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THE JESUITS IN GREAT BRITAIN



THE JESUITS IN GREAT BRITAIN

AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY INTO THEIR
POLITICAL INFLUENCE

BY

WALTER WALSH, F. R. Hist. S.

*Author of "The Secret History of the Oxford Movement," "The History of the
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Protestant Declaration," "The Religious Life of Queen Victoria," etc.*



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P R E F A C E

THE Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century was the wonder of the world. Its rapid growth, notwithstanding the efforts of the Papacy to uproot it, served to convince its disciples that there was a power behind it which was not of this world. Popes cursed it, and Kings drew the sword against its followers; but all in vain. Countless multitudes of martyrs were sent to the stake, yet still Protestantism would not die. It grew more powerful every year. With earthquake force it shook the Vatican, and threatened ere long to sweep the Papacy from off the face of the earth. It seemed at one time, as though nothing could resist its progress. It will soon be four hundred years since Martin Luther raised the standard of revolt against Papal tyranny, but Protestantism is not dead yet; on the contrary it is a great and living power in the world, able to hold its own against every machination of Rome. Yet it must be admitted that in the latter half of the sixteenth century the Protestant Reformation received a severe check through the exertions of the Society of Jesus.

The operations of this Order in Great Britain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are referred to by most of our historians, but at quite an inadequate length, and without utilising in any way the wealth of material which has seen the light for the first time during the past half century. And even those Protestant authors who have written specially on the Jesuit Order seem to have been

quite unaware of its existence. I have made extensive use of this new material in the following pages, in which will be found a considerable amount of historical information not generally known to the public. In one respect this book will certainly differ from every other book on the Jesuits written by a Protestant, inasmuch as the great majority of my authorities are either Jesuits or ordinary Roman Catholics. The Protestant indictment against the Order is all the stronger when built upon such authorities.

I have confined myself to an examination of the *political* influence of the Jesuits in Great Britain, excepting in the last two chapters, in which the Constitutions and the general work of the Society and of its agents and instruments are considered. I venture to suggest that in these last chapters will be found some important information which throws light on its present operations. The work carried on by the Jesuits through its Sodalities has never, so far as I am aware, been adequately described by any Protestant writer. There are Jesuit Sodalities for both sexes, and for every class of society. At the chief Jesuit Church in London (at Farm Street, W.) the lowest rank of Society admitted to its "Sodality of the Immaculate Conception" is that of gentleman. Each member is admitted by authority of the General of the Jesuits, and is under the guidance of a Jesuit Director. There are Sodalities also for ladies. In the section devoted to these Sodalities I quote from their privately printed books.

The evidence produced in the following pages can leave no doubt in a candid reader's mind that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Jesuits were a thoroughly disloyal body of men, and the ringleaders in sedition and rebellion. They wanted to restore Roman Catholicism in the United Kingdom,

and for this purpose their chief reliance was on the sword. If they could have had their way Protestantism would have been exterminated, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, not by fair controversial methods, but by crooked dealing, and, above all, by foreign soldiers. The chief disturbers of the State in Elizabeth's reign, and in the early years of James I., and the instigators of the abominable Gunpowder Plot, were the spiritual children of the Jesuits. From the ranks of one of their Sodalities, as Mr. Simpson, the Roman Catholic biographer of Father Campian, assures us, came most of the men implicated in the plots to assassinate Elizabeth. No class of men were more alive to the dangerous and disloyal character of the Society of Jesus than the secular Roman Catholic priests. Roman Catholics, in almost every country, have said stronger things against the Society than anything which Protestants have uttered.

There are many sensational events recorded in these pages, but I trust that nothing will be discovered in the way of intemperate comment. The facts against the Jesuits are so strong that they do not need the aid of abuse.

The work of the Jesuits in Great Britain during the Commonwealth period, and subsequently to the accession of James II. is not recorded in this volume. Happily the omission may be largely filled in by a perusal of Father Taunton's recent *History of the Jesuits in England*. This gentleman, though a Roman Catholic priest, exposes the history of the Order with an unsparing hand. It is all the more valuable as coming from such a source. I have used his book but sparingly, and with due acknowledgment in each case. Had it appeared at an earlier date it would have saved me much original research; but nearly all my

facts had been collected several years before its publication. Mr. Taunton deserves our warmest thanks for the courage he has displayed in telling the truth about an Order which has ever been the fruitful parent of civil and political discords.

Want of space has also prevented me dealing with the history of Jesuit operations in Ireland, where their services on the side of disloyalty and rebellion have been conspicuous.

The British Empire, at home and in its Colonies and Dependencies, is the chief centre of Jesuit operations at the present moment. Its leaders know very well that to destroy the power of Protestantism in the dominions of King Edward VII. would be the greatest service they could render to the Church of Rome. The work of the French Jesuits in connection with the Dreyfus Case, and the abuse of England by Jesuit papers and magazines on the Continent, in connection with the recent South African War, have given the Order a bad name once more amongst British Protestants. Expelled from France they are flocking to England, but not for England's good. Every lover of Protestantism should realise more clearly than ever that the Jesuit Order is the great foe of our civil and religious liberty.

I cannot conclude this preface without acknowledging the kind encouragement and assistance rendered to me by Colonel T. Myles Sandys, M.P., without which I should probably have never undertaken the task of writing this book.

W. W.

London, April 1903.

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THE JESUITS IN GREAT BRITAIN

CHAPTER I

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE JESUIT MISSION

IGNATIUS LOYOLA, the Founder of the Society of Jesus, from an early period in his career, down to the time of his death, took a special interest in English affairs. About ten years before his Order received the Pontifical blessing, in 1530, Loyola paid a visit to London, for the purpose of collecting alms from the numerous Spaniards who at that time resided in the English metropolis. His visit appears to have been a brief one, and very little is known about it. Bishop Burnet states that the Jesuits requested Cardinal Pole, in the reign of Mary, to invite them to England, on the ground that the old monastic orders were of no use, especially the Benedictines. They had the audacity to suggest to the Cardinal that the Homes of the English Benedictines should be handed over to the newly founded Society of Jesus. But Cardinal Pole seems to have had no love for the Jesuits, whose request he refused. "The Jesuits," says Bishop Burnet, "were out of measure offended with him for not entertaining their proposition; which I gather from an Italian manuscript, which my most worthy friend Mr. Crawford found in Venice, when he was Chaplain there to Sir Thomas Higgins, His Majesty's envoy to that Republic; but how it came that this motion was laid aside, I am not able to judge."¹ The first Jesuit sent on a temporary mission to England was the well-known Father Ribadeneira, who arrived a few days before the death of Queen Mary, which

¹ Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii., pp. 525, 526. Oxford, 1865.

occurred on the 17th of November, 1558. He remained in England for a few months only, during which he appears to have been deeply pained by the changes in religion already inaugurated by Queen Elizabeth. He poured forth his grief into the ear of the Father General of the Jesuits, in a letter dated January 20, 1559. "The heretics," he wrote, "are very elated, and the Catholics are very disconsolate."¹ Ribadeneira little thought what an important part his Order would take in combating the "heretics," whose rejoicing he witnessed. It was not, however, until about the year 1564 that the first Jesuit was formally sent to England as a Mission priest. His name was Roger Bolbet. At about the same time a second priest, Father Thomas King, arrived as a Missioner. It is recorded of the latter, by a recent Jesuit writer, that while moving about the country carrying on his allotted work, "his disguise, for he was well dressed, rather shocked his converts at first."² The Jesuits residing in England during Elizabeth's reign may be said to have travelled about in perpetual disguise. One cannot be surprised at this, though there can be no doubt that at times they went too far. It was the only way in which they could escape arrest. The disguise of the famous Jesuit Robert Parsons, when he arrived at Dover, June 12th, 1580, was such as to both amuse and astonish his companion, Edmund Campian, who thus describes his attire in a letter to the General of the Jesuits, dated June 20th, 1580:—"He (Parsons) was dressed up like a soldier,—such a peacock, such a swaggerer, that a man must have a very sharp eye to catch a glimpse of any holiness and modesty shrouded beneath such a garb, such a look, such a strut!"³ In the 17th century the Jesuits were exceedingly clever in inventing effectual disguises. The late Rev. Dr. Oliver, who, though not nominally a Jesuit, was really in the service of the

¹ The *Month*, September 1891, p. 44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³ Simpson, *Edmund Campian*, p. 124.

Order,¹ informs us that Father Stephen Gelosse, an Irish Jesuit who flourished during the Commonwealth, "adopted every kind of disguise; he assumed every shape and character; he personated a dealer of fagots, a servant, a thatcher, a porter, a beggar, a gardener, a miller, a carpenter, a tailor with his sleeve stuck with needles, a milkman, a pedlar, a seller of rabbit-skins etc."²

There is no evidence to prove that either Bolbet or King interfered with political questions during their short mission in England, which seems to have lasted only a few months. Sixteen years more had to pass by before the Jesuits set seriously to work to overturn the Protestant Reformation in England. But, meanwhile, their Order had the privilege of boasting that one of its members was the first priest who was executed in England during Elizabeth's reign. Father Thomas Woodhouse, the priest referred to, was on May 14, 1561, committed to the Fleet Prison, London, and remained in custody until his execution on June 19, 1573. His imprisonment was not altogether of a severe character. He was allowed many privileges which prisoners in the twentieth century never possess. A sympathiser, writing the year after his death, informs us that "his keeper allowed him to make secret excursions to his friends by day, and gave him the freedom of the prison."³ He was allowed to say Mass daily in his cell, and for a long time no hindrance was placed in the way of his efforts to proselytise his fellow-prisoners of the Protestant faith. There can be no doubt that Father Woodhouse was a man who possessed the courage of his opinions and was never afraid to avow his convictions. But the Bull of Pope Pius V. of February 25, 1570, deposing Elizabeth from her throne, and forbidding

¹ Foley, *Records of English Province, S.J.*, vol. vii., p. 559.

² Oliver, *Collections towards the Biography of the Scotch, English, and Irish Members S.J.*, Ed. 1838, p. 280.

³ Foley, *Records, S.J.*, vol. vii., p. 1257.

her subjects to obey her, turned him into a traitor. On November 19, 1572, he addressed a letter to Lord Burghley, urging him to acknowledge his "great iniquity and offence against Almighty God, especially in disobeying that supreme authority and power of the See Apostolic;" and exhorting him to "earnestly persuade the Lady Elizabeth (who for her own great disobedience is most justly deposed) to submit herself unto her spiritual Prince and Father, the Pope's Holiness, and with all humility, to reconcile herself unto him, that she may be the child of salvation."¹

It was not likely that Lord Burghley would leave an impudent and disloyal letter like this unnoticed. It will be observed that Woodhouse refers to the Queen, not by her proper title, but by that of "the Lady Elizabeth," by which she was known before her accession to the throne; and that he had the audacity to declare that she was "most justly deposed." Three or four days after receiving this letter Lord Burghley had an interview with the priest. What took place at the interview cannot be better described than in the "Relation" written by Father Garnet, whose name was subsequently to startle the civilised world in connection with the Gunpowder Plot.

"The Treasurer," writes Father Garnet, "called him unto audience, where he sat in a chamber alone, and seeing him, such a silly little body as he was, seemed to despise him, saying:

"'Sirra, was it you that wrote me a letter the other day?'

"'Yes, sir,' saith Mr. Woodhouse, approaching as near his nose as he could, and casting up his head to look him in the face, 'that it was even I, if your name be Mr. Cecil.'

"Whereat the Treasurer staying awhile, said more coldly than before:

"'Why, Sir, will you acknowledge me none other name nor title than Mr. Cecil?'

"'Because,' saith Mr. Woodhouse, 'she that gave you those names and titles had no authority so to do.'

"'And why so?' saith the Treasurer.

"'Because,' saith Woodhouse, 'our Holy Father the Pope hath deposed her.'

"'Thou art a traitor,' saith the Treasurer."²

¹ This letter is printed in Foley's *Records, S.J.*, vol. vii., p. 1266.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1263.

And there can be no doubt that Lord Burghley was right. Woodhouse was a traitor beyond possibility of dispute, and there can be no question that he was just the kind of man to carry his theory into practice, so far as circumstances would permit. Those were times when it was not safe for the State to tolerate treason. Only a few months before, by the execution of the Duke of Norfolk, the country had emerged safely from a dangerous conspiracy to murder Queen Elizabeth and to place Mary Queen of Scots on the throne by an armed rebellion, if the murder plot had failed. The proposed assassination had been organised by Ridolfi, the emissary of Mary Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk to the Pope and the King of Spain. Mignet, gives us, in his life of that Queen, the minutes of a secret Council of State held at the Escorial on July 7th, 1571, at which Philip II. of Spain presided, when Ridolfi's scheme of assassination was solemnly discussed in the presence of the Inquisitor General, the Cardinal Archbishop of Seville, and other high officers in Church and State.¹ By the good providence of God the plots for murder and rebellion were discovered in time, though many of the particulars were then unknown to English statesmen which have been brought to light in recent years, and the Duke paid the penalty for his crime. How could Burghley forget the lessons he had so recently learnt? When Woodhouse returned to his prison after his interview with the Treasurer, he was placed in a chamber by himself. Soon the news of his traitorous speeches spread all over England, and the Council felt themselves compelled to take action. At first they hoped that proof would be forthcoming that the priest was mad, but when it was clear to them that he was unmistakably a man with a sound mind, they ordered that he should be called before the Recorder of London. When there, so Father Garnet reports, Woodhouse "denied the Queen to

¹ Mignet's *History of Mary Queen of Scots*, 7th English Ed., pp. 309—311.

be Queen. 'Oh!' said one, 'if you saw her Majesty, you would not say so, for her Majesty is great.' 'But the majesty of God,' said Woodhouse, 'is much greater.'¹ It is evident that in this instance the priest considered the majesty of the Pope and that of God as the same thing, the former by his deposing Bull being the mouthpiece of the Almighty. Woodhouse was at length put on his trial at the Guildhall, London. He was not charged with any offence against the religion of the Established Church of England, or with teaching Roman Catholic doctrines. The evidence of Father Garnet is clear on this point. He says that at the trial Woodhouse was asked—

"What he could say for himself in answer to the indictment, which was of High Treason, for denying her Majesty to be Queen of England; to which he said, they were not his judges, nor for his judges would he ever take them, being heretics, and pretending authority from her that could not give it to them."²

The Jury could, of course, only find him guilty of High Treason, after such a speech, and he was accordingly condemned to death, and executed at Tyburn on the date given above. Father Rishton who at the close of Elizabeth's reign wrote the continuation to Sanders' *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, states that Woodhouse, with Dr. Storey and Felton, "openly refused to obey the Queen,"³ No one can truthfully say that he died for his religion, but for maintaining the deposing power of the Pope, and his claim to interfere with the temporal government of the kingdoms of the world. It is therefore a most significant fact that the present Pope, Leo XIII., in 1886, raised Thomas Woodhouse to the rank of the "Blessed." In a *Menology*, published in London in 1887, "by order" of the late Cardinal Manning, and "the Bishops of the Province of Westminster,"

¹ Foley, *Records, S.J.*, vol. vii., p. 1264.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1265.

³ Sanders' *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, Ed. London, 1877, p. 317.

it is declared that Woodhouse "suffered for the Faith."¹ What "Faith"? It must have been faith in the deposing power. While in prison Woodhouse was received into the Society of Jesus, and Brother Foley, S.J., has inserted his name in a list, published in 1882, of "Martyrs of the English Province, S.J. (First Class)."² I venture to assert that loyal Englishmen will not think modern Jesuits justified in thus holding up to the admiration of Englishmen one who, Jesuits themselves being the witnesses, was nothing less than a convicted traitor though now termed a "Blessed" martyr. I have nothing to say in behalf of the cruel way in which Woodhouse was put to death. It was a punishment ordered to be inflicted on all traitors, and in accordance with laws passed by the country when it was Roman Catholic. Woodhouse deserved to die. "Treason," as Mr. Froude wisely remarks, "is a crime for which personal virtue is neither protection nor excuse. To plead in condemnation of severity, either the general innocence or the saintly intentions of the sufferers, is beside the issue."³

This record of the first execution of a Jesuit priest in England may be a suitable point at which to raise the general question—did the Jesuits and the Secular Priests who were put to death in England during Elizabeth's reign, suffer for their religion, or for treason such as would be acknowledged as treason by politicians of the twentieth century? It would be easy to cite Protestant authors who have maintained that they died only for their treasonable conduct. It is well known that Queen Elizabeth frequently boasted that no priest was executed for his religion under her rule; and Lord Burghley, in 1583, wrote his *Execution of Justice* to prove the same thing. No Protestant writer of the period can be produced who did not believe every executed Jesuit to have been disloyal, apart from religion. But what is of

¹ Stanton, *Menology of England and Wales*, p. 275.

² Foley, *Records, S.J.*, vol. vii, p. lxiv.

³ Froude, *History of England*, vol. xi., p. 108.

far greater weight in forming a just opinion on this question, Roman Catholic authors may be quoted who agree with Queen Elizabeth, Lord Burghley, and Protestant writers. The late Mr. Charles Butler, the principal lay leader of the English Roman Catholics, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in agitating for the political emancipation of his co-religionists, in his *Historical Memoirs of the English Catholics*, publishes the questions put to all the priests imprisoned in the time of Elizabeth, beginning with the Jesuit Campian and his companions in 1581. These questions were as follows:—

“1. Whether the Bull of Pius V. against the Queen’s Majesty, be a lawful sentence, and ought to be obeyed by the subjects of England?”

“2. Whether the Queen’s Majesty be a lawful Queen, and ought to be obeyed by the subjects of England, notwithstanding the Bull of Pius V., or any Bull or sentence that the Pope hath pronounced, or may pronounce against Her Majesty?”

“3. Whether the Pope have, or had the power to authorise the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and other Her Majesty’s subjects, to rebel, or take arms against Her Majesty, or to authorise Doctor Sanders, or others, to invade Ireland, or any other her dominions, and to bear arms against her; and whether they did therein lawfully, or not?”

“4. Whether the Pope have power to discharge any of Her Highness’s subjects, or the subjects of any Christian Prince, from their allegiance, or oath of obedience, to Her Majesty, or to their Prince for any cause?”

“5. Whether the said Doctor Sanders, in his book *Of the Visible Monarchy of the Church*, and Dr. Bristow in his *Book of Motives* (writing in allowance, commendation, and confirmation of the said Bull of Pius V.), have therein taught, testified, or maintained a truth or falsehood?”

“6. If the Pope by his Bull, or sentence, pronounce her Majesty to be deprived, and no lawful Queen, and her subjects to be discharged of their allegiance, and obedience, unto her; and after the Pope, or any other by his appointment and authority, do invade this realm, which part would you take? or which part ought a good subject of England to take?”¹

Cardinal Allen, writing in 1582 to Agazarius, a Jesuit at Rome, declared of the first eight priests to whom these questions were put, that “If they had answered, so as to give satisfaction to the same Queen [Elizabeth], she would

¹ Butler, *Historical Memoirs of English Catholics*, 3rd. ed., vol. i., pp. 425, 426.

have remitted their sentence of death, *although in everything else they should profess the Catholic faith.*"¹ Mr. Charles Butler tells us that three of these eight priests answered satisfactorily, and their death-penalty was therefore remitted. He adds:—

"The pardon of the three priests who answered the six questions satisfactorily, seems to show that a general and explicit disclaimer, by the English Catholics, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of the Pope's deposing power, would have both lessened and abridged the term of their sufferings. . . . We may add, that among the six questions, there is not one which the Catholics of the present times have not fully and satisfactorily answered, in the oaths which they have taken, in compliance with the Acts of the 18th, 31st, and 33rd years of the reign of his late Majesty."²

Sir John Throckmorton, an English Roman Catholic Baronet, goes even further than Mr. Butler. Commenting on these same questions put to the Jesuits and other imprisoned priests, he writes:

"These questions continued to be put to the missionary priests throughout the whole of this reign, and of the one hundred and twenty-four priests who suffered death, I believe few, if any, will be found who answered them in such a manner as to clear their allegiance from merited suspicion. *They were martyrs to the Deposing power, not to their religion.*"³

The fact is that, considering the times and the circumstances, the Queen treated her Roman Catholic subjects with extraordinary clemency. Modern ideas of religious liberty were almost unknown, but the conduct of Elizabeth towards her subjects, who acknowledged the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope, will contrast most favourably with that accorded to Protestants in Roman Catholic countries at that time. The contrast is as great as that between white and black. Father Rishton makes a very remarkable acknowledgment,

¹ Quoted in Sir John Throckmorton's *Letter to the Catholic Clergy*. London, 1792, p. 106.

² Butler, *Historical Memoirs of English Catholics*, vol. i., p. 429.

³ Throckmorton, *Letter to the Catholic Clergy*, p. 108.

which needs to be considered by all who desire to know the facts of the case. Referring to the sufferings of his brethren in 1587, he remarks:—"It is said that this cruelty is inflicted on all ranks of men *for the safety of the Queen and the State*, more and more endangered—so they say—by the Catholics every day becoming more and more numerous and attached to the Queen of Scotland [Mary, Queen of Scots], *and not at all on account of their religion. Certainly we all think so, and all sensible men think so too.*"¹ Similar was the testimony of those secular priests who were responsible for the publication, in 1601, of the *Important Considerations*, sometimes attributed to the pen of Father Watson. These were men who knew what they were writing about, and they were men, too, who never wavered in their spiritual allegiance to the Pope, though—unlike the Jesuits—they rejected his claim to depose Kings from their thrones.

"If," they wrote, "the Jesuits had never come into England: If Parsons and the rest of the Jesuits, with other of our countrymen beyond the Seas, had never been agents in those traitorous and bloody designments of Throckmorton, Parry, Williams, Squire, and such like . . . If they had not sought by false persuasions and ungodly arguments to have allured the hearts of all Catholics from their allegiance . . . most assuredly the State would have loved us, or at least borne with us: where there is one Catholic, there would have been ten: there had been no speeches among us of racks and tortures, nor any cause to have used them; for none were ever vexed that way simply for that he was either a Priest or a Catholic, but because they were suspected to have had their hands in some of the same most traitorous designments."²

It is certain that the Jesuits throughout Elizabeth's reign relied on physical force, rather than on their proselytising work, for re-establishing the Pope's authority. Their disloyalty was of the most unmistakable character. In the year 1596 Pope Clement VIII. desired Monsignor Malvasia, his Agent at Brussels, to draw up and send to him a report

¹ Sanders' *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, p. 320. Ed. London, 1877.

² *Important Considerations*, pp. 55, 56. Quoted in Berington's *Memoirs of Panzani*, p. 36, note.

on the state of the Church of Rome in Scotland. This was done in a document of considerable length, in which the political action of the Jesuits in England was also referred to. "The Jesuits," wrote the Papal agent, "hold it as an axiom established among them, and confirmed by the authority of Father Parsons, that only by force of arms can the Catholic religion be restored to its former state, inasmuch as the property and revenues of the Church, divided as they are among heretics, and having already passed many hands, can be recovered by no other means. And, to bring about this result, they believe that the only arms available are those of Spain; and whether coming from Rome or elsewhere, they enter those countries with this idea firmly impressed upon them by their Superiors."¹

This is a very important statement, the accuracy of which cannot be denied. The Jesuits went even further than this in disloyalty. Two years later Father Henry Tichborne, a Jesuit, writing from Rome to a brother Jesuit, Father Thomas Darbyshire, remarked:—"And here, by the way, I must advise you that Sir T. Tresham,² as a friend of the State, is holden among us for an atheist, and all others of his humour either so or worse."³ We may well ask, even in this enlightened twentieth century, how could Queen Elizabeth, with safety, tolerate in England an Order whose chief idea of religious duty was that of fomenting rebellion in her dominions? That she was acquainted with what was going on in the Jesuit camp is evident to all who read the *Calendars of State Papers*, published in recent years by the Government. A modern Roman Catholic biographer of Father Edmund Campian, one of the Jesuit priests put to death in Elizabeth's time, frankly admits that the conduct

¹ Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 470. English edition.

² He was a Roman Catholic.

