcery* and *Witch-craft* or *Necromancy*, and so reckoned among profane Authors, and had ever in detestation, even of the Heathens themselves who were guided by the light of nature

ture only: That such a sinne should be practised with boldnesse, is not this a matter to be wondered at? The *Spaniards*, that are found more bold in the practise of this sinne then others, learned this devilish lesson of their Maisters of *Rome*. For what other things can they learne of them, but such things as they see them commonly practise? Nay, the Maisters of that *Synagogue* stay not in the practise thereof, they *professe* it, they *teach* it for *Doctrines*. For they are runne so farre in these depths of *Sathan*, that some of them are not ashamed to *teach* that a *Prince* which they call an *Heretike*, may be taken away by *poison*.

And have not these men proceeded well in the devills schoole? Then we see from what fountaine these practises of poisoning proceed. It cometh from the *Papish* Doctors. But let them know, and let all the world know that they may as well justify the destruction of a *Prince* by *Sorcery* or *Witchcraft*, as by *Poison*. But happily these men will not sticke at that. Here wee may behold the great and just judgments of God, that suffreth them, who have forsaken the love of the truth, to runne so desperately and to fall into the bottome of vile affections. To teach such things for *Doctrines* as are so expressly forbidden in Gods Word: to justify and maintaine such sinnes; for which God threatneth to cast out the maintainers and practisers thereof from among men. It is not our part to judge when the sinnes of the Church of *Rome* are ripe, that God may bring upon them that destruction which he hath threatned in Scrip-

tures; but this we see that if they be not yet come to the full ripening, they draw very neare it; that we leave to God. And we doe from our harts blesse the name of God, that hath delivered our Princes and Church from these horrible practises. And our hope is that the same God will ever deliver us from every wicked way.

CHAP. XIV.

Squire carried into Spaine, made knowne to R. Walpool a Iesuite; who perceiving that he had some employment about the Queenes Stable, and finding him to be a resolved Papist, thought hee might bee a fit instrument by whom to worke mischief. Whereupon he breakes with him first to kill the Earle of Essex, and then to poyson the pommell of the Queenes saddle. Hee makes him vow to doe it in confession, then he confirmes him in his vow with his benediction, then he directs him how to dispose of the poyson by certaine instructions. Thus Squire addresses himselfe to England, layes the poyson on the pommell of the Queenes saddle, as he was taught, a little before she was to take horse; but Gods providence intervening quite destroyeth the vertue of the poyson, that it did no hurt. This treason was detected by the tattling of Walpool; who imparted it to some English fugitives, in whom a great expectation being raised, when they see nothing come of it, they made a construction that Squire had beene false to them. Hereupon they accuse Squire of treason: upon their accusation, Squire is examined, and by ventilation of some cir-

cumstances the whole plot of Walpool and practife of Squire is discovered not without Gods working, who made their owne tongues tell out their shame. Yea their owne tongues did make them fall, and all men, that see it, did say, This hath God done; for they did perceive that it was his worke.



N the yeare 1596, the *English* fleet went to *Cales*. About this time another ungratious plot was discovered in a strange manner. The relation thereof came to my hands lately, written by an English Gentleman, to another English Gentleman his friend remaining then at *Padua*. And printed by *Christopher*

1596.

Christopher Barker, anno 1599. Printer to the *Queenes Majestie.* The Copie is rare to be found, and worthy to be preserved. And therefore fit to be set downe here in this place. The relation followeth thus.

“ Sir, I thanke you for your Relation of *Fer-*
 “ *vera*; and to make you paiment in the like com-
 “ modities, I returne to you a true report of a
 “ fresh accident of State, happened here with us;
 “ memorable for the strangenessse of the matter,
 “ and the great signification it carryeth with it of
 “ Gods extraordinary and most visible providence;
 “ but otherwise worthy to be damned to perpetu-
 “ all oblivion, as well for the detestable nature of
 “ the fact, as yet more (if more were possible) for
 “ the impiety of the perswasion; such as I assure
 “ you, a man ought to make scruple to infame the
 “ times, or infect mens cogitations with the repe-
 “ tition of it, were it not that these workes of
 “ darknesse are framed and forged in such a deepe
 “ vawt of hypocrisie, as there is more danger that
 “ they should be unrevealed or unbeleeved, then
 “ that being brought to cleare light, they should
 “ provoke an imitation in any, of that which is so
 “ odious and foule.

“ And this Sir you may beleeve, that as I have
 “ had good meanes to informe my selfe to the full,
 “ of that which passed in this matter, and the truth
 “ of all the particulars, as well those which were
 “ opened at the arraignment of *Edward Squire*,
 “ one of the offenders, as those which were refer-
 “ ved, so I have set downe this Narration, rather
 abridged

“ abridged of some circumstances, then any wayes
“ amplified or enlarged.

“ This *Squire* dwelt in *Greenwich* divers yeeres,
“ and tooke upon him the practise of a *Scrivener*,
“ yet rather as a helpe to maintaine himselfe for a
“ time, then that he bare a minde to settle in that
“ trade. He obtained also before his going to *Sea*,
“ for some two yeares space, an imployment about
“ the *Queenes Stable*, by way of deputation to one
“ *Kaies* a *Perveiour* of those provisions. But being
“ of a wit aboue his vocation, disliked with that
“ condition of life, and put himselfe into action by
“ *Sea*, in the last voyage *Sir Francis Drake* made
“ into the *Indies*; in which voyage, it was his hap
“ that the *Frances* (a small barke wherein he went,
“ was scattered from the Fleet about *Guadalupe*,
“ and taken by five Spanish frigots. And so was
“ *Squire* brought prisoner into *Spain*, where soone
“ after he was set at libertie.

“ Not long after his enlargement, he became
“ knowne to *Richard Walpoole* an English fugitive,
“ and by order a *Iesuite*, a man of principall cre-
“ dit there, and a kinde of *Vicargenerall* to *Par-*
“ *sons* in his absence. This *Walpoole* carying a wa-
“ king and waiting eye, upon those of our Na-
“ tion, to discover and single out fit instruments
“ for the greatest treasons, observed this *Squire*,
“ found him a man of more then ordinarie sense
“ and capacitie, for his qualitie and education;
“ found him a man, that had passed his middle age,
“ well advised and yet resolved enough, and not
“ apprehensive at all of dangers; (for I doe af-

“ firme this unto you, that never man answered
 “ upon his triall for life and death, with lesse per-
 “ turbation, nay scarcely with any alteration, as
 “ if he understood not his perill and calamitie,
 “ and yet as sensible for speech, as insensible for
 “ passion.) But besides the disposition and tem-
 “ per of the man, *Walpoole* discerned in him two
 “ conditions of speciall advantage; The one, that
 “ comming into *Spaine* a prisoner, and not a fugi-
 “ tive, his returne into *England* would be subject
 “ to lesse suspition: The other, that he understood,
 “ *Squire* had formerly had some attendance about
 “ the *Queenes Stable*, which he streight caught
 “ hold of, as an opportunity.

“ Yet neverthelesse, the better to prepare him
 “ and worke him to his purpose, and the better al-
 “ so to give colour, (when *Squire* should returne
 “ into *England*) that he was a man that had suffe-
 “ red in *Spaine* for his conscience, subtilly he com-
 “ passed, that upon a quarrell picked, *Squire* was
 “ put into the Inquisition. By this meanes, when he
 “ had got his heart into his hands, mollified by
 “ distresse, and became secure of him, that he was a
 “ fixed and resolved Papist.

“ After probation and preparation sufficient, he
 “ began to open himselfe unto him; and first for in-
 “ troduction, fell into the ordinary burden or song,
 “ of that kinde of people, touching the tyrannies
 “ and persecutions exercised here in *England* a-
 “ gainst Catholiques; though Sir, you know very
 “ well, the distinction and moderation of the pro-
 “ ceedings here in Ecclesiasticall causes, with what
 lenitie,

"lenitie, and gentlenes, it hath bene caried, except
 "where it was mixed with matter of state; for els
 "I would gladly learne, what should make the dif-
 "ference; betweene the temper of the Lawes in
 "the first yeare of the Queen, and in 23. or 27. but
 "that at the onetime, they were Papists in consci-
 "ence, and at the other they were growne Papists
 "in faction; or what should make the difference at
 "this day in Law, betweene a Queene *Mary*
 "Priest, and a *Seminarie* Priest, save that the one is
 "a priest of superstition, and the other is a Priest of
 "sedition. But to the purpose; After the *lesuite*
 "had at sundry conferences, discoursed his pleasure
 "of the miseries of *Catholiques* here in *England*,
 "and of the slanders of the government, and upon
 "how few persons lives, the State here did stand;
 "and *Squire* on the other side, (who wanted no
 "wit to perceiue which way he was led) had first
 "made some signification, and after some more se-
 "rious and vehement protestation of his minde
 "and devotion to doe service to the cause: when
 "the wicked Frier saw he was gotten into the true
 "circle, he began to charme; & yet not having the
 "power to fall upon the highest point first, without
 "a gradation or bridge, *It were no doubt* (saith he) *an*
 "*act very meritorious to kill the Earle of Essex, but*
 "*Vnum necessarium, One thing is necessary.* And ha-
 "ving kept him in suspence a while, brake with
 "him plainly, and told him that he would put a ser-
 "vice into his hands, that he might execute and ac-
 "complish without any eident perill of his life,
 "because it was to be done, what time the *Queene*

" her selfe should not be in presence ; (which I
 " thinke hee spake as having heard that which is
 " very true, of some conspirators, that having un-
 " dertaken and vowed her Majesties destruction,
 " have neverthelesse at the very instant of the ac-
 " cesse and opportunitie, beene stricken with asto-
 " nishment, and had no power to execute their
 " malice.) Nay further he said, that hee should not
 " need to feare, in the doing thereof, to be seene
 " or observed by any persons of care or judgment,
 " but such as might be easily conversed withall
 " without suspition : And it was the impoison-
 " ment of the pommell of the Queenes Saddle, at
 " such time as she should ride abroad, her Majestie
 " being like to rest her hand thereupon for a good
 " time together, and not unlike for her hand to
 " come often about her face, mouth, and nostrils;
 " and this by reason of his former acquaintance
 " and service about the Stable, he thought he might
 " easily performe and safely ; And yet he said, *If*
 " *imminent death should insue thereupon hee might*
 " *not ascompt of it, as being assured that hee should*
 " *exchange his present state, with the state of a glo-*
 " *rious Saint in heaven.* Vnto which accursed pro-
 " position after that *Squire* had assented, then did
 " the Frier use all diligence to confirme and binde
 " him to resolution and performance. And to
 " that end, at sundry confessions tooke his vow and
 " promise to be constant ; caused him to receive
 " the Sacrament upon it ; renewed his devillish
 " perswasions, varying them in all formes to be-
 " siege his minde and cogitations, that hee might
 " finde

“finde no way to get out of this wicked purpose;
“Telling him *that he stood now in the state of damnation, if he did not his uttermost endeavour to performe his vow.* And bid him remember *how that sinne did seldome obtaine pardon; and if he did but once make doubt of the lawfulnessse or merit of the act, it was enough to cast him headlong downe into hell:* And if he did cast any difficulties or terrors, he wished him to consider *What it did availe a man to winne the whole world, and to leese his owne soule.* So as now *Squire* must not descend into himselfe, hee must make no objections, cast no doubts; but the eyes of his understanding blinded and sealed up, he must onely contemplate upon these vows and adjurations. And for a conclusion and finall benediction of this most execrable plot, *Squire* kneeling before *Walpool* at confession, he lifted him up, hugged him about the necke with his left arme (such were *Squires* own words) and crossing him with the other hand after some words mumbled in Latine, said distinctly to him in English, *God blesse thee and give thee strength my sonne; be of good courage, I pawne my soule for thine, and thou shalt have my prayers dead and alive.* And upon this imbracement and enchantment, this desperate wretch and this blasphemous Exorcist parted for that time.

“Then doth hee give him full instructions for the disposing of this poison; shewing him that he should receive it in a double bladder, and when it should be used, hee was to pricke the bladder full of holes upon the upper part, and so to

" carie it within the palme of his hand with a thick
 " glove for the safeguard of his hand: and in the
 " instant when it was to be applyed, hee should
 " turne it in his hand the upside downe, & so presse
 " it hard upon the pommell of the saddle: telling
 " him further of the nature of it, That it would
 " lye and tarric long where it was laid, and that it
 " would not be checked by the aire. And lastly up-
 " on his comming away delivered him the confes-
 " sion it selfe in such a bladder as was before de-
 " scribed.

" This was the true manner of the suborna-
 " tion of *Edward Squire* by *Richard Walpool* as it
 " was confessed by the same *Squire* almost in the
 " same words, as well for the perswasions as for
 " the instructions. Which confession I doe affirme
 " unto you upon knowledge was delivered with-
 " out torture or shew of torture: and was round-
 " ly and sensibly uttered with all circumstances of
 " a credible narration for that part which concer-
 " neth the manner of the impositions: and for
 " that part which concerneth the manner of the
 " perswasion was set downe by an advised decla-
 " ration under his owne hand, and the same as far
 " as hitherto we have gone, was maintained and
 " confirmed, and in no point retracted or disa-
 " vowed, either at his triall or at his death.

" It seemes also that *Walpool* in some of his con-
 " ferences did insist upon the impositions of the
 " Earle of *Essex*, the rather to defeate the voiage
 " by Sea, then expected (for these things past a-
 " bout May 1597.) So as *Squire* conceived it,
 " there

“there could be no one thing more acceptable
“in the second degree.

“Now after that *Squire* had received both poi-
“sons, as well the spirituall poison of wicked re-
“solution, as the materiall within the bladders;
“and that *Walpool* had interlaced some promise to
“him of rewards and comforts, besides those of
“the other world, and had schooled him for se-
“crecie, which he made to be parcell of his vow,
“there rested onely his dispatch for *England*.
“Whereunto to give an apt colour, it was devised
“that there should bee a permutation treated by
“the meanes of a Chanon in *Civil* of two *Spanish*
“prisoners here, taken at *Cales*, friends of the said
“Chanon, for *Squire* and *Rowles* now prisoner in
“the Tower, who came over with him, whereby
“it might be carried, farre off from suspition that
“*Squire* did not returne as a man imploied, but
“upon that private occasion. According to
“which project hee was sent away conveniently
“moneyed, that he might be the better in heart,
“and yet not so abundantly as might make him
“love his life too well, and to goe away with his
“fare quietly, though indeed there were more
“money stirring, but not in that hand.

“And being arived here in *England* about a
“fortnight before the Earles setting forth toward
“the Islands, hee did addressse himselfe to a Coun-
“seller of Estate here, both to shew himselfe to
“the end to auoid suspition, and with pretence al-
“so of some advertisements, to the end to win the
“better opinion and trust; and finding his com-
“ming

" ming well conceived of according to his desire, he
 " did craftily and subtilly devise with himselte,
 " that if he could finde any opportunitie to exe-
 " cute his purpose before the Earle went, (suppo-
 " sing that the poyson could not worke but in some
 " space of time) it would be more securitie for him
 " to be absent, and in the voyage, lest percase some
 " suspicious tokens of poyson appearing, somewhat
 " might fall out (upon such diligent inquisition as
 " in such a case were like to be made) to be discove-
 " red against him; and therefore made his meanes
 " to goe with the Earle in his shippe, and obtained
 " his sute. So as now making his reckoning to have
 " the peril upon his back, he did but watch his time.

" And it pleased God for the manifestation of
 " his glory, that the Mundaie sevensight next after
 " *Squires* comming home out of *Spaine*, he under-
 " stood that the horses were making readie for her
 " Majesties riding abroad. Whereupon, full of those
 " evill spirits wherewith so many exorcismes had
 " possessed him, he came into the Stable yard where
 " her Majesties horse stood ready saddled, and in a
 " familiar and cheerefull maner in the hearing of
 " divers that stood thereby, having all things ready
 " according to his instructions, he laied his hand up-
 " on the pummell of the Saddle, and said, *God saue*
 " *the Queene*, (Wherein it pleased God to take his
 " words and not his meaning) and bruized the poi-
 " son as he was directed.

" Thus was her Majesties sacred and precious
 " life by the All-haile of a second *Indas* betrayed,
 " the attempt put in act, and all the Conspirators

“ part plaied to the uttermost line and title; there
 “ rested only Gods part: For so it was, that her Ma-
 “ jesties going abroad held; and as the Viper was
 “ upon *S. Pauls* hand, and shaked off without hurt;
 “ so this done, was in *Iuly* in the heate of the yeere,
 “ when the pores and veines were openest to re-
 “ ceive any maligne vapour or tincture, if her
 “ Majestie by any accident had laid her hand upon
 “ the place. And as the Heathenish people at that
 “ time did argue and conclude thereupon, that *S.*
 “ *Paul* was a God, so we may christianly inferre
 “ that it was Gods doing and power who hath de-
 “ fended his Handmaid and servant by his secret
 “ and more then naturall influence. and preservative
 “ from so actuall and mortall a danger, speaking by
 “ these signes to all her disloyall Subjects and am-
 “ bitious enemies, That as he hath done great
 “ things by her, past ordinarie discourse of reason,
 “ so he hath done, and will doe as great things for
 “ her, beyond the course of his ordinarie provi-
 “ dence.

“ For surely, if a man consider how many times
 “ her life hath beene sought and assailed, since the
 “ beginning of her raigne, by violence, by poi-
 “ soning, by superstitious Votaries, by ambitious
 “ Vndertakers, by singular Conspirators, by Con-
 “ spirators combined, (speaking of those that have
 “ been revealed; besides a number (no doubt) of the
 “ like which have groveled in darkenes, and never
 “ came to light) he will not finde the like reflexion
 “ of Gods favour in any Sovereaigne Prince that
 “ hath raigned.

“ But in the meane time you see the strange
 “ mysteries of the *Iesuites* doctrine that have min-
 “ gled heaven and hell, and lift up the hands of
 “ Subjects against the anointed of God; arming
 “ them with the invisible armour of Scriptures,
 “ Sacraments, Vowes, Prayers and Blessings a-
 “ gainst their naturall Sovereignes. Wherin there
 “ is great difference betweene the spirit that
 “ wrought in *David*, & this that worketh in them.
 “ For *David* when relation was made to him (by
 “ one that thought he had done *Saul* the last good
 “ office) how *Saul* had fallen upon his own sword
 “ in battell, and being in the anguish of death, and
 “ carefull not to fall alive in the hands of the *Phili-*
 “ *stims* a people uncircumcised desired this soldier
 “ to make an end of him, who did so, and was ther-
 “ fore by *David* adjudged to die, because he dared
 “ to lay his hands upon the anointed of the Lord :
 “ and yet was *Saul* a king forsaken and abandoned
 “ of God; he had taken his mortall wound before,
 “ so as this souldier tooke from him his paine, and
 “ not his life; and it was to a good end, lest a hea-
 “ thenish people should reproch the name of God
 “ by insulting upon the person of *Saul*.

“ And surely for my part I doe wonder that
 “ Princes doe not concurre in loosing these bands,
 “ and suppressing this Sect, which maketh a traf-
 “ fique of their sacred lives, concluding and con-
 “ tracting for them with these blinded Votaries in
 “ the secrecie of confessions and shrifts. For I doe
 “ not see that Pirates (whom the *Civilians* account
 “ to be *Publici hostes societatis humanae*, and there-
 fore

fore Princes bound as they affirme, though they
 be otherwise in no league one with another, yea
 and though they be enemies, to joyne in the sup-
 pressing and extirpation of them) are any such
 disturbers of humane societie as these are. Nei-
 ther doe I thinke, that the order of the *Templers*
 (that was put down throughout Christendome
 in a few weekes) were ever offenders in so high a
 degree. And I finde somewhat strange that the
 Bishop of *Rome* (if it were but to avoid the a-
 sperision of so great a slander and impuration to
 that Religion) should not purge out this leaven
 so strange and odious.

But to returne : within five or sixe dayes after
 this fact committed, *Squire* went to sea in the
 Earles owne ship, and belike as *Tacitus* saith, *Fer-
 rox scelerum quia prima provenerant*, taking the
 remaine of the same poison with him in a little
 pot in his portmantue, when the Earle was at
 Sea betwene *Faial* and *S. Michael*, he bestowed
 it upon the pommels of a chaire of wood, where
 the Earle used to dine and sup : but thanks bee
 to God nothing came of it neither.

Now let mee acquaint you a little with the
 manner of detesting of this matter, which God
 did likewise strangely bring about. *Squire* slept
 now in securitie : for although hee failed of suc-
 cesse, yet he tooke himself to be out of dainger :
 thinking because it was carried betwene his
 Confessor and him, it could never bee revealed.
 But his Confessor whom it imported not so
 much to keepe it secret as it did *Squire*, tickled

“belike with the joy, that he had such an iron in
 “the fire, imparted it (for his owne glory) to some
 “principall of the fugitives there; This raised a
 “great expectation in them of some effect to insue.
 “When time passed, and nothing came of it, they
 “made construction of it, that *Squire* had beene
 “false to them. One of the more passionate of
 “them inveigheth bitterly against *Squire*, tells
 “how he was trusted, and how he had undone the
 “cause; and the better to bee revenged on him, is
 “content that one (that they let slip hither as if he
 “had fled from them) should give information of
 “this matter, not with the circumstances, but ge-
 “nerally against *Squire*, partly to winne himselve
 “credit, partly to wrecke themselves on *Squire*.
 “And this fellow, because hee would be thought
 “to doe the better service, would not bring this
 “in his mouth, but in a letter, which he pretended
 “to have stolne out of one of their Studies. This
 “letter compared with another letter that the
 “same man brought as written from a severall per-
 “son, both which letters had one and the same bu-
 “sie knot to both names, is suspected to be coun-
 “terfeited; it is so found. Hereupon it is collected
 “that this was but an engine against *Squire*, and
 “that he was an honest man. Yet because it was a
 “tender matter, *Squire* was sent for and examined.
 “For a time hee denieth; after, hee commeth to
 “some circumstances, which concurring with the
 “others tale, it gave it to be understood that there
 “was somewhat true, and that all was not an in-
 “vention against him: Hold was taken of that; and
 thereupon

“ thereupon *Squire*, not knowing how farre his
 “ Confessor had broken trust with him, by good
 “ perswasion, and Gods good working, disclosed
 “ all without any rigour in the world.

“ But upon a second advise being a man of a ve-
 “ ry good reach, finding that it had beene his wi-
 “ sest way to have confessed the whole plot and
 “ subornation which was knowne to *Walpoole*, and
 “ there to have stopt, and not to have told of the
 “ putting of it in execution, which was onely
 “ known to himselfe, & which indeed was wonne
 “ from him by good following, hee indevoured at
 “ his arraignment to have distinguished, and avow-
 “ ching the first part, to have retracted the second;
 “ pretending that although hee undertooke it, yet
 “ he had not any purpose to performe it.

“ Whereupon one of the Commissioners being
 “ well acquainted with all the particular circum-
 “ stances, did set before him the absurditie of his
 “ deniall against his former confession which was
 “ voluntarie, particular, and needlesse (otherwise
 “ then in conscience of truth) upon which speech
 “ he being stricken with remorse, and convicted in
 “ himselfe, acknowledged and justified the truth
 “ of his former confession in the hearing of all the
 “ standers by.

“ Thus Sir, I have entertained you with a dis-
 “ course, which I thinke in reading will affect you
 “ diversly, as it did me in writing; But in the end I
 “ thinke we shall joyne in congratulating for our
 “ good deliverance, & desiring of God the conti-
 “ nuance of her Majesty, in whom our good daies
 “ doe consist.

CHAP. XV.

Trouble from Ireland by Tyrone lurking in Spaine. His many dissembling submissions to the Queene of England. A treaty of peace concluded.



His next danger intended & threatned brake out in Spaine by Tyrone. They that have written of Tyrone say that he was a bastard, a banished fugitive; hee lay lurking in Spaine promising to doe some service to the Pope and Spanyard, as some had done before; hee was raised to the honour of an Earle by the Queene, and being twice in

in dainger (once for a murther, and then for usurping the title of *O-Neale*) was pardoned for both. *Hugh, Baron of Dunganno* now Earle of *Tyrone*, being set on by the *Spanyard* to worke some milchiefe, *An. Dom. 1597.* suddenly assailed the fort of *Black-water*. Which done, he wrote to *Kildare* to side with him, and at the same instant to *Sir John Norrice*, (who was then sent out Lord Generall into *Ireland* with thirteene hundredth of the *Netherland* old Souldiers newly retired from the Warres in *Britaine*.) to him *Tyrone* wrote that he might be mildly dealt withall, and not be driven headlong upon the daingerous rockes of disloyaltie; in the meane time he was alwaies guarded with a thousand Horse and 6280 Foot of *Ulster*, besides 2300 of *Connaugh*; hereupon hee and all his partakers were proclaimed traitors. Thus was the rebellion raised, which was hardly quenched with much blood. *Sir John Norrice* was a Generall as well experienced in Warre as any that then lived: yet in the *Irish* Warres hee was not so acquainted. The advantage of the enemy was such, that time was rather spent in taking of booties and frivolous parties, then in any memorable exploit. The one looking still for fitter opportunities, and the other expecting daily his promised succours from *Spaine*.

To spare the shedding of blood the *Queene* commanded her Commissioners, the *Treasurer* and *chiefe Iustice*, to conferre with *Tyrone*; who complained of wrongs offred to him by *Sir Henry Bagnal*, Marshall: and thereupon exhibited a
petition

An. Dom. 1597.

petition in humble manner containing that himselfe and all his followers might be pardoned, and be restored to their former estates: that they might freely exercise their *Romish* Religion: that no Garrison souldiers, Sheriffe, or other officer should intermeddle within the jurisdiction of his Earldome: that the company of fiftie Horsemen with the *Queenes* pay might be restored to him in the same state that formerly he had led them: that the spoilers of his Countrey and People might be punished, and that Sir *Henry Bagnal* should pay him a thousand pound promised in dowry with his Sister, whom *Tyrone* had married, and who was now deceased. Others also laid out their grievances conceived, such were *Odonel*, *Brian Mac Hughoge*, *Mac Mahun*, and *Ever Mac Conly*: They received reasonable answers to their demands. But unto them the Commissioners proposed certaine Articles: That they should forthwith lay downe their Armes, disperse their Forces, submissively acknowledge their disloyalties, admit the *Queenes* Officers in their government, reedifie the Forts they had defaced, suffer the Garrison to live without disturbance, make restitution of spoyles taken, confesse upon their oathes how farre they had dealt with forraine Princes, and renounce all forraine ayde.

These propositions the Rebels liked not, but departed with a resolution to maintaine their owne demands. Which moved Generall *Norrice*, ayded with the Lord *Deputie*, to march with his Army to *Armagh*. When *Tyrone* heard of his approach

proach, in great perplexitie he forsooke the Fort of *Blacke-water*, set on fire the Villages about, and plucked downe the Towne of *Dungannon*, with part of his owne house, bewailing his state to bee past recovery.

The Country thus wasted and no victualls to be had, *Norrice* set a Garrison in the Church of *Armagh*, strengthened *Monahan*, and proclaimed *Tyrone* traytor in his owne Territories. *Tyrone* to gaine time presented to him a faigned Petition signed with his owne hand, cast himselfe downe at the *QUEENES* Pictures feet, vngirt his sword, and craved pardon vpon his knees; And in the meane time dealt for aydes out of *Spaine*; wherein he preuailed so farre that King *PHILIP* sent messengers with Capitulations, that at a prefixed time hee would send him a competent Armie to ioyne with the *Irish*, that all conditions of Peace with the *English* should bee rejected, and that the Rebels should bee furnished with Munition from *Spaine*.

Hereupon (though there was a cessation from Armes) he began to hurry, and wast the Country, and burne Villages, and drive away Booties. And having done this, put on the vizard of dissimulation againe and sued for pardon, which to effect, hee sent the Letters of King *PHILIP* his promises to the Lord *Deputie* with the causes of his owne discontent; so he shuffled, that by his dissimulation or by the negligence of others most part of *Casnaught* and all *Wlster* were revolted and in a rebellion.

In which estate *Thomas Lord Burrough* was sent Lord *Deputie* into *Ireland*; he was no sooner arrived, but Generall *Norrice*, being crossed at the Court or discontented died as was thought through griefe. The Lord *Deputie* set presently forward to meet with the Rebels, whom he encountred at *Moiry*, and defeating them tooke the Fort of *Black-water*. The enemies seeking to rescue it were defeated by the Earle of *Kildare*, but *Tyrone*, thinking all his hope was gone if he lost that Fort, beleaguerd it. The Lord *Deputie* preparing straight way to rescue the place, was suddainly taken with sicknes and died.

An. Dom. 1598.

Tyrone lay still before the Fort of *Black-water*; for the raising of his siege Sir *Henry Bagnal* was sent with 14 Ensignes of the choicest troupes. These the Earle met neare to *Armagh*, and being most eagerly bent against Sir *Henry*, by his exact care and diligence or by the others negligence, he got the victory, wherein Sir *Henry* lost his life. The *English* had not received such an overthrow since their first setting foot in *Ireland*. 15 Captains were killed, and 1500 Souldiers were routed, and put to flight. The Garrison of *Black-water* here-upon surrendred, and the Rebels were thereby furnished with Munition and Armour, and *Tyrone*s glory extolled. By this the strength of the rebellion was increased.

In this desperate estate stood *Ireland*, when *Robert* Earle of *Effex* was sent thither Lord Lieutenant and Lord Governour Generall. He led twentie thousand Souldiers; sixteene thousand foot,

foot, the rest horse-men. As soone as he came hee called a Counsell touching the affaires; It was thought fittest that *Mounster* should be first cleared of those pettie Rebels lying nearest, whereupon (contrary to his owne opinion, and his directions received from the *Queene*) he made first to *Mounster* and cleared those parts, though with more losse of time and men then was well liked of the State here: from thence he went into *Lienster* against the *O Conars* and *O Neiles*, whom he vanquished. Thence he sent *Sir Coniers Clifford* against *O rork*, himselfe taking another way to distract the Forces of *Tyrone*. *Sir Coniers Clifford* was defeated and slaine: whereupon the Lord Generall made towards *Ulster* and came to *Louth*. *Tyrone* shewed himselfe upon the hills on the other side of the river. And falling unto his wonted vaine of dissimulation desired a parley with the Lord *Lieutenant*, but he rejected it, answering, that if he would conferre with him hee should find him the next morning in the head of his Troupes. On which day after a light skirmish, a horseman of *Tyrones* Troupes cryed with a loud voice, that *Tyrone* was not willing to fight, but to parley upon Peace with the Lord Generall, which thing was againe denied. The next day as the Lord *Lieutenant* was in his March forward, one *Hagan* sent from *Tyrone* met him, and declared that the Earle most humbly desired to have the *Queenes* mercy and peace, and besought that his Lordship would be pleased to afford him audience, which if he would grant, then would he

with all reverence attend at the Foord of the River not farre from *Louth*. To this motion at last he consented; and sent to discover the place, and having a troupe of horse upon the next hill came downe alone to the River. *Tyrone*, attending on the other side as soon as he saw his approach, rode into the River up to the Saddle, and with semblance of reverence saluted the Lord *Lieutenant*. And having had some conference together the space of an hour, both returned to their Companies. After this, *Tyrone* making suit for a further conference, the Lord *Lieutenant* taking with him the Earle of *Southampton*, Sir *George Bouchier*, Sir *Warram Saint Leger*, Sir *Henry Danvers*, Sir *Edward Wingfield*, and Sir *William Constable*. went to the Foord; where *Tyrone* with his Brother *Cormac*, *Mac Gennis*, *Mac Guir*, *Ever Mac Cowly*, *Henry Ovington*, and *O Quin* attended their coming. And upon conference it was concluded, that certaine Commissioners should the next day meet for a treatie of Peace, and in the meane time there should be a cessation of Warres from sixe weekes to sixe weekes, untrill the first of *May*, yet so as it might be free on both sides after fourteene daies warning given to resume hostilitie afresh. And if any of *Tyrones* confederates would not thereto consent, to be prosecuted at the Lord *Lieutenants* pleasure.