³ Father Tichborne's letter is printed in full in *Law's Jesuits and Seculars*, pp. 141—143.

of Ballard and Catesby, and other Roman Catholic conspirators, was such that their Protestant adversaries were "on political grounds justified" in their "determination to persecute even to extermination" such a set of Papal rebels as existed in those days.¹ The same writer says that "The aim of the Pope, the Jesuits and the Spaniards, was not to have them [English Roman Catholics] believe a salutary doctrine, and to make them partakers of life-giving Sacraments, but to make them traitors to their Queen and country, and to induce them to take up arms in favour of a foreign pretender. . . . But when both sides, both Philip and Cecil, were equally convinced that every fresh convert [to Romanism], however peaceful now, was a future soldier of the King of Spain against Elizabeth, *toleration was scarcely possible.*"²

"As affairs were managed," he declares in another portion of his biography, "they rendered simply impossible the co-existence of the government of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth with the obedience of their subjects to the supreme authority of the Pope; and those princes had no choice but either to abdicate, with the hope of receiving back their crowns, like King John, from the Papal Legate, or to hold their own in spite of the Popes, and in direct and avowed hostility to them."³ The anonymous Roman Catholic priest who, in 1603, wrote *A Replie Unto a Certaine Libell, Latelie Set Foorth By Fa: Parsons*, well and forcibly asked that ring-leader of Jesuit traitors, the following questions.⁴

"And I would," he writes, "but ask Father Parsons (because I know him to be a great Statist) this one question. Whether in his conscience he do think there be any Prince in the world, be he never so Catholic, that should have within his dominions a kind of people, amongst whom divers times he should discover matters of treason, and practices against his person, and State, whether he would permit those kind of people to live within his dominions, if he could be otherwise rid of them? And, whether

¹ Simpson, *Life of Edmund Campian*, p. 336.

² *Ibid.*, p. 199. ³ *Ib.*, p. 63.

⁴ I have modernized the spelling in the extract from this book.

he would not make strait laws, and execute them severely against such offenders, yea, and all of that company, and quality, rather than he would remain in any danger of such secret practices, and plots? I think Father Parsons will not for shame deny this; especially if he remember the examples of the French Religious men, for the like practices expelled England generally, in a Catholic time, and by a Catholic Prince, and their livings confiscated, and given away to others. The like was of the Templars, both in England and in France. Yea, to come nearer unto him, was not all their Order expelled France for such matters, and yet the King and State of France free from imputation of injustice in that action? If these things proceeded from Catholic Princes justly against whole Communities, or Orders of Religion upon just causes, we cannot much blame our Prince and State, being of a different religion, to make sharp laws against us, and execute the same, finding no less occasion thereof in some of our profession, than the foresaid Princes did in other Religious persons, whom they punished, as you see." (ff. 31, 32.)

The fact is the Jesuits did not want a general toleration at this period, lest the price paid for it should be their own expulsion from England. In a Memorial against the Jesuits presented to Clement VIII. by Roman Catholics residing in the Low Countries in 1597, it is stated that:—"It is a common report in England, that had it not been for the pride and ambition of the Jesuits, there had, ere this, been granted some toleration in religion."¹ In 1598 Father Henry Tichborne, a Jesuit, was greatly alarmed at the rumour that a toleration might be granted to Roman Catholics by Queen Elizabeth, and wrote to a brother Jesuit about it:—"This means was so dangerous that what rigour of laws could not compass in so many years, this liberty and lenity will effectuate in twenty days, to wit, the disfurnishing of the seminaries, the disanimating of men to come and others to return, *the expulsion of the Society* [of Jesus]... This discourse of liberty is but an invention of busy heads, and neither for to be allowed, nor accepted if it might be procured."² The fact is the Jesuits did everything in their power to make toleration an impossibility. Father Preston, known as "Roger Widdrington," declared, at the commence-

¹ Law's *Jesuits and Seculars*, p. 109.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 141, 142.

ment of the seventeenth century, that "Queen Elizabeth having discovered that she was minded to shew favour to as many Roman Catholic priests as should give her assurance of their loyalty, and to exempt them from suffering the penalties of her laws; some well-meaning men went to Rome to carry the good news, as they thought it; but when they were come thither, they found themselves much mistaken; instead of thanks, they were reproached by the governing party, and branded with the name of schismatics, spies and rebels to the See Apostolic; and, moreover, there was one of that party [Father Fitzherbert, a Jesuit] compiled a treatise in Italian, to advise his Holiness, that it was not good and profitable to the Catholic cause that any liberty or toleration should be granted by the State of England." ¹ It is probable that the incident referred to by Widdrington is that which is recorded in the *Diary* of Father Mush, a secular priest, who thus describes an interview which he and two of his brethren had with Pope Clement VIII., on March 8th, 1602:—

"We had," writes Mush, "audience before his Holiness the space of an hour. He answered to all the points of our speech, said he had heard very many evil things against us, as that we had set out books containing heresies, that we came to defend heretics against his authority, in that he might not depose heretical Princes, etc. That we came sent by heretics upon their cost, that we were not obedient to the See Apostolic and the Archpriest constituted by him. *For a toleration or liberty of conscience in England, it would do harm and make Catholics become heretics; that persecution was profitable to the Church, and therefore not to be so much laboured for to be averted or stayed by toleration...* [He was] offended that we named her Queen whom the See Apostolic had deposed and excommunicated." ²

The Bull of Pius V. deposing Elizabeth from her throne, and absolving her subjects from their oaths of allegiance,

¹ Quoted in Gibson's *Preservative from Popery*, vol. xvii., p. 25.

² *The Archpriest Controversy*, vol. ii., p. 6.

having proved a failure, it was at length determined to attack her in a more systematic and formidable manner. To use a modern expression, a gigantic "Plan of the Campaign" was at length drawn up by the Papal authorities at Rome, against which the efforts of Elizabeth and her Government, it was expected, would prove altogether in vain. This "Plan of the Campaign" was embodied in the articles of a League between Pope Gregory XIII., Philip II. King of Spain, and the Duke of Tuscany. The consequences of this League were of so important a character that it may be well to reprint its articles here *in extenso*.

"On Thursday the 18th February, in the year 1580, the Ambassadors of the Catholic King and the Grand Duke of Tuscany were together at the audience (in Rome), when a League against the Queen of England was concluded between his Holiness and the said Grand Duke in manner following:

"1. That his Holiness will furnish 10,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, the Catholic King 15,000 infantry, and 1,500 cavalry, and the Grand Duke 8,000 infantry, and 100 cavalry; and to these forces are to be added the Germans who have gone to Spain, and who are to be paid *pro rata* by the above named Princes.

"2. Should it please our Lord God to give good speed and success to the expedition, the populations are in the first place, and above all things, to be admonished, on the part of his Holiness, to return to their obedience and devotion to the Roman Catholic Church, in the same manner as their predecessors have done.

"3. That his Holiness, as Sovereign Lord of the Island (of England), will grant power to the Catholic nobles of the Kingdom to elect a Catholic Lord of the Island, who, under the authority of the Apostolic See will be declared King, and who will render obedience and fealty to the Apostolic See, as the other Catholic Kings have done before the time of the last Henry.

"4. That Queen Elizabeth be declared an usurper and incapable to reign, because she was born of an illegitimate marriage, and because she is a heretic.

"5. That the property of the Church shall be recovered from the possession of the present owners, and men of quality and learned men of the country shall be appointed Bishops and Abbots, and to similar offices, and they, by the examples of their lives, and by preaching, shall endeavour to bring back the people to the true religion.

"6. That the King of Spain is not to make any other engagement, except to enter into a League and relationship, if he please, with the King to be elected, and so, that they united together, may assist the affairs both of the Island and of Flanders.

"7. That the Queen of Scotland is to be set at liberty, and to be aided to return to her Kingdom, should she desire to do so.

"8. That his Holiness will use his best influence with the King of France, in order that neither his Majesty, nor Monsieur his brother, shall give assistance either to the Queen, or to the Flemings against Spain.

"9. That the Bull of excommunication which Pius V. of happy memory issued against the said Queen be published in the Courts of all Christian princes.

"10. That the English Catholics shall be received in the army, and granted suitable pay according to their rank."¹

No time was lost in making the terms of this League known to those Roman Catholics in England and Ireland who were expected to actively assist it. Camden tells us that in the same year the Popish faction "published *in print* that the Bishop of Rome and the Spaniard had conspired together to conquer England, and expose it for a spoil and a prey; and this they did of purpose to give courage to their own party, and to terrify others from their allegiance to their Prince and country."² Within a few months after the League was ratified, printed copies of the Articles were circulated in England and Ireland. In the month of July one William Jeowe, of Bridgewater, confessed to the Earl of Ormond and to Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls of Ireland, that he had given out twenty copies in England, that "the same was commonly abroad in England;" and that he had received his copies from "Mr, Harry Bowser [Bourchier], brother to the Earl of Bath."³ In the *Calendar of Carew Manuscripts* it is stated that "these Articles were brought by the Prince of Condy to the Queen's Majesty and her Council."⁴ No wonder therefore that the Queen was alarmed. Philip II., on whom the success of the League mainly depended, was the most powerful monarch

¹ These Articles are printed in the *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, vol. vii., pp. 650, 651; and in the *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, 1575—1588, pp. 288, 289. In the latter the date of the League is given as the 23rd February. The two versions of the Articles vary slightly, but not in any important point.

² Camden's *Elizabeth*, p. 247. Ed. 1688.

³ *Calendar of Carew Manuscripts*, 1575—1588, p. 280.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

in the world; and it was therefore absolutely necessary to take measures for the protection of her throne and the country. The Pope's claim to the supreme Government in temporal matters in England, was one she was determined never to submit to, and in this resolution she was heartily supported by the nation.

But it was not enough for the conspirators at Rome to make known their designs to those whom they could trust. If the Papal Plan of the Campaign were to succeed, it was necessary to commence operations without a moment's loss of time. The necessary preparations occupied a good deal of time, but by the 18th of April, 1580, everything was ready for the despatch of the Jesuit missionaries to England, who on that day left Rome for their native shores. A month later an army of soldiers was sent to Ireland to raise a rebellion there. In the opinion of those who sent the Jesuits to England, they were so many John the Baptists, whose duty it would be to prepare and make ready the way for the Papal army to follow them. The leaders of the band were Father Edmund Campian and Father Robert Parsons; and they were accompanied by Ralph Emerson, a Jesuit lay brother, Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby, and Edward Rishton, the three latter being priests. As far as Rheims they had for companion Dr. Nicholas Morton, who, in 1569, had been sent into England by Pope Pius V. to stir up the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland to the rebellion against Elizabeth which, in that year, they actually raised in the North of England. The daily conversation of such a man, who remained with them until the last day of May, or for nearly six weeks, would certainly not tend to increase any loyalty to the English throne which Campian and Parsons may be supposed to have possessed. At length the two leaders of the party arrived in England, as already related, and at once commenced their labours. Before leaving Rome Parsons and Campian had consulted the Pope on the question

of Pius V.'s Bull excommunicating and deposing Elizabeth, and received from the Pontiff the following faculties bearing on this subject, permitting her Roman Catholic subjects to obey her, until the Bull could be executed, but affirming that it was still binding on the Queen and her Protestant subjects:—

“Let it be desired of our most Holy Lord the explication of the Bull Declaratory made by Pius V. against Elizabeth, and such as do adhere to or obey her; which Bull the Catholics desire to be understood in this manner:—That the same Bull shall always oblige her and the heretics, but the Catholics it shall by no means bind as affairs do now stand, but hereafter, when the public execution of the said Bull may be had or made.

“The Pope hath granted these foresaid graces to Fathers Robert Parsons, and Edmund Campian, who are now to go into England; the 14th day of April, 1580. Present, the Father Oliverius Manarcus, Assistant.”¹

Now the very fact that such a document as this was taken by those Jesuits into England, and shewn by them to the English Roman Catholics whom they met, was in itself a most disloyal act. For the document expressly acknowledges the Bull of Pius V. as still binding on the Queen “and the heretics.” Father Tierney, writing in 1840, justly remarks:—“It is clear that, with this dispensation in their possession, no protestation, however explicit, either from Campian, or from his associates, could possibly be received as an indication of their real opinion, on the subject of the deposing power claimed by the Pope. . . . They professed their obedience to the Queen, but they also asserted, either directly or by implication, the power of the Pope to deprive her: and they plainly intimated that, if the case should arise, their own exertions would not be wanting to second the declaration of their superior.”² Every loyal Englishman must admit the justness of Mr. Froude's opinion of these faculties:—“The poison of asps,” he writes, “was

¹ See *The Jesuit's Memorial*, p. xxvi., and *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. ii., p. 180, 4th edition.

² Tierney's *Dodd's Church History*, vol. iii., p. 13, note.

under the lips of the bearers of such a message of treachery. It could not be communicated, as Burghley fairly argued, without implied treason. No plea of conscience could alter the nature of things. To tell English subjects that they might continue loyal till another sovereign who claimed their allegiance was in a position to protect them, was to assert the right of that sovereign, as entirely and essentially as to invite them to take arms at his side."¹

Within a few weeks after their arrival in England, Parsons and Campian were present, in the month of July 1580, at a Synod of Roman Catholic priests held at Southwark, at which were also present some of the principal lay Roman Catholics. At this Synod the two Jesuits, writes Mr. Simpson, "made *oaths before God*, and the priests and laymen assembled, that their coming [to England] was only apostolical, to treat matters of religion in truth and simplicity, and to attend to the gaining of souls, without any pretence or knowledge of matters of State."² After taking this oath, it is said that they exhibited their "Instructions" to their assembled brethren; but if they did so they must have kept from their sight the conclusion of the following extract, given from those "Instructions" by Campian's biographer:—"They must not mix themselves up with affairs of State, nor write to Rome about political matters, nor speak, nor allow others to speak in their presence against the Queen, *except, perhaps, in the company of those whose fidelity has been long and steadfast*, and even then not without strong reasons."³ So that, after all, it was a rule with exceptions. If the oath these men took is accurately described by Mr. Simpson—and I see no reason to doubt it—Parsons and Campian were guilty of perjury. I think it probable that they acted on the principle subsequently laid down by Parsons himself, in his *Treatise Tending To Mitigation*:—

¹ Frende's *History of England*, vol. xi., p. 57.

² Simpson's *Campian*, p. 130.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

"The substance of School doctrine in this point, and of Canon Lawyers is, that when a man is offered injury, or unjustly urged to utter a secret, that without his hurt or loss, or public damage he may not do; then is it lawful for him without lying or perjury, to answer either in word or oath, according to his own intention and meaning, so it be true, *though the bearer be deceived therewith.*"¹

Even the most ardent admirer of Parsons must admit, that *he* at any rate, did not subsequently act in accordance with the oath he took at the Synod of Southwark. Father Knox tells us that on his arrival in England, Parsons "lost no opportunity of acquainting himself with the political state and sentiments of the Catholic body, and he enjoyed quite exceptional means of gaining this information through the many Catholic gentlemen who spoke to him on the subject, when treating with him of their consciences."² Here we have, probably, the first known instance in England of a Jesuit using the Confessional for political purposes. Within three months after the Southwark Synod, viz., in October 1580, Parsons and Campian, who had been meanwhile separately travelling through the country, met again at William Griffith's house near Uxbridge, and related to each other the adventures through which they had passed during those months. Mr. Simpson affirms that if Parsons had then "been gifted with a prophetic spirit, he might have told how he had planted at Lapworth Park and other places round Stratford-on-Avon the seeds of a *political Popery that was destined in some twenty-five years to bring forth the Gunpowder Plot.*"³

In carrying on their missionary and other labours, Parsons, Campian, and the Jesuits who assisted them, received important aid from an Association of Roman Catholic young noblemen and gentlemen, which had been inaugurated shortly before the arrival of Parsons in England. The founder of

¹ Parsons, *A Treatise Tending To Mitigation*, 1607, p. 437.

² Knox's *Records of English Catholics*, vol. ii., p. lxxxiii.

³ Simpson's *Campian*, p. 178.

this Association was a young gentleman of great wealth, named George Gilbert. In 1579 he had become a Roman Catholic, under the influence of Father Parsons, who acted as his godfather on the occasion of his reception, which took place on the Continent. He was received into the Jesuit Order shortly before his death in 1583. This Association which was apparently a sodality affiliated to the *Prima Primaria* mentioned below,¹ supplied the Jesuits with money, disguises and hiding-places. The members further assisted them by arranging interviews with Protestants whom it was probable they would induce to forsake their religion for Romanism. The Association was formally blessed by Pope Gregory XIII., on April 14, 1580,² that is within two months after the date of his League with the King of Spain and the Duke of Tuscany, against Queen Elizabeth. The names of its principal members are well known. Mr. Simpson, after mentioning several of them, adds:—"It will be seen by the above list that the young men not only belonged to the chief Catholic families of the land, but that the Society also furnished the principals of many of the real or pretended plots of the last twenty years of Elizabeth and the first few years of James I. So difficult must it ever be to keep a *secret organisation* long faithful to a purely religious and ecclesiastical purpose."³ The question here naturally arises, have the Jesuits of the present day any more or less "secret organisations" at work in our midst, under their guidance, and for their own ends? If one Pope (Gregory XIII.) could bless and sanction a secret Society of this character, why may not a Leo XIII.? We know, of course, that the Church of Rome in recent years has bitterly denounced secret societies. That is her rule; but may there not be exceptions to it? What was considered morally right for a Gregory XIII. to do, cannot be morally wrong for a Leo XIII. What

¹ See Chapter XI.

² Foley's *Records of English Province, S.J.*, vol. iii., p. 627.

³ Simpson's *Campion*, p. 158.

I have written below about the *Prima Primaria* seems to supply an answer to this question.¹ Mr. Froude, referring to this 16th century Association, remarks: "In the list of its members may be read the names of Charles Arundel, Francis Throckmorton, Anthony Babington, Chidocke Tichbourne, Charles Tilney, Edward Abington, Richard Salisbury, and William Tresham; *men implicated, all of them, afterwards in plots for the assassination of the Queen.* The subsequent history of all these persons is a sufficient indication of the effect of Jesuit teaching and of the true objects of the Jesuit mission."²

The existence of such a disloyal Jesuit Association was a standing danger to the State, which the Government could not safely treat with contempt. Its members were men with a large number of dependants, who, were a foreign invasion to take place, would be certain to take the side of their masters against the Queen. Much of the suffering endured by the lay Roman Catholics of England may be justly attributed to the existence of this disloyal and secret organisation.

The missionary career of the Jesuit Campian was destined to be a very brief one. He was in many respects a different man from his companion Parsons. The latter was rough and uncouth in his manners, more pugnacious in every way, a kind of ecclesiastical Ishmael, whose hand was, all the days of his life, against almost everybody outside his own Order, and one whose most bitter foes, in his later years, were the English secular priests of his own Church. Campian, on the other hand, was refined in his deportment, with a pleasing manner, and possessed of great oratorical power as a preacher. Crowds flocked to hear him, wherever it was known that he was about to preach. In his famous challenge he affirmed that he took no part in political matters. "I never had mind," he wrote in his challenge, "and am strictly forbidden by our Fathers that sent me, to

¹ See *infra*, p. 320.

² Froude's *History of England*, vol. xi., p. 63.

deal in any respects with matters of State or policy of this realm, and those things which appertain not to my vocation, and from which I do gladly restrain and sequester my thoughts."¹ This assertion of Campian was untrue, and therefore serves to lessen our confidence in several of the statements he subsequently made at his trial. We have already seen that in the Instructions which he and Parsons had received from the authorities of the Jesuit Order, they were distinctly informed that when "strong reasons" justified such conduct, they might "mix themselves up with affairs of State, in the company of those whose fidelity has been long and steadfast."² A good deal of additional light is thrown on Campian's political views, by an extract from a letter of his quoted by the learned Bishop Thomas Barlow (Bishop of Lincoln from 1675 to 1692), in his work on *The Gunpowder Treason*, published in 1679. Campian wrote:—"All the Jesuits in the world have long since entered into covenant, any way to destroy all heretical Kings; nor do they despair of doing it effectually, so long as any one Jesuit remains in the world."³

In the month of July 1581, Campian was arrested and brought to London. Two days after his arrival, the Queen herself had a private interview with the now famous young Jesuit. Elizabeth was evidently anxious to spare his life. She asked him if he regarded her as his lawful Sovereign. The faculties which he possessed, allowing Roman Catholics to obey her, notwithstanding the Bull of Pius V., excommunicating and deposing her, enabled Campian to answer that he did. She then asked him for a declaration more distinctly loyal, in short that he should repudiate the temporal pretensions of the Pope, and his right to excommunicate her. He refused to make such a declaration.⁴ Had he done so,

¹ Foley's *Records of English Province, S.J.*, vol. iii., p. 630.

² See page 19 *supra*.

³ Bishop Thomas Barlow's *Gunpowder Treason*, p. 42. London, 1679.

⁴ Froude's *History of England*, vol. xi., p. 92.

there can be no doubt that he would have saved his life. The result of his disloyal silence was that he was remanded to prison, there to wait his trial. But meanwhile he was subjected to the torture, and that to such an extent that when asked by his judges to plead to the indictment, by holding up his hand, he was unable to comply with the request by raising it as high as his fellow-prisoners, one of whom held it up for him. Campian was not the only priest put to the rack by Elizabeth's Government. No honest Protestant writer, who has studied the subject, can deny that dozens of priests were cruelly treated in this manner. If any one wishes to see the evidence of this, let him read the late Mr. David Jardine's treatise *On the Use of Torture in the Criminal Law of England Previously To the Commonwealth*. It is the work of a Protestant lawyer, and the State documents he cites must, when perused, remove all doubts on the subject. Yet I would remind Jesuit and Roman Catholic writers of the present day, that *they* have no right to throw stones at Elizabeth's Government for what they did in this respect. Mr. Jardine shows that although the use of torture was common in England before the Commonwealth, yet that it was decided by "all the judges of England" (p. 10) that "no such punishment [as torture] is known or allowed by our law" (p. 12). He adds:—

"Here then, is a practice repugnant to reason, justice and humanity—censured and condemned upon principle by philosophers and statesmen,—denounced by the most eminent authorities on municipal law,—and finally declared by the twelve judges, not only to be illegal, but to be altogether unknown as a punishment to the law of England. As far as authority goes, therefore, the crimes of murder and robbery are not more distinctly forbidden by one criminal code than the application of the torture to witnesses or accused persons is condemned by the oracles of the Common law."¹

Mr. Jardine adds that when torture was actually used in England, it was done "at the mere discretion of the King

¹ Jardine, *On the Use of Torture*, p. 12.

and the Privy Council, and uncontrolled by any law besides the prerogative of the Sovereign."¹ The last recorded instance of the use of torture in England is dated May 22, 1640. In Roman Catholic France it was not abolished until 1789, and in Austria it continued until the middle of the eighteenth century. I do not for one moment justify Elizabeth's Government in the use of torture; on the contrary, I deeply deplore it, and consider it worthy of the severest censure.

Several matters of importance were made known at Campian's trial, for particulars of which I am indebted to his biographer. The Queen's Counsel declared that:—"It is the use of all Seminary men, at the first entrance into their Seminaries [*i.e.*, the Colleges, on the Continent, for educating English Roman Catholic priests], to make two personal oaths, the one unto a book called *Bristow's Motives* for the fulfilling of all matters therein contained; the other unto the Pope." Campian, in reply, denied that "men of riper years" were compelled to take the oath to *Bristow's Motives*, adding that "none are sworn to such articles as Bristow's but young striplings that be under tuition." This admission was a remarkable one, and after it no one can deny, who is acquainted with the book mentioned, that the teaching of those Seminaries was calculated to make the students disloyal to Elizabeth.

This book was issued with the *imprimatur* of William Allen, subsequently known as Cardinal Allen, as "in all points Catholic, learned and worthy to be read and printed." This approbation was dated April 30, 1574, and therefore the book had been in circulation for seven years when Campian's trial took place. Several editions were published. That which I possess is dated, Antwerp, 1599. The last edition was issued in 1641.² The following extracts from

¹ Jardine, *On the Use of Torture*, p. 13.

² Gillow's *Bibliographical Dictionary of English Catholics*, vol. i., p. 304. A work of great value, to which I am much indebted for valuable information.

this book will shew its traitorous character, and serve to justify the English Government in its stern dealings towards the Seminary priests.