CHAP. XVI.

Vpon the comming of the Earle of Essex into England from Ireland, Tyrone contrary to his promise stirreth and rebelleth afresh, and is encouraged by the Pope and ayded by the King of Spaine. These forces are vanquished by the Lord Deputy. Hereupon Don Iohn de Aquila, a Spanish Captaine, who was sent to ayd the rebells and kept Kinsale, Capitulates for peace. Tyrone forsaken of his followers submits himselfe to the Lord Deputy, and is pardoned. Plotting a new rebellion when he was called by Proesse to answer a suit of the Bishop of Derry, thinking the treason to be discovered by O Cane who informed the Bishop in his suit, fled out of Ireland. In these troubles and treasons see the Machinations of Sathans seed against the seed of the Woman, that is, the Church, and the miraculous deliverances and victories of the Church, according to that, The Womans seed shall breake the Serpents head, spoken of Christ, appliable to the Church, and particularly to our Church of England, which that Balsam of Rome seekes now by all meanes to draw from God because he knowes he cannot prevaile against us till wee forsake God.



An. Dom. 1599.



THE *Queene* was presently informed, that in *Ireland* the Spring, Summer and Autumne were spent without service upon the *Arch-rebell*, that her men were diminished, large sums of money consumed without doing that for which hee was sent, that by this meanes the *Rebells* were encouraged, and the Kingdome of *Ireland* laid at hazard to be lost. Whereupon the *Queene* wrote somewhat sharply to the *Lord Lieutenant*; which moved him so much as leaving his charge to be managed by others he came into *England*, hoping to pacifie the *Queene*. When hee came, hee was com-

commanded to keepe his chamber, and soone after was committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper.

No sooner was the Lord Generall departed from *Ireland*, but that *Tyrone* (notwithstanding the cessation from Warre) drawing his Forces together tooke the field ; to whom Sir *William Warren* was sent to charge him with breach of promise ; he answered , that his doings were according to covenants, having given warning before ; his cause was just, for that the Lord *Lieutenant* was committed in *England* upon whose honour he reposed his whole estate, neither would hee have any thing to doe with the Counsellors of *Ireland*. Hereupon presuming upon *Spaine* hee sent *Odonel* into *Connaught* , received tumultuous persons ; strengthened the weake, glorying every where that he would restore againe the ancient Religion and liberty of *Ireland*, and expell the *English* out of *Ireland*. To which end, some money and munition was sent from *Spaine* and Indulgences from *Rome*. And for an especiall favour the *Pope* sent him a plume of *Phenix* feathers for a Trophie of his Victories.

Tyrone under pretence of devotion in mid-winter went to the Monastery of *Tipperary* to worship the Crosse: from thence he sent out *Mac Guir* with a number of rifeling robbers to spoile and prey upon the peaceable subjects, with whom Sir *Warraim Saint Leger* met, and at the first encounter ran *Mac Guir* through the bodie with a Lance, and was likewise runne through with his Lance. Whereupon *Tyrone* made readie to returne from *Mon-*
ster

An. Dom. 1600.

ster sooner then was expected or him selfe meant.

At this time, *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy* was sent Lord Lieutenant generall into *Ireland*. At his first comming, hearing that *Tyrone* was to depart out of *Mounster*, hee hastened to stop his passage in *Feriall* and there to giue him battell, which the Earle preuented by taking another way hauing intelligence of the Lord Generall his Designs. The spring drawing on, the *Deputie* put him selfe in his March toward *Ulster* with purpose to driue the Earle to a stand. In the meane time, *Sir Henry Docwray* at *Loughfoil* and *Sir Matthew Morgan* at *Belishanon* planted the Garrisons, which they effected with small resistance, and repressed the Rebels in diuers overthrowes.

The Lord Generall likewise held *Tyrone* very hard, and with light skirmishes ever put him to the worst: so that hee now perceiving his fortunes to decline withdrew him selfe backwards into his old corners. The Lord Lieutenant entred in *Lease*, the place of refuge and receipt of all the Rebels in *Leinster*; where he slew *Ony Mac Rory-Og*, chiefe of the family of the *O Mores*, a bloody, bold and desperate yong man; and so chased our the rest of his companions, as that never since they were seene in those parts. And though winter began to draw on, yet marched hee forward to the entry of the *Mairy* three miles beyond *Dundalk*.

The passage into *Ulster* is every way naturally cumbersome, and it was helped by the Rebels who had fortified and blocked vp the entrance with fences of stakes stucke in the ground, with hurdles ioyned

joyned together, and stones in the midst, with turfs of earth laid betweene hills, woods, and bogges, and manned the place with a number of Souldiers. But the *English* brake through their *Pallisadoes*, and beat backe the enemy. The Lord DEPUTY placed a Garrison eight miles from *Armagh*, where in memory of Sir JOHN NORRICE, hee named the Fort MOUNT NORRICE. In his returne he had many skirmishes. At *Carlingford* the enemies were assembled to stop his way, but were all discomfited and put to flight. In the midst of winter he entred the *Glinnes*, that is, the valleies of *Leinster*, a secure receptacle of the Rebels. There hee brought into subjection *Donel Spanioh*, *Phelim Mac Pheogh*, and the *O Tooles*; of whom he tooke hostages. Then went he to *Fereal* and drave *Tirel*, the most approved Warriour of all the Rebels, from his fastnesse (that is, his bogges and bushes) unto *Ulster*, and after some other good services done here, the Spring approaching, hee marched into *Ulster*, fortified *Armagh*, and removed *Tyrone* from the Fort of *Black water*, where he had fortified himselfe.

In the meane time the *Pope* and the King of *Spain* laboured to maintaine the rebellion in *Ireland* and to helpe *Tyrone*. Their agents were a *Spaniard* elected Archbishop of *Dublin* by the *Pope*, the Bishop of *Clowfort*, the Bishop of *Killaloe*, and *Archer* a *Iesuite*. These by prayers and promises of heavenly rewards perswaded the *Spaniard* to send succours into *Ireland*, which hee did, under the Generali *Don Iohn d' Aquila*, a man that conceived great hopes,

hopes, and was confident of much ayde from the titular Earle *Desmond*, and *Florence Mac Carty*, a Rebell of great power; wherein the man was much deceived; for Sir *George Carew* Lord President of *Mounster* had prevented all his designes, and sent them prisoners into *England*, where they were fast. *Don Aquila* with two thousand *Spaniards* of old trained souldiers, with certaine *Irish* fugitives landed at *Kinsale* in *Mounster* the last of *October*, Anno 1600. and presently published a writing, wherein he styled himselfe *Master Generall* and captaine of the *Catholike King* in the warres of God for holding and keeping the faith in *Ireland*: this drew divers distempered and euill-affected persons on his side.

The Lord *Deputy* gathering his companies hastened to *Kinsale*, & incamped nere unto the Town on the land side. In the meane time, Sir *Richard Levison* with two of the *Queenes* ships inclosed the haven, to forbid all accessse to the *Spaniards*. Then on both sides the Canon played upon the towne.

But newes was brought that two thousand *Spaniards* more were arrived at *Beere haven*, *Baltimor* and *Castle haven*. Sir *Richard Levison* was imployed upon them; in which service he sunke five of their ships. Vnto these new landed *Spaniards* (whose Leader was *Alfonso O-campo*) *O-donel* over the ice by speedy journeyes and unknowne by-ways repaired, unseene of the *English*. And a few dayes after, *Tyrone* himselfe with *O Roik*, *Raimund*, *Burk*, *Mac Mahan*, *Randal Mac Surly*, *Tirrel* the Baron of *Lixnawe*, with the choise of the Nobles, making

making sixe thousand foot and five hundreth horse. All confident of victory, being fresh, strong, and more in number then the *English*, who were out-wearied with a winter siege, with scarcitie of victu-als, their horse weake with sore travell.

In this hope *Tyrone* vpon an hill not a mile from the *English* campe made a *bravado* two daies together, intending to have put these new supplies of *Spaniards* with eight hundreth *Irish* by night into *Kinsale*, as did appeare by letters intercepted from *Don Aquila*. To prevent this, the Lord *Deputy* appointed eight Ensignes to keepe watch, and him- selfe with the *President of Mounster* and the *Mar- shall* at the foot of the hill chose out a conve- nient plot to give the *Earle* battell; who the next morning seeing the *English* so forward, by his bag- pipers sounded the retreat; whom the Lord *Gene- rall* followed, & forced them to a stand in the brink of a bogge, where their horsemen were disordered and routed by the *Earle of Clan-Ricard*. The maine battell was charged by the Lord *Deputy* himselte, who discharged the parts of a *provident* Captaine and of a *valiant* souldier. The Rebels not able to withstand him, brake their arrayes, and fled confu- sedly in disorder. In the pursuir, many were slaine. *Tyrone*, *O-donel* and the rest flung away their wea- pons, and shifted for themselves by flight. *Alfonso O-Campo* and six Ensigne bearers were taken pri- soners, nine of their Ensignes were borne away by the *English*, and twelve hundreth *Spaniards* slaine. This victory obtained dismaied both the *Spani- ards* in *Kinsale* and the rebels. *Tyrone* was forced

into his starting holes in *Vlster*. *O-donel* fled into *Spaine*. The rest of the Rebels were driven to hide themselves.

The Lord *Generall* returning to the siege of *Kinsale* began to raise Rampires, and to mount his Canons nearer the towne, in which worke sixe dayes were spent without any impeach from the *Spaniards*, *Don Aquila* seeking now to get cleare and be gone, sent his *Lieutenant* with the *Drum-major* to the Lord *Deputy*; wherein he craved, that some Gentleman of credit might bee sent into the Towne, with whom he might parly for peace. The Lord *Deputy* sent Sir *William Godolphin*, to whom *Don Aquila* signified that hee had found the Lord *Deputy*, though his eager enemy, yet an honourable person; the *Irish* of no valour, rude and uncivill, yea, and (that which he sore feared) *perfidious* and false; That he was sent from the King of *Spaine* his Maister to aide two Earles, and now hee much doubted whether there were any such *in rerum natura*; considering that one tempestuous puffe of warre had blowne the one of them into *Spaine*, and the other into the *North*, so as they were no more to be seene: willing therefore he was to treat about a peace, that might be good for the *English* and not hurtfull to the *Spaniards*. Albeit hee wanted nothing requisite to the holding out of the siege, and expected every day out of *Spaine* fresh supplies to finde the *English* worke and trouble enough.

The matter thus proposed, the *English* being weake and wearied with a winter-siege, the Lord *Deputy*

Deputy consented to an agreement upon these Articles.

1. That *Iohn d' Aquila* should quit the places which he held in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, as well in the Towne of *Kinsale*, as in the forts and Castle of *Baltimar*, *Bere-haven* and *Castle-haven*, and should deliver them unto the Lord Deputy or to whom he should appoint.

2. That *Don d' Aquila* and his *Spaniards* should depart with armes, money, munition, and banners displayed. The Souldiers notwithstanding to beare no Armes against the *Queene of England*, till such time as they were unshipped in some part of *Spaine*.

3. That Ships and Viuals should be granted to them in their departure, for their money, at such reasonable prises as the Country could afford.

4. That, if contrary windes inforced them into any other part of *Ireland* or *England*, they might be intertained as friends with safetie of harbour and provisions necessary for their money.

5. That a *cessation* should be from Warre, a *securitie* from injuries.

6. That the Shippes in which they should be imbarked might freely passe by other *English* Shippes without molestation, and the Shippes arriving in *Spaine* might safely returne backe againe without any impeachment of the *Spaniards*. For securitie whereof, the said *Don d' Aquila* should deliver for hostages such three of their

Captaines as the Lord *Deputy* would choosc. *Tyrone* seeing his hopes gone, his men slaine, his restlesse conscience gave him no repose, he shifted from place to place in much feare and perplexitie. In the meane time the Lord *Deputy* refreshed his weary and winter-beaten Souldiers, repaired the decayes, renewed the Garrisons in *Mounster*. This done, he departed for *Dublin*. From thence toward the Spring by an easie march well appointed he returned into *Ulster*, meaning to belay the enemy on every side by planting his Forts, so to take him in his toile. Thus comming to *Blackwater* he transported his Army over the River upon floats, and beneath the old Fort he erected a new, which thing so terrified the *Rebell*, that hee set on fire his owne house at *Dunganon*, and got himselfe farther from dainger. The Lord *Deputy* followed him close, spoiled the Corne-fields and burnt the Villages, and booties were brought in on every side. The Forts in *Lough crew*, *Lough Reogh* and *Magher lecond* were yeilded up, and Garrisons placed in *Lough*, *Neaugh*, or *Sidny*, and in *Monaghan*; whence with their continuall sallies they kept the enemies in such feare, that they hid themselves in woods, complaining and exclaiming against *Tyrone*, that had brought them all to ruine for his private discontents, and beganne to repent them so farre as they made hast who should first come in to the Lord *Deputy*. The Earle seeing how the world went, thought good to prevent the worst by his submission, which in humble letters he sent to the *Queene*, who gave the Lord *Deputy*

Deputy authoritie to pardon his life, though hardly drawne to remit his offences, his friends daily solicited the Lord *Deputy* for his peace; which at last was granted, to put his life and revenues without any condition to the will of the *Queene*. Whereupon at *Mellifont* accompanied with two persons and no more he had access to the Chamber of Presence, where the Lord *Deputie* sate in a Chaire of Estate.

Tyrone in base and poore array, with a dejected countenance, at the first entrance fell downe upon his knees, and so rested till hee was commanded to arise; and coming neerer, stepping two paces, hee fell downe prostrate, and with great submission acknowledged his *sinnes* against *God*, and his *fault* against her *Majestie*. The next day the Lord *Deputie* departing from *Dublin* tooke *Tyrone* thither, meaning to transport him for *England*. But the death of *Queene Elizabeth* stayed that designe, and *King James* succeeding, and being received with admirable love of all sorts, at his first entrance pardoned *Tyrone*. And *Ireland* hath beene since held in greater peace then ever in the memorie of any Stories hath beene formerly knowne.

After all this, *Tyrone*, a man not framed for a peaceable course but onely for trouble, fell into his last Pageant in this manner.