"Whereby it is manifest," writes Bristow, "that they do miserably forget themselves, who fear not the excommunications of Pius Quintus, of holy memory; in whom Christ Himself to have spoken and excommunicated, as in St. Paul, they might consider by the miracles, that Christ by him, as by St. Paul did work."¹

"And if at any time it happen after long toleration, humble beseeching, and often admonition of very wicked and notorious apostates or heretics, no other hope of amendment appearing, but the filthy more and more daily defiling himself and others to the huge great heap of their own damnation, that after all this the Sovereign authority of our Common Pastor in religion, for the saving of souls, do duly discharge us from subjection, and the Prince offender from his dominion, with such grief of the heart is it both done of the Pastor, and taken of the people, as if a man should have cut off from his body, for to save the whole, some most principal but rotten part thereof."²

These extracts, as sworn to by the students of the foreign Seminaries, fully recognise the validity of the deposing Bull of Pius V., and affirm that Elizabeth was no longer to be obeyed by her subjects. But Bristow further praised the attempted rebellion of the two Earls against Elizabeth, in 1569, which had been blessed by the Pope, and held up the memories of those justly punished for their treason and rebellion, as so many Martyrs for the true Faith.

"For a full answer to them all," wrote Bristow, "although the very naming of our Catholic Martyrs, even of this our time, to reasonable men may suffice as . . . the good Earl of Northumberland, D. Story, Felton, the Nortons, M. Woodhouse, M. Plumtree, and so many hundreds of the Northernmen; such men, both in their life, and at their death, that neither the enemies have to stain them, as their own consciences, their own talk, and the world itself bear good witness: many of them also, and therefore all of them because of their own cause, being by God Himself approved, by miracles most undoubted; although, I say, no reasonable man will think, those stinking Martyrs of the heretics worthy in any way to be compared with these most glorious Martyrs of the Catholics."³

¹ Bristow's *Motives*, fol. 31.

² *Ibid.*, fol. 154.

³ *Ibid.*, fols. 72, 73.

The Seminary Colleges did not improve as the years went on. They became more and more the political foes of the Queen and her Government, and had to be treated accordingly. Cardinal D'Ossat, who was well acquainted with what was going on, wrote on Nov. 26, 1601, to Henry IV., King of France, concerning the Seminaries at Douay and St. Omers:

"The principal care which these Colleges and Seminaries have, is to catechise and bring up these young English gentlemen in this Faith and firm belief, that the late King of Spain had, and that his children now have, the true right of succession to the Crown of England; and that this is advantageous and expedient for the Catholic Faith, not only in England, but wherever Christianity is.

"And when these young English gentlemen have finished their humanity studies, and are come to such an age, then to make them thoroughly Spaniards, they are carried out of the Low Countries into Spain, where there are other Colleges for them, wherein they are instructed in philosophy and Divinity, and confirmed in the same belief and holy faith, that the Kingdom of England did belong to the late King of Spain, and does now to his children. After that these young English gentlemen have finished their courses, those of them that are found to be most Hispaniolized, and most courageous and firm to this Spanish creed, are sent into England to sow this faith among them, to be spies, and give advice to the Spaniards of what is doing in England, and what must and ought to be done to bring England into the Spaniards' hands; and if need be to undergo Martyrdom as soon, or rather sooner, for this Spanish faith, than for the Catholic religion."¹

The College of St. Omers was founded by the Jesuits in 1594. Its object was to furnish the Jesuit Colleges in Rome and Spain with scholars whom they had themselves trained from their early years. A modern apologist for Douay College, the late Father Knox, comments on Cardinal D'Ossat's letter, but he meets his startling statements concerning the chief object of the Seminaries named, by the unwarranted statement that the "intrinsic value" of the Cardinal's letter is very small. He admits, however, that at that time "the English Jesuits were devoted adherents to the Spanish King;" and that "the English Seminaries abroad were either governed

¹ *Lettres Card. D'Ossat*, Part 2, l. 7. Quoted in Gee's *Jesuits Memorial*, Introduction, p. xlvi.

by the Jesuits or at least, as in the case of Douay College, under their influence."¹

To return to Campian, whom we left before his judges. The extracts from *Bristow's Motives*, given above, were brought before him, as they had already been during his examination. A loyal man would have at once repudiated such traitorous doctrine. The Queen's Counsel asked him: "How can a man be faithful to our State, and swear performance to those *Motives*?" to which Campian replied, "Whether *Bristow's Motives* be repugnant to our laws or no, is not anything material to our indictment, for that we are neither Seminary men, nor sworn at our entrance to any such *Motives*."² It was noted that he carefully abstained from censuring the doctrines of Bristow. The record of Campian's examination in prison on these points, which was taken on the 1st of August, 1581, is interesting. It is as follows, and was signed by himself:—

"Edmund Campian being demanded whether he would acknowledge the publishing of these things before recited, by Sanders, Bristow, and Allen, to be wicked in the whole, or any part; and whether he doth at this present acknowledge her Majesty to be a true and lawful Queen, or a pretended Queen, and deprived, and in possession of her Crown only *de facto*: he answereth to the first that he meddleth neither to nor fro, and will not further answer, but requireth that they may answer. To the second he saith, that this question dependeth on the fact of Pius Quintus, whereof he is not to judge, and therefore refuseth further to answer."³

Another matter of importance made known at the trial, was the fact that disloyal oaths had been administered to the English people. Mr. Simpson tells us that "The Clerk of the Crown read certain papers, containing in them oaths to be administered to the people for the renouncing their obedience to her Majesty, and the swearing of allegiance to the Pope, acknowledging him for their supreme head

¹ Knox's *Records of English Catholics*, vol. i. *Douay Diaries*, p. cvii.

² Simpson's *Campian*, p. 288.

³ Tierney's *Dodd's Church History*, vol. iii. Appendix, p. xi.

and governor; the which papers were found in divers houses where Campian had lurked, and for religion been entertained.”¹ Campian pleaded that there was no evidence before the Court, that he had circulated those papers; but he could not deny that the circumstances were suspicious. We need not wonder that the jury found him guilty, nor yet that, however sad it may be, he suffered subsequently the punishment of death. He was a martyr to the deposing power of the Pope, not to his religion. On the 9th of December, 1886, Pope Leo XIII. raised Campian to the rank of a “Blessed” Martyr.

¹ Simpson's *Campion*, p. 295.

CHAPTER II

A GREAT JESUIT PLOT IN SCOTLAND

TOWARDS the close of 1579 a remarkable Jesuit plot was in course of development in Scotland, which had for its object the destruction of Protestantism in that country, with a view to restoring Mary Queen of Scots to the throne which she had lost, or at least that she might share it with her son; and this as a preliminary to placing her on the throne of England also, as soon as Elizabeth had been deposed. Carnal weapons were alone relied on for the success of this plot. It was then as it always has been since with the Jesuit Order, which relies more on political machinations than on mere proselytising efforts. The principal tool of the Jesuits in this plot was Esmé Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, a young Frenchman, and a near relative of the youthful James VI., King of Scotland. Aubigny had been educated by the Jesuits, and in September, 1579, he was sent over to Scotland on the pretence of congratulating the King on his entrance to his kingdom. He announced that his visit would be very brief, and that, on its termination, he intended to return at once to France.¹ A modern Jesuit writer informs us that Aubigny "came over from France with the express object of destroying Morton,² who, for political reasons, was at that time the chief supporter of the Protestant interests in Scotland. Before leaving his home, Aubigny had a conference with the Roman Catholic Bishops

¹ Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 461. Woodrow Society Edition.

² *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, edited by W. Forbes Leith, S.J., p. 165.

of Glasgow and Ross, in which his future political course in Scotland was arranged. It was decided that he should aim at dissolving all friendly relations between Scotland and England, by removing from the King all those who were favourable to friendship between the two nations; to procure an association between Mary Queen of Scots and James VI., her son, in the government of Scotland; and, lastly, to alter the religion of the country, with a view to the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion, and the suppression of Protestantism.¹ It was a bold programme, and required the assistance of some of the most subtle and astute minds the Church of Rome could produce, to give it a chance of success. Secrecy was above all things essential.

When Aubigny started for Scotland he was accompanied to the French coast by the Duke of Guise, who, seven years previously, had been one of the principal organisers of the horrible St. Bartholomew Massacre.² The Duke was the man who had led, at the commencement of that Massacre, the party of assassins sent to murder that brave Protestant hero, Admiral Coligny. He stayed outside Coligny's house while the foul deed was being perpetrated by his followers upstairs. They were long at their evil work, and Guise became impatient. At last he called out to his men, "Have you finished?" "It is done," was the reply of the murderers. "Then throw him out of the window," said the Duke. When the lifeless body of Coligny fell on the street pavement below, the brutal Guise kicked the face of the brave Protestant, and then exclaimed, "Come, soldiers, take courage, we have begun well. Let us go on to the others, for so the King commands." Thus began that fearful carnage which has made St. Bartholomew's Day a day of horror for all future generations.³ Guise was an active spirit throughout in the Jesuit plot which Aubigny was

¹ Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii., p. 460.

² *Ibid.*, p. 457.

³ Baird's *Rise of the Huguenots*, vol. ii., p. 459.

sent to Scotland to support. Had it succeeded, under such auspices, there might have been another St. Bartholomew Massacre in Scotland. Mignet says that Aubigny arrived in Scotland "with a secret mission from the Duke of Guise."¹

The Ministers of Edinburgh had warning beforehand as to the character of the young Frenchman. Calderwood states that it was Aubigny's mother, "a very religious lady," who sent the warning. It was soon evident that Aubigny had not come to Scotland merely for a brief visit, but that he meant to settle down in the country. He rapidly gained the affections of the youthful King, and was speedily promoted to high office. He well knew, however, that he could only gain his ends by disguising his religious opinions. Accordingly, soon after his arrival, he announced his willingness to be instructed in the Protestant faith. There was no time to be lost, for already an outcry had been made, and the Presbyterian ministers had denounced in their sermons the conduct of the King in allowing so many Papists to reside at his Court. "In a short time," says Archbishop Spottiswoode, Aubigny, who had meanwhile been created Earl of Lennox, was brought "to join himself to the Church, and openly, in St. Giles', to renounce the errors wherein he had been educated."² This event took place on March 17th, 1580.³ In the month of July, the same year, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met at Dundee. To this meeting Lennox thought it necessary to send a letter renewing his profession of Protestantism. "It is not, I think, unknown to you," he wrote to the Assembly, "how it hath pleased God, of His infinite goodness, to call me, by His grace and mercy, to the knowledge of my salvation, since my coming in this land. Wherefore I render, most earnestly, humble thanks unto His Divine Majesty."⁴ Notwithstanding these

¹ Mignet's *History of Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 344. Seventh Edition.

² Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland*, 3rd ed., p. 308.

³ Moyse's *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 41. Edition 1755.

⁴ Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii., p. 468.

reiterated professions of his belief in the Protestant faith, the suspicions of the Presbyterian Ministers continued. One of their number, Mr. Walter Balcanquall, in a sermon which he preached in Edinburgh on December 7th, 1580, declared that the Papists "affirm that it is lawful unto a Christian, if he feareth any danger or trouble, outwardly to deny his faith and religion, with this condition, that he keep it close within himself. In respect whereof it is that both plainly they speak and write, that if any of their Catholics come among us (whom they call heretics and Calvinists), if they be afraid of any trouble or danger, it is lawful for them to deny their Catholic or Roman religion, and so dissemble with the same that they do anything we bid them do, and if it were with their mouth to deny their Papistry, subscribe the articles of our religion, and be participants of the Sacraments, with this condition, that they keep their religion inwardly and heartily to the Catholic Roman Kirk, and faith thereof." The preacher applied his remarks to what he termed "the French Court come into Scotland," meaning thereby Aubigny and his party. And he courageously warned his country:—"If these things continue," he exclaimed, "and go forward, I will tell thee, O Scotland, and those who fear the Lord within thee, that thou shalt repent that ever the French Court came into Scotland, or that ever thou saw it, or the fruits thereof with thy eyes."¹

Two days later another faithful Minister—there were men in Scotland then with "backbone," not afraid to speak out—John Durie, confirmed all that Mr. Balcanquall had said, The King was very angry with the preachers, and no doubt would have punished them severely, were it not that they received the protection of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, which, at its first meeting after the sermons were preached, at the request of the King, appointed certain commissioners to examine Mr. Balcanquall's sermon. They

¹ Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii., pp. 773—775.

reported that there was "nothing either erroneous, scandalous, or offensive in his sermon, but good and sound doctrine, whereof they desired the Assembly's approbation." Thereupon the General Assembly unanimously affirmed that the preacher "had uttered nothing in that sermon erroneous, scandalous, or offensive, but solid, good, and true doctrine, for which they praised God."¹

The fears of the Protestant Ministers for the future were not lessened as the months passed by. On the contrary, they were, says Spottiswoode,

"increased by the interception of certain Dispensations sent from Rome, whereby the Catholics were permitted to promise, swear, subscribe, and do what else should be required of them, so as in mind they continued firm, and did use their diligence to advance in secret the Roman faith. These dispensations being shown to the King, he caused his Minister, Mr. John Craig, to form a short Confession of Faith, wherein all the corruptions of Rome, as well in doctrine as outward rites, were particularly abjured."²

This Confession of Faith was signed at Edinburgh, January 28th, 1581. It was not signed, however, until after the King had received a letter of warning from Queen Elizabeth, which ought to have opened his eyes to the designs of Lennox. In this communication (which was read to the General Assembly at which the Confession of Faith was signed), sent by the hand of her ambassador, Randolph, she informed James that:—

"It had been discovered by sundry means unto her Majesty, that the Pope and his adherents have concluded, as a thing necessary to the general enterprise, to attempt the recovering of Scotland to his obedience, and, in some part, the manner thereof, how they meant to proceed, had been also unto her Majesty revealed; and that she had seen some part thereof begun already, which was, by sending Monsieur D'Aubigny, a professed Papist, into Scotland, under colour of his kindred to the King, that these twenty years past never offered any service to the King, when as he had most need; partly by dissimulation and courting with the King, being young, and of noble and gentle nature, and partly by nourishing and making factions among the nobility, but specially, to oppose

¹ Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii., p. 585.

² Spottiswoode's *History*, vol. ii., p. 268.

himself to such of the nobles as were known affectionate, to maintain amity between her Majesty and the King of Scots, and were earnest to continue the love between the two nations. Thereby to make some ready way, by colour of division and faction, to bring strangers, being Romanists, into the realm, for his party. And, consequently, by degrees to alter religion, yea, in the end to bring the person of the young King in danger; which is seen very easy to be done, by colour of his office, being now, without any proof of service done to the King or his country, made his principal Chamberlain, and possessor of his person: and so to make himself, by the greatness of his authority; and by his banding in factions, but specially by pretence of his nearness of blood to the King, to get the Crown also, in the end to himself."¹

The Queen then proceeded to point out to the King several of the steps already taken by Aubigny towards the attainment of his objects; and specially referred to the arrest of the Earl of Morton, who, at the instigation of Aubigny (Lennox), was in prison at the time, on a charge of high treason. This she considered

"A matter sufficient to confirm the just suspicions of Monsieur D'Aubigny's intention to become the principal minister of the Pope and his adherents, for to reduce that realm [of Scotland] to the servitude of Rome, whereof himself from his birth hath been a professed vassall, that now by policy (though some of his company brought with him, and yet secretly cherished by him, do remain still Papists), he himself, to colour his dissimulation, affirmed by words, to be somewhat otherwise changed. A matter, being well considered, that served his turn the better, to achieve his enterprise; and such a device, that (as it is confessed by sundry) the Pope doth many times give dispensations to divers for some notable respects, to dissemble not only in bare words and with oaths, but also in outward facts to proceed to be of the Reformed Religion, only to have more commodity to work their further practice. And of this kind had been discovered many in England, and also in France, that had confessed such Dispensations so to dissemble; yea, they are taught that they, without hurt to their Popish conscience, by oath, before any Protestant magistrate, may deny their faith, and dissemble, and break any promise made to a Protestant."²

Notwithstanding these warnings, so fully justified by subsequent events, James continued his royal favour to Lennox. But the action of Elizabeth made it all the more necessary that the favourite should give one more proof of his repudia-

¹ Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii., p. 491.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 493.

tion of Popery, and of his allegiance to the Protestant faith, and therefore he was the first to swear to and sign the Confession of Faith, after the King. That he should be guilty of what—in his case—was nothing less than perjury in its most abominable form, only proves that he was, as Mr. Froude affirms, “accomplished in all arts, whether of grace or villainy.”¹ As showing the depth of his wickedness, as to which no evidence exists that he was ever censured by the Pope, I here subjoin the text of the principal portions of the Confession of Faith itself, which he swore to and signed. The original document is preserved in the Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh:—

“We all, and every one of us underwritten, protest, that after a long and due examination of our own consciences in matters of true and false religion, are now thoroughly resolved in the truth, by the Word and Spirit of God. . . . And, therefore, we abhor and detest all contrary religion and doctrine; but chiefly all kind of Papistry in general and particular heads, even as they are now damned and confuted by the Word of God and Kirk of Scotland. But in special, we detest and refuse the usurped authority of that Roman Antichrist upon the Scriptures of God, upon the Kirk, the Civil Magistrate, and consciences of men; all his tyrannical laws made upon indifferent things against our Christian liberty; . . . his blasphemous opinion of Transubstantiation, or Real Presence of Christ’s body in the elements . . . his devilish Mass; his blasphemous priesthood, his profane Sacrifice for the sins of the dead and the living; his canonization of men, calling upon angels and saints departed, worshipping of images, relics, and crosses; . . . his Purgatory, prayers for the dead, praying or speaking in a strange language; with his processions and blasphemous Litany, and multitude of advocates and mediators; his manifold Orders, Auricular Confession; . . . his holy water, baptising of bells, conjuring of spirits; . . . his worldly monarchy, and wicked hierarchy; his three solemn vows; . . . his erroneous and bloody decrees made at Trent, with all the subscribers and approvers of that cruel and bloody band, conjured against the Kirk of God. And, finally, we detest all his vain allegories, rites, signs, and traditions brought into the Kirk, without or against the Word of God, and doctrine of this true Reformed Kirk; to the which we join ourselves willingly in doctrine, faith, religion, discipline, and use of the holy Sacraments, as lively members of the same, in Christ our Head: *promising and swearing by the great name of the Lord our God, that we shall continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this Kirk, and shall defend the same according to our vocation*

¹ Froude’s *History of England*, vol. x., p. 512.

and power, all the days of our life, under the pains contained in the Law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of God's fearful Judgment. And, seeing that many are stirred up by Satan and that Roman Antichrist, to promise, swear, subscribe, and for a time use the holy Sacraments in the Kirk deceitfully, against their own conscience; minding hereby, first under the external cloak of the religion, to corrupt and subvert secretly God's true religion within the Kirk; and afterwards, when time may serve, to become open enemies and persecutors of the same, under vain hope of the Pope's dispensation, devised against the Word of God, to his greater confusion, and their double condemnation in the Day of the Lord Jesus: We, therefore, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisy, and of such double dealing with God and His Kirk, *protest, and call the Searcher of all hearts for witness, that our minds and hearts do fully agree with this our Confession, promise, OATH, and subscription*; so that we are not moved for any worldly respect, but are persuaded only in our conscience, through the knowledge and love of God's true religion printed in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, *as we shall answer to Him in the Day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed*. . . . We protest and promise solemnly with our hearts, under the same OATH, handwriting, and pains, that we shall defend his [the King's] person and authority with our goods, bodies, and lives, in the defence of Christ's Evangel, liberty of our country, ministration of justice, and punishment of iniquity, against all enemies within this realm or without, as we desire our God to be a strong and merciful Defender to us, in the day of our death, and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ: To Whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory eternally. Amen."¹

Lennox was not the only Romanist in disguise who treacherously signed this Confession of Faith. Lord Seton was another. He had rendered special service to the Church of Rome before this period, and he continued those services to the end of his life. A year after the event just recorded, a priest, who was a political emissary of the Jesuits to Scotland, reporting his work to Cardinal Allen, remarked: "We celebrated [Mass] daily, and preached during the Christmas season in the house of Lord Seton, the greater part of his household, which is very numerous, being present."² Lord Seton, writing on March 14th, 1584, to Pope Gregory XIII., was not ashamed to boast of his services to the

¹ Row's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, pp. 74—77. Edinburgh: Woodrow Society.

² *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, p. 178.

Church of Rome. "I need not explain to your Holiness," he wrote, "the part which I have taken in defending the Catholic religion, and the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, for I would rather leave this to others."¹ Did his lordship, we may well ask, in his own mind, include the signature of the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, as amongst the services he had rendered to the Papacy?

The progress to power of the Royal favourite was rapid, and the evil deed of January 28th, 1581, helped on his political schemes. He was first, as we have seen, created Earl of Lennox, and next made Chamberlain of Scotland. Edinburgh Castle was given in charge of one of his supporters. Dumbarton was made over to him as an appanage of his earldom, and thus he had the key in his hands to open Scotland to the French or Spaniards, whenever he was ready to receive them. It was even suggested that he should be recognised as heir to the Crown, should the King die without issue.² On August 27, 1581, he was proclaimed Duke of Lennox. His evil deed of the previous January had enabled him to get rid of the Earl of Morton, his most formidable rival, who was executed June 2nd, 1581.

"The death of Morton was followed," writes Tytler, "as was to be expected, by the concentration of the whole power of the State in the hands of the Earl of Lennox and Captain Stewart, now Earl of Arran. This necessarily led to the revival of the influence of France, and to renewed intrigues by the friends of the Catholic faith and the supporters of the imprisoned Queen [Mary Queen of Scots]. The prospects of the Protestant lords, and of the more zealous Ministers of the Kirk were proportionably overclouded; the faction in the interests of England was thrown into despair, and reports of the most gloomy kind began to circulate through the country."³

Towards the end of the summer of 1581, Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador in London, and one of the bitterest enemies of England and the Protestant religion, determined that, if possible, the Jesuit Plot in Scotland should be

¹ *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, p. 186.

² *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 51.

³ Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 38. Edinburgh, 1864.

worked in the interests of Spain rather than of France, of whose influence both he and his master, the King of Spain, were very jealous. For this purpose Mendoza had several secret conferences in London with some of the principal Roman Catholics of England. To them he pointed out that there was a far greater chance of success for the Roman Catholic cause in England and Scotland, if the undertaking in that country were under the auspices of Spain rather than those of France, but he was careful at the same time to remind them that "the first step to be taken was to bring Scotland to submit to the Holy See," for this would embarrass Queen Elizabeth more than anything else. After a great deal of negotiation, what appears to have been a sort of committee to represent the other Roman Catholics of England was formed. It consisted of six English Lords; all of them being Spanish in their sympathies. Writing to the King of Spain, on September 7th, 1581, Mendoza says:—

"My proposal was approved of, and six Lords, who are the leaders and chiefs of the other Catholics, met for the purpose of considering it. One of them repeated to the others what I had said, and urged that the best way for them [in England] to shake off the oppression with which they were being afflicted by the heretics would be to attempt to bring Scotland to submission to the Church. They took solemn oaths to aid each other, and to mutually devote their persons and property to the furtherance of this end without informing any living soul of their determination excepting myself. They decided to send an English clergyman who is trusted by all the six, a person of understanding who was brought up in Scotland, to the Scottish Court, for the purpose, after he had made himself acquainted with the state of things, with their assistance and recommendation, to try to get a private interview with D'Aubigny, and tell him that, if the King would submit to the Roman Catholic Church, many of the English nobles, and a great part of the population, would at once side with him, and have him declared heir to the English Crown and release his mother. He was to assure him that *the help of His Holiness, your Majesty, and it was supposed also of the King of France, would be forthcoming to this end.*"¹

The reference to help from France was put in as a matter of policy, for Mendoza assured his master that the English

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 170.

Lords did "not wish to have anything to do with France." The English priest chosen for this delicate and secret mission was William Watts. Before he started for Scotland Watts received his instructions from the notorious Jesuit, Father Robert Parsons, who was a prime mover in the conspiracy. Parsons told him what subjects he should introduce in conversation with the young King of Scotland. He was to request his Majesty to take under his protection those English Roman Catholics who fled to Scotland, since the Romanists were the only persons who favoured his succession to the English Throne. Then he was to dwell upon the reasons which ought to incline the King to view Popery with favour, and the Protestant heretics in abhorrence, and to hold out before him the prospect, not only of the succession to the English Throne, but also of the friendship of the neighbouring Roman Catholic Princes; the assistance of the Romanists of both England and Scotland, and especially of the priests in recovering Scotland to the Roman Catholic Church, which they were ready to undertake even though it should cost their lives.

With these instructions Father William Watts set off to Scotland, accompanied by a servant. Having arrived in that country, he was fortunate enough to obtain from John Lord Maxwell, a Protestant, a safe conduct in writing to any part of Scotland. Watts next went to the "Baron of Grencknols" whom he knew to be favourable to the Popish cause, though outwardly a Protestant, and to him he opened his mind freely, and obtained promises of sympathy and aid. At last he reached Edinburgh, where he had interviews with Lord Seton (a disguised Romanist) and other noblemen, including his son, afterwards known as Chancellor Seton. Lord Seton entertained Watts in his own house. These noblemen at last introduced him to the King, but what transpired at the interview has not, so far as I am aware, been published. These Scottish noblemen gave this secret emissary promises such as satisfied him. Father Watts wrote out a report of

his mission which he forwarded to Father Parsons, who at once sent it on to the General of the Jesuits at Rome. Watts supplied a list of noblemen favourable to the Popish cause. It included D'Aubigny (on whom their hopes mainly relied), the Earl of Huntly, the Earl of Eglinton, the Earl of Caithness, Baron Seton, Baron Ogilvy, Baron Gray, and Baron Fernihurst.¹ In writing to the General of his Order Parsons sought for his advice, telling him that he entirely relied upon his answer for his guidance as to his future conduct in the matter. Apparently the answer was satisfactory to Parsons, if we may judge by the fact that he continued to be an active worker in the plot. By direction of Parsons, Watts prolonged his stay in Scotland, and did not return to London until the following January, when he wrote out a second report of his proceedings, and forwarded it to Dr. Allen (afterwards Cardinal) who was then staying at Rheims. Allen at once sent on the report to the Cardinal of Como, Papal Secretary of State, for the information of the Pope, who took the greatest interest in what was going on in Scotland. In this document Watts stated that the Scottish nobles favourable to the plot despaired of success without armed aid from abroad. They desired that special efforts should be made to bring the King over to the Church of Rome, but if these failed "they would then get her Majesty's [Mary Queen of Scots] licence and permission to convey the King, her son, if necessary, to some Catholic country, where he could be better instructed in the true faith, and trained to the duties of sovereignty." It would be well, they thought, if a marriage could be arranged between the King and the daughter of the King of Spain. The King of Scotland was then only fifteen years old.

Father William Holt, a Jesuit, was also sent by Parsons to Scotland soon after Watts had started for that country, and he remained there until the beginning of the following

¹ *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, pp. 166—174.

Lent. On February 9th, 1582, Mendoza wrote a lengthy letter to the King of Spain, reporting what took place at an interview which he had just had with Father Holt in London, after his arrival from Scotland. Holt told the Spanish Ambassador that on his arrival in Edinburgh, he, like Father Watts, was received "by the principal Lords and Councillors of the King, particularly the Duke of Lennox [Aubigny], the Earls of Huntly, Eglinton, Argyll, Caithness, and other personages, who are desirous of bringing the country to submit to our Holy Catholic Faith." These noblemen had unanimously pledged themselves to adopt four means of obtaining their object. First, to endeavour to induce their King to become a Roman Catholic; secondly, they would try and obtain, if necessary, the permission of the King's mother, that "if he be not converted, he should be forced to open his eyes and hear the truth;" thirdly, if his mother thought it necessary "they would transport him out of the Kingdom to a place that she might indicate;" and fourthly, "as a last resource they would depose the King" until his mother had escaped from captivity and had arrived in Scotland, "unless he would consent to become a Catholic." One way to forward these expedients was, they suggested, for some foreign sovereign to support them with troops, of whom they supposed 2000 would be sufficient for their purpose. They did not intend to apply for help to France for these troops, but they had appealed to Mary Queen of Scots, whose personal intercession would, they believed, "prevail upon the Pope" and the King of Spain to help them. If the soldiers were sent, these Scottish noblemen "would undertake to convert the country to the Catholic faith, and to bring it to submit to the Pope." To prevent the jealousy of the French they thought it would be best were the King of Spain to send, under the name of the Pope, Italian rather than Spanish soldiers to Scotland.¹

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., 285—289.

Mary Queen of Scots was made acquainted with this artfully contrived plot, and gave it her hearty approval and assistance. To facilitate matters she was willing to give up her claim to be the only Sovereign of Scotland, and to associate the name of her son with her own as joint Sovereigns of the land. But this association with her son would entirely depend upon his becoming a Roman Catholic, and she held herself free at any time to withdraw from association with him, provided she had come to the decision that his perversion was hopeless; in which case she would resume her claim to be the Queen of Scotland, and heiress to the throne of England. She wrote to Mendoza on the subject a letter in which she expressed the opinion that the Duke of Lennox, "*though he has joined with the heretics in order by dissimulation to strengthen his position,*" would not be blind to the advantage of helping the King by any means.¹

At about this period the Pope, anxious for further information for his personal guidance, sent an emissary of his own to Scotland. He selected for the mission Father William Creighton, a Scotch Jesuit, who also went with the approbation of the King of Spain, the bloodthirsty Duke of Guise, and Father Parsons. Before starting on his journey, Creighton, in company with Parsons, had an interview at Eu, towards the end of January, with the Duke of Guise, "about the advancement of the Catholic cause in both realms of England and Scotland, and for the delivery of the Queen of Scots, then prisoner."² Creighton arrived in Scotland in the beginning of Lent, 1582, and left the country on his return to the Continent towards the end of March. His account of his visit to Scotland was subsequently written for the purpose of being preserved in the archives of the Jesuits at Rome. From this report I take the following extract, in which the real sentiments of Lennox towards the

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 290.

² *Knox's Records of English Catholics*, vol. ii., p. xxxv.

religion of Rome come out in their true and natural colours. The italics are mine.

"At the time of his arrival," wrote Creighton of himself, "only one of the members of the Royal Council, Lord Seton, remained constant to his religion. This nobleman willingly received Fr. Creighton into his house, and treated him with kindness and respect. All the others had subscribed to the heretical Confession of Faith,¹ through fear of the tyranny of those who had seized upon the government, and especially of the heretical preachers. The guardian of the young King, then still a minor, was his cousin, the Duke of Lennox. Fr. Creighton considered it best to enter into correspondence with this nobleman, *whom he knew to be a Catholic at heart, although externally complying in every respect with the requirements of the Ministers*; and it was not without great difficulty that he obtained an interview with Lennox, for he had to be introduced into the King's palace at night, and hidden during three days in a secret chamber. *The Duke promised that he would have the King instructed in the Catholic religion, or else conveyed abroad, in order to be able to embrace it with more freedom.* To secure this concession, he made some on his side, chiefly of a pecuniary nature; and such as seemed very insignificant when compared with the object in view. The articles of this agreement were drawn up by Fr. Creighton, and signed by the Duke's hand in evidence of his assent to it, so that the Pope, then Gregory XIII., might possess in the Duke's hand-writing a proof of the accuracy of Fr. Creighton's verbal statement. Armed with this document, Father Creighton at once crossed over to France, and arrived in Paris, where the Duke of Guise—the King's relative, the Archbishop of Glasgow, Father Tyrie,² and the other Scotchmen, all considered the Catholic cause as good as gained."³

On Father Creighton's return to France he communicated the results of his Scottish visit to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Dr. Allen (subsequently Cardinal Allen), the Duke of Guise, Father Parsons, and to the agent of the King of Spain.

"The greater part of April and May was," writes the late Father Knox, "spent in discussing this design, and finally, at a meeting held in Paris, at which, besides those already mentioned, F. Claude Mathieu, Provincial of the Jesuits in France and Confessor to the Duke of Guise, was present, a plan was definitely decided upon, and F. Creighton was deputed to take it to the Pope at Rome, and F. Parsons to Philip II. at Lisbon, where the King was then residing."⁴

¹ And so, as we have seen, had Lord Seton also.

² Father Tyrie also was a Jesuit priest.

³ *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, pp. 181, 182.

⁴ *Knox's Records of English Catholics*, vol. ii., p. xlili.

Tassis, the Spanish Ambassador to France, took part in these conferences, and on May 29th wrote about them to his master, the King of Spain.

"The Duke of Guise," wrote Tassis from Paris, "has arrived, and conferred at length with the priests, after which they summoned me at night to the Scots Ambassador's house. The Duke of Guise informed me of his great desire to personally participate in so important an affair, with the sole object I have mentioned, and the plan of execution was subsequently discussed. His opinion was that His Holiness should have the enterprise carried out entirely in his name, and should announce that the destination of the expedition was to be Barbary.... The priests subsequently informed me that the principal reason why he (Guise) advocated this course was the oath he took when he received the Order of the Holy Ghost, not to employ himself in favour of any foreign Prince without the consent of his Sovereign, and he thinks that if he is engaged in this enterprise with forces belonging to your Majesty he might be breaking this oath. The priests, however, say that they have satisfied him upon the point, and have shown him that he may do so with a perfectly clear conscience, so that he is now resolved to take part in the affair in whatever form His Holiness and your Majesty may consider advisable."¹

In other words, under Jesuit guidance, the Duke decided to break his solemn oath, in order that he might do good to the Roman Catholic faith in Scotland and England.

The object of the visits of these two Jesuits to Rome and Lisbon respectively was to obtain a strong military force to guard the King of Scotland and the Duke of Lennox, and to provide a Roman Catholic bride for the King, by whose means it was expected to make his secession to Romanism secure. The Pope approved of the design, took it up warmly, and subscribed four thousand gold crowns. He also wrote to Philip II. urging him to help a cause which so greatly interested all Christian people. In response, Philip gave twelve thousand gold crowns, promising the same amount every year, and more if necessary.²

A great deal of the correspondence of those who took part in this treacherous conspiracy was published in London

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., pp. 377, 378.

² *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, p. 182.

in 1882, in the second volume of the *Records of English Catholics*. From that book we learn that after the deliberations of the conspirators had for the time concluded, the Papal Nuncio at Paris wrote a lengthy report of the proceedings to the Papal Secretary of State, for the information of the Pope. The design in hand, he informed the Secretary, must be arranged in all particulars by the Duke of Guise. Father Robert Parsons had said that 6000 footmen were sufficient for Scotland, and that after their work was done they could pass over to England, so as to bring back two Kingdoms to the Church of Rome. "Moreover," continued the Nuncio, "at the proper time the principal Catholics in England will receive information of the affair by means of the priests. But this will not be done until just before the commencement of the enterprise, for fear of its becoming known; since the soul of this affair is its secrecy." The Nuncio concluded the letter thus:— "It seems to me that this enterprise is so honourable and useful to the Church of God that nothing, I believe, could be undertaken or even imagined greater or more fruitful; and I cannot do otherwise than entreat your most reverend lordship to animate our Lord (the Pope) to this enterprise, which is worthy of Christ's Vicar." ¹

Before he wrote the above letter the Nuncio had received a visit from Parsons, who placed in his hands a memorandum, in which he offered "in the name of all the Catholics of England, their life, their goods, and all that lies within their power for the service of God and his Holiness in this enterprise." Two years later, when Father Creighton was arrested by the English Government, the plan of this very enterprise was found upon him. In this plan it was stated that

"The great and rich cities for the most part, as Newcastle, York, and such like, are all full of Catholics, who will repair to the [invading] army, so as they shall be victorious without drawing sword; and all the Catholic lords and gentlemen of those shires will

¹ Knox's *Records of English Catholics*, vol. ii., pp. xli, xlii.

unite themselves unto them: *which we say not by conjecture, but know assuredly that they will do it*, although they dare not trust anybody in the world but only their priests, who are already dispersed throughout all the shires of the realm." ¹

The special object of the enterprise was said to be the deposition of Queen Elizabeth, and the setting up of the Scottish Queen in her room. The plan further provided that on the entry of the invading army into England, all those who should bear arms in defence of Queen Elizabeth, should be treated as "guilty of treason, and shall be held for such, unless they come to join with the army of the Scottish Queen in England by such a certain day, and they shall not only lose their lives, but also all their possessions, lordships, and lands, shall be given to the next of their blood." Here we see what was, and ever has been, the true attitude of the Jesuits towards civil and religious liberty. Had they succeeded in their scheme, every Protestant who resisted them, aye, and every loyal Roman Catholic also, would have been put to death!

Father Creighton, on leaving Scotland, was the bearer of a letter from the Duke of Lennox himself to Tassis, the Spanish agent at the French Court. The letter is well worth citing here.

"Sir," wrote Lennox, "the bearer of this, William Creighton, a Jesuit, has come here and told me that *he has been sent to me by the Pope* and the King of Spain, your King, and he has brought me a letter of credence from the Ambassador of Scotland to the effect that I should put trust in what he shall say to me. After him there arrived another Jesuit, an Englishman [F. William Holt], bringing me a letter from the Ambassador your King has in London [Don Bernardino de Mendoza], and who in conjunction with *the Pope desires*, as it seems to me, *to use my services in the design which they have in hand for the restoration of the Catholic religion* and the liberation of the Queen of Scotland, according to what the aforesaid Creighton related to me. As I believe that this enterprise is undertaken for the good and preservation of the Queen of Scotland and the King her son, and that his crown will be maintained and supported, I am ready, with the consent of the Queen his mother, to devote my life and

¹ Knox's *Records of English Catholics*, p. 430.

property to the execution of the said enterprise, on condition that I am provided with all those things which are set down in a memorandum which I have given to the bearer to communicate to you." ¹

The "memorandum" to which the Duke of Lennox here refers, required that by the following autumn twenty thousand Spanish, Italian, German, and Swiss soldiers should be landed in Scotland, with plenty of munitions of war; as also that a large sum of money should be sent towards the expenses of the enterprise; and he names in it the ports where the troops should be landed.

On the same day that the Duke of Lennox wrote to Tassis, he wrote also a similar letter to Mary Queen of Scots.

"Madam,—Since my last letters a Jesuit named William Creighton has come to me with letters of credence from your Ambassador. He informs me that the Pope and the Catholic King had decided to succour you with an army, for the purpose of re-establishing religion in this island, your deliverance from captivity, and the preservation of your right to the Crown of England. He says that it has been proposed that I should be the head of the said army. Since then, I have received a letter from the Spanish Ambassador resident in London to the same effect, through another English Jesuit. For my own part, Madam, if it be your will that anything should be done, and that I should undertake it, I will do so, and am in hopes that, if promises are fulfilled, and the English Catholics also keep their word, the enterprise may be carried to a successful issue, and I will deliver you out of your captivity or lose my life in the attempt. I therefore humbly beg you to inform me of your wishes on the matter, through the Spanish Ambassador in London, with all speed, and I will follow your instructions if you approve of the enterprise. As soon as I receive your reply I will go to France with all diligence for the purpose of raising some French infantry, and receiving the foreign troops and leading them to Scotland." ²

No one who reads the letters of Queen Mary, published in the third volume of the *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, can doubt that she took a very decided part in furthering this Papal and Jesuit plot, of which she heartily approved. Yet when, two years later, she was charged by Mr. Somner, Secretary to Sir Ralph Sadler, with having taken a part

¹ Knox's *Records of English Catholics*, vol. ii., p. xxxiv.

² *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 333.

in it, she actually had the daring falsehood to deny it, calling God to witness the truth of her lying assertions.¹

The two Jesuit priests who had been to Scotland about the business in hand, had an interview with Tassis at Paris, about the middle of May. The latter wrote at once about the subject of the interview to the King of Spain, on May 18th, 1582:—

“Two or three days ago two Jesuit Fathers [Holt and Creighton] came to see me, one an Englishman and the other a Scot. The latter told me that, more than a year since, he was at Rome to attend a meeting or Chapter of his Order, and by command of his General, gave to His Holiness an account of the state of affairs in Scotland, and the good hopes that existed of success attending the attempts to restore the Catholic faith in the country if the task were undertaken in earnest. His Holiness liked his discourse so much that he sent him hither [to Paris] and gave instructions to the Nuncio, and to the Scots Ambassador here, to consider what steps could be taken in the matter, evincing a desire to aid it effectually if there seemed to be an appearance of hopefulness. The Nuncio and the Ambassador decided to send him to Scotland, to inform M. D'Aubigny, Duke of Lennox, a Frenchman and a kinsman of that King, of the Pope's favourable disposition, as he (Lennox) had the principle influence over the King and exercised great authority in the country, *and was known to be Catholic*. They therefore expected to find him very willing to assist, and the Jesuit was instructed to encourage and exhort him to this end, bearing a letter of credence from the Ambassador, founded on the Pope's instructions. He (the Jesuit) had gone thither and with great difficulty (seeing the suspicion in which the godly live there) had seen D'Aubigny once, after secret communications had passed between them by letter. The interview took place in a castle belonging to D'Aubigny, whither he had gone on the pretext of other business, and another Jesuit, an Englishman and companion of the man who came to me, was present. This Englishman appeared to arrive at the same time with a similar mission on behalf of the English Catholics, and carried a letter of credence from Don Bernardino de Mendoza for D'Aubigny. After hearing what both of them had to say, *D'Aubigny decided to give the support desired by His Holiness and your Majesty to the project, if he was furnished with the things set forth in a statement which he handed to them.*”²

Parsons also had an interview with the Papal Nuncio in Paris, who, on May 22, reported it to the Papal Secretary

¹ Sadler's *State Papers*, vol. iii., pp. 147—149.

² *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 370.

of State, the Cardinal of Como. "I have had," he wrote, "a visit from Father Robert [Parsons], an English Jesuit, who appears to me a very prudent man; but as yet I do not know of the arrival of the Duke of Guise with whom the design on hand must be arranged in all its particulars, the said Father has given me a memorandum of which I send a copy. It is, I know, unnecessary to say that the Bishop alluded to in the memorandum should not be appointed in Consistory, since in that way the affair would be easily discovered, and therefore I will say nothing about it. This Father assumes that 6000 footmen are sufficient in Scotland, to cross over afterwards into England, but this is a point which will be better settled when the Duke comes. The expense seems to me small for two such great Princes, especially since it will not last for many months, and the gain of bringing back to Christ two kingdoms is inestimable, and not to attend to this enterprise would drive into the extremity of despair the Catholics of both realms. In a few days Father Creighton, a Scotchman, who has lately returned from Scotland, will go to Rome with a full account of the state of England and Scotland; and from what I know, if these troops can be brought on a sudden to Scotland, and go thence likewise on a sudden to England, it seems to me that the affair is most easy."¹

This great Jesuit conspiracy against two nations, England and Scotland, depended for its success mainly on the continuance of the Duke of Lennox in power in the latter country, while, in its turn, his continuance in power depended entirely on the fact of his adherence to Romanism remaining a profound secret. Lennox had used the power entrusted to him in persecuting the Presbyterian ministers, and in forcing the Episcopal system on the Church of Scotland. The ministers were not blind to the dangers that surrounded them. At this period, says Dr. M'Crie, the King

¹ *Records of English Catholics*, vol. ii., pp. xi, xli.

"fell into the hands of two unprincipled courtiers, the one a Frenchman, whom he made the Duke of Lennox; and the other, one Captain Stewart, a notorious profligate, who afterwards became Earl of Arran. These men, besides polluting his morals, filled his head with the most extravagant notions of Kingly power, and the strongest prejudices against the Scottish Church, the strict discipline of which, for obvious reasons, was peculiarly obnoxious to persons of such characters."¹

It is no wonder that the ministers were dissatisfied with the existing state of things, and earnestly desired that such dangerous counsellors and unprincipled scoundrels should be removed from the person of the King, who was still a mere boy of barely sixteen years of age. Their dissatisfaction was shared by many of the Protestant noblemen and gentry, who could not view without serious alarm, the probability of the loss of the civil and religious liberties of the country. That alarm was in no way lessened by a Declaration issued in the name of the King, though, no doubt, at the instigation of Lennox himself. It was dated July 12, 1582, and concluded as follows:—

"And because it is come to our knowledge that, by the said disturbers of our common peace, rumours are published that our dear cousin Esmé, now Duke of Lennox etc., should be a counsellor and deviser to us in the premises presently, of the erecting of Papistry, and abolishing of the true religion, which he hath subscribed with his hand, sworn in the presence of God, approved with the holy action of the Lord's Table, like as he is ready to seal the same with his blood. We, therefore, with advice of our Lords of the Secret Council aforesaid, have thought expedient to publish to all our faithful subjects, the malicious falsehood of their calumnies laid and published against our said cousin, his faithful and constant abiding in the true religion of Christ professed within this our realm, his dutiful obedience to us, our authority and laws, his care and diligence in the preservation of our person, with all other virtues required in a true counsellor and obedient subject. That none of you, our faithful subjects, be moved or animated against our said cousin, by the false bruits given out by such seditious persons, enemies to our said cousin, or others our faithful counsellors, . . . and we charge you straitly and command that, forthwith, these our letters seen, ye pass to the Market Cross of all boroughs, and to all Parish Kirks within our realm, and there by open proclamation, make publication and intimation hereof, that none pretend ignorance of the same."²

¹ M'Crie, *Sketches of Scottish Church History*, p. 105, ed. 1841.

² Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii., p. 788.

The Royal Proclamation, however, failed to allay the deep-seated suspicions that had been aroused as to the Jesuitical designs of Lennox, but for a while it was found difficult to discover a remedy for the existing state of affairs. At length a successful plan was devised, which effectually checked the schemes of the Pope, Jesuits, and Duke of Guise. On the 28th of August, 1582, several of the Protestant noblemen came to the King at Perth, and invited him to pay a visit to Ruthven Castle, where, for a time, he was detained, no doubt against his will. This plan was afterwards known as the Raid of Ruthven. The next day a supplication was addressed to him by the Protestant noblemen and gentlemen, in which the reasons were given for their action, and a statement of grievances was exhibited. As this document contains a remarkable record of the persecutions initiated by Lennox against the Church of Scotland, and of his Jesuitical plot to bring back the power of the Pope, it may be well to reproduce it here. It is as follows:—

“It may seem strange unto your Highness that we, your Majesty’s most humble and obedient subjects, are here convened beyond your Highness’s expectation. But after your Grace hath heard the urgent occasions that have pressed us thereunto, your Majesty will not marvel at this our honest, lawful, necessary, and most godly enterprise. Sir, for the dutiful reverence and obedience we owe to your Highness, and for that we ever abhorred to attempt anything [that] might seem unpleasant to your Excellency, we have suffered now about the space of two years such false accusations, calumnies, oppressions and persecutions, by means of the Duke of Lennox, and him who is called Earl of Arran, that the like of their insolences and enormities were never heretofore borne with in Scotland. Which wrongs, albeit they were most intolerable, yet for that they only touched us in particular, we bore them patiently, ever attending when your Highness should put remedy thereto.

“But now, seeing the persons aforesaid have entered plainly to trouble the whole body of this Commonwealth, as well Ministers of the blessed Evangel, as the true professors thereof; but in special, that number of noblemen, Barons, burgesses, and community, that did most worthily in your Highness’ service during your youth; whom principally and only they molest, and against whom only they use most rigour and extremity of laws, acts, practices, for greater vindication, so that a part of these your best subjects is exiled, another part tormented, put to questions, and with partiality executed; and if any escape their barbarous fury, yet have no

access to your Majesty, but are falsely calumniated, minassed, debarred your presence, and kept out of your favour. Papists, and the most notable murderers of your father and Regents, are daily called home, restored to their former honours and heritages, and oftentimes highly rewarded with offices, places, and possessions of your most faithful servants. Finally, Sir, your Estate Royal is not governed by the counsel of your nobility, as your most worthy progenitors used to do, but at the pleasure of the persons aforesaid, who enterprised nothing, but as they received directions from the Bishops of Glasgow and Ross, your denounced rebels; having with them joined in their ordinary Councils, the Pope's Nuncio, the Ambassadors of Spain, and such other of the Catholic Papists in France, as ever laboured to subvert the true religion, to spoil you of your Crown. With these persons, and with your mother, without advice of your Estates, they travelled to cause your Majesty [to] negotiate and traffic, persuading your Highness to be reconciled with her, and to associate her conjunctly with you in your authority. Thirdly, meaning nothing but to convict them of usurpation, conspiracy, and treason, that served your Highness most faithfully in your youth. And so, having these your best subjects out of the way, who, with the defence of your innocency, maintained the purity of religion, as two actions united and inseparable, what else could have ensued and followed, but the wreck both of the one and the other?