Mr *Mountgomery* was made Lord Bishop of *Derry*, (who was after Lord Bishop of *Meath*) and because the revenues of that of *Derry* and some other Bishopricks neere adjoining were so much impaired

impaired, that they were no way able to make a reasonable maintenance; the Bishop sought by lawfull meanes to get some Lands taken without right or law from his Bishopricke, and to recover things desperately lost, if he could. This thing could not be effected without the offence of *Tyrone* who had gotten into his hands the greatest part of the Bishopricke land. In so much that *Tyrone*, understanding the Bishop sought to recover the Lands of the Bishoprick, told the Bishop thus much: *My Lord, you have two or three Bishoprickes, and yet you are not content with them, you seeke the Lands of my Earldome. My Lord, quoth the Bishop, your Earledome is swolne so bigg with the Lands of the Church, that it will burst if it be not vented.* The Bishop, intending in a lawfull course to recover the Lands lost, found that there was no man could give him better light and knowledge of those things then *O Cane*, who had beene great with *Tyrone*: and to make use of him was a matter of difficultie; yet some meanes being used to him, he came of his owne accord to the Bishop, and told him that he could helpe him to the knowledge of that which he sought, but he was afraid of *Tyrone*: *Nay*, said the Bishop, *I will not trust you, for I know that one bottle of Aqua vita will draw you from me to Tyrone.* Whereupon he tooke a Booke and laid it on his head, saying, *Ter liuro, ter liuro*: which as my Lord of *Meath* said (who told me this Story) is one of the greatest kinde of affirming a truth which the *Irish* have, and after this ceremony performed they keep their promise:

O Cane using this ceremony promised to reveale all that he knew in that matter, if he would on the other side promise him to sive him from the violence of *Tyrone*, and not to deliver him into *England*; which he promised to doe. Whereupon the Bishop resolved to bring him to the Councell of *Ireland*, there to take his confession; as they came along by *Duggannon*, *Tyrone*s sonne came forth with sixteene horsemen, but finding the Bishop well appointed and guarded with men told him that he came forth only to attend his Lordship some part of the way, and so after hee rode with him a reasonable way tooke his leave and returned. The Bishop feared that he came to take *O Cane* from him, and thought that he meant to doe it, if the Bishop had not bene better provided then *He* was.

Thus they comming peaceably to the Councell, the confession of *O Cane* was taken. After this, Proesse were sent to *Tyrone* to warne him to come at an appointed time to answer to the suit of the Lord Bishop of *Derry*. There was no other intention then, but in a peaceable manner to bring the suit to a triall. But behold the burthen of an evill conscience. *Tyrone* had entred into a new conspiracie, to raise another rebellion; of this conspiracie was *O Cane*. This thing was secret, the Councell knew nothing of it. *Tyrone* being served with Proesse to answer the suit beganne to suspect that this was but a plot to draw him in; that surely all the treason was revealed by *O Cane*; whom he knew to be of the conspiracie:

that the pretence was a Proceſſe and a triall in law, but the intent was to have his head. Vpon this bare ſuſpicion *Tyrone* reſolved with ſuch other as was in the conſpiracie to ſlie, and thereupon fled out of *Ireland* with his confederates, and left all thoſe lands in the *North* of *Ireland*, which by his *Majeſties* authoritie and the diligence of his *Majeſties* ſubjects which have beene undertakers are now planted with a more civill people then before.

This Story of *Tyrone*, being compared with that of *Stucley* and other *Iriſh* Commotions, may prove the implacable minde of the *Pope*, and the favour of God in delivering us. *Stucley* by the providence of God was turned another way and came not into *Ireland*, as he purpoſed: they who came were ever deſtroyed. But no enemy did ever more hurt there then *Tyrone*. But when the accompt is caſt up, what have all the adverſaries of *England* got in the end? They have like ſecret *Serpents* nibbled at the heele. And indeed this hath beene the praſtiſe of the *old Serpent* in troubling the *Church*. And we have both warning of his malice, and a promiſe of deliverance, and in the end to tread on his head, that now biteth at our heeles. *The womans ſeed ſhall breake the Serpents head, but the Serpent ſhall bruiſe his heele.* The promiſe is fulfilled in *Chriſt Ieſus* our head, and yet by the *Apoſtle* extended to the *Church*, *Rom. 16. 20.* *The God of peace ſhall tread Sathan under your feet ſhortly.* It is true, that this is done in a ſpirituall battell, wherein *Sathan* and ſinne ſhall be overthrowne:

throwne: yet to comfort his Church and to teach us to stay with patience the small fulfilling of his promises, he doth in the meane time send many deliverances to his Church, and many times *beate*th downe *Sathan* and *Sathans* instruments under the feet of his Church. For is not this a treading downe of *Sathans* head, when we see all the instruments that *Sathan* hath stirred up to our destruction to be by the hand of God *beaten* and trodden to dust? Verily, unto us it is a *signe of comfort* and that from the Lord, but to our adversaries a *signe of feare*. The true Church of God hath a priviledge above others in this world, though persecuted in and by this evill world, yet there appeareth alwayes an eminent priviledge of the Church. When the Iewes were Gods Church, this appeared among them, what was their priviledge? They were called by God from & before all other Nations, not because they were *stronger* or *greater* or *wiser*, but because *God would fulfill his promise to their Fathers*. And to them were committed the *Oracles of God*; and as the *Apostle* doth inlarge the same thing, to them pertained the *adoption* and the *glory*, and the *covenants*, and the *giving of the law*, and the *service of God*, and the *promises*. In all which may appeare what *God did for them*, and what he doth for his Church alwayes: but what are they to doe to God? only to worship him according to these *Oracles*, this *law*, these *covenants*, these *promises*, which God hath given them. By these things then may the Church be knowne, we may adde another thing to these

Rom. 3. 2.

Rom. 9. 4.

whereby we finde that; G. O D would alwayes bee knowne to be the God of his people, of his *Church*, that is, a *miraculous protection* of his *Church* and strange deliverance out of daingers.

This *miraculous protection* and deliverance God shewed to *Israel* divers wayes; and this hath he likewise shewed to the *Church* of *Christians*, and then especially when the *Church* hath beene most oppugned. And this mercy hath God declared to no *Church* more then to the *Church* of *England*: we have the *Oracles of God* among us, and these we labour to preserve without mixture, that no *Oracles of men* may be joyned with them in any equalitie. This we professe, and for this we suffer. This is our glory, that we suffer as the *Church* of God hath alwayes suffered. This is our glory, that wee are persecuted by a people that have forsaken their God. For they that have forsaken the onely preferment by the *Oracles of God* committed to their trust; and have against that trust, thrust in mens *Oracles*, *mens traditions*, to match the *Oracles of God* in equall authoritie: they who worship not God according to Gods *Oracles* delivered to them, but according to their *owne inventions*, these men have forsaken their God. And these be they that glory so much of the name of the *Catholike Church* against us. God knoweth his *Church*, for the Lord knoweth who are his; But our adversaries deale not with God to please him, but with men to deceive them. If they should deceive some men with the maske and with the emptie title of the *Catholike Church*; what have they gotten there-

thereby? God is not deceived, and God will in his time make it knowne where his *Catholike Church* is. God wil not have his *Catholike Church* maintained with *lies*, with wicked and *ungratious practises*, with *treasons* and rebellions, with *conspiracies*; they who practise such things can never prove themselves to be the *Catholike Church*; but the true *Catholike Church* is knowne by *holding the Oracles of God*, by *worshipping God* according to his own *Oracles*, by *suffering* patiently the practises of wicked men, by *committing their cause* to God; by *trusting in God* and in the power of his might, and by *miraculous deliverances* out of dainger by the onely hand and power of God. This *holy and heavenly protection* of God of the *Church of England* may plainly prove unto all the world, that the *Church of England* is a part and true member of that *Catholike Church* that serveth God in truth and sinceritie, enjoying those priviledges and favours which God doth vouchsafe to no people saving to his owne *Church*.

Now let the *Pope* goe on in his course and fulfill his measure: let him honour wretched and wicked rebels, the *scum* of the earth: let him send a *Peacockes taile*, as he did to *Stucley*: let him send a *Plume of Phœnix feathers*, as he did to *Tyrone* (if they were *Phœnix feathers*, or if the *Pope* did not collude in one thing, as that *Fryer* did in another thing, who undertooke to shew to the people a *feather* of the wing of the *Angell Gabriel*; a *plume* of whose *feathers* was more besitting the *Pope* to send, if his *Holineſſ* hath such command over *Angels*;

gels, as they say he hath:) Let them I say proceed in the workes of darkenesse, as they have done, and as they continue to doe: let us trust in the Lord who hath manifested to all the world by his great, mercifull and manifold deliverances that he hath taken the protection of us. And as he hath done hitherto, assuredly he will doe to the end, if we faile not: for *God will not forsake vs, if we forsake not him.* Indeed if we forsake him, and fall away from the *truth of Religion* in the Church, and from the *execution of Justice* in the State, and from obedience to the faith: then may wee lose our part in God, and lose our confidence in his help, and lose the blessed benefit of his protection. They can never prevaile against us by any other way then by our forsaking of God: When *Balac* the King of *Moab* had sent for *Balaam* the false Prophet, and by him understood that it was impossible for him to prevaile against *Israel*, though *Balaam* was sent to curse them: At last he was informed by his false Prophet *Balaam* that there was no hope to prevaile against *Israel*, unlesse there were some meanes devised to draw *Israel* into sinne against God, and so would God be offended with them, and then might their adversaries prevaile against them: This advise was most pernicious against *Israel*. For the women of *Moab* were sent among the *Israelites* to intise them both to *bodily* and *spirituall* fornication. And this indeed *provoked Gods anger*: and therefore the Lord commanded *Israel* to *vexe the Midianites* and to *smite them*, for they trouble you with

with their wiles. The King of Spaine hath procured *Balaam* the false Prophet, the *Pope* of *Rome* to curse the Church and State of *England*: hee hath beene as greedily bent to curse *England*, as ever *Balaam* wasto curse *Israel*. His curses by Gods goodnesse have beene turned into blessings upon us. The more hee hath cursed, the more have we received blessings from God. The *Pope* perceiving that his curses cannot prevaile against us hath entred into the consultation of *Balaam* the false Prophet, to send among us *Priests* and *Iesuites* secretly, who (as they say) are well acquainted both with carnall and spirituall fornication. These come among us and trouble us with their wiles. And if by their wiles we be once drawne away from God, then may they prevaile, but not otherwise then as the devill hath sometimes permission to prevaile against Gods people. But so long as wee stand the Church of God, Holding the Oracles of GOD committed to us, Worshipping God according to the rules of the holy Doctrine, wee may with joy of heart expect the protection of God as we have had. Of these things what can our adversaries deny? Can they deny that wee have the Oracles of God among us, only reverencing them? Can they deny the miraculous protection of God over us from time to time against all their wicked practises? let our enemies be judges herein. Can they deny that the *Pope* hath runne the course of false *Balaam* against us? Can they deny that their *Priests* and *Iesuites* come creeping
in

in among us, to draw us away from God to be partakers with them in their superstition and idolatry? these things are manifest to the world, and to their owne consciences: then we leave them unto the service of *their Balams*, let them leave us to the service of *our God*.

... God ...

... well ...

CHAP.

... God ...

... God ...

... God ...

... God ...

CHAP. XVII.

A great mischief intended to the Kings Majestie at his first entrance into the Kingdome of England before his Coronation, Watson & Clark Priests administering Oaths of secrecie and applauding the project. It came to nothing by Gods mercy. The Kings Majesties clemency towards the Conspiratours after judgment past upon them. No treason in England attempted but had a Romish Priest in the practise.



Watson Seducing Noblemen.

QUEENE ELIZABETH after so many bloodie and daingerous practises attempted against her, being mightily protected by God, ended her daies

in peace and safetie. The enemy was not permitted to hurt her with all their *bloody* and *barbarous* practises. After her, succeeded our peaceable SALOMON, King JAMES, who laboured to establish peace, if it might be: But when he *spake of peace,* they prepared themselves for warre.

An. Dom. 1603.

He was first encountred with such a practise, whereof because I know not the truth and bottome, I must follow such relations as I finde. King JAMES, our gracious Sovereigne, being called into the right of his owne inheritance by the great and admirable applause and affections of all good men from the *highest* to the *lowest of England*, and declaring his constant resolution for the maintenance of Religion; deferred his Coronation till Saint *James* day. In the meane time some unquiet spirits entred into a conspiracy, (their vaine hopes, for advancing of their religion, failing) their designe, as is said, was to surprize the *King* and Prince *Henry*. Of force they presumed, meaning to retaine them prisoners in the *Tower*, and with treasures therein to maintaine their intent, or to carry them to *Dover* Castle, and thereby violence either to obtaine their owne pardons, a toleration of Religion, and a removall of some Counsellors of State; or else to put some other project in execution. To conceale this treason *Watson* the Priest devised oathes for secrecie, and himselfe with *Clarke* another Priest taught, that the act was lawfull, being done before the Coronation: for that the *King* was no *King* before he was annointed and the Crowne solemnly set upon his head.

The other persons involved in this practise were *Henry Brooke Lord Cobham, Thomas Lord Gray of Wilton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Griffin Markham, Sir Edward Parham, George Brooke, Bartholomew Brookesby and Anthony Cople*. All which were apprehended and committed. The sicknesse being then rise in *London*, the Tearnie was kept at *Winchester* the place designed for their arraignment, whither they were conveied under strong guard. The first brought to triall was *George Brooke* brother to the *Lord Cobham, Sir Griffin Markham, Sir Edward Parham, Brookesby, Cople, Watson* and *Clarke*. The *inditement* was, that they had conspired first to destroy the King: then to raise rebellion, to alter Religion, to subvert the State, to procure forraine invasion. These their intents they had made knowne to the *Lord Gray*, whom they intended to make *Earle Marshall of England, Watson Lord Chancelour, George Brooke Lord Treasurer, Markham Secretary*; that with the *King* the *Lords* also should be surprized in their Chambers at *Greenwich*; and the *Lord Maior* and *Aldermen of London* should be sent for, and so shut up in the *Tower*.

George Brooke answered that he had *Commission* from the *King* to doe that hee did, only to trie faithfull subjects; but being required to shew his *Commission*, he could produce none. *Sir Griffin Markham*, excepting only the imputation of blood, confessed his offence penitently; alledging it was through a discontented minde, and desired the *Lords* to be a meane to the *KING* for mercy.

Watson and *Clarke*, (the former of which confessed that he had drawne all those Gentlemen into those plots) like true *Roman Priests*, averred that they held the *King* for *no King*, untill he was crowned; and therefore it could not be *treason*: alledging that *Saul* was no King, till he was chosen in *Mispeh*, though he had beene anointed in *Ramoth* by the Prophet *Samuel*: Neither *Ieroboam*, who in the dayes of *Solomon* had beene confirmed by the Prophet to raigne over *Israel*, untill the people made him King upon the foolish answere of *Rehoboam*: making no difference betweene the mediate and *ordinarie* succession of lawfull Kings in in common-wealths established, and those which God himselfe *extraordinarily* advanced to bee scourgesto an ungratefull land. It was told them that in *England* the *King* never dyeth, that there is no *interregnum*, that the Coronation is but a ceremonie to shew the King to the people. Two dayes after was Sir *Walter Raleigh* brought to the barre, hee was indited for combining with the Lord *Cobham*, (his accuser as it was said in the foresaid designes) hee pleaded not guilty, and so stood for his purgation. He pleaded for himselfe a long time and with some admiration of men, who thought that a man of such understanding would hardly be drawne into a plot so *foule* and so *foolish*: yet he was found guilty and had sentence of death.