"For conclusion, by their practices, the whole country (for which, Sir, you must give account to our Eternal God, because we must be answerable to your Excellency) is so perturbed, altered and put out of frame, that the true religion, the commonweal, your Crown, Estate, and person, is no less in danger than when you were delivered forth out of the hands of the murderer of your father. Sir, beholding these dangers to be imminent and at hand, without speedy help, and seeing your most noble person is in such hazard, the preservation whereof is more precious to us than our own lives; seeing also no appearance that your Majesty was forewarned thereof, but like to perish before you could perceive peril, we thought we could not be answerable to God, neither be faithful subjects to your Highness, if, after our ability, we prevented not these pitiful disasters, and preserved your Majesty from the same. For this effect, with all dutiful humility and obedience, we, your Majesty's true subjects, are here convened; desiring your Majesty, in the name of the Eternal God, and for the love you bear to His true religion, your country and subjects, that as you would the tranquillity of your own estate, to retire yourself to such a part of your country, where your Majesty's person may be most surely preserved, and your nobility; where, under peril of our lands, lives, and heritages, your Majesty shall see the disloyalty, falsehoods, and treasons, of the persons aforesaid, with their accomplices, evidently proven and declared in their faces; to the glory of God, advancement of His true religion, your Majesty's preservation, honour and deliverance, pacifying of your disturbed commonweal and country, and to their perpetual ignominy, infamy and shame." ¹

¹ Calderwood's *History*, vol iii., pp. 637—40.

The truthfulness of this Supplication cannot be denied. It was followed shortly after by the publication at Stirling of a pamphlet, entitled, "A Declaration of the Just and Necessary Causes Moving us of the Nobility, and others the King's faithful subjects, to repair to His Highness's presence, and to remain with Him, for Resisting the Present Dangers appearing to God's true Religion and Professors Thereof, and to His Highness's own Person, Estate, and Crown and his faithful Subjects that have constantly continued in His Obedience; and to Seek Redress and Reformation of the abuse and confusion of the Commonwealth, removing from His Majesty the chief Authors Thereof, while the Truth of the same may be made manifest to His Highness's Estates, that with common consent Redress and Remedy may be Provided."¹ This document contains a startling and lengthy list of grievances, and of evils inflicted on loyal and Protestant Scotsmen during the time the Duke of Lennox had been in power. Justice had been trampled under foot, the King's morals had been corrupted by harlots introduced to him by his evil counsellors. The document exposed to the light of day the machinations of the Papal party, so far as they were then known, affirming, amongst other points, that "Daily intelligence was between their men that governed the King's person and the Papists, both in France and England; and some of the English fugitives, being Papists, harboured and entertained very near the King's Majesty's person for the time. The special names of such of the nobility, officers, and of the King's true servants that were destined for the massacre, were in all men's mouths, and nothing remained but the execution, since the authors of the like in France [the reference is to the St. Bartholomew Massacre] had obtained place and credit in Scotland."

In the face of opposition like this the Duke of Lennox lacked the courage necessary in a successful leader. "In

¹ The document is printed in Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. iii., pp. 651—665.

cunning and adroitness," as Mr. Froude remarks, "he was without a rival. He could take life when there was no risk to his own, but in the nervous courage which could face death without flinching he was entirely deficient. He was terrified and longed to fly."¹ Had Lennox been equal to the occasion, says Froude, "he would have thrown himself at once at the head of all the force which he could raise, and have flown to the King's rescue. The Kers and the Maxwell's had been preparing the Border marauders for the expected invasion of England; many hundreds of them had but to spring into their saddles to be ready for the field; and everywhere, even in the Lothians, there were loose gentlemen and their retainers who had no love for the discipline of the Kirk, and had no wish to see the days of Morton come back again. But the confederate Lords were less united than they seemed; and the secrecy with which Lennox had worked told against him in the suddenness of the emergency. He was himself feeble and frightened; his friends had no immediate purpose or rallying-point."

But though Lennox needed the courage required to rescue the young King from the Protestant Lords by force of arms, his cunning and powers of lying never failed him. He met their "Declaration" by a denial of the charges brought against him, and by false professions of his undying love for Protestantism and the Kirk of Scotland.

"I protest before God," he declared, "it never entered my mind to subvert the religion, as it is falsely alleged against me: but since God has given me that grace to embrace it, I have professed it, and maintain the same with my heart, as, with the help of God, for all the troubles that ever I received of the Ministers, by the persuasion, calumnies, and false information of my evil willers and enemies, I shall not desist to maintain and profess the said religion; being assured it is the only true religion. And although the said Ministers have opposed themselves in some part against me, by reason and their vocation, yet I must grant that the said religion is not the worse, but remains good, true, and holy."²

¹ *Froude's History of England*, vol. xi., p. 260.

² *Calderwood's History*, vol. iii., p. 666.

Such a statement, had it come from an honest man, would have carried weight with it; but coming as it did from one whose evil deeds contradicted his assertions, it was received with incredulity, and in no way lessened the opposition against him. To Mary Queen of Scots, however, he wrote, assuring her that he was but "dissembling," and that he was waiting in Dumbarton Castle until he got possession again of the King, or, failing this, until foreign troops arrived.¹

The Raid of Ruthven destroyed the power of the Duke of Lennox; but he remained in Scotland for some months after in the hope that something favourable to his interests might take place. According to a "Report upon the State of Scotland," written in 1594 by the Jesuits, and sent to Pope Clement VIII., Lennox, in his difficulty, and

"Having none to advise him, sent for the Catholics, who (being acquainted with the state of affairs) told him that nothing more now remained to be done than that all of them should take up arms; and they promised that within a few days they could muster a considerable body of troops. The King, in the meantime, sent his letters to Lennox, by which he ordered him to keep quiet, for his Majesty did not venture to oppose the wishes of his captors in any way, dreading that it would fare the worse with himself were he to do so. These orders threw Lennox into renewed agitation. The Catholics, the most of whom by this time had assembled, declared that the King's letters were of no value from the fact of his being in the hands of his enemies. Once more new letters were despatched, to the effect that the King was at this time in great peril of his life from the party into whose hands he had fallen, and that he might possibly be sacrificed if Lennox persevered in his designs. Even this appeal did not move the Catholics. The following story was told to Lennox as having happened a few years previously. When King James V., the father of Queen Mary, who died in England, was still a boy, he was detained against his will in Stirling Castle by the Earl of Angus and several others of the Scottish nobility. The Duke of Albany, who was the King's uncle, laid siege to the castle. The nobles who held it threatened that they would expose the King to the fire of the cannon of the besiegers. The Duke told them to do so, for he was determined that he would have the King, alive or dead. But Lennox could not be induced by this history, nor by any other arguments, to make the attempt. Hence it was that a few days afterwards there came other letters from the King, ordering

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 418.

him to leave the realm under pain of treason. He yielded to the advice of many Catholics, and returned into France, not without disgrace to himself, and no less danger to the Catholic religion."¹

The Raid of Ruthven was, for the time being, at least, successful in its main object, the removal of Lennox from the person of the King. Nothing less than the banishment of Lennox could have preserved the Protestant faith in that country. Lennox left Scotland, never to return, on December 20th, 1582. The first result of his departure was the postponement, to a more convenient season, of the great enterprise hatched by the Pope and the Jesuits. On his way to France, Lennox passed through England, where he had an interview with Queen Elizabeth, to whom he swore that he was a true Protestant, and had never spoken to a Jesuit! So cleverly did he play his part, that even a modern historian, Mr. Tytler, declares that "we have every reason to believe his assertions to be sincere."² Unfortunately, his acts contradicted his professions, and acts speak louder than words. Before leaving England, Lennox sent his confidential secretary to Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, who thus reported the substance of the interview which took place, to Philip II. :—

"The Secretary," wrote Mendoza, "brought me a letter of credence in his master's own handwriting, with two lines of the cipher we had used, as a countersign, referring me to the bearer. He told me that Lennox had been obliged to leave Scotland, in the first place to comply with the promise which had been given by the King to this Queen [Elizabeth], at the instance of the conspirators, to the effect that the Duke should leave the country. In the second place, he did so for the King's safety, in consequence of the failure of a certain plot which he, Lennox, had arranged to rescue the King from the hands of the conspirators, on his coming to the Castle of Blackness. This had been divulged by the King's houndsman a day before it was to be executed, and, although the number of the Duke of Lennox's party was superior, it was unadvisable to take the King by force of arms, as the conspirators had the strength of the Queen of England behind them

¹ *The History of Mary Stewart*. Edited by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, S.J., pp. 137, 138.

² Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 28.

"I asked the Duke's secretary *whether his master would profess Protestantism in France?* and he answered that he had been specially instructed to tell me that he would, in order that I might signify the same to His Holiness, your Majesty, and the Queen of Scotland; assuring them that he acted thus in dissimulation, in order to be able to return to Scotland, as otherwise the King would not recall him, and the Queen of England would prevent his return, by means of the Ministers, on the ground that he was a Catholic, as in his heart he was. He said that he would make this known also to the King of France. He assured me that the only way by which the King could be brought to submit to the Catholic religion would be by force of arms and foreign troops, drawing him on to this with the bait of their aid being necessary for him to succeed to the Throne of England, to his own aggrandisement."¹

Lennox left London for Paris a few days after this interview, with the full intention of carrying on the Jesuit Plot more effectually than he could have done had he remained in Scotland. From France he wrote to Mary Queen of Scots, that he intended to return to Scotland with a foreign army, where they would be received into Dumbarton Castle, by an arrangement which he had made with the Captain in charge of the Castle. Having arrived there, he quite expected to overcome all opposition in a fortnight.² But, while man proposes, God disposes, and the thing which Lennox proposed was not to be. Soon after his arrival in France he fell ill, and within a short time he died. It is asserted by Camden, Spottiswoode, and Tytler, that he died professing himself a Protestant, but these writers do not produce any evidence in support of their assertions. Could they but have been acquainted with the documents relating to Lennox which came to light and were published for the first time in the latter half of the nineteenth century, they would not, I venture to think, have made such a statement in such decisive terms. Spottiswoode says that the cause of his death was a fever, which he contracted on his arrival at Paris, "whereof *after a few days* he died;" and he adds that "Some hours before his expiring there

¹ *Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., pp. 438, 439.

² *Ibid.*, p. 447.

came to him a priest or two to do their accustomed service; whom he could not admit, professing to die in the faith of the Church of Scotland, and to keep the oath he had given to the King inviolate."¹ I think that a man can scarcely be held responsible for all that he says while suffering from fever. The excitement which it produces in the mind frequently leads men to talk in a manner which their calmer judgment would not approve. Lennox must, at any rate, be judged by his whole life rather than by his death-bed, for even if he died really believing in Protestantism, his last protestation sent by his secretary to Mendoza, only a few months before, expressed the genuine feelings of his heart at that time, and for the whole of his previous life. His one ambition from the time of his arrival in Scotland down to within a few days before his death, was to extirpate Protestantism in the country, by means of the sword and double-dealing, and to rebuild the Church of Rome once more on the ruins. For my part I do not believe that Lennox died a Protestant. No doubt he kept up his disguise to the last possible moment; but when he found himself face to face with death he threw off the disguise which could no longer serve him. The latest Roman Catholic historian of the Papal Church in Scotland is fully justified in stating that:—

"There can be no doubt that Lennox was throughout Catholic at heart; he received the last sacraments [*i.e.* of the Church of Rome] with apparent devotion; promised, if he recovered, to make open profession of his faith; and died in excellent dispositions, attended by and in the presence of the good Archbishop of Glasgow."²

Here we may well pause to ask, "Does History repeat itself?" Can we, in this twentieth century, say with justice: "That which hath been is now; and that which is to be hath already been" (Eccles. iii., 15)? When we look

¹ Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland* vol. ii., p. 298.

² Belleshiem's *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 272.

around on what is going on in the English political world, and see leading statesmen, of both political parties, striving one with the other as to who shall give the greatest amount of honour, promotion, and political power to the Church of Rome in the United Kingdom, is it unreasonable that doubts should arise in our hearts? With the stern facts before us, which this narrative reveals, can we be blamed if we sometimes ask one another occasionally the startling question—Is secret treachery, duplicity, and perjury, such as that of Lennox, altogether unknown among our own statesmen? We are not to be cried down as alarmists, or as suffering from "Jesuitism on the brain," because these questions arise in our minds. The history of Esmè Stuart, Duke of Lennox, has its lessons for the subjects of Edward VII., as much as it had for the men of the sixteenth century. If the Jesuits tacitly sanctioned and encouraged Lennox's infamous conduct then, who can affirm that they are not adopting a similar policy now, for their own selfish and disloyal ends? We certainly need to be watchful, and ever on the guard, not only against the open and avowed enemies of our Protestant constitution, but also against traitorous foes secretly working under false colours.

CHAPTER III

AN ASSASSINATION PLOT—A JESUIT PRIEST LORD CHANCELLOR OF SCOTLAND

Soon after the death of Campian, his companion, Robert Parsons, fled from England, never to return. It was no longer safe to remain in his native land, and Parsons was not made of the material out of which martyrs are formed. He was quite willing to urge others on in a course which he knew would imperil their lives, but he shrank back from the post of danger for himself. Short of this, however, he had unbounded zeal in the prosecution of the designs which he had formed within his fertile brain. From the moment of his arrival on the Continent until the day of his death his chief energies were thrown into the work of a traitor to his country. Of Parsons, Father Joseph Berington writes:—"To the intriguing spirit of this man (whose whole life was a series of machinations against the sovereignty of his country, the succession of its Crown, and the interests of the secular clergy of his own faith) were I to ascribe more than half the odium, under which the English Catholics laboured through the heavy lapse of two centuries, I should only say what has often been said, and what as often has been said with truth."¹ This testimony is confirmed by that of a secular priest who lived in Parsons' own day. "Father Parsons," writes Father John Mush, "was the principle author, the incantor, and the mover of all our garboils at home and abroad. During the short space of nearly two years that he spent in England, so

¹ *Memoirs of Parsons*, p. 26.

much did he irritate by his actions the mind of the Queen and her Ministers that, on that occasion, the first severe laws were enacted against the Ministers of our religion, and those who should harbour them. He, like a dastardly soldier, consulting his own safety, fled Robert Parsons, stationed at his ease, intrepidly, meanwhile, conducts his operations; and we, whom the press of battle threatens, innocent of any crime and ignorant of his dangerous machinations, undergo the punishment which his imprudence and audacity alone merits." ¹

One of the first schemes into which Parsons threw himself on his arrival on the Continent was that of the Pope, the Jesuits, and the Lord Aubigny, (afterwards Duke of Lennox) for the destruction of Protestantism in Scotland by deception of the most scandalous and disgraceful character, and by force of arms, a full description of which has been given in the previous chapter. When that infamous Jesuit Plot failed, through the expulsion and subsequent death of Lennox, the Duke of Guise, who throughout his career had been the willing tool of the Jesuits, threw himself heartily into another plot, having the same ends, but likely to be much swifter in its operations. This was nothing less than a villainous scheme to assassinate Queen Elizabeth—the first undertaken under Jesuit auspices. It is remarkable that while other plots to assassinate Elizabeth were well known to historians, this particular plot was quite unknown until 1882, when it was first of all made public by the late Father Knox, of the Brompton Oratory, in his *Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen*, which form the second volume of his *Records of English Catholics*. Father Knox is evidently of the opinion, held by Father Tierney before him, that at the time the Jesuit Parsons knew all about this murderous plot, while Tierney is of the opinion that he approved of it. Father Tierney publishes a translation of a portion of a letter, the whole of which, in the original, is printed by

¹ *Memoirs of Panzani*, p. 28.

Father Knox, as written by Parsons, in 1597, who, according to these modern learned authorities, mistook the date of the event he recorded, giving the year 1585, instead of 1583.

"The Queen [Mary Queen of Scots] wrote to the Duke of Guise," says Parsons, "in 1585, directing him to keep a watchful eye on the proceedings of the Jesuits, as connected with any plan of Spanish interposition; and taking an opportunity, at the same time, to reprehend the Duke and the Archbishop of Glasgow for having omitted to supply a certain sum of money, on the petition of Morgan and Paget, to a certain young gentleman in England, who, in consideration of the reward, *had promised* them, so they persuaded her Majesty, *to murder the Queen of England*. The fact was, that the Duke and the Archbishop understood that the party in question (his name is here omitted, because he is still living) was a worthless fellow and would do nothing, as it eventually turned out; and, on this account, refused to provide the money. Yet for this it was that Paget and Morgan induced the Queen to reprehend them."

Father Tierney's comment on this extract from the letter of Parsons is:—"Can this passage admit of any other interpretation, than that the writer himself, and, if we may believe his statement, all the parties here mentioned, approved of the design to murder Elizabeth; that Mary was actively engaged in the scheme; and that the Duke and the Archbishop refused to supply the reward, *only* because they were not assured that the deed would be performed?"¹ The particulars of this assassination plot cannot be better related than in the words of the Papal Nuncio at Paris, who on May 2, 1583, wrote as follows to the Papal Secretary of State at Rome:—

"The Duke of Guise and the Duke of Mayenne have told me that they have a plan for killing the Queen of England by the hand of a Catholic, though not one outwardly, who is near her person and is ill-affected towards her for having put to death some of his Catholic relations. This man, it seems, sent word of this to the Queen of Scotland, but she refused to attend to it. He was, however, sent hither, and they have agreed to give him, if he escapes, or else his sons, 100,000 francs, as to which he is satisfied to have the security of the Duke of Guise for 50,000, and to see the rest deposited with the Archbishop of Glasgow in a box, of

¹ Tierney's *Dodd's Church History*, vol. iii., pp. lxvi., note.

which he will keep a key, so that he or his sons may receive the money, should the plan succeed, and the Duke thinks it may. The Duke asks for no assistance from our Lord [the Pope] for this affair: but when the time comes he will go to a place of his near the sea to await the event, and then cross over on a sudden into England. As to putting to death that wicked woman, I said to him that I will not write about it to our Lord the Pope (nor do I ¹), nor tell your most illustrious Lordship to inform him of it; because though I believe our Lord the Pope would be glad that God should punish in any way whatever that enemy of His, still it would be unfitting that His Vicar should procure it by these means. The Duke was satisfied; but later on he added that for the enterprise of England, which in this case would be much more easy, it will be necessary to have here in readiness money to enlist some troops to follow him, as he intends to enter England immediately, in order that the Catholics may have a head. He asks for no assistance for his passage across; but as the Duke of Mayenne must remain on the Continent to collect some soldiers to follow him (it being probable that the heretics who hold the treasure, the fleet, and the ports, will not be wanting to themselves, so that it will be necessary to resist them), he wishes that for this purpose 100,000 or at least 80,000 crowns should be ready here. I let him know the agreement which there is between our Lord the Pope and the Catholic King with regard to the contribution, and I told him that on our Lord the Pope's part he may count on every possible assistance, when the Catholic King does his part. The Agent of Spain believes that his King will willingly give this aid, and therefore it will be well, in conformity with the promises so often made, to consider how to provide this sum, which will amount to 20,000 crowns from our Lord the Pope, if the Catholic King gives 60,000. God grant that with this small sum that great kingdom may be gained."²

It is clear from this letter that the Nuncio did not expect any opposition to the assassination scheme from the Pope. On the contrary, he was assured that "the Pope would be glad that God should punish *in any way whatever* that enemy of His." And when Como, the Cardinal Secretary of the State, told the Pope the contents of the Nuncio's letter, Gregory XIII. expressed no disapproval whatever. Had he objected to the proposed murder, he would have ordered the Cardinal Como to write to the Nuncio at Paris sternly forbidding the crime, and censuring severely the

¹ But, surely, writing to the Pope's Secretary of State was *practically* the same thing? It would be certain to come to the Pope's knowledge, as in fact it did.

² *Records of English Catholics*, vol. ii., pp. xlv., xlvii.

villains who planned it. But the Pope who went in procession to St. Peter's to thank God for the bloodthirsty massacre of the French Huguenots in Paris, in 1572, was not likely to view with disapproval the assassination of a Protestant Queen. So the Cardinal Secretary of State replied, on May 23, to the Nuncio, in the following terms:—

"I have reported to our Lord the Pope what your lordship has written to me in cipher about the affairs of England, and since *his Holiness cannot but think it good* that this kingdom should be *in some way or other* relieved from oppression and restored to God and our holy religion, his Holiness says that *in the event of the matter being effected*,¹ there is no doubt that the 80,000 crowns will be, as your lordship says, very well employed. *His Holiness will therefore make no difficulty in paying his fourth*, when the time comes, if the Agents of the Catholic King do the same with their three fourths; and as to this point the Princes of Guise should make a good and firm agreement with the Catholic Agent on the spot."²

The Duke of Guise intended that the money contributed between them, by the Pope and the King of Spain, should be partly spent in paying the murderer of Elizabeth. Tassis wrote to the King of Spain on the subject of the Guise plot, on May 4, two days after the Nuncio had written to the Cardinal of Como:—

"It appears to me," wrote Tassis, "that Hercules [Duke of Guise], seeing matters in Scotland altered, and with but small probability of promptly assuming a position favourable for the plans that had been formed, has now turned his eyes towards the English Catholics, to see whether the affair might not be commenced there. He has already carried the matter so far that he expects to have it put into execution very shortly, and intends to be present in person. *As he is entering into the business with the assurance of the support of his Holiness and your Majesty, and in any case it is necessary, if the matter is to be attempted, that it should proceed on solid bases, and with a probability of success, he requests that his Holiness and your Majesty should provide 100,000 crowns, to be available here instantly when it may be required, as when the*

¹ The "matter" referred to was of course the actual assassination of Elizabeth. In case that foul deed were accomplished, then the Pope thought that 80,000 crowns would be "very well employed" in completing the plot, by suppressing Protestantism in England by the swords of foreign Roman Catholics.

² *Records of English Catholics*, vol. ii., p. xlvi.

hour arrives it will be too late to obtain it, and the whole design will risk failure, and especially because he, however good an opportunity might present itself, would not undertake to effect anything without being certain of the wherewithal to make a commencement. He has told the Nuncio this, and sent the same message to me by the Scots Ambassador, with a request that I will convey it to your Majesty, and humbly beg for your support. I understand that he has the matter in such train as may insure his success, and in such case *it would be very necessary that he should have at hand the funds for immediate wants, and particularly for one object which I dare not venture to mention here, but which if it be effected will make a noise in the world, and if not, may be safely mentioned another time.* I beg your Majesty to instruct me on the point, as Hercules [Duke of Guise] is very confident that your Majesty will not fail him, and this doubtless is the principal reason which impels him to take the matter up. The Nuncio is writing to the same effect to his Holiness."¹

There can be no question that by the "one object" mentioned in this letter, the assassination of Elizabeth was intended, for Tassis, writing again to his Master, on June 24, expressly states:—"The plan which Hercules had in hand, as I reported to your Majesty on the 4th May, was an act of violence against that lady."² Not a doubt as to the morality of the vile act which they planned seems to have entered into the heads of anyone of the conspirators, who evidently thought murder of this kind, when committed in the interests of the Church of Rome, a worthy and pious deed! Philip II. wrote on the margin of the last cited quotation from his agent:—"I think we understood that here. *It would not have been bad if it had been done by them,* although certain things had to be provided against."³

The plan of assassination fortunately failed, owing apparently to the lack of courage on the part of the young Roman Catholic gentleman who offered to perform the deed. The failure need not astonish us, but what does merit our astonishment, and even our warmest indignation, is an attempt to whitewash this wicked assassination plot put forward in the nineteenth century by Father Knox, who was the first

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 464.

² *Ibid.*, p. 479.

³ *Ibid.*, note

to publish its details. "The Dukes of Guise and Mayenne," he states, "agreed to secure the payment of a large sum of money to a person who engaged in return to kill Queen Elizabeth. The Archbishop of Glasgow, the Nuncio to the French Court, himself a Bishop, the Cardinal of Como, the Spanish Agent J. B. Tassis, Philip II. of Spain and perhaps the Pope himself, when they were made aware of the project, did not express the slightest disapprobation of it, but spoke only of the manifest advantage it would be to religion, if in some way or other the wicked woman were removed by death."

"They had," continues Father Knox, "no personal animosity against their intended victim. How came it then that *they saw no sin* in a project which, if it were a sin, involved the most grievous sin of murder? How is it that they were so clear in conscience about it that their words indicate no doubtfulness, and that there is no sign whatever of any attempt to palliate or excuse to themselves or others an act which might be desirable for many reasons, but was hardly lawful? Surely the question is a grave one, and needs an answer of some kind. I will now venture to suggest one, which, whether it be the correct account of their motives or not, will at least show how these persons, without doing violence to their reason, or forcing their conscience, may have justified to themselves the proposed act.

"Let me begin by putting a possible case. In a country where the executive is powerless and might prevails over right, the chief of a band of robbers has seized an unoffending traveller and keeps him a close prisoner until he pays for his ransom a sum which it is quite beyond his power to obtain. Now who can deny that under these circumstances the prisoner might lawfully kill the robber, if by so doing he could effect his escape? And if he might do it himself, anyone, much more a friend and kinsman, might do it for him, or he might hire another to do it in his stead. The violent death of the robber could not in this case be justly regarded as a murder: it would simply be the result of an act of self-defence on the part of the innocent man whom he was holding captive. *This case seems to contain the solution of the present difficulty.* . .

"Thus the parallel is complete between the bandit chief and Queen Elizabeth. Both detain with equal injustice the prisoner [Mary Queen of Scots in Elizabeth's case] who has fallen into their hands. Both have the power and the will to murder their prisoner, if circumstances make it advisable. Both prisoners are unable to persuade their captors to release them. If then it be no sin in the captive, either by his own hand or the hand of others, to kill the bandit chief and so escape, *why was it a sin to kill Elizabeth* and by doing so to save from a life-long prison and impending death her helpless victim, the Queen of Scots? *If the one act is*

a laudable measure of self-defence, why is the other branded with the names of murder and assassination? In a word, if there is no real disparity between the cases, why should we not use the same weights and measures in judging of them both? Such may have been the reasoning of the Duke of Guise and his approvers, and on such grounds they may have maintained, *not without plausibility*, the lawfulness of an act which under other circumstances than those which have been described would merit the deepest reprobation."¹

It is evident to those who read his comments that Father Knox thought there was more than "plausibility" in the arguments he thus puts into the mouths of the would-be murderers of Queen Elizabeth. Certainly he says not one word against their validity. But apparently he was blind to the fact that these arguments would justify many other assassinations besides the one in question. Every man in a British jail to-day who thinks himself made unjustly a prisoner for life, would find them equally valid to justify him in murdering his keeper, if by so doing he could escape from an unjust imprisonment. And if, as is here argued, there is no sin in hiring a man to do the murder for you, by paying him a sum of money, does it not follow that there is no sin on the part of the man who does the evil deed from a mere mercenary motive?

The assassination plot having failed, it was necessary for the conspirators to re-organise their plans. Their great object was the crushing to death of Protestantism in England and Scotland by the sword. On June 11th the Papal Nuncio at Paris reported to the Papal Secretary of State that conferences on the subject were held in his house at Paris, at which, amongst others, the Duke of Guise, the Scots Ambassador, and Father Claude Mathieu, the Provincial of the French Jesuits, were present. They drew up a revised Plan of Campaign, which was afterwards amended by Father Parsons, who was staying at the time near the Nuncio's residence at St. Cloud. On June 20th the Nuncio

¹ *Records of English Catholics*, vol. ii., pp. xlix—li.

sent a copy of the completed plan to Rome. Dr. Allen (afterwards Cardinal) also wrote to the Papal Secretary of State, urging him to "admonish the Holy Father that now was the time for acting; that there had never before been a like opportunity, nor would such a chance ever recur." Not content with this, the conspirators, after a fresh conference together, decided to send Parsons to Rome on a mission to the Pope, for the purpose of seeking his approval and active assistance. Parsons took with him a paper of instructions, which ordered him to tell the Pope, with the utmost minuteness all that had been prepared by the traitors residing in England for the good success and happy result of the proposed enterprise. The conspirators at Paris, after considering advices from the discontented Lords of the Kingdom, and also a letter from Mary Queen of Scots, informing them that "things are very well prepared especially towards the border of Scotland, where the expedition from Spain would land," had at length resolved that it would suffice if the King of Spain sent a force of 4000 good soldiers. It was, however, necessary that the expedition should bring with it money to pay 10,000 soldiers, as well as arms to supply 5000 more soldiers. It was essential that their should be no delay, lest secrecy could no longer be maintained, for premature publicity would destroy success. The Pope was, therefore, to be urged that he "would deign to augment a little his liberality and give at once a sum of money proportionate to the greatness of the enterprise, and leave the whole affair to the Catholic King and the Duke of Guise, in order that the enterprise be carried out as soon as may be, and, if possible, this year." Parsons was further instructed to tell the Pope that the conspirators were sure of having seaports in England where they could land in perfect safety, and that it was decided that the expedition should land at the Pile of Fouldrey, near Dalton-in-Furness. The Roman Catholics were numerous in that part of the country, and could raise at least 20,000 horse-

men to help the invaders. The King of Spain would be asked to permit all the English Romanists who were in his service, in Flanders, to join the expeditionary force, which would be under the command of the Duke of Guise.

"His Holiness," the instructions further stated, "should also be intreated in the name of the Duke of Guise and all the Catholics to expedite a Bull declaring that the enterprise is undertaken by his Holiness, with the reasons which have moved him thereunto, affirming also that he has charged the Catholic King and the Duke of Guise to undertake the enterprise, at the same time giving Indulgences to all who take part in this holy work, and renewing the Bull issued by Pius V. against the Queen of England, and against all who shall aid or favour her, or oppose in any way this holy enterprise."¹

While Parsons was away at Rome, the Duke of Guise sent Charles Paget, as his secret envoy, to the dissaffected Roman Catholics of England, to tell them of the arrangements which had been made for the enterprise, to find out who they were who would join the invading army, and what was the strength of the help which the English Roman Catholics could throw into the movement. It had been decided that the Spanish forces would land in the North of England, but that Guise should invade it from the south coast, and therefore Paget was to ascertain what ports and harbours would be open to him, and it was suggested by Guise that the most convenient spot for landing would be at some fort about 50 leagues below Dover. "Assure them," said Guise to Paget, "on the faith and honour of Hercules (Guise), that the enterprise is being undertaken with no other object or intention than to re-establish the Catholic religion in England, and to place the Queen of Scotland peacefully on the Throne of England, which rightly belongs to her."²

Paget came over, accordingly, to England, and held secret interviews with those whom he knew to be favourable

¹ *Records of English Catholics*, vol. ii., pp. lvii, lviii.

² *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 506.

to the enterprise, amongst them being the Earl of Arundel, and the Earl of Northumberland. Of course he had to go about in disguise. After visiting the Sussex coast, he at length fixed on Rye harbour as the best place for the landing of the invading army, and then he returned to France. So much time had been spent on negotiations in France, Spain, Rome and England, that autumn came on before any active preparations for the invasion had been made, and then it was seen that it must be put off until after the approaching winter.

Mary Queen of Scots was kept well acquainted with the particulars of the plot in her favour, into which she entered very heartily. It was probably about this time that she wrote to the Pope, asking, for the second time, a dispensation from him to enable an unnamed number of persons, and also twenty-five of her servants, to profess the Protestant religion, and to be present at the religious services and communions of the Protestant Church of England! This, she explained, was necessary for the promotion of "her secret counsels and negotiations." She had made a similar application before, in 1582, asking then for a dispensation for fifty servants to deceitfully profess the Protestant faith. She would never have made these applications had she not entertained a belief that they would be granted by the Pope. The letter containing the second application for these scandalous and disreputable dispensations was first printed, in 1900, in the second volume of the *Scottish History from Contemporary Writers* series, published by Mr. David Nutt. It was as follows:—

"Since Her Most Serene Majesty, the Queen of Scotland, has been for these many years a prisoner in the hands of the English heretics, and on that account is unable to receive the Sacraments of the Catholic Church, or to be present, except secretly and at great risk, at divine service, and especially at the Sacrifice of the Mass, she humbly supplicates of His Holiness that, so long as she is kept in that restraint:

"That to a Catholic priest, her chaplain for the time being, there may be granted the faculty, not only of exercising all the

powers of a Bishop, except the Sacrament of Orders and Confirmation, and the consecration of the Chrism, but also of absolving from heresy and receiving penitent heretics into the bosom of Holy Mother Church. Such opportunities frequently offer themselves.

"Secondly, since, in this sad condition of her affairs, the Queen herself has need, *in connection with her secret counsels and negotiations*, of the assistance of some Englishmen, who, *unless they attend the blasphemous prayers and communion of the heretics*, would be excluded, by her gaolers, from the Queen's presence, or would have difficulty in aiding her counsels and plans, let His Holiness grant to a priest, whom the Queen may choose as chaplain, the power of *absolving them from all censure and penalty in such circumstances*, and restoring, as often as there is need, to the grace of Holy Mother Church, it being understood that, as far as possible, they shall avoid this impious communion and profanation of holy things.

"Let His Holiness also permit that such persons, even before absolution, may without scruple either to the Queen or to the celebrating priest, or to all others who may be present, be present and assist at the Mass which shall be celebrated in presence of the Queen during her captivity.

"The Queen also begs that Catholic men, twenty-five in number, nominated by her, *in order that they may serve her more conveniently and safely, may without scruple and without danger or fear of censures and of sin, be present at such prayers and communions of the heretics*, it being understood that they shall not communicate with them or give even verbal consent to their nefarious acts."¹

We are not told what reply the Pope sent to this request, but I should not be surprised to learn that he had granted it.

But while these negotiations were proceeding, events had taken place in Scotland of more than ordinary importance and interest. On July 7, 1583, the young King of Scotland escaped from the control of the Protestant noblemen who had delivered him from the clutches of the Duke of Lennox, by the Raid of Ruthven. It cannot be denied that James was far from happy while under their influence, and that of the godly Presbyterian Ministers who had access to his presence. His morals had been corrupted by Lennox, and therefore he rejoiced exceedingly when he was once more able to surround himself with advisers more to his taste. The Presbyterian Ministers, however, were seriously alarmed when they heard of what had happened. A deputation of their

¹ *Scottish History from Contemporary Writers*, Mary Queen of Scots, pp. 300, 301.

number waited on the King protesting strongly against the new line of conduct which he had adopted, especially for having released from prison William Holt, a Jesuit priest. But the youthful monarch, who had now on hand the assured help of all the Roman Catholic noblemen of his country, gave a deaf ear to their complaints, refusing to give up his practices. "I am a Catholic King of Scotland," he said to them, "and may choose any I like best to be in company with me; and I like them best that are with me at present."¹ One of the Ministers, John Davidson, told the King:—"Ye are in greater danger now than when ye were rocked in the cradle;" but James only laughed in the faces of the wise men who had come to tell him the truth, and to act the part of true friends. Yet, notwithstanding his scornful behaviour to the Ministers, James was really at heart afraid of them, for he well knew how great was their power in the country. He dreaded, and not without reason, lest he should again fall into their power. That should never take place, if he could help it, and therefore in his extremity he sought aid from the enemies of the Protestant religion which he professed, and had sworn solemnly to maintain. The Duke of Guise wrote offering him aid in his difficulty, and this offer he hailed with unbounded joy. He acknowledged the offer in a letter of gushing gratitude, dated August 19, 1583: "The offers you make me," he said, "are so agreeable to me that I am very happy, and desirous of accepting them when the state of my affairs will allow me to do so. I esteem it the greatest treasure I have on earth to find so near a relative, who is universally acknowledged to be the first captain of our time, both for valour and prudence, ready to take my part if need should arise." He thanked God that he had extracted himself from his difficulties, and was now "ready to avenge" himself on those who had caused him trouble—meaning no doubt the Pro-

¹ Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 717.

testant Lords and Ministers who had tried to lead him in the right way. Lastly, he boasted that he had set at liberty William Holt, the Jesuit, to please the Duke of Guise, and "to the great annoyance of the English Ambassador, and many others."¹

When he wrote this letter, James, no doubt, felt secure, but a few months later he wrote again, on February 19, 1584, to the Duke of Guise, in fear and trembling, seeking for help.

"I now perceive," he declared, "that the strength of my enemies and rebels is growing daily, with so many means and aims of the Queen of England for the subversion of my State, and the deprivation of my own life, or at least my honour and liberty, which I prize more than my life, and that it will be impossible for me to resist for long without the aid of God and my good friends and allies. I therefore beg you, my dear cousin, to use all your influence with the princes who are your friends, *and even with our Holy Father, to whom I am writing*, with the object of obtaining prompt and speedy help, otherwise I fear I shall soon be forced either to be ruined or to throw myself into their arms and accede to all their unhappy designs and appetites. If by your means I can obtain some succour I hope, God helping, that, with the support of a good number of adherents that I have, both in Scotland and in England, I shall soon be out of these difficulties, and *I shall be more free to follow your advice in all things, both in religion and State affairs*, as I wish to do in all things reasonable."²

This was nothing better than the letter of an unprincipled youth, who thought more of his own selfish comforts and pleasures than of the welfare of his people, and the interests of true religion. His promise to follow the advice of the Duke "in religion" as well as in matters of State, was simply disgraceful, coming from one who had only a few years previously sworn to the Solemn League and Covenant, and had never publicly repudiated his allegiance to the Kirk of Scotland. On the same day that he wrote to the Duke, James also wrote a letter to the Pope, asking for help to

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., pp. 502, 503.

² *Ibid.*, p. 518.

resist the Protestants, and rescue his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, from her imprisonment in England. Certainly his love for his mother was natural and right, and no one could blame him for doing all in his power to rescue her from distress. But that love must have been miserably weak, for it never led him to do more on her behalf than to write a few letters here and there asking for help, and when she died it was not long before he manifested an eager anxiety to be at peace with his mother's great enemy, Queen Elizabeth. But the name of his mother was likely to tell with the Pope, and therefore he did not fail to use it. So, after telling the Pontiff about his own troubles, he proceeded:—

“Under such a blow as this I can only look for aid and succour to the prudence and the affection you bear towards our very dear mother, although I myself have hitherto deserved nothing at your hands, but I have always been told by those who have advised me to the present course, that I might better hope for aid and succour from your Holiness than from any other Prince. The extreme need in which I now am is such that, unless I have some help from abroad, I shall find myself in danger of being forced to second the designs of my greatest enemies and yours, because in my childhood the traitors abused my youth and authority and took possession of my domains and treasure, of the principal strongholds of the country, and of every thing else which might strengthen themselves, whilst I was thus deprived of the power of defending myself, of delivering my mother, and of asserting her and my right to the Throne of England. With regard to the means by which all this may be remedied, I have had recourse to my dear cousin the Duke of Guise, to whom I have written, and by whose advice I have adopted this means of defending and protecting the cause of my dear and honoured mother. I hope to be able to satisfy your Holiness on all other points, especially if I am aided in my great need by your Holiness. I pray your Holiness will please to keep very secret the communication I thus open with you, and let no one know that I have written this, as my interests would otherwise be retarded, and perhaps my state utterly ruined, seeing the weakness of my resources and the small means I have here at present to defend myself, if I were assailed by my rebels and the Queen of England.”¹

No wonder that James was anxious that the Pope should keep his letter “very secret,” for if the Presbyterians of

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., pp. 518, 519.

Scotland had heard about it, he would very soon have lost his Crown. But, happily for him, they did not know how far wrong he had gone in seeking aid from foreign powers to upset the laws and constitution of his country. The Pope, notwithstanding the entreaty of James, after receiving his letter, at once sent a copy to the King of Spain, through Count De Olivares, Spanish Ambassador at the Vatican, recommending the cause of the King of Scotland to his favourable consideration, and promising his own help.

Shortly before the date of King James's letter to the Pope, the former had sent Lord Seton to Paris as his Ambassador to the French Court. This nobleman had for several years professed the Protestant faith, and had even perjured himself by swearing to the Solemn League and Covenant. Yet all the while he was secretly a Roman Catholic, and one of the most trusted friends of the Jesuit priests, whom he succoured on all possible occasions during their secret visits to Scotland. On this occasion, when he arrived in Paris, feeling no doubt safe, he made a public profession of the Roman Catholic religion. Rumours of what had taken place, however, came to the ears of the Presbyterian Ministers in Edinburgh, with the result that when, early in 1585, Lord Seton returned to Scotland, he was severely censured by James for his indiscreet conduct. The circumstances of his return are thus referred to in a letter from Mendoza to Philip II., dated Paris, February 7, 1585:—"Letters from Scotland, dated 6th ultimo, bring news that all was quiet there, although Lord Seton had been harshly received by the King *publicly*, in consequence of his having openly professed Catholicism here [Paris], whilst in *private* he (the King) had approved of his conduct and had shortly afterwards gone to his house to visit him as he was ill of dropsy."¹ This little incident shows what a master in the art of dissimulation the young King had

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 531.

become. Soon after his arrival in Paris Lord Seton held many secret conferences with the Papal Nuncio, the Duke of Guise, and the Spanish Agent at the French Court. But Sir Edward Stafford, the English Ambassador at Paris at the time, had his eye on him, and by means of secret agents was able to discover a great deal of his secret proceedings, which he was careful to send home for the information of the English Government. On February 23, 1584, he reported what had taken place at an audience which Seton had obtained with the King of France. "The Lord Seton," he wrote, "with the Bishop of Glasgow, who always hath the upper hand, were brought in to the King by the Duke of Guise and Duke Joyeuse; they both, especially the Duke of Guise, countenancing him all the ways he could, and, presenting him to the King, told him that he wished with all his heart that all the noblemen in Scotland were like him, *for he was a good Catholic*, and greatly his servant."¹ The King told Seton that he would do his utmost to maintain the ancient league between France and Scotland. "The Lord Seton," says Stafford, "answered with great thanks, and at that time had no longer speech with him, but he desireth again audience, some day this week. His whole address is to the Duke of Guise from the King his master, from whose elbow almost he never is, often at dinner and supper with him. The Spanish Agent had conference about three hours on Monday last, but that was openly under colour of the Agent's visiting him; but they had twice conference before secretly. He hath had also secret conference with the Pope's Nuncio, who yet hath not visited him openly. I have some intelligence of his secret commissions, but to be certain I will stay the advertising your honour till the next despatch, for I think in the meantime he shall have again audience of the King. If he have, I shall be more certain of his charge after he hath delivered to the King than now, for

¹ *Burghley State Papers*, vol. ii., p. 392.

he hath no want of good counsel, and their matters be kept very secret among them." While Lord Seton was at Paris, Mr. John Colville, a well-informed agent in Scotland of Queen Elizabeth, suggested to Lord Hunsdon, Governor of Berwick-on-Tweed, that enquiries should be made:—"What does the Lord Seton's long abode there [in Paris] signify, and his frequent conferences with the Bishops of Glasgow and Ross, with the Spanish Ambassador, Pope's Nuncio, and *Scottish Jesuits*?"¹

While at Paris Lord Seton wrote a letter to the Pope, in which he showed himself in his true colours as an avowed Roman Catholic, and at the same time pleaded for assistance to be granted to his master James VI. As affording a specimen of duplicity, practised by a spiritual child of the Jesuits, it is worth reprinting here in full:—

"TO OUR MOST HOLY LORD—I need not explain to your Holiness the part which I have taken in defending the Catholic religion, and the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, for I would rather leave this to others. Having been sent hither by my most serene master, the King of Scots, to implore the aid of the most Christian King, in our dreadful emergencies, I could not do otherwise than write to your Holiness some account of the state of our affairs.

"Briefly, after the Ministers had succeeded in sending the Duke of Lennox away from Scotland, the King was so offended that he would hold no communication with them, though previously he had always acted in accordance with their advice. They took offence in turn, and set on foot a violent insurrectionary movement against his authority, partly by means of the agents of the Queen of England, and partly through their own rebel leaders. Being reduced to extremity, he has implored the aid of the most Christian King, and more particularly that of his relative the Duke of Guise; a proceeding which has raised the hopes of Catholics to the highest point. So favourable an opportunity never occurred before, and could not have been expected or looked for; and it is doubly important that it should not be lost. The King has so high an opinion of the Duke of Guise, that we are in hopes he will be guided in everything by his advice; indeed he has not only written as much to the Duke, but has charged me with a message to the same effect. Our hope is that your Holiness will both animate and encourage the Duke to make some effort in the cause of religion, and also give him substantial assistance.

"God Himself, beyond all our hopes, seems to have provided your Holiness with this opportunity of extending religion, and of obtaining never ending glory. The King's age, his perilous and

¹ *Letters of Mr. John Colville*, p. 60. Bannatyne Club, 1858.

critical position, the unbridled insolence of the Ministers, are all circumstances in our favour. But it is of the utmost importance to lose no time, or the chance will pass away. The Queen of England is straining every nerve to crush the King of Scots by a rebellion in his own country, and, if successful, she will suppress the Catholic religion altogether. The Duke of Guise, to whom I have transmitted the King of Scotland's letter for your Holiness, will doubtless explain matters in detail. But I would implore your Holiness not to let the existence of these communications be known to any one, for this would, at the present juncture, place the King in the most extreme difficulty. At a later period we hope, by the aid of your Holiness, that he will be free to declare himself openly a son of your Beatitude. At present he is so completely in the power of his enemies, that he is scarcely at liberty to do anything whatever; from this condition it is for your Beatitude to rescue him. God preserve you long to His Church.

"Your Holiness's most humble servant,

"SETON.

"Paris, March 14, 1584."¹

Notwithstanding all these efforts of James and his friends to obtain help from the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Guise, yet, so far as I can ascertain, no practical assistance was granted to him beyond certain sums of money secured by the Jesuit Parsons, who, singularly enough, a few years later, wrote against his claim to succeed to the English Throne on the death of Elizabeth. Parsons subsequently boasted of the help he had obtained for James:—"At this my being with the King of Spain," he wrote, "I obtained 24,000 crowns to be sent to the King of Scots, which were paid by John Baptist Taxis, in Paris. I also obtained in 1584, for King James, of Pope Gregory XIII., 4000 crowns, by Bills of Exchange, which myself brought also, and delivered in Paris."²

When Lord Seton started from Scotland for Paris, he took with him his son Alexander Seton, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Scotland.³ There is not a little mystery about the history of this son. In his biography, written by Mr. George Seton, one of his descendants of the present day, some strange facts are related about his early career.

¹ *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, pp. 186—8.

² *Oliver Collections, S.J.*, p. 146.

³ *Memoir of Alexander Seton*. By George Seton, p. 21 (Edinburgh, 1882).

"From his godmother, Queen Mary," says his biographer, "Alexander Seton received, as 'ane godbairne gift,' the lands of Pluscarden in Moray, with which he was otherwise afterwards identified. 'Finding him of a great spirit,' his father sent him to Rome at an early age, with the view of his following the profession of a Churchman, and he studied for some time in the Jesuits' College. 'He declaimed, not being sixteen years of age, ane learned oration of his own composing, *De Ascensione Domini*, on that festivall day, publickly before the Pope, Gregory the 13th, the Cardinall, and other prelates present, in the Pope's chapel in the Vatican, with great applause. He was in great esteem att Rome for his learning, being a great humanist in prose and poecie, Greek and Latine; well versed in the mathematicks, and had great skill in architecture and heraldrie.' According to Spottiswoode, *Seton took Holy Orders abroad*, and the assertion seems to be confirmed by Scotstarvet, who mentions that '*his Challice wherewith he said Mass at his home-coming*, was sold in Edinburgh.'"¹

The date of young Seton's "home-coming" to Scotland is not given, but apparently he came back as an ordained priest of the Church of Rome, and certainly after having been admitted into the Jesuit Order. Brother Henry Foley, S.J., in his official *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, gives us the following particulars:—

"SETON ALEXANDER, Father. This Father, regarding whom we possess so little information, was probably a son of Lord de Seton, one of the great champion chiefs of the Catholic cause in Scotland. In a report upon the state of Scotland made by the Priest, William Watts, printed in a letter of Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Allen to the Cardinal of Como, dated Rheims, February 18, 1582, mention is made of Lord de Seton and the other principal favourers of the Catholic cause: 'Which Lord de Seton is father of that Mr. Alexander Seton, who received his education a few years ago in the Roman Seminary.' In another letter of Dr. Allen to Father Agazzari, Rector of the English College, Rome, dated Rheims, May 20, 1583, he says: 'What I wrote before regarding the capture of Dr. Alexander Seton is disbelieved.' Again, in a letter of the Cardinal of Como to the Nuncio of France, dated Rome, April 23, 1584, we read: 'And therefore on this account it will be superfluous to send Father Alexander Seton here.'"²

There can be no question as to the identity of the Jesuit Alexander Seton with the son of Lord Seton mentioned before. Mr. David Laing was of this opinion;—"Sir Alex-

¹ *Memoir of Alexander Seton*. By George Seton, pp. 18, 19.