The like judgment, a few dayes after, passed upon the Lord *Cobham* and *Gray* arraigned on two severall dayes. The former was indited for combining

bining with Sir *Walter Raleigh* and *George Brooke* to procure forces from the King of *Spain* and the *Arch-Duke* for invasion: the other for joining with the foresaid *Priests, Knights* and *Gentlemen* in their conspiracies. Sir *Edward Parham* was only acquitted by the Jury. Of the rest, only three died, *Watson, Clarke* and *George Brooke*. *Watson* had before in Print laid open at large the treasonable practises of the *Iesuites*, and at his death left this suspicion on them, that they in revenge had cunningly drawne him into this action which brought him to his end. After this the Lords *Cobham & Gray & Sr Griffin Markham* were by a Warrant to be executed the *Friday* next. But the *King* inclined to mercy sent at the day appointed a Pardon for them; the manner whereof was such, as gave unexpected joy to them that looked for nothing but death. The pardon was brought to the place where they were to be executed by Maister *Gibb* a Gentleman so secretly, that none present understood any thing thereof. Sir *Griffin Markham* was first brought to the Scaffold (erected in the *Castle Greene*;) and made himselfe ready for the stroke of the Axe. When secretly Maister *Gibb* delivered to the *High Sheriffe* the *Kings* warrant to the contrary, who understanding his Majesties intent tooke backe the prisoner (as if hee were first to confront the two Lords, upon some service of the *King*) and brought him unto the *Castle Hall*. Then was the Lord *Gray* brought forth, who having poured out his prayers unto God, at length kneeling downe

for the stroke of death, the *Sheriffe* bad stay, telling the Lord that some further service was expected of him; and thereupon led him likewise into the Castle Hall. The Lord *Cobham* was last brought forth: who being in preparation and prayers, the Lord *Gray* and Sir *Griffin* were brought backe againe. All the three prisoners appearing together on the Scaffold, the *Sheriffe* notified his Majesties warrant for the stay of the execution. At which example of *Clemency* unexpected both of the prisoners and spectators, there arose great shouts of the people, crying, *God save the King*. The condemned wished that they might sacrifice their lives to redeeme their faults, and to repurchase so mercifull a Prince his love.

This attempt seemed to be a matter of lesse danger, because there appeared neither strength to act the businesse intended nor heads to carry it. But our thankfulness must appeare to God for our least deliverances. It is certaine by their confessions that a great mischief was intended, howsoever they might seeme unable to effect it. And this we may observe, that no treason was ever attempted without a *Romish Priest*. The treasons attempted in *England* haue that proper and peculiar marke, to have a *Priest* in the practise.

CHAP. XVIII.

A horrible treason was a hatching and breeding in the last yeare of Queene Elizabeth. By Garnetts meanes and others the King of Spaine is dealt withall for an invasion; he entertaines the motion, but upon the entrance of King IAMES did not proceed to any forcible enterprize. The Gun-powder treason takes ground and life from the doctrine of Parsons and the Iesuites. It was first propounded by Catesby to Winter. The oath of secrecie taken by the Conspiratours. Provision of Powder and Wood for the Mine. Their consultation what to doe after the blow was given. The Letter sent to the Lord Mounteagle, scanned by the Earle of Salisburie and other Privie Counsellors, but truly interpreted by the King, in whose mouth there was a divine sentence at that time, so that hee did not erre in judgment. The examination of Fawks. The apprehension and confusion of the Powder-traitors. God from heaven both by his Word and protection, hath manifestly shewne our Church to be the true Church, and the Popish Church to be the malignant Church and degenerate from the ancient Romane Church both in manners and doctrines.

The



NOW I enter upon a Narration which may fully open our adversaries to the world: wherein appeareth the profunditie of mallice and cruelty and ungodlinesse, and whereby all men may understand by what spirit these men are ledd. The Histories of former times containe no example like it. Which sheweth that wicked inventions are growne to a greater ripenesse in the *Romish* generation. And when they are come to their full ripenesse, they themselves may understand what they are to looke for. In the meane time, let all men understand the difference between e

twene the *Church of God* and that which in the Scripture is called *Ecclesiam malignantium*. That *Church of the malignant* may sufficiently appeare by all the former practises; but especially by this of the *Gunpowder treason*.

This treason was first thought on in the last yeere of *Queene Elizabeth*, when *Henry Garnet* the Superiour of the *malignants* here, *Catesby*, and others sent *Thomas Winter* into *Spain* to negotiate with the *Spanish King* in the name of the *English Catholics*: First to send an Army to them, who were now in readinesse to joyne their forces with his: secondly, to grant some pensions to sundry persons devoted to his service in *England*: And thirdly, *Winter* was to give advertisement of the discontents that the young Gentlemen and Souldiers had conceived upon the death of *Essex*, whereby a fit occasion was offered to forward the *Popish* cause. To prosecute this businesse, he made for his meanes Father *Creswel* the leiger *Iesuite* in *Spain*, *Don Petro* *Francesca* second secretary to the State, and the Duke of *Lerma*: all which assured *Winter* that the office of his employment would bee very gratefull to his Maister. The place of landing concluded upon by them was *Kent* or *Essex*, if the Kings Army were great; if otherwise, then *Milsford haven* in *Wales* was held fittest. With these and other like projects *Winter* all this Summer followed the King in his progresse: And lastly, had answer by the Count *Miranda*, that the King would bestow an hundred thousand crownes towards the expedition,

*Odium ecclesiam
malignantium.
Psal 25.5. in
edit. vulgata.*

halse thereof to be payed that yeare, and the rest the next Spring, when at the farthest he meant to set foot in *England*. On whose behalfe hee willed the *English Catholikes* to maintaine their promise, whom he respected (as was said) as his owne proper *Castilians*; and further desired their continuall advertisements; if in the meane time it chanced the old *Queene* to die.

Winter thus laden with hopes, returned from *Spaine*, and acquainted *Garnet*, *Catesby* and *Tris-ham* with what had passed, which they related to others. All were glad to heare the newes, and rested satisfied, expecting the day. But before the next Spring *Queene Elizabeth* dyed. To give notice of her death *Christopher Wright* was from *Catesby* and others sent into *Spaine*. *Guy Fawkes* was likewise sent from *Bruxells* by *Sir William Stanly* into *Spaine*, both of them to prosecute the former negotiation, assuring the *Spanish King*, that *King James* would runne the same course and proceed as rigorously against the *Catholikes*, as the late *Queene* had done, for whose defence they desired instantly that some *Spaniards* might bee transported unto *Milford haven*; Where the *English Papists* would bee forward to assist them; having in a readinesse two thousand horse furnished for the enterprise. But the *Spaniard* would not now hearken to their motions or proceed any further to any forcible enterprise.

In the meane while, the *jesuites* had been tampering to dissuade the acceptance of *King James* into *England*, urging it that death was rather to be indured

indured then to *admit an Heretike*. And those that gave him consent they held lyable to excommunication by the censure of *Pope Clement* the eight. The *Papists* seeing their great anchor-hold to faile them from *Spaine* began to enter into more desperate courses. *Catesby* tooke his ground from the doctrine of *Father Parsons*: That the whole Schooles both of *Divines* and *Lawyers* take this position undoubredly to be beleaved, *That if any Christian Prince shall manifestly turne from the Catholike Religion, and desire or seeke to reclaime others from the same, he presently falleth from all Princely power and dignitie, and that also by vertue and power of the law it selfe both divine and humane, even before any sentence pronounced against him by the supreme Pastor and Iudge: And that his Subjects, of what estate or condition soever, are freed from all bond of oath of allegiance, which at any time they had made unto him as to their lawfull Prince. Nay, that they both may and ought (provided they have competent strength and force) cast out such a man from bearing rule among Christians, as an Apostata, an Heretike, a Back slider, a Revolter from our Lord Christ, and an enemy to his owne State and Common wealsh; lest perhaps hee might infect others, or by his example or command turne them from the faith: yea they affirme further, That if a Prince shall but favour or shew countenance to an Heretike, he presently loseth his Kingdome.* By this fiery Divinitie of their owne making, or receiving it from the spirits of errour and doctrines of devils, (for those things that are taught

In his Booke
Philopater.
Sect. 2.

for doctrines, not being found in the word of God, are Doctrines of *Devils*, much more they that are contrary to the Doctrines of Gods word) by these Doctrines the *Gunpowder-treason* tooke strength. The *Parliament* dissolved the *seaventh* of *July*, and was prorogued untill the *seaventh* of *February* following. *Catesby* being then at *Lambeth* sent for *Thomas Winter*, who had beene imployed into *Spaine*, and brake with him upon the blowing up of the *Parliament house*; who answered, that indeed *stroke at the root*: but if it should not take effect, said he, as most of this nature mis-carrie, the scandall would be so great which *Catholike* Religion might hereby sustaine, as not onely our enemies, but our friends also would with good reason condemne us. *Catesby* answered, the nature of the disease required so sharpe a remedie, and asked him if he would give his consent. Yes, said he, in this or what els soever, he would venture his life. But he proposed difficulties, as want of an house, and of one to carry the mine, noise in the working, and such like. *Catesby* answered, let us give the attempt and where it faileth passe no further: But first, quoth he, because we will leave no peaceable and quiet way untried, you shall goe over and informe the *Constable* of the state of the *Catholikes* here in *England*, intreating him to sollicite his *Majestie* that the penal Lawes may be recalled, and we admitted into the ranke of his other subjects. Withall, you may bring over some confident Gentlemen, such as you shall understand best able for this businesse,
and

and named unto him Maister *Fawkes*. Shortly after, *Winter* passed the Seas and found the *Constable* at *Bergen* neare *Dunkirk*: where by help of Maister *Owen* he delivered his message. Whose answer was, that he had strict command from his Maister to doe all good offices for the *Catholikes*, and for his owne part he thought himselfe bound in conscience so to doe, and that no good occasion should be omitted, but he spake to him nothing of this matter.

Returning to *Dunkirk* with Maister *Owen*, they had speech whether the *Constable* would faithfully helpe them, or no: *Owen* said, he beleevd nothing lesse, and that they sought only their owne ends holding small accompt of *Catholikes*. *Winter* told him, that there were many Gentlemen in *England*, who would not forsake their Country untill they had tried the uttermost. And to adde one more to their company, as a fit man both for counsell and execution of whatsoever they should resolve, wished for Maister *Fawkes*, who as he had heard was a man of good commendation. *Owen* told him the Gentleman deserved no lesse, but was at *Brussells*, and that if he came not, as happily he might before *Winters* departure, hee would send him shortly after into *England*. *Winter* went shortly after to *Ossend*, where Sir *William Stanly* as then was not but came two dayes after. *Winter* remained with him three or foure dayes. In which time hee asked him, if the *Catholikes* in *England* should doe any thing to helpe themselves, whether

he thought the *Arch. Duke* would second them? he answered, no. For all those parts were so desirous of peace with *England*, as they would indure no speech of other enterprife. Neither were it fit, said he, to set any project a foot, now the peace is upon concluding. *Winter* told him there was no such resolution, and fell into other speech, asking him of Master *Fawkes*, whom Sir *William* much commended: and as they were in speech, *Fawkes* came in. Sir *William* told him, this is the Gentleman you spake of; and after they had imbraced, *Winter* told *Fawkes* that some good friends of his wished his company in *England*, and appointed to meet at *Dunkirk*, where they might conferre.

Meeting at *Dunkirk*, they had conference, and resolved both to come into *England*. They came first to *Catesby*, where came Master *Thomas Percy*. The first word hee spake after hee came into their company, was, *Shall wee alwaies, Gentlemen, talke and never doe any thing?* *Catesby* tooke him aside and had speech of somewhat to be done, so as first they might all take an oath of secrecy; which within few dayes after they did. The oath was this: *You shall swear by the blessed Trinitie and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly nor indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keepe secret, nor desist from the execution thereof, untill the rest shall give you leave.* This oath was first taken by *Catesby*, *Percy*, *Wright* and *Fawkes*, behinde Saint *Clements*. After the oath taken, they went into the next roome and heard *Masse*, and received the

the *Sacrament* upon it. That done, *Catesby* disclosed to *Percie*, and *Winter* and *Jacke Wright* to *Fawkes* the businesse, for which they tooke the oath; which they approved. Then was *Percie* sent to take the house, which they understood did belong to one *Ferris*; which with some difficultie in the end he obtained, and became Tenant to *Whinyard*, as *Ferris* was before. *Fawkes* underwent the name of Master *Percie his man*, calling himselfe *Johnson* because his face was most unknowne, and received the keyes of the house, untill they heard that the *Parliament* was adjourned to the seventh of *February*. At which time they all departed severall waies into the Country, to meet againe at the beginning of *Michaemas Terme*. It was thought convenient to have a house to receive provision of *Powder* and *wood* for the *Mine*; from which house the provision might be conveyed to that house which *Percie* had taken: this was taken in *Lambeth*, and *Keyes* was appointed the trusty keeper thereof. When they were agreed to begin and set things in order for the mine they were stayed a while, because the *Scottish Lords* were appointed to sit in conference of the *Union* in *Percie his house*. The time of their sitting being past, they entred upon the mine, having provided themselves of baked meats, the lesse to need sending abroad.

Whilest they were together they fell into discourse what they should doe after this deed was done. The first question was, how they might surprize the next heire? The *Prince* happily would bee at *Parliament* with the *King* his Father: how should

should they then be able to seaze upon the Duke? This burden *Percy* undertooke, that by his acquaintance he with other Gentlemen would enter the Chamber without suspicion, and having some doozen others at severall doores to expect his comming, and two or three on horsebacke at the Court gate to receive him, he would undertake (*the blow being given*, untill which he would attend in the *Dukes Chamber*) to carry him safe away: for he supposed most of the Court would be absent, and such as were there, not suspecting or unprovided for any such matter. For the Lady *Elizabeth*, it were easie to surprisè her in the Country by drawing friends together at an hunting neare the Lord *Harringtons*, and *Asby*, Maister *Catesby* his house being not farre off, was a fit place for preparation. The next was for money and horses, which if they could provide in any reasonable measure (having the heire apparant) and the first knowledge by foure or five dayes was oddes sufficient. Then what Lords they should save from the *Paliaments*, which was first agreed in generall, as many as they could that were *Catholikes* or so disposed; but after they descended to speake of particulars. Next what *forraine Princes* they should acquaint with this before, or joyne with after. For this point they agreed, that first they could not injoyne Princes to that secrecy nor oblige them by oath, so to be secure of their promise; beside, they knew not whether they will approve the project or dislike it. And if they doe allow therof, to prepare before might beget suspicion

tion; and not to provide untill the businesse were acted; the same Letter that carried the newes of the thing done might as well intreat their helpe and furtherance. *Spaine* is too slow in their preparations to hope any good from the first extremities, and *France* too neare and too daingerous, who with the Shipping of *Holland* wee feared of all the world might make away with us. While they were in the middle of these discourfes, they heard that the *Parliament* would be anew adjourned untill after *Michaelmas*, upon which tydings they brake off both discourfe and working. About *Candlemas* they brought over in a Boat the Powder which they had provided at *Lambeth*, and laid it in Maister *Percy* his house; because they would have all their dainger in one place. Then falling to their worke in the mine they came against the stone-wall, which was very hard to beat through. At which time they called *Kit Wright* to their company; but as they were working upon the wall they heard a rushing in a Cellar of removing of coales. Whereupon they feared that they had beene discovered, and they sent *Fawkes* to goe to the Cellar; who finding that the coales were a selling and that the Cellar was to be let, viewing the opportunitie thereof for their purpose, *Percy* went and hired the same for yearly rent. They had before this provided twentie Barrels of Powder, which they removed into the Cellar, and covered them with billets and faggots which they had provided for that purpose.