² *Foley Records, S.J.*, vol. vii., p. 1451.

ander Seton of Fyvie," he writes, "third son of George, sixth Lord Seton, was originally intended for the Church, and entered the College of the Jesuits at Rome.¹ And it will be observed that, as late as 1584, he is still recognised as a "Father" or priest, by high authorities in the Church of Rome. Yet it is certain that this self-same priest and Jesuit was one of those who, with his father, in January 1581, signed and swore to the Solemn League and Covenant, in which the peculiar doctrines of Rome and her corrupt practices were condemned in the strongest possible language!"²

Only two years later, in 1583, when an Englishman named Brereton was arrested at Leith, there was found in his possession a letter from Alexander Seton, addressed to the General of the Jesuits at Rome, in praise of the work being then done in Scotland by the Jesuit Holt, which, he stated, had given great satisfaction and consolation to all those with whom he had dealt and negotiated.³ The Jesuit Seton's promotion was rapid. He was made an Extraordinary Lord of the Session, "of the spiritual estate" in 1586, and in the following year was created Baron Urquhart, and a grant made to him of the lands of Urquhart and Pluscarden. In 1593 he was elected Lord President of Session, and in 1605 he was created Earl of Dunfermline, and appointed Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

Soon after his arrival in Scotland, young Alexander Seton was treated by the Government as a Roman Catholic, and, in consequence of not having conformed to the Established Kirk, he was deprived of the Priory of Pluscarden, which, as we have seen, was granted to him by Mary Queen of Scots. The Historian of the House of Seton, Mr. George Seton, who also wrote the *Memoir of Alexander Seton*, says:—

¹ *Letters of John Colville*, p. 203, note. Baanatyne Club, 1858.

² See the text of this Solemn League and Covenant, *supra*, pp. 36, 37. The names of the principal men who signed it are given in Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 601, and in Row's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*. Woodrow Society Edition, p. 77.

³ Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. iii., pp. 702, 706, vol. iv., p. 400.

"On the 6th of February 1576—7, we come across a curious entry in the Great Seal Register, in the shape of a grant, during life, by the King to James Douglas, illegitimate son of James, Earl of Morton, Regent of Scotland, of the Priory of Pluscardine, with its dignities and patrimony, which belonged to 'Alexander Seytoun, alleged Prior of Pluscardyn, son of George Lord Seytoun,' and the Lords of the Council, on the 16th of January in the same year, at the instance of Mr. David Borthwick, the King's Advocate, 'decerned the said Alexander to have lost all his benefices, because he had not as yet submitted to the discipline of the true Church, and participated of the Sacraments thereof, nor had he come to the Bishop, Superintendent, or Commissary of the diocese, or promise for adhibiting his assent: nor had he subscribed the articles of the true and Christian religion, contained in the Acts of Parliament, and given his oath for acknowledging the King, nor had brought a testimonial thereupon; neither had he presented himself on a Lord's Day in time of sermon or public prayer in the Church of the said Priory, and read his testimonial and confession, and of new taken the said oath according to the order of the Act of Parliament.'"¹

The biographer of Alexander Seton treats those with something almost approaching to contempt who doubt his Protestantism from the time of his arrival in Scotland from Rome, notwithstanding his statement about his education in the Jesuits College, and his ordination as a priest of Rome. Certainly he proves that Seton made a public profession of Protestantism, yet this is not a refutation of the fact that all the while he was in heart a Roman Catholic. In proof of his Protestantism his biographer quotes the official record of his admission as an Ordinary Lord of Session, in 1588, which states that:—

"Because the said Lords were informed that the said Alexander has not as yet communicated with the whole of the faithful brethren, the Sacrament of the Supper of our Lord, and, therefore, according to the laws and statutes of this realm, he might not be a sufficient judge with the other Lords of the Session, and therefore the said Alexander has bound himself that he shall, with the grace of God, communicate, with the rest of the brethren of the Session the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord, at the prefixed time appointed by the Ministers of Edinburgh, or at the least before the days appointed thereto be past, and in case he fail therein, he shall *leiss his ordinar place*."²

¹ *A History of the House of Seton During Eight Centuries*. By George Seton. vol. ii., p. 635, Edinburgh. Privately printed, 1896.

² *Memoir of Alexander Seton*, p. 23.

It seems that early in 1597 a letter was sent in at night to the King, warning him against certain of the men whom he had chosen as counsellors, and especially against Seton, to whom the writer referred in the following terms:—"I mean that Romanist President, a shaveling and a Priest; more meet to say Mass in Salamanca, than to bear office in Christian and Reformed Commonweals." On this statement Seton's biographer remarks:—"The elegant allusions to their [the counsellors'] religious proclivities are quite in keeping with the sentiments of a certain section of so-called historians of the period; and I shall afterwards have occasion to refer to the *supposed* Papistical tendencies of the 'shaveling and priest.'" ¹ We are next told that a Presbyterian Minister named Pont, in the year 1599, dedicated a book to Seton, in which he wrote:—"For your Lordship knows well enough the manners of Rome, and (as I am persuaded) *allows not of that pompous superstition.*" ² Seton's biographer also calls attention to Calderwood's statement that upon Easter Day, 1618, "the Bishop of Galloway ministered the Communion in the Royal Chapel, where Chancellor Seton" and others were present; and that, in the same year, "upon Whitsunday, the 24th of May, the Bishop of Galloway ministered the Communion in the Chapel Royal of the Chancellor" ³—a clear proof that down to the end of his life—he died in 1622—he continued to publicly profess the Protestant religion. He was buried in the Kirk of Dalgety, and the Protestant Archbishop Spottiswoode preached a sermon in the church on this occasion.

Yet, as I have already asserted, Alexander Seton, though for nearly forty years publicly professing the Protestant religion was in heart and reality a Roman Catholic. There is no record of his having ever resigned his membership of the Jesuit Order, or of his having been expelled from it. As a Roman Catholic he must have looked upon the marriage

¹ *Memoir of Alexander Seton*, pp. 32, 33. ² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³ *Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. vii., pp. 297, 298.

of priests of that Church as invalid and sinful. But for all that he got married, and was even married three times! Bellesheim, a modern Roman Catholic Historian of his Communion in Scotland, describing the ecclesiastical events in that country between 1587 and 1603, remarks:— "Another prominent Catholic in Scotland was the Chancellor of the Kingdom, Alexander Seton, who had received his education in Bologna and Rome, and was esteemed one of the most learned jurists of his age. James VI. loaded him, on his return to Scotland, with preferments and honours, and he consequently became a prominent mark for the spiteful attacks of the preachers. Seton appears at times to have been wanting in the courage to make open profession of his faith; but some time before his death he publicly and unreservedly declared his adherence to the Catholic religion."¹

A Jesuit priest, named James Seton, writing to the General of the Jesuits at Rome, on September 30th, 1605, supplies us with ample proof of the real sentiments of Alexander Seton at that time, over twenty years after he had publicly professed the Protestant faith. This letter shows the Roman priests as themselves active parties to the shameful deception being carried on. It will be observed that Alexander Seton was formally recognised, by the Jesuits and priests, as a real Roman Catholic, going to Confession and Communion two or three times a year, and all the while professing publicly the Protestant religion.

"The persecution in Scotland," writes James Seton to the General, "does not cease or lessen since the departure of the King. The government is entirely in the hands of the Lord Alexander Seton, whom the King has made Earl of Dunfermline, and who is favourably known to your Paternity. He is, or should be Abbot of that place, where there was once a famous monastery. He was formerly President of the Council, and is now Chancellor of the Kingdom. The Viceroy is the Earl of Montrose, the President of the Council the Lord James Elphinston, brother of Father George;

¹ Bellesheim's *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 336.

but they are all directed by Lord Alexander Seton. *He is a Catholic*, as is also the Lord President and the Royal Advocate.¹ In political wisdom, in learning, in high birth, wealth, and authority, he possesses far more influence than the rest, and his power is universally acknowledged. *But he publicly professes the State religion*, rendering external obedience to the King and the Ministers, and goes occasionally, though rarely, to the sermons, sometimes to their heretical Communion. *He has also subscribed their Confession of Faith*, without which he would not be able to retain peaceable possession of the rank, offices, and estates with which he is so richly endowed. He has brought all the principal men of the Kingdom round to the same view, and very few venture to differ from him, owing to his eloquence, learning, and authority. *Two or three times a year he comes to Catholic Confession and Communion* with his mother, sister, and nephews, who are better Catholics than himself."²

Father Forbes-Leith, S.J., tells us that:— "Four years before his [Seton's] death, in presence of a numerous assembly of Catholics, attended by the ringleaders of the Puritan faction and many other Protestants, after affirming that he had never ceased to hold the doctrine of the Orthodox Church, he declared that nothing gave him greater pain than to recollect how he had shown himself lukewarm and remiss in his profession of faith, in order to ingratiate himself with his Sovereign. When he had thus spoken with tears in his eyes he called the assembly to witness that he would die in the profession of the Roman Catholic faith."³

What a double-dyed hypocrite this man must have been! "Four years before his death," as we have seen, that is, in 1618, he was present at the Lord's Supper on Easter Sunday, in the Presbyterian Kirk, and on the following Whitsunday he was actually a communicant in the Chapel-Royal, Edinburgh. His excuse that he only acted in this double-faced manner "in order to ingratiate himself with his Sovereign," is one which is not convincing. Is it not far more probable that he so acted to "ingratiate himself" with

¹ Both of these men, like Alexander Seton, publicly professed the Protestant religion, while being in reality Roman Catholics.

² *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, pp. 278, 279.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

the General of the Jesuits, and to thus more effectually promote the interests of the Papacy under the false colours of a Protestant? It is not to be supposed that he ever thus made a public profession of Romanism in the presence of Protestants, "four years" before his death. That would have been a suicidal act. And if in 1618, he had been sincere in his expressions of regret for not having all along professed the Roman faith which in his heart he believed, why did he for the next four years, and to his dying hour, continue to publicly profess the Protestant faith?

If these things happened three hundred years ago, what is to prevent their repetition, (should the needs of the Jesuit Order require it) in the twentieth century?

CHAPTER IV

JESUIT PREPARATIONS FOR THE SPANISH ARMADA

JUSTLY or unjustly, as a matter of fact, in the public estimation the Jesuits were mixed up with almost every political crime perpetrated in England, from the time they started their first mission down to 1605. With the exception of the Gunpowder Plot the evidence of their complicity in the attempted assassinations of Queen Elizabeth is largely derived from the statements of spies in the employ of her Government. The difficulty of dealing fairly with such evidence is obvious. It cannot be placed as of as high authority as that of independent witnesses; yet it would be unwise to reject it altogether. If Jesuit priests have used and quoted portions of evidence given by spies, why should a Protestant writer be refused permission to use it also, provided he does so with care and discrimination? In thus treating their evidence I have the sanction of the author of *The Life of Mary Ward*, edited by the Rev. Henry James Coleridge, S.J., and issued by the English Jesuits in their well-known *Quarterly Series*. That biographer remarks:—“The words of the apostate spies, so much employed by the Government of Elizabeth and James, who retailed evil concerning the Catholics, and invented where they could not collect any, are sometimes of use in history. For feigning themselves true children of the Church, they gained access where otherwise they would have been shut out. When truth was convenient they used it, so that by their means information has come down to us, especially in matters of personal history, which but for them would often have been

lost."¹ A great deal of this evidence has now found its way into the *Calendars of State Papers* issued in recent years by the Government, but unfortunately these volumes are but very slightly consulted by Protestants, to many of whom they are practically unknown. But the evidence against the Jesuits is by no means confined to the testimony of spies. The various statements made by the secular Roman Catholic priests of the period, who were no spies, but who were personally acquainted with the men whose conduct they condemn, forms a most important link in the chain of evidence against certain disciples of the Jesuit Order. In "The Secular Priests' Preface to the English Catholics," printed in 1602, with the English translation of *The Jesuits' Catechisme*, it is asserted that "To receive Jesuits into a Kingdom, is to receive in a vermin, which at length will know out the heart of the State both spiritual and temporal. They work underhand the ruin of the countries where they dwell, and the murder of whatsoever Kings and Princes it pleaseth them."² Another Roman Catholic priest, writing in 1603, gives it as his opinion, that "To say that no priest, Jesuit, or other Catholic, hath practised *against the sacred person of our Sovereign*, and quiet of her State, as well by their dealings within the realm, as by their procuring invasions, and laying the plots thereof without the realm, it were mere impudence, and to deny a verity as apparent as the sunshine at noonday, as both by divers public convictions thereof, and by books, letters, and pamphlets written to that purpose may appear; and Father Southwell, in his *Supplication*, in part confesseth as much."³ And the same writer also asserts: "The Catholic authors of the *Jesuits' Catechisme* telleth us that all the late rebellious treacheries and murders he there mentioneth, were plotted and contrived in the colleges of the Jesuits in France. And do not these

¹ *The Life of Mary Ward*, vol. i., p. 398.

² *The Jesuits' Catechisme*. Preface, 1602.

³ *A Replie Unto a Certaine Libell*, fol. 56. Printed in 1603.

Jesuitical professors tell us as much of their own proceedings in the Colleges of the Society of Jesus in Spain, for our treasons, rebellions, and murders in Ireland."¹

The murderous spirit which plotted the many attempted assassinations of Queen Elizabeth, appears to have been generally approved at Rome in the sixteenth century. That most learned of recent Roman Catholic historians, the late Lord Acton, tells us that:

"In the religious struggle [against the Protestant Reformation] a frenzy had been created which made weakness violent, and turned good men into prodigies of ferocity; and at Rome, where every loss inflicted on Catholicism, and every wound, was felt, the belief that, in dealing with heretics, murder is better than toleration, prevailed for half a century. The predecessor of Gregory [XIII.] had been Inquisitor General. In his eyes Protestants were worse than Pagans, and Lutherans more dangerous than other Protestants. The Capuchin preacher, Pistoja, bore witness that men were hanged and quartered almost daily at Rome, and Pius [V.] declared that he would release a culprit guilty of a hundred murders rather than one obstinate heretic. He seriously contemplated razing the town of Faenza because it was infested with religious error; and he recommended a similar expedient to the King of France. He adjured him to hold no intercourse with the Huguenots, to make no terms with them, and not to observe the terms he had made. He required that they should be pursued to the death, that not one should be spared under any pretence, that all prisoners should suffer death. He threatened Charles with the punishment of Saul when he forebore to exterminate the Amalekites. He told him that it was his mission to avenge the injuries of the Lord, and that nothing is more cruel than mercy to the impious. When he sanctioned the murder of Elisabeth he proposed that it should be done in execution of his sentence against her. It became usual with those who meditated assassination or regicide on the plea of religion to look upon the representatives of Rome as their natural advisers. . . . The theory which was framed to justify these practices has done more than plots and massacres to cast discredit on the Catholics. This theory was as follows:—Confirmed heretics must be rigorously punished whenever it can be done without the probability of greater evil to religion. Where that is feared, the penalty may be suspended or delayed for a season, provided it be inflicted whenever the danger is past. Treaties made with heretics, and promises given to them, must not be kept, because sinful promises do not bind, and no agreement is lawful which may injure religion or ecclesiastical authority. No civil power may enter into engagements which impede the free scope of the Church's law. It is part of the punishment

¹ *A Replie Unto a Certaine Libell*, fol. 67.

of heretics that faith shall not be kept with them. It is even mercy to kill them, that they may sin no more." ¹

Under such circumstances as these, is it to be wondered at that plots for the assassination of prominent Protestants become common in the sixteenth century? What else could be expected in England when murder of heretics, without trial, was approved in the Papal Court itself? And who can blame the Government of Elizabeth for taking very stern measures indeed against the men who were known to be associated with such a Court as that of Rome? I have already referred to one assassination plot approved by Father Parsons. I have now to mention an attempt to murder Queen Elizabeth discovered in 1583, not because there is any evidence that the Jesuits gave it any assistance at the time, but because of the attitude towards it of the English Jesuits at the close of the nineteenth century. A young gentleman named John Somerville, residing in Warwickshire, excited, says Camden, by reading certain writings against the Queen and other excommunicated Princes, resolved that at any risk he would assassinate the Queen. It is said by modern Jesuit and other writers that he was insane, but I fail to find adequate evidence of this. One would have supposed that when he began talking about his evil intentions to the members of his family, they would, seeing his fierce determination, have put some restraint upon him to prevent his journeying to London on such a dangerous errand, unless, indeed, certain of them—as was afterwards alleged—were in favour of the foul deed being performed. On his way to London Somerville certainly acted in a most incautious manner, boasting as he went along of what he was going to do. The natural result was that he was arrested before he arrived at his journey's end. When committed to the Tower of London he made certain

¹ Article by Sir John (afterwards Lord) Acton, on "The Massacre of St. Bartholomew," *North British Review*, October, 1869, pp. 61—63.

confessions while on the rack, which led to the arrest of Edward Arden, his father-in-law, his mother-in-law, his wife, and a priest named Hall. The latter saved his own life by giving evidence against his former friends, in which he affirmed that Arden had, in his presence, made a vow to put Elizabeth to death. Somerville and Arden were sentenced to death, the ladies and the priest escaped. Arden was executed, but Somerville committed suicide in prison, though his friends declared that he was murdered therein. The latter theory is very improbable. It is not likely that anyone would take the trouble to murder a man in prison, who was under sentence of death at the time.

That Somerville certainly intended to assassinate the Queen, and would have done so had he obtained a chance, there can be no reasonable doubt. Arden seems to have been a man of high personal character, and there is reason to fear that he was a victim of foul play. Camden, who certainly cannot be suspected of sympathy with the Romanists, says of Arden:— "This woeful end of this gentleman, who was drawn in by the cunning of the priest, and cast by his evidence, was generally imputed to Leicester's malice. Certain it is that he had incurred Leicester's heavy displeasure; and not without cause, for he had rashly opposed him in all he could, reproached him as an adulterer, and defamed him as a new upstart."¹

Whatever may be the truth as to Somerville and Arden, it is certain that neither of them was put upon his trial for religion. Indeed religion had nothing to do with these cases. Both men were accused of an effort to commit murder, and for that, justly or unjustly, they were sentenced to death. To make Confessors of the Faith and Martyrs of them is an outrage on common-sense. Yet this is what the modern English Jesuits have done! In their sympathy with Arden they have given him this high honour, and assert that they would have

¹ Camden's *Elizabeth*. 4th edition, p. 239.

bestowed the same fame and glory on Somerville, if they were quite sure he did not commit suicide! In a "Catalogue of Confessors of the Faith," issued by the Jesuits from their own printing-press at Roehampton, occurs the following entry:—

"Arden, Edward. Tower of London. Hanged December 23, 1583, 'protesting his innocence of every charge, and declaring that his only crime was the profession of the Catholic religion.'"¹

On his trial "the profession of the Catholic religion" was not made an accusation against Arden, who was charged with having expressed approval of Somerville's design to murder the Queen. Brother Foley, S.J., the author of the official *Records* of the English Jesuits, further states:—"Rishton's *Diary* says it does not appear whether Somerville strangled himself or was murdered by others. We do not therefore insert his name,"² that is, in the "Catalogue of Confessors of the Faith." In the Index to the volume I have just quoted the name of Arden actually appears thus as a "Martyr"—"Arden, Edward (*Martyr* in Tower)." What was he a "Martyr" to? Am I justified in asserting that any Protestant who may have been unjustly put to death for attempting the murder of a Roman Catholic, is therefore a "Martyr" to the Protestant religion, and a "Confessor of the Faith"? If I made such an assertion I fear my friends would begin to wonder in what direction my sympathies lay. Our modern English Jesuits ought to be ashamed of themselves for thus making religious capital out of a criminal trial.

Soon after the execution of Somerville and Arden, William Carter, a printer and bookseller, residing in London, was arrested, and put upon his trial, on the charge of printing a book which encouraged Roman Catholics to assassinate Queen Elizabeth. It was not the first time Carter had been in trouble for printing and circulating books of a traitorous

¹ *Records of the English Province, S.J.* By Henry Foley, S.J., vol. iii., p. 800.

² *Ibid.*, p. 301.

character. Strype says of him, that he "had divers times been put in prison for printing of lewd pamphlets, Popish and others, against the government. The Bishop [Aylmer of London] by his diligence had found his press in the year 1579; and some appointed by him to search his house, among other Papistical books, found one written in French, entitled, *The Innocency of the Scotch Queen*; who then was a prisoner for laying claim to the Crown of England, and endeavouring to raise a rebellion. A very dangerous book this was: the author called her 'the heir-apparent of this Crown': inveighed against the late execution of the Duke of Norfolk, though he were executed for high treason: defended the rebellion in the north, anno 1569; and made very base and false reflections upon two of the Queen's chiefest Ministers of State, viz., the Lord Treasurer, and the late Lord Keeper, Bacon."¹ "How this man got off now," says Strype in another of his books, "I know not (surely by the mildness of the government), but it was his fate to come to a shameful end. For, four or five years after, he was tried, cast, and executed as a traitor for printing a book, called, *A Treatise of Schism*."² For this offence, and so far as I can ascertain, for this offence only, William Carter was executed, on January 11, 1584.

Referring to the book for printing which Carter was put to death, Gillow, in his *Bibliographical Dictionary of English Catholics*, remarks:—"Through a similarity of title Camden, Strype, Wood, and others have confused this work [written by Gregory Martin] with the one for printing of which William Carter was executed in 1584. The latter was entitled *A Brief Discours contayning certayne Reasons why Catholiques refuse to go to Church*, Doway (though really printed by William Carter in London) 1580, 70 ff., dedicated to Queen Elizabeth by J(ohn) H(owlet), i.e., Robert Parsons, and bearing the running title of *A Treatise of Schisme*.

¹ Strype's *Life of Bishop Aylmer*, p. 30. Edition 1821.

² Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 272.

Parsons published this work in refutation of that attributed to Alban Langdale." ¹ This statement of Gillow is confirmed by Brother Henry Foley, S.J., who quotes the work in a list of Parsons' writings. ² Whether Parsons wrote the book or not, he is evidently responsible for its seeing the light of day, and must have approved of its teaching. According to Lingard the passage in it on which the prosecution relied was the following:—

"Judith followeth, whose godly and constant wisdom, if our Catholic gentlewomen would follow, they might destroy Holofernes, the master heretic, and amass all his retinue, and never defile their religion by communicating with them in any small point. She came to please Holofernes, but yet in her religion she would not yield so much as to eat of his meats, but brought of her own with her, and told him plainly, that being in his house, yet she must serve her Lord and God still, desiring for that purpose liberty once a day to go in and out of the gate. 'I may not eat of that which thou commandest me, lest I incur God's displeasure.'" ³

On this quotation Lingard remarks:—

"At his [Carter's] trial the passage quoted above was that alleged against him. By Holofernes, the master heretic, was understood, so the Crown lawyers contended, the Queen, and by the destruction of Holofernes, was intended the Queen's death. Carter replied, 1st, By protesting before God, that he had never taken the passage in that sense, nor ever known it to be so taken by others. 2nd, By asserting, what every impartial man must see, that it had a very different meaning. The whole object of the author was to warn his brethren against the sin of schism. For this purpose he advised the Catholic gentlewomen to imitate Judith; as she abstained from profane meats, so ought they to abstain from all communication with others, in a worship which they believed to be schismatical. By doing this, they would destroy Holofernes. The expression was metaphorical. By Holofernes was meant Satan, the author of heresy, and the enemy of their salvation, whom they would overcome by their constancy in their religion, and their rejection of a schismatical service. But Carter's reasoning was not admitted, and he suffered as a traitor. After an attentive perusal of the whole tract, I cannot find in it the smallest foundation for the charge." ⁴

I give this defence of Carter in full, for what it is worth. It is very ingenious, but, on inspection, not very convincing.

¹ Gillow's *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, vol. iv., p. 486.

² *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, vol. vi., p. 529.

³ Lingard's *History of England*, vol. viii., pp. 429, 430. Edition, 1844.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 430.

For, first of all, Judith did not "destroy Holofernes" by refusing to eat his meats, but by simply cutting off his head, which the Roman Catholic gentlewomen of Elizabeth's time could not do to Satan, either literally, or metaphorically, since in the latter case he would cease to exist. In the Apocraphical Book of Judith we are told that while "Holofernes lay on his bed, fast asleep, being exceedingly drunk," Judith "went to the pillar that was at his bed's head, and loosed his sword that hung tied upon it. And when she had drawn it out, she took him by the hair of his head, and said: Strengthen me, O Lord God, at this hour. And she struck twice upon his neck, and cut off his head, and took off his canopy from the pillars, and rolled away his headless body" (Judith, Chapter XIII. 4, 8—10. Douay Version). That is how Judith "destroyed Holofernes," and the "metaphorical" interpretation of the Jesuit Parsons' advice to Roman Catholic women will not bear examination. Lingard's suggestion that by abstaining from "a worship they believed to be schismatical" they would "destroy" the devil, is absurd on the face of it.