After this they thought fit to send *Fawkes* to

acquaint Sir *William Stanly* and Maister *Owen* with this matter, but so that they might receive the oath of secrecy. The reason, why they desired Sir *William Stanly* should be acquainted herewith, was to have him with them so soone as hee could. And for Maister *Owen*, hee might hold good correspondencies after with forraine Princes. Maister *Fawkes* departed away about *Easter* for *Flanders* and returned in the end of *August*. He brought word that Sir *William Stanly* was not returned from *Spaine*, so as hee uttered the matter onely to *Owen*, who seemed well pleased with the businesse, but told him that surely Sir *William* would not be acquainted with any plot as having businesse now a foot in the Court of *England*; but he himselfe would be alwayes ready to tell him, and send him away so soone as it were done.

About this time Maister *Percy* and *Catesby* met at the *Bathe*. Where they agreed that, the company being yet but few, *Catesby* should have the others authoritie to call in whom he thought best. Whereupon he called in Sir *Euerard Digby*, and after that, Maister *Tresham*. The first promised fiftene hundred pounds, the second two thousand pounds. Maister *Percy* promised all that he could get of the *Earle of Northumberland*s rents, which was about foure thousand pounds, and to provide many galloping horses, to the number of ten.

Meane while, *Fawkes* and *Winter* brought some new powder, as suspecting the first to be danke,
and

and conveyed it into the Cellar, and set it in order, as they resolved it should stand. Then was the Parliament anew prorogued untill the fifth of November. So that all of them went downe till some tenne dayes before. When *Catesby* came up with *Fawkes* to an house by *Enfield chafe* called *White-webs*; whither *Winter* came to them: *Catesby* willed *Winter* to inquire whether the young *Prince* came to the Parliament. *Winter* told him that he heard that his Grace thought not to be there. Then said *Catesby* must we have our horses beyond the water, and provision of more company to surprise the *Prince*, and leave the *Duke* alone.

All things thus prepared: the *Saturday* of the weeke immediatly preceding the Kings returne, which was upon *Thursday* (being but tenne dayes before the Parliament:) The Lord *Mont-eagle*, sonne and heire to the Lord *Morley*, being in his owne lodging readie to goe to supper at seaven of the clocke at night, one of his foot-men, whom he had sent of an arrand over the street, was met by an unknowne man of a reasonable tall personage, who delivered him a Letter charging him to put it into my Lord his Maisters hands: which my Lord no sooner received, but that having broken it up, and perceiving the same to be of an unknowne and somewhat unlegible hand and without either date or subscription; did call one of his men to him for helping him to reade it. But no sooner did he conceive the strange contents thereof; although he was somewhat perplexed what construction to make of it, (as whether of a matter

of consequence, as indeed it was, or whether some foolish devised *Pasquill* by some of his enemies, to skarre him from his attendance at the *Parliament*;) yet did hee as a most dutifull and loyall subje& conclude not to conceale it, what ever might come of it. Whereupon, notwithstanding the latenessse and darknesse of the night in such a season of the yeare, hee presently repaired to his *Majesties* Pallace at *White hall*, and there delivered the same to the Earle of *Salisbury* his *Majesties* principall *Secretary*. The *Earle*, having read the Letter, and heard of the manner of comming of it to his hands, did greatly incourage and commend the *Lord* for his discretion; telling him plainly, that whatsoever the purpose of the Letter might prove hereafter, yet did this accident put him in minde of divers advertisements he had received from beyond the Seas, wherewith hee had acquainted as well the *King* himselfe as divers of his *Privie Counsellors* concerning some businesse the *Papists* were in, both at home and abroad making preparation for some combination among them against this *Parliament* time; for inabling them to deliver at that time to the *King* some petition for tolleration of Religion, which should bee delivered in some such order, and so well backed, as the *King* should be loath to refute their requests; like the *sturdy beggars* craving almes with one *open hand*, but carrying a *stone* in the other in case of refusall. And therefore did the Earle of *Salisbury* conclude with the *Lord Monteaule*, that hee would in regard of the

Kings absence impart the same Letter to some more of his *Majesties* Counsell. Whereof the Lord *Monteagle* liked well, onely adding this request, by way of protestation, that whatsoever the event hereof might prove, it should not bee imputed to him, as proceeding from too light and too sudden an apprehension that he delivered this Letter, being onely moved thereto for demonstration of his ready devotion and care for preservation of his Majesty and the State. And thus did the Earle of *Salisbury* presently acquaint the Lord *Chamberlaine* with the said Letter. Whereupon they two in the presence of the Lord *Monteagle*, calling to minde the former intelligence already mentioned, which seemed to have some relation with this Letter, the tender care which they ever had to the preservation of his *Majesties* person made them apprehend, that some perillous attempt did thereby appeare to bee intended against the same, which did the more neerely concerne the Lord *Chamberlaine* to have care of, in regard that it doth belong to the charge of his office, to oversee as well all places of *Assembly* whete his *Majestie* is to repaire as his *Hignesse* owne private houses. And therefore did the said two *Counsellors* conclude that they should joine unto them three more of the *Counsell*, to wite, the Lord *Admirall*, the Earles of *Worcester* and *Northampton*, to be also particularly acquainted with this accident. Who having all of them concurred together to the re-examination of the contents of the said Letter, they

did conclude, that how slight a matter it might at the first appeare to be, yet was it not absolutely to be contemned, in respect of the care which it behooved them to have of the preservation of his Majesties person. But yet resolved for two reasons, first to acquaint the *King* himselfe with the same before they proceeded to any further inquisition in the matter, as well for the *expectation* and *experience* they had of his Majesties fortunate judgment in clearing and solving of obscure riddles and doubtfull mysteries; as also because the more time would in the meane while bee given for the practise to ripen, if any was, whereby the discovery might bee the more cleare and evident, and the ground of proceeding thereupon more safe, just, and easie. And so according to their determination did the Earle of *Salisbury* repaire to the *King* in his gallery upon *Friday* being *Alhallow* day in the afternoone, which was the day after his Majesties arrivall, and none but himselfe being present with his *Hignesse* at that time: Where without any other speech or judgment given of the Letter, but onely relating simply the forme of the delivery thereof, he presented it to his Majestie; the contents of the Letter are as followeth.

My Lord, out of the love I beare to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, so devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickednesse of this time. And thinke not slightly of this advertisement, but retire your selfe into your country

countrey where you may expect the event in safety : for though there be no appearance of any stirre, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This counsell is not to be contemned, because it may doe you good and can doe you no harme : for the dainger is past, as soone as you shall have burned this Letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it ; To whose holy protection I commend you.

The King no sooner read the Letter, but after a little pause and then reading it over againe, he delivered his judgment of it in such sort as he thought it was not to be contemned. For that the style of it seemed to be more quick and pithy, then is usuall to be in a *pasquill* or *libell*, (the superfluties of idle braines.) But the Earle of *Salisbury* perceiving the King to apprehend it deeplier then he looked for, knowing his nature, told him, that he thought by one sentence in it that it was like to be written by some *foole* or *mad man*, reading to him this sentence in it: *for the dainger is past as soone as you have burned the Letter* ; which, he said, was like to bee the saying of a foole. For if the dainger was past so soone as the Letter was burnt, then the warning behoved to be of little availe, when the burning of this Letter might make the dainger to bee eschewed. But the King by the contrary considering the former sentence in the Letter. That they should receive a terrible blow at this Parliament, and yet should not see who hurt them ; joyning it to the sentence immediately following already alledged, did thereupon conjecture that
the

the dainger mentioned should be some sudden dainger by *blowing up of powder*: for no other insurrection, rebellion or whatsoeuer other private or desperate attempt could bee committed or attempted in time of *Parliament*, and the authors thereof unseene, except it were only by a blowing up of powder, which might be performed by one base knave in a darke corner. Whereupon hee was moved to interpret and construe the latter sentence in the Letter, (alleged by the Earle of *Salisbury*) against all ordinary sense and construction in *Grammar*, as if by these words *for the dainger is past as soone as you haue burned the Letter* should bee closely understood the sudden and quicknesse of the dainger, which should be as quickly performed and at an end, as that paper should be of bleasing up in the fire, turning that word, *as soone*, to that sense of, *as quickly*. And therefore wished that, before his going to *Parliament*, the under-rooms of the *Parliament house* might bee well and narrowly searched. It must be confessed that *God* put this understanding in the *Kings* heart. For albeit now upon the event made known, a man may easily see that no other construction can be made of the Letter then that which the *King* made: yet before the event was knowne, the wisest did not apprehend that understanding. And therefore we must acknowledge that *God* would have it knowne and brought to knowledge by the *King* himselfe, that all the body of the *Kingdome* might rest most under *God* beholding to the *King*, *their head*, for the generall de-

deliverance. The Earle of *Salisbury* wondring at his *Majesties* commentary, which he knew to be farre contrary to his ordinary and naturall disposition, who did rather ever sinne upon the other side in not apprehending nor trusting due advertisements of *practises* and *perils*, when he was duely informed of them, whereby he had many times drawne himselfe into many desperate dangers, and interpreting rightly this extraordinary caution at this time to proceed from the vigilant care he had of the whole state more then of his owne person, which could not but have all perished together, if this designement had succeeded: he thought good to dissemble still unto the *King* that there had beene any just cause of such apprehension. And ending the purpose with some merry jest upon this subject, as his custome is, tooke his leave for that time.

But though hee seemed so to neglect it to his *Majestie*, yet his customable and watchfull care of the *King* and the *State* still boyling within him, and having with the blessed *Virgin Mary* laid up in his hart the *Kings* so strange judgement and construction of it, he could not be at rest till hee acquainted the foresaid *Lords* what had passed betweene the *King* and *him* in private. Whereupon they were all so earnest to renew againe the memory of the same purpose to his *Majestie*, as it was agreed, that he should the next day being *Saturday* repaire to his *hignesse*. Which he did in the same privie Gallery, and renewed the memory thereof, the Lord *Chamberlaine* then being present with the

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King. At which time it was determined that the said Lord *Chamberlaine* should according to his custome and office view all the *Parliament houses* both above and below, and consider what likelihood or appearance of any such dainger might possibly be gathered by the sight of them. But yet as well for staying of idle rumors, as for being the more able to discern any mystery the nearer that things were in readinesse, his journey thither was ordained to be deferred till the afternoone before the sitting downe of the *Parliament*, which was upon the *Munday* following. At what time hee (according to his conclusion) went to the *Parliament house* accompanied with the Lord *Monteagle*, being in zeale to the *Kings* service earnest and curious to see the event of that accident, whereof he had the fortune to bee the first discoverer. Where having viewed all the lower roomes he found in the vault under the upper house great store of provision of Billets, Faggots and Coales. And inquiring of *Whinyard* keeper of the Wardrop to what use he had put those lower roomes and cellars? he told him that *Thomas Percy* had hired both the House and part of the Cellar or Vault under the same. And that the Wood and Coale therein was the said Gentlemans owne provision. Whereupon the Lord *Chamberlaine* casting his eye aside, perceived a fellow standing in corner there, calling himselfe the sayd *Percy* his man and keeper of that house for him, which was *Guido Fawkes*, the instrument which should have acted that monstrous tragedy.

The Lord *Chamberlaine*, looking upon all things with an heedfull eye yet in outward appearance with but a carelesse and racklesse countenance, he presently addressed himselfe to the *King* in the said privy Gallery, where in the presence of the Lord *Treasurer*, the Lord *Admirall*, the Earles of *Worcester*, *Northampton* and *Salisbury*, he made his report what he had seene and observed there. Noting that *Monteagle* had told him, that hee no sooner heard *Thomas Percy* named to bee the possessour of that house, but considering both his backwardnesse in Religion, and the old dearenesse in friendship betweene himselfe and the sayd *Percy* hee hid greatly suspect the matter and that the Letter should come from him. The Lord *Chamberlaine* also told, that hee did not wonder a little at the extraordinary great provision of wood and coale in that house, where *Thomas Percy* had so seldome occasion to remaine: as likewise it gave him in his minde that his man looked like a very tall and desperate fellow. This could not but increase the *Kings* former apprehension and jealousy. Wherupon he insisted, as before, that the house was narrowly to be searched, and that those Billets and Coales would be searched to the bottome, it being most suspicious that they were laid there onely for the covering of the powder. Of this same mind also were all the *Connfellors* then present.

But upon the fashion of making the search was it long debated. For on the one side they were also jealous of the *Kings* safety, that they all agreed, that there could not be too much caution used for pre-

venting the dainger; and yet on the other part, they were all extreame loath and dainty, that in case this Letter should prove to be nothing but the evaporation of an idle braine, then a curious search being made and nothing found; should not onely turne to the generall scandall of the *King* and the *State*, as being so suspitious of every light and frivolous toy, but likewise lay an ill-favoured imputation upon the Earle of *Northumberland*, one of his Majesties greatest Subjects and Counsellors, this *Thomas Percy* being his kinsman and most confident familiar. And the rather were they curious upon this point, knowing how farre the *King* detested to be thought suspitious or jealous of any of his good Subjects, though of the meanest degree. And therefore though they all agreed upon the maine ground, which was to provide for the security of the *Kings* person, yet did they much differ in circumstances, by which this action might be best carried with least dinne and occasion of slander. But the *King* himselfe still persisting that there were divers shrewd appearances, and that a narrow search of those places could prejudice no man that was innocent, hee at last plainly resolved them, that either must all the parts of those roomes bee narrowly searched, and no possibility of danger left unexamined, or else he and they all must resolve not to meddle in it at all, but plainely to goe the next day to the *Parliament* and leave the successe to Fortune, which hee beleevd they would bee loath to take upon their consciences: for in such a case as this, an *halfe doing* was worse then

then *no doing* at all. Whereupon it was at last concluded that nothing should be left unsearched in those houses. And yet for the better colour and stay of rumor, in case nothing were found, it was thought meet that, upon a pretence of *Whinyards* missing some of the *Kings* stuffe or hangings which he had in keeping, all those roomes should be narrowly ripped for them. And to this purpose was Sir *Thomas Knevet* (a Gentleman of his Majesties privie Chamber) imployed, being a Justice of Peace in *Westminster*, and one, of whose ancient fidelitie both the late *Queene* and our now *Sovereigne* have had large proofe. Who according to the trust committed unto him went about the midnight next after to the *Parliament* house, accompanied with such a small number as was fit for that errand. But before his entry into the house, finding *Thomas Percyes* alleadged man standing without the doores, his Cloathes and Bootes on at so dead a time of night, hee resolved to apprehend him, as he did, and thereafter went forward to the searching of the house. Where, after hee had caused to be overturned some of the Billets and Coales, he first found one of the small Barrels of powder, and after, all the rest, to the number of *thirty sixe barrells* great and small. And thereafter, searching the fellow whom hee had taken, found three matches, and all other instruments fit for blowing up the powder, ready upon him; which made him instantly confesse his owne guiltinesse: declaring also unto him, that if he had happened to be within the house when he took him, as he was

immediately before (at the ending of his worke) he would not have failed to have blowne him up, house and all.

Thus after Sir *Thomas* had caused the wretch to be surely bound and well guarded by the company he had brought with him, he himselfe returned backe to the *Kings* Pallace, and gave warning of his successe to the Lord *Chamberlaine* and Earle of *Salisbury*, who immediately warning the rest of the *Counsell* that lay in the house, as soone as they could get themselves ready, came with their fellow *Counsellors* to the *Kings* Bed chamber, being at that time neere foure of the clocke in the morning. And at the first entry of the *Kings* Chamber doore, the Lord *Chamberlaine*, being not any longer able to conceale his joy for the preventing of so great a dainger, told the *King* in a confused haste that all was found and discovered, and the traitor in hands and fast bound.

Then order being first taken for sending for the rest of the *Counsell* that lay in the Towne, the prisoner himselfe was brought into the house. Where in respect of the strangenesse of the accident no man was stayed from the sight in speaking with him: and within a while after the *Counsell* did examine him. Who, seeming to put on a *Roman*. resolution, did both to the *Counsell* and to every other person that spake to him that day, appeare so constant and setled in his grounds, as they all thought they had found a new *Mutius Scavola* borne in *England*. For notwithstanding the horror of the fact, the guilt of his conscience, his sudden surpris-
sing,

ling, the terror which should have stricken him by comming into the presence of so grave a *Counsell*, and the restlesse and confused questions that every man all that day did vex him with; yet was his countenance so far from being dejected, as he often smiled in scornfull manner, not only avowing the fact, but repenting onely with the said *Scavola* his failing in the execution thereof; whereof, he said, the *Devill* and not *God* was the *discoverer*; answering quickly to every mans objections, scoffing at any idle questions which were propounded to him, and jesting with such as he thought had no authority to examine him. All that day could the *Counsell* get nothing out of him touching his complices, refusing to answer to any such questions which he thought might discover his plot and laying all the blame upon himselfe. Whereunto, hee said, he was moved only for *Religion* and conscience sake, denying the *King* to be his *lawfull Sovereaign* or the anointed of *God*, in respect hee was an *Heretike*, and giving himselfe no other name then *John Johnson* servant to *Thomas Percy*. But the next morning being carried to the *Tower* hee did not there remaine above two or three daies, being twice or thrice in that space re-examined, and the racke onely offered and shewed unto him, when the *maske* of his *Romish fortitude* did visibly beginne to weare and slide off his face. And then did he begin to confesse part of the truth, and thereafter to open the whole matter. Out of his confession, and especially out of the confession of *Thomas Winter* have wee drawne the

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the præceding narration. The confession of *Fawkes* was taken presently after his apprehension: The confession of *Winter* was taken the 23 of *November* before the Lords of the *Counsell*.

They that were first in the treason and laboured in the mine were *Robert Catesby*, *Robert Winter*, *Esquires*, *Thomas Percy*, *Thomas Winter*, *Iohn Wright*, *Christopher Wright*, *Guido Fawkes*, *Gentlemen*, and *Bates*, *Catesbyes* man. They that were made acquainted with it, though not personally labouring in the mine nor in the cellar, were *Everard Digby Knight*, *Ambrose Rookewood*, *Francis Tresham*, *Esquires*, *Iohn Grant Gentleman*, and *Robert Keies*.

The newes was no sooner spread abroad that morning, which was upon a *Tuesday*, the 5 of *November*, and the first day designed for that Session of *Parliament*: but some of those conspirators, namely *Winter* and the two *Wrights*, brethren, thought it high time for them to hasten out of the *Towne*, (for *Catesby* was gone the night before, and *Percy* at foure of the clocke in the morning the same day of the discovery) and all of them held their course with more hast then good speed to *Warwick-shire* toward *Coventry*, where the next day morning being *Wednesday* and about the same houre that *Fawkes* was taken in *Westminster*, one *Grant*, a Gentleman, having associated to him some others of his opinion, all violent *Papists* and strong *Recusants*, came to a stable of one *Benock* a rider of great horses, and having violently broken up the same, carried along with them all the great horses

horses that were therein, to the number of seven or eight, belonging to divers Noblemen and Gentlemen of that country, who had put them into the riders hands to be made fit for their service. And so both that company of them which fled out of London, as also Grant and his compliees met al together at *Dunchurch* at Sir *Everard Digby* his lodging the *Tuesday* at night after the discovery of this treacherous attempt. The which *Digby* had likewise for his part appointed a match of hunting to have beene hunted the next day, which was *Wednesday*, though his mind was *Nimrod-like* upon a farre other manner of hunting, more bent upon the blood of reasonable men then of brut beasts.

This company and hellish society thus convened, finding their purpose discovered, and their treachery prevented did resolve to runne a desperate course, and since they could not prevaile by so private a blow to practise by a publike rebellion, either to attaine to their intents, or at least to save themselves in the throng of others. And therefore gathering all the company they could unto them, and pretending the quarrell of Religion, having intercepted such provision of armour, horses and powder, as the time could permit, thought by running up and downe the Countrey both to augment peece by peece their number: (dreaming to themselves that they had the vertue of a snow-ball which being little at the first, and tumbling downe a great hill, groweth to great quantity, by increasing it selfe with the snow that it meeteth

in the way) and also that they beginning first this brave shew in one part of the Countrey should by their sympathie and example stir up and incourage the rest of their Religion in other parts in *England* to rise, as they had done there. But when they had gathered their Force to the greatest, they came not to the number of fourescore. And yet were they troubled all the houres of the day, to keepe and containe their owne servants from stealing from them. Who notwithstanding of all their care, daily left them, being farre inferiour to *Gedeons* host in *number* but farre more in *faith* and justnesse of the quarrell. And so after that this *Catholike* troupe had wandred a while through *Warwickshire* to *Worcestershire*, and from thence to the edge and borders of *Staffordshire*, this gallantly armed band had not the honor at the last to be beaten with a Kings *Lieutenant*, or extraordinary Commissioner sent downe for the purpose, but onely by the ordinary *Sheriffe* of *Worcestershire* were they all beaten, killed, taken, and dispersed. Wherein yee have to note this following circumstance so admirable and so lively displaying the greatnesse of Gods justice, as it could not bee concealed without betraying in a manner the glory due to the Almighty for the same. Although divers of the Kings *Proclamations* were posted downe after these traytors with all speed possible; declaring the odiousnesse of the bloody attempt, the necessity to have had *Percy* preserved alive, if it had bene possible, and the assembly of that rightly damned crew, now no more *darkned* conspirators;

but

but open and avowed Rebels: yet the farre distance of the way, (which was above an hundreth miles) together with the extreame deepnesse thereof ioyned also with the shortnesse of the day, was the cause that the hearty and loving affections of the Kings good Subjects in those parts prevented the speed of his *Proclamations*. For upon the third day after the flying downe of these Rebels, which was upon the *Friday* next after the discovery of their plot, they were most of them all surpris'd by the *Sheriffe of Worcestershire* at *Holbeach*, about the noone of the day, in manner following.

Grant, of whom mention was made before for the taking of the great horses, who had not all the præceding time stirred from his owne house till the next morning after the attempt should bee put in execution, he then laying his account without his *Host* (as the *Proverbe* is) that their plot had, without failing, received the day before their hoped-for successe, took or rather stole out those horses for inabling him and so many of that soul-lesse Society that had stil remained in the country neere about him, to make a sudden surprise upon the Kings elder daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, having her residence neere to that place, whom they thought to have used for the colour of their trecherous designe (his Majestie her Father, her Mother, and male-children being al destroyed above.) And to this purpose also had that *Nimrod Digby* provided his hunting-match against the same time that, numbers of people being flocked together upon the pretence thereof, they might the easilier

have brought to passe the sudden surprize of her person.

Now the violent taking away of those horses long before day did seeme to bee so great a riot in the eyes of the common people, that knew of no greater mystery, and the bold attempting thereof did ingender such a suspition of some following rebellion in the hearts of the wiser sort, as both great and small beganne to stirre and arme themselves upon this unlooked for accident. Among whom Sir *Fulk Grevil* the elder Knight, as became one both so ancient in yeares and good reputation, and by his office being Deputy *Lieutenant* of *Warwickshire*, though unable in his body yet by the zeale and true fervency of his minde, did first apprehend this foresaid riot to bee nothing but the sparkles or sure *Indices* of a following rebellion. Whereupon both stoutly and honestly hee tooke order to get into his owne hands the munition and armour of all such Gentlemen about him as were either absent from their own houses, or in a doubtfull guard, and also sent such direction to the towns about him, as thereupon did follow the striking of *Winter* by a poore Smith, who had likewise beene taken by those vulgar people, but that hee was rescued by the rest of his company; who perceiving that the Country before them had notice of them hastened away with losse in their owne fight, sixteene of their followers being taken by the townsmen and sent presently to the *Sheriffe* at *Warwick*, and from thence to *London*.

But before twelve or sixteene houres past,

Catesby, Percy, the Winters, Wrights, Rookwood and the rest bringing then the assurance that their maine plot was failed and bewrayed, whereupon they had builded the golden mountaines of their glorious hopes: they then tooke their last desperate resolution, to flock together in a troop and wander as they did, for the reasons aforetold. But as upon the one part, the zealous duty to their God and their Sovereigne was so deeply imprinted in the hearts of all the meanest and poorest sort of the people (although then knowing of no farther mystery then such publick misbehaviours; as their owne eyes taught them) as, notwithstanding their faire shewes and pretence of their *Catholike* cause, no creature, man or woman through all the Country would once so much as give them willingly a cup of drink or any sort of comfort or support, but with execrations detested them. So on the other part, the *Sheriffes* of the Shires where through they wandred, convening their people with all speed possible, hunted as hotly after them, as the evilnesse of the way and the unprovidednesse of their people upon that sudden could permit them. And so at last after *Sir Richard Verney*, Sheriffe of *Warwickshire*, had carefully and straightly beene in chase of them to the confines of his County, part of the meaner sort being also apprehended by him: *Sir Richard Walsb*, Sheriffe of *Worcestershire*, did likewise dutifully and hotly pursue them through his Shire. And having gotten sure triall of their taking harbour

Holbeach in
Staffordshire,
the house of
Stephen Little-
ton.

bour at the house above-named, hee sent Trum-
petters and messengers unto them, commanding
them in the *Kings* name to render to him his Ma-
jesties Minister; and knowing no more at that time
of their guilt then was publikely visible did' pro-
mise, upon their dutifull and obedient rendring to
him, to intercede at the *Kings* hands for the sparing
of their lives; who received onely from them this
scornfull answer (they being better witnesses to
themselves of their inward evill consciences) that
he had need of better assistance, then of those few
numbers that were with him, before hee could be
able to *command* or controll them.

But here fell the wondrous work of Gods ju-
stice, that while this message passed betweene the
Sheriff and *them*: the *Sheriff* and his peoples zeale
being justly kindled and augmented by their arro-
gant answer, and so they preparing themselves to
give a furious assault: and the other partie ma-
king themselves readie within the house to per-
forme their promise by a defence as resolute; it
pleased God that in the mending of the fire in
their Chamber, one small sparke should flye out
and light among lesse then two pound weight of
Powder, which was drying a little from the Chim-
ney: which being thereby *blowne* up so maimed
the faces of some of the principall Rebels, and
the hands and sides of other of them (blowing up
with it also a great bag full of *Powder*, which not-
withstanding neyer tooke fire) as they were not
onely disabled and discouraged hereby from a-
ny further resistance, in respect *Catesby* himselve,

Rookwood,

Rookwood, Grant, and divers others of greatest account among them were thereby made unable for defence, but also wonderfully stricken with amazement in their guiltie consciences, calling to memorie how God had justly punished them with that same instrument, which they should have used for the effectuating of so great a sinne; according to the old saying, *In quo peccamus in eodem plectimur*. In as much as they presently (see the wonderfull power of Gods justice upon guiltie consciences) did all fall downe upon their knees, praying God to pardon them for their bloody Enterprise. And after that, giving over any further debate, opened the gate, suffered the *Sheriffes* people to rush in furiously among them, and desperately sought their owne present destruction; The three specialls of them joyning backs together, *Catesby, Percy* and *Winter*; whereof two with one shot, *Catesby* and *Percy*, were slaine; *Winter* was taken and saved alive.

And thus these resolute and high-aspiring *Catholikes*, who dreamed of no lesse then the destruction of *Kings* and *Kingdomes*, and promised to themselves no lower estate then the government of great and ancient *Monarchies*, were miserably defeated and quite overthrowne in an instant, falling into the pit which they had prepared for others; And so fulfilling that sentence which his Majesty did in a manner prophesie of them in his Oration to the *Parliament*: some presently slaine, others deadly wounded, stripped of their cloaths, left lying miserably naked; and so dying rather of cold then of the danger

dainger of their wounds; and the rest that either were whole, or but lightly hurt, taken and led prisoners by the *Sheriffe*, the *ordinary Minister* of Justice, to the Gaole, the *ordinary place* even of the basest malefactors; where they remained till their sending up to *London*, being met with a huge confluence of people of all sorts desirous to see them as the rarest sort of *Monsters*; fooles to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiser sort to satisfie their curiositie in seeing the outward cases of so unheard-of a villany; and generally all sorts of people to satiate and fill their eyes with the sight of them, whom in their hearts they so farre admired and detested, serving so for a fearfull and publick spectacle of Gods fierce wrath and just indignation. They *lived* blindly, they *praesised* divellishly, they *dyled* desperately; Their memory is *curst* throughout all generations.

Now what have our adverstaries to say to these or what can we say to these things, but that *there is a God in heaven* that destroyeth all the purposes of the *Pope on earth*? whatsoever have beene attempted against us the *Pope* is firme on their side; *God* hath manifested himselfe many wayes to bee on our side. What cause have we then and how many wayes are we provoked to trust in *God*, to love him, to worship him, that so miraculously hath defended us? to cleave with all singleness of heart to that cause that hath beene so mightily maintained by Gods hand and power? And what cause

cause have our adversaries to examine themselves, and more narrowly to examine the cause which God by so many judgments hath condemned: The people of *Israel* were mightily protected by the hand of *God*, and so long as they truly served God all their adversaries could never prevaile against them, they were defended by power from above, God did watch over them; but when they fell from God, God did suffer them to fall into the hands of their enemies. There will hardly be found any president even among the people of God, that for so many yeeres together they have beenc continually delivered from so many, so cruelly intended, so daingerous assaults. The deepest devises of malice reaching even from hell unto hellish men upon earth have beenc practised against us, as this last which came from the deepnesse of *Satan*: wherein without sword or speare, without any shew of warlike preparations their hellish devise was at one blow to root out Religion, to destroy the state, the head with the body, the King with the state, the Father of our Country, the Mother of our Country, the oline branches the hopefull succession of our King, the Reverend Clergy, the Honourable Nobilitie, the faithfull Counsellors, the grave Judges, the greatest part of our Knights and Gentry, the choifest Burgesses, the Officers of the Crowne, Counsell, Signet, Seales and of other seates of Judgment, the learned Lawyers, with an infinite number of common people, the Hall of justice, the houses of the Parliament, the Church used for the Coronation of our Kings, the monuments of our

former Princes, all *Records* of Parliament and of euery particular mans right, with a great number of *charters* and other things of this nature, all these things had the devill by his agents devised at one secret blow to destroy. *If the Lord had not beene on our side, may Israel now say, if the Lord had not beene on our side when men rose up against us, they had then swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us: praised be the Lord which hath not given us up a prey to their teeth, our soule is escaped as a Bird out of the snare of the Fowlers; the snare is broken and wee are delivered: our help is in name of the Lord which hath made heaven and earth.*

Wee labour against the *Papists* to prove our *Church*, a true *Church* of God: They on the other side labour to prove themselves the onely *Catholike Church* and our *Assemblies* to bee, as they call them, *Assemblies of Heretikes*. God hath determined this *Controversie* most *evidently* by his *word* and most *powerfully* from heaven by his continuall *protection* of us and destruction of all the wicked *practises* which they have attempted against us. Was there ever *any cause* in the world so strongly maintained on the one side, as *our cause* hath beene? Was there ever *any execrable practises* in the world so powerfully condemned from heaven, as *their practises* have beene? God open their *eyes*, that they may see and understand that they *fight against G O D*. The *Church of Rome*, so long as it stood the *Church of God*, did never practise either by open warres
or

or by secret conspiracies to destroy *Kings* and subvert *Kingdomes*; but by the *preaching* of *GODS* Word, by *examples* of pietie and sanctimony, laboured to draw the ignorant unto the *knowledge* and *obedience* of the truth. That course is now utterly forsaken of them; for how can they teach the *truth* to others, that are themselves in ignorance and *in the shadow of death*? or how can they give *examples* of an holy life, whose whole practice and conversation is in blood, in malice, in wicked and wretched actions? And will they never understand that they who practise such things *cannot inherit the kingdom of GOD*? cannot bee the *Church* of God? cannot pray to God, nor expect any blessing from him upon their execrable practises? There is a manifest change of their *Church*, and they will not see it. They aske us, when was this change, under what *King*, under what *Emperor*, under what *Pope*? But if they were wise, they would first inquire whether there be a change or no? and then inquire further of the time and manner of it. Wee say that which no man can deny, that there is a notorious change: this is evident; for the *Church* of old never allowed the crueltie, the impietie, the execrable wickednesse which is daily practised by the great Maisters of the *Church* of *Rome* and allowed and approved by the *Pope*. Then *there is a change*, and it is evident to all: But this is a change of *manners* of the *Church*, not of the *doctrines*. If therefore they demand of us, how a change of the *doctrines* may be proved? Wee are able to point out

from time to time that the *doctrines*, which they have invented; were never heard of in the *Church* before such times as we are able to point at. Maister *Jewel* the reverend Bishop of *Salisbury*, for pietie and learning the *mirrour* of his time, hath made full and faire prooffe, that of those *Articles*, wherein hee challenged all the learned of the *Church of Rome* not one of them was ever taught in the *Church* before the *yeare* of *Christ* 600. his prooffes stand unanswered to this day. Though Maister *Harding* hath done his best to examine them, who wanted neither *learning* nor *eloquence*, but onely *truth* wanting on his side, the challenge is still made good. Wee are also able to point to another time, before the *yeare* of *Christ* 1000 many of the greatest & grossest errors in *Poperie* were never taught or heard in the *Church*; as the *Doctrines* of *transubstantiation*, of the *reall presence* as it is understood in the *Church of Rome*, of the *Popes power* to depose Kings and absolve their Subjects from their allegiance or to warrant their Subjects to rebell against them, of the *Doctrines* of *Grace* and *Iustification* as now they are taught in the *Church of Rome*, of the doctrine of *merits* whether *ex congruo* or *condigno*, of the *seven sacraments*, and many other of this nature, of which wee are assured that not one of them can be proved ever to have beene taught or heard of in the *Church* before the *yeare* of *Christ* one thousand. Wee are further able to point to another time before which the *rule* of *faith* was never changed in the *Church*, this was their last attempt

in the points of Doctrine, a desperate attempt against the truth. For from the *Apostles* time till the Councell of *Trent* the rule of faith was ever held in the *Church* one and the same, that is, the doctrine contained in the sacred canonical *Scriptures*. That this onely rule of faith was held in the *Church* till the Councell of *Trent* it is evidently proved by the full consent of the ancient *Fathers*, and moreover by the confession of all *Writers* in the *Church* of *Rome* before the Councell of *Trent*: such as were ^a *Bernard*, ^b *Peter Lumbard*, ^c *Thomas Aquinas*, ^d *Iohannes Scotus*, ^e *Durandus*, ^f *Clemens I. Pope*, ^g *Cardinalis Cameracensis*, ^h *John Gerson*, ^k *Conradus Clingius*, ^l *Ios: Acofta*, ^m *Alfonfus de castro*, and many others. To repeat the testimonies of all, would be tedious. Let it suffice to repeate one testimony of *Aquinas*, wherein all the rest agree. *Aquinas* in the first place cited faith: *Prophetarum & Apostolorum doctrina, dicitur Canonica, quia est regula intellectus nostri, & ideo nullus aliter debet docere*; that is, *The Doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles is called canonical, because it is the rule of our understanding, and therefore no man ought to teach otherwise*. And in the second place cited, he saith, *Innititur fides nostra revelatione Apostolis & Prophetis facta*; that is, *our faith resteth upon the revelation made to the Apostles and Prophets*. Then, *traditions* was never accounted the rule of our understanding, or that whereupon our faith must rest, though the same be more fully proved out of the *Scriptures* themselves and from a full consent

^a In *Cant. Cant.* serm 30.

^b *Lib. I. sent.* dist. 1.

^c In 1: ad *Tim.* cap. 6. & *Sum.* par. 1. q. 1. ar. 8.

^d In *prolog. Sen.* q. 2.

^e *Pref. in Sent.*

^f *Distinct. 37.*

^g *Sent. q. 1. art.* 3. 1. coroll. lit. H.

^h *De cori. sub* utraq. specie.

^k *Locor. l. b. 3.* c. 29.

^l *De revel. Antichr. apud Pofsevin. Biblioth. select. lib. 2.* cap. 25.

^m *Lib. 13. verbo, Scriptura.*

* *Consensus Catholice Ecclesie contra Tridentinos.*

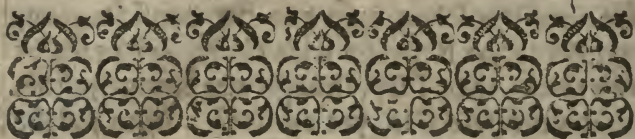
of the ancient *Fathers*, as is * otherwhere manifested: yet this I thought here might suffice to declare the opinions of them that lived in the *Church of Rome* next before the *Councell of Trent*, as many of these did, which I have before named. So that this is evident, the rule of faith was never altered in the *Church of Rome* before the *Councell of Trent*. Then did they alter this rule by putting *traditions* of their *Church* into the rule of faith, and *Luciferlike* matching equalizing and mating the *wisedome* of God with their owne *follies*. Then all is changed, when the *manners* of the *Church*, the *doctrines* of the *Church*, and the verie rule of faith is changed. What greater change may be looked for hereafter in the *Church of Antichrist*, I know not; but this is sufficient to move us to forsake them as the congregation of the impious, the *Church* of the *malignant*. And because they have forsaken God and his truth, therefore by the just judgement of God are they permitted to runne into so many *foule errors* and such wicked and *execrable practises*, that neither *Christians* nor *Heathen*, guided onely by the light of nature, could ever approve. If they say, that we also have our faults and sinnes: I answer, that when we turne our selves to consider our sinnes against GOD, wee all finde our selves guiltie, and *not able to answer one of a thousand* that hee may justly charge us withall. Our unthankfulnesse to him is so great for his manifold blessings and wonderfull protection; our sinnes we conceale not from him, wee acknowledge unto God, that if hee lay his

his rod upon us, as wee have deserved, if hee should cast our Land backe againe into that former blindnesse wherein it lay in *Poperie*, God is just, wee have deserved great punishments. But if wee turne our selves unto another consideration, comparing *our Religion* with *theirs*, *our practises* with *theirs*, then I say, though wee cannot justifie our selves before God, yet are wee able to justifie our selves in respect of *them*. Let our enemies bee our *Iudges*. When evill is committed among us, it is punished, and therein wee rejoyce, that evill is punished. It was never found that execrable practises were approved by us; for that were to forsake religion: but the most wicked practises that have bene heard of are not onely committed by them, but approved, yea and commended: as the killing of *Henry 3. of France* was practised by a *Fryer* and commended by the *Pope*. These be the finnes that doe ripen them for Gods judgments. For the time will come when great *Babylon* shall come in remembrance before the Lord, to give unto her the cup of Wine of the fiercenesse of his wrath: And againe, Therefore shall her plagues come at one day, death, and sorrow, and famine, and she shall bee burnt with fire; for strong is the Lord God which will condemne her. In the meane time wee waite upon God, and wee doe in humblenesse of heart offer up to God the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, that it pleased him of his goodnesse and unsearchable mercies towards us to call us out of *Babylon*, to give us hearts to obey his calling, to make choise of this Church
which

Apoc. 16. 19.

Apoc. 18. 3.

which himfelfe hath planted in *Great Britaine*, to enable it to stand againft all the furious rage and wicked praftifes of the *Pape* and his adherents.



The Conclusion.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS PROPOSED TO
such as are not well affected
to Religion.

1



Kings and States, when they are miraculously protected by the hand of God and delivered from great daingers, may understand what blessing they have by a *Church* planted in their State. The *Church* bringeth the blessing to the *State*: because God regardeth them that are faithfull to him and for their sakes blesteth the whole.

2 This *Church* that bringeth such a blessing to States is much questioned now, where it is, and how to finde it: for divers strive for it, and the true *Church* it but *One*.

3 That

3 That is the true *Church* that hath held the rule of *Faith* from the *Apostles* time: That is the false *Church* that hath changed that rule.

4 Who hold this rule and who not, may be knowne by the holy *Doctrines* contained in the *Scripture ex consanguinitate doctrina.*

5 *Learning* is necessary to inable a man to judge aright of these things: but *Learning* may be also in men that are corrupt and ungodly. And therefore a man can never be well inabled to judge of these things without the *Spirit* of God directing his *Learning.*

6 The true *Church* is ruled by the *Spirit* of God, and preserved from errors and heresies, against which *the gates of hell shall not prevaile.*

7 A *lay man*, that hath the *Spirit* of God, is better able to judge of the *Church* and of the members thereof, then a man in *Ecclesiasticall* function, that hath not the *Spirit* of God.

8 They that are contentious, seditious, cruell, malicious, uncleane, adulterers, idolaters, murthers, or such like have not the *Spirit* of God. The reason is evident, because these and such like are *the fruits of the flesh* contrary to *the fruits of the Spirit.*

9 From these principles if the *Princes* that are of the *Romish* Religion would be pleased to examine *themselves*, their *Religion*, their best *learned* and religious men, their *Doctrines*, their *Practises*; they might by a *generous* search easily finde where is Gods *Church*, and where is Gods *Spirit.*

10 Withall they may bee pleased to consider the *Works* of God, his protection and *miraculous* defence of his *Church*; which *miraculous* defence hath appeared here over the *Church* of *England*, as also elsewhere, but more conspicuous here; more illustrious examples of Gods mercy will hardly bee found any where: God hath for many yeares delivered this *Church*, preserved us in peace, when all the Nations about us have bin in bloody warres.

11 It cannot bee proved that God did ever in such maner and so many wayes defend a Nation, but onely there where hee had a *People* of his owne, his true *Church*.

12 It can never bee proved that they that *professe* and *practise* malice, crueltie, sedition, idolatry, and such other *workes of the flesh* are the true *Church of Christ*.

13 They that *make falshood their refuge* and hide themselves under vanitie have no cause to boast themselves to bee the *Catholike Church*. If we should rehearse the strange *lyes* which they have invented against *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, against divers reverend *Bishops*, whercof some are *departed* some yet *living*, against the *Church* and *State of England*, it would fill a booke to speake of their particular *lyes*. They understand well enough whom they serve herein, their *practise* is to lye, their hope is that every lye cannot be examined by the common people, they care not though it bee found out to be a lye by some so it bee not found by the multitude, whom to de-
ceive

ceive is their chiefe care; not respecting God, nor Truth, nor Gods Church, which is the *Pillar of truth* and may not be maintained with *lyes*.

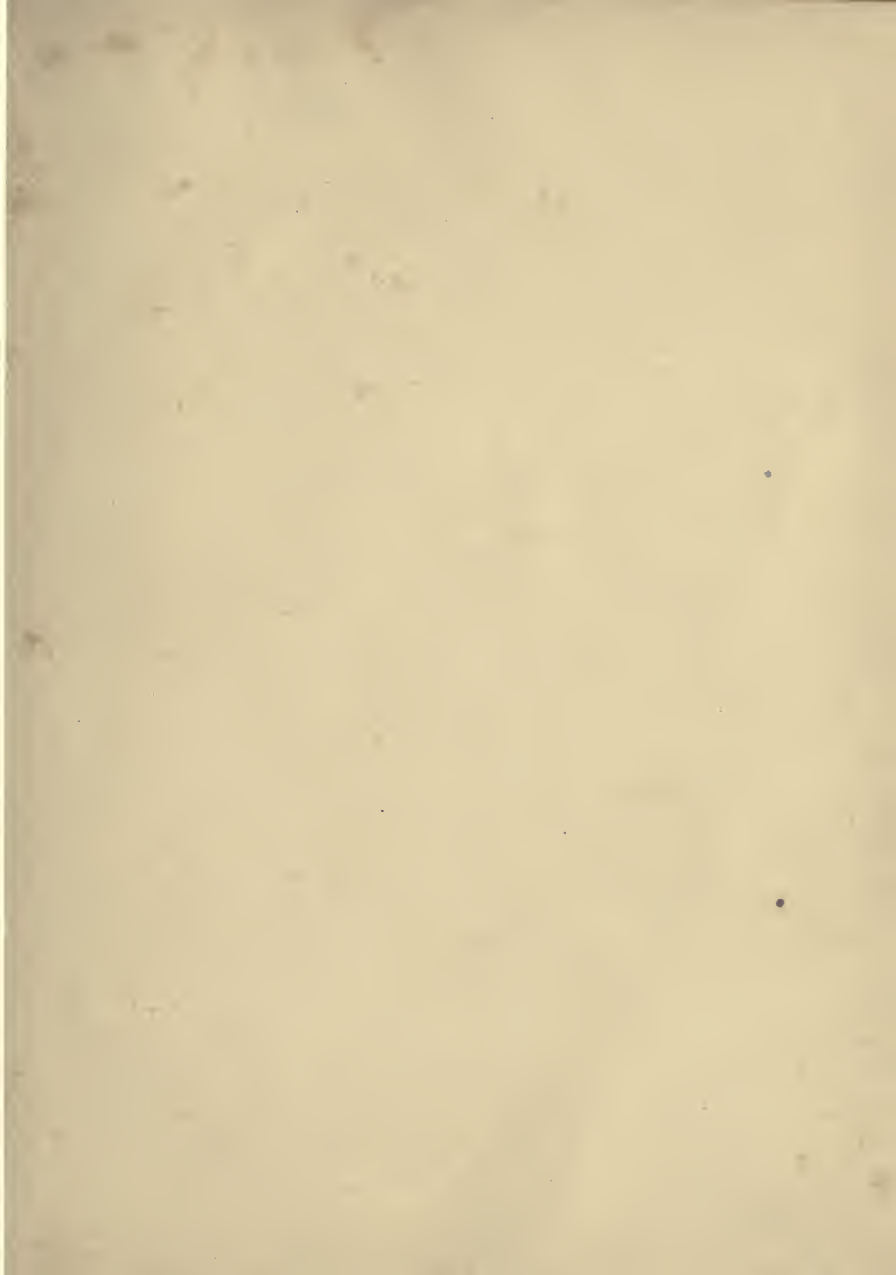
14 How the *Pope*, the *Iesuites*, the whole *Church of Rome* is well knowne by the *fruits of the flesh*, and how the *fruits of the spirit* of God could never for these many hundreth yeares be observed in them, I leave to the consciences of all to consider, but especially to the *great Iudge* that must judge them and us.

Whose blessed and joyfull coming the true *Church* doth love and wait for in *faith and patience*.

FINIS.







Z28
162
F57