It must not be forgotten that at this period plots to assassinate Elizabeth were multiplying on every hand, thus making it dangerous for the Government to tolerate even veiled suggestions of murder. Only a few months before the trial of Carter a book by Dr. (afterwards made Cardinal through the efforts of the Jesuits) Allen, had been printed abroad, and secretly circulated in England, containing similar veiled suggestions, under cover of Old Testament illustrations—the killing to be done, however, under the orders of the priests or their Church. From this exceedingly rare work I take the following extracts. The italics are mine:—

"But the office and zeal of good priests is notably recommended unto us, in the deposition of the wicked Queen Athaliah. She, to obtain the Crown after Ahaziah, killed all his children; only one, which by a certain good woman's piety was secretly withdrawn from the massacre, saved and brought up within the Temple for seven years' space; all which time the said Queen usurped the

Kingdom; till at length Jehoiada, the High Priest, by opportunity called to him forces both of the priests and people; proclaimed the right heir that was in his custody; anointed and crowned him King; and caused immediately the pretended Queen (notwithstanding she cried 'Treason, Treason,' as not only just possessors but wicked usurpers use to do) to be slain with her fautors at her own Court gate. Thus do priests deal and judge for the innocent and lawful Princes (when time requireth) much to their honour, and agreeable to their holy calling.

"No man can be ignorant how stoutly Elias (being sought to death by Achab and his Queen Jezabel that overthrew holy altars, and murdered all the true religious that could be found in their land) told them to their face, that not he or other men of God whom they persecuted, but they and their house were the disturbers of Israel; and slew in his zeal all the said Jezabel's false prophets, fostered at her table, even four hundred at one time, and so set up holy altars again."¹

The application of these Old Testament examples must have been obvious to every Roman Catholic reader of the period. There was no need for Allen to name Elizabeth. In the opinion of Allen and his Jesuit friends she was, like "the wicked Queen Athaliah," only "the pretended Queen," since Pope Pius V. had, in 1570, deposed her from her throne, and absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance; and I doubt not that he and they would have thought it "much to their honour, and agreeable to their holy calling," to have ordered her "to be slain with her fautors at her own court gate." Nor do I doubt that, if the Spanish Armada (which a few years later came to the shores of England, with the intention of making Allen Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury) had succeeded, it is very probable that he would have ordered the Protestant "Jezabel" to be put to death, and have slain "in his zeal" all her so-called "false prophets," the unrepentant Protestant Ministers of the time, "and so set up holy altars again" for his own priests to say Mass upon. To prevent his readers supposing that the priests of his Church had less power than those of Old Testament times, he added:—"And this it was in the Old

¹ *A True, Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholics*, pp. 91, 92. Printed, 1583.

Law. But now in the New Testament, and in the time of Christ's spiritual kingdom in the Church, *priests have much more sovereign authority*, and Princes far more strict charge to obey, love, and cherish the Church."¹

And now it is time for us to go abroad again, to watch the development of the great Jesuit Plot for the subjugation of England. Their plans had been greatly disturbed by the arrest of Francis Throgmorton, one of the most zealous of the friends of the conspiracy. In the month of November, 1583, he was arrested, when there was discovered in his house two papers which revealed to the Government the plot which was on hand. At first Throgmorton denied everything, telling lies on quite a wholesale scale. He was then put to the torture several times, and at last revealed the truth, giving full details as to the plans of the conspirators. Anyone who now reads his confessions,² and compares them with the third volume of the *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, edited by Major Martin Hume, and other documents which have first seen the light during recent years, cannot fail to be convinced of the truth of those confessions. Yet, strange to relate, at his execution Throgmorton denied the truth of what he had confessed, thus dying with a lie upon his lips!

The arrest of Throgmorton frightened greatly the leaders of the plot living on the Continent, who had to alter their plans now that their most cherished secrets were revealed to the English Government. But they did not abandon their enterprise, though they had to wait for the Spanish Armada, in 1588, before anything really practical was attempted. On January 16, 1584, Allen and Robert Parsons sent in writing to the Pope a statement of the position of affairs in England, a copy of which was also forwarded to Philip II. These traitors were very urgent that a foreign army should invade their native land without delay. They concluded

¹ *A True, Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholics*, p. 95.

² *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iii., pp. 182—193.

their statement as presented to Philip II. with these words:— “Wherefore, casting ourselves at his Majesty’s feet, we entreat him for the love of Jesus Christ not to abandon so many afflicted souls, who with hands upraised to heaven are in daily expectation of his aid. The time is very favourable now, and every day’s delay brings us great hurt and danger. Hence we entreat his Majesty with all possible earnestness not to defer the execution longer than is necessary: a prayer which we have been commanded by the Duke of Guise to offer to his Majesty in the Duke’s name, who is more determined now than ever, and awaits only the good resolution of his Catholic Majesty.”¹ The Papal Secretary of State, the Cardinal of Como, replied to this appeal on February 14, addressing his letter to the Papal Nuncio in France:— “Our Lord (the Pope) has seen the writing which your Lordship sent me in cipher, and which was given you by Father Allen and Father Robert (Parsons) relating to the affairs of England. As a like writing has been sent to Spain, I have nothing more to say than that nothing has been nor will be wanting on the side of his Holiness to promote earnestly and unceasingly with his Majesty the good success of this affair, and to do all that is possible to attain the desired end, and if the execution had been in our hands, Father Allen would have seen this some time ago.”²

Mary Queen of Scots was kept well acquainted with the latest developments of the conspiracy, and entered into it very heartily. On March 22, 1584, she wrote from Sheffield to Dr. Allen:— “I mention this particularly, that you may know how necessary it is, when the time for action arrives, to send first of all a band of soldiers, English or foreign, to the place where I am detained, for my deliverance. It will be very easily effected, for the place is not fortified,

¹ *Records of English Catholics*, vol. ii., p. lxii.

² *Ibid.*, p. lxiii.

and the garrison is of no account." ¹ Bearing her knowledge and approval of this plot for her deliverance by an armed force in mind, it is somewhat startling to find that only a few months later she denied all knowledge of it; calling the Holy Name of God to witness to the truth of her falsehood. On September 2, 1584, Mary had a conversation with Mr. Sommer, in the course of which he told her that writings had come to the knowledge of Queen Elizabeth, "wherein is spoken of an enterprize in England, tending for her [Mary's] liberty, and increasing of her son's greatness, and so meant to come to her, hath both greatly offended her Majesty, and given her cause to think that she, the Scottish Queen, is a party in that enterprize, whatsoever it is." To this plain and truthful accusation Mary falsely replied:— "And as to the enterprize you spoke of, by my troth I knew not nor heard anything of it; nor, *so God have my soul*, will ever consent anything that should trouble this State." ²

Notwithstanding her assurances as to the past, and her promises for the future, we find Mary, a few weeks later writing again, on October 30, to Dr. Allen, exhorting him to greater diligence in forwarding the enterprize for the invasion of England and her deliverance from captivity. "Do you," she said to him, "go on soliciting the long-looked-for supplies with all the diligence you are able . . . I should wish our most holy Lord [the Pope] and the Catholic King to be assured that while on the one hand things are now ripe in England [for the invasion], on the other they are so nigh to hopelessness that if help be put off beyond next spring, all will be lost, and there will be nothing good to look for in our days." ³

In the month of September, 1584, the Jesuit priest Creighton was on his way by sea to Scotland, on a political

¹ *Records of English Catholics*, vol. ii., p. lxiv.

² *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. iii., pp. 147, 148.

³ *Records of English Catholics*, vol. ii., p. lxx.

errand, when unfortunately for him, the vessel in which he was sailing was captured, and eventually he found himself a prisoner in the Tower of London. When captured he was observed tearing up some papers which he threw from him towards the sea. Happily the wind threw them back again. They were carefully pieced together, when they were found to contain a full and most important discovery of the great political plot for the destruction of Protestantism in England and Scotland, by force of arms; as agreed upon by the chiefs of the conspiracy. This document was first printed *in extenso*, by the Rev. Thomas Francis Knox, D.D., of the Brompton Oratory, in the second volume of his *Record of English Catholics*. The document was written about two years before the capture of Creighton. It is too lengthy to reprint here; but as showing what the Pope and the Jesuits were aiming at, I must call attention to a few of its more important points. In a list of the objects aimed at by the enterprise, this document named:— “Lastly and especially to depose her Majesty, and set up the Scottish Queen, which indeed is the scope and white (*sic*) whereto all this practice doth level.”¹ It is stated that “this enterprise particularly hath been imparted to the Scottish King and Queen”; and it was reckoned that “if the Pope and Spanish King afford the desired forces” then, as soon as the foreign forces were landed in Scotland, the Scottish King in person would at once “march towards England, where, assisted with the Catholics of that realm, which are many in number, they may be able to prevail.” “There is a Bishop to be created by the Pope to come with them to make priests, absolve and excommunicate. This should be created Bishop of Durham, for that in those parts they are Catholics.” What would happen to the unhappy English Protestants, and also even to those Roman Catholics who should bear arms for Elizabeth against the invaders, is clearly seen in the following

¹ *Records of English Catholics*, vol. ii., p. 426—432.

statement:— “When they shall enter into England the Pope’s excommunication is likewise to be proclaimed, which shall be renewed, declaring her Majesty, &c., and that *all such as bear arms in her behalf shall be guilty of treason, and shall be held for such, unless they come to join with the army of the Scottish Queen in England by such a certain day, and they shall not only lose their lives, but also all there possessions, lordships, and lands shall be given to the next of their blood.*” “The great and rich cities for the most part, as Newcastle, York, and such like, are all full of Catholics, who will repair to the army, so as they shall be victorious without drawing sword; and all the Catholic Lords and gentlemen of those shires will unite themselves unto them; which we say not by conjecture, but know assuredly that they will do it, although *they dare no more trust any body in the world but only their priests, who are already dispersed throughout all the shires of the realm.*”

While in the Tower Creighton made several important confessions, which are reprinted in substance by Father Knox. I have modernised the spelling.

“*William Creighton’s Confession—what he had heard spoken.*

“It was determined at Rome, the Duke of Lennox should attempt the delivery of the Scottish Queen. The plot set down by the Bishop of Dumblane touching Scotland, and by an English gentleman concerning England. The Pope and King of Spain should furnish the Duke with 10,000 men, Spaniards and French. They to land at Dumbarton; on the borders of Scotland to join with the banished Lords of England. The Duke of Lennox would have with him the greatest part of the realm. The Duke of Guise should invade the south of England with 4000 or 5000 men. He should be received there and should pass to London; her Majesty’s forces being occupied in the north.

“That the matter pleased the Pope, but the enterprise too great for him alone. He would willingly join with the Spanish King. The King answered he would concur when time should serve. The enterprise failed by the death of the Duke of Lennox. *He supposeth the intention remaineth.*

“Plots presented to the Duke of Guise to land in the parts of England nearest France, to pass with fisher boats. Others of

opinion he should begin near Scotland. The English confederates that he should attempt on the coast of England to deliver the Queen [Mary Queen of Scots], being assured of her religion. The Scottish King being constant in his religion, no trust to be put in him. Neither would they make this expense to advance him. That the Pope should contribute the fourth part of the charge, and the Spaniard the rest. The King continued an imposition upon the clergy of Spain for that fourth part."

"William Creighton's second Confession.

"That he received the discourses, Latin, Italian, and French, of his Superior at Paris [Father Knox in a footnote says this was F. Claude Mathieu, S.J., Provincial of France]. He supposeth his Superior had them of the Duke of Guise, who used him familiarly. The Latin discourse did contain a condolence of the Scottish Queen's long imprisonment and sickness, etc. Her constancy in the Catholic faith. What diligence she should use to restore that faith, rents and liberties ecclesiastical. And the like for the conversion of her son, the King, to that faith. If he should persist obstinate, to give him her malediction."

"The effect of Creighton's third writing.

"His conference with the Pope was only as followeth. That there was no Catholic service public in any part of Scotland. How little hope there was of the reduction of that realm. Of the King's education in religion. The best way for his Holiness was to nourish gentlemen's sons in Catholic schools, and to augment the rents of the seminaries. That at his return to Lyons he was visited by an English gentleman called Arundel. That the author of the Italian discourse shall hardly be found out; but in the margin he noteth George Golbert." [Knox thinks it should be Gilbert.]

"That at his first return into Scotland he had in charge by his General to sound the disposition of the nation for the receiving of Jesuits. At his return he declared he found no entertainment for men of his Order and profession."¹

When the facts revealed in the captured documents, and the confessions of Creighton, came to be considered by the Government, it is not to be wondered at that they were seriously alarmed. The Jesuits and their friends were evidently going the best possible way to work to make it impossible for the Government to grant them toleration, with safety to the State. The natural result of the discoveries of their treasons, supported by the forces of Spain, and France,

¹ *Records of English Catholics*, pp. 432—434.

backed by the money and blessing of the Pope, was to increase the severity of the laws against traitors. The dangers of the times required stringent measures to protect the country against the machinations of traitors and foreigners, enemies of the State. Accordingly, in 1585, the Act of 27 Elizabeth, Chapter 2, was passed against Jesuits and Seminary priests. It may be well to reprint here the first part of this Act; as giving the reasons for passing it:—

“Whereas divers persons called or professed Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests, which have been, and from time to time are made in the parts beyond the seas, by or according to the order of the Romish Church, have of late years come and been sent, and daily do come and are sent, into this realm of England and other the Queen's Majesty's dominions, of purpose (as has appeared by sundry of their own examinations and confessions, as by divers other manifest means and proofs) not only to withdraw her Highness's subjects from their due obedience to her Majesty, but also to stir up and move sedition, rebellion, and open hostility within the same her Highness's realms and dominions, to the great endangering of the safety of her most Royal person, and by the utter ruin, desolation, and overthrow of the whole realm, if the same be not the sooner by some good means foreseen and prevented.

“For reformation whereof be it ordained, established, and enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, and the Lords Spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same Parliament, that all and every Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests whatsoever made or ordained out of the realm of England and other her Highness's dominions, or within any of her Majesty's realms or dominions, by any authority, power, or jurisdiction derived, challenged, or pretended from the See of Rome, since the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist in the first year of her Highness's reign, shall within forty days next after the end of this present session of Parliament depart out of this realm of England, and out of all other her Highness's dominions, if the wind, weather, and passage shall serve for the same, or else so soon after the end of the said forty days as the wind, weather, and passage shall so serve.

“And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall not be lawful to or for any Jesuit, seminary priest, or other such priest, deacon, or religious or ecclesiastical person whatsoever, being born within this realm, or any other her Highness's dominions, and heretofore since the said feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, in the first year of her Majesty's reign, made, ordained, or professed, or hereafter to be made, ordained, or professed, by any authority or jurisdiction derived, challenged, or pretended from the See of Rome, by or of what name, title, or degree soever the same shall be called or known, to come into, be, or remain in

any part of this realm, or any other her Highness's dominions, after the end of the same forty days, other than upon such special occasions only, and for such time only, as is expressed in this Act; and if he do, that then every such offence shall be taken and adjudged to be high treason; and every person so offending shall for his offence be adjudged a traitor, and shall suffer, lose, and forfeit, as in case of high treason."

To us, in the twentieth century, a law like this seems very severe, and almost cruel. Yet to judge it aright it is necessary to bear in mind the circumstances of the period, and the very real dangers to the State from the operations of such a very dangerous body of conspirators residing in the country. Since then many Roman Catholic States have had to expel the Jesuits with far less reason. A modern Roman Catholic writer very justly remarks that:—"If it had been possible for any one to convince Elizabeth that his Catholicism was such as Bossuet's was to be, and only such, the Queen ought, on her own profession, to have tolerated such a person, as she did in fact grant toleration to Sir Richard Shelley in 1582. But when both sides, both Philip and Cecil, were equally convinced that every fresh convert, however peaceful now, was a future soldier of the King of Spain against Elizabeth, toleration was scarcely possible."¹ What this writer says of the perverts to Roman Catholicism, may be applied with far greater force to the Jesuits of that period. They were as dangerous to the State then as Anarchists are in the twentieth century.

Early in 1585 the Duke of Guise withdrew from the military leadership of the proposed enterprise. He was busy at the time in the affairs of the infamous "Holy League," of which he was the leader, and under whose guidance the civil war against the Huguenots broke out in the following April. The new military leader of the English enterprise was the Duke of Parma, at that time Governor of the Low Countries. Of this infamous man Motley writes:—"Hanging,

¹ Simpson's *Edmund Campian*. p. 199. First edition.

drowning, burning, and butchering heretics were the legitimate deductions of his theology. He was no casuist nor pretender to holiness; but in those days every man was devout, and Alexander [Parma] looked with honest horror upon the impiety of the heretics, whom he persecuted and massacred. He attended Mass regularly—in the winter mornings by torchlight—and would as soon have foregone his daily tennis as his religious exercises. Romanism was the creed of his taste. It was the religion of Princes and gentlemen of high degree. As for Lutheranism, Zwinglism, Calvinism, and similar systems, they were but the fantastic rites of weavers, brewers, and the like—an ignoble herd, whose presumption in entitling themselves Christian, while rejecting the Pope, called for their instant extermination.”¹ It was only a few months before the leadership of this new English enterprise had been given to Parma, that Balthazar Gerard, encouraged by the advice of Jesuits, and by promises of pecuniary reward from Parma, had assassinated that grand Protestant hero, William the Silent, on July 10, 1584. Parma had termed it a “laudable and generous deed,” and under his advice the parents of the murderer were enriched by Philip II., and raised at once to a place amongst the landed aristocracy!

Such was Parma, the bloodthirsty butcher, to whom Robert Parsons hastened for advice and help in the conspiracy against his own country. On February 5, 1585, Allen wrote to Mary Queen of Scots:—“Your Majesty is advertised by better means and more speedy than I can have, for our resolution out of Spain, that the whole execution [of the English enterprise] is committed to the Prince of Parma, and that Father Eusebius [Robert Parsons], Mr. Hugh Owen, and myself, should deal with no other person, but solicit him only in your Majesty's affairs; whereof the said Hugh Owen hath brought the King of Spain's determination to the Prince [of Parma], who seemeth as glad as we that he

¹ Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*. Part. vi., Chapter i.

may have the effectuating of the whole matter, so glorious in the sight of God and man. Parma by order, as I take it, of the King of Spain, acquainteth none particularly and fully with these things but myself, Eusebius [Parsons], and Owen."¹ With Allen and the Jesuits "glad" at the choice of such a leader as Parma, we can quite imagine what a fearful scene of slaughter would have been witnessed in England had these traitorous schemes succeeded.

Parsons went to Flanders about mid-Lent, 1585, and remained there until the autumn, so as to be within easy reach of the Duke of Parma. A spy in the employ of the English Government, writing from Rouen, on August 13, reported that he had been informed by Thomas Fitzherbert (afterwards a Jesuit) that "Parsons is secretly in the camp of the Prince of Parma," about the invasion scheme.² In the month of September Parsons started for Rome, to deal with the new Pope, Sixtus V., who had been elected to succeed Gregory XIII. on the previous 24th of April. A recent writer (Father Taunton) says that:—

"One of the first occupations of Parsons after his arrival in Rome was to write a book against Elizabeth, which Allen was weak enough to allow to come out in his own name. It was the book afterwards known as *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland concerning the present Wars made for the Execution of His Holiness' sentence, by the High and Mighty King Catholic of Spain*. It is a scurrilous and most offensive production; and its substance was reproduced in the broadside, *A Declaration of the Sentence of Deposition of Elizabeth the Usurper and pretended Queen of England*, which was likewise from Parsons' pen. These are undoubtedly the two works which Parsons alludes to as his own in the paper he gave to the Nuncio at Paris just before leaving for Spain. It is, of course, most probable that Allen would have had something to do with the latter draft—but if the hands are the hands of Esau, the voice is the voice of the Supplanter. This book was meant as a preparation for the Armada; and Parsons gave a copy of it to Olivares, who forwarded a summary of it to Spain, to learn whether the King approved of its publication."³

¹ *Records of English Catholics*, vol. ii., p. 247.

² *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic 1580—1625*, p. 150.

³ *The History of the Jesuits in England*. By the Rev. Ethelred L. Taunton, pp. 113, 114.

Some paragraphs in the document were evidently added shortly before the Spanish Armada started for England. Father Watson states that Cardinal Allen compiled the book, "at the importunate suit of Father Parsons, impudently urging his Grace thereto."¹ Lingard says of the book:—"Who that author was, soon became a subject of discussion. The language and the manner are certainly not like those of Allen in his acknowledged works; and the appellant priests boldly asserted that the book was 'penned altogether by the advice of Father Parsons,' Parsons himself, though he twice notices the charge, seems by his evasions to acknowledge its truth (*Manifestation*, 35. 47)."² Of the two works, Father Watson further says:—"Of these books a great number were printed, but presently upon the overthrow of the great Invincible Armada under their heroical Adlantado, Father Parsons, for shame of the world, and to the end that it should not be known how the expectation of the false prophet was frustrated, procured the whole impression to be burnt, saving some few that had been sent abroad beforehand to his friends, and such as had otherwise been conveyed away by the printer, and others in secret wise. Some whereof, ferrying over the main, were wafted into the South Ocean shores; and cast on land, came to divers their hands that durst not avouch their harbour. One Father Currey, a Jesuit, speaking in a faint bravado of that book to a secret friend of mine (who durst not be known to favour me) said that 'it was a work of that worth, as it would yet bite in time to come'; and that if by conjuration or otherwise, the Queen or the Council (especially the Lord Treasurer whom he named in chief) could have any inkling where it were, they would not leave one stone standing upon another in the house where it should happen to be heard

¹ Watson's *Decacordon of Ten Quodlibeticall Questions*. Newly imprinted, 1602, p. 240.

² Lingard's *History of England*, vol. viii., p. 445.

of, but blow it up, or consume it all to ashes before they would miss of it."¹

In this way the *Admonition* soon became exceedingly scarce, as did also the brief *Declaration*. Father Tierney, writing in 1840, says that "few of either seem to have escaped."² The *Admonition* was reprinted, in facsimile, in 1842, under the editorship of the Rev. Joseph Mendham, who, in his preface remarks:—"The profound silence of all the principal Papal historians, in all languages, in Allen's time, and likewise of his professed biographers, respecting so deliberate, vigorous, and characteristic a work, as that under consideration, is certainly, though natural, remarkable. It certainly is remarkable, that in *professed lists* of the writings of the Cardinal, by the historian of the Popes and Cardinals, and by the later English historian, who ought to know more about his own countryman, no mention whatever occurs of the *Admonition*."³ Mr. Mendham's reprint of this scurrilous book has now, in time, become very scarce, and is seldom to be met with.

A few extracts from this *Admonition* will make clear to us more, perhaps, than anything else, the spirit which moved these conspirators. To read its pages one would suppose that Queen Elizabeth was the incarnation of all the vices, and the greatest monster who ever sat on any earthly throne. The author declares that England "might by way of rigour and extreme justice, be both charged and chastised far more deeply than the Church of Thyatira for tolerating the wicked Jezabel" (p. v.). The Pope, he affirms, "only meaneth in Christ's word and power given unto him, to pursue the actual deprivation of Elizabeth, the pretended Queen, eftsones declared and judicially sentenced by his Holiness' predecessor, Pius Quintus, and Gregory XIII., for

¹ Watson's *Decacordon*, p. 240.

² Tierney's *Dodd's Church History*, vol. iii., p. 29, *note*.

³ *Cardinal Allen's Admonition*. With preface by Eupator. London: Duncan & Co., 1842, p. iv.

an heretic and usurper, and the proper present cause of perdition of millions of souls at home, and the very bane of all Christian Kingdoms and States near her" (p. vii).

"Over and besides that she never had consent nor any approbation of the See Apostolic, *without which, she, nor any other can be lawful King or Queen of England*, by reason of the ancient accord made between Alexander III., the year 1171, and Henry II. then King, when he was absolved for the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury, *that no man might lawfully take that Crown, nor be accounted as King, till he were confirmed by the Sovereign Pastor of our souls*, which for the time should be. This accord afterwards being renewed, about the year 1210, by King John, who confirmed the same by oath to Pandulph, the Pope's Legate."¹

"But to accomplish all other impiety, and to show herself wholly sold to sin, she [Queen Elizabeth] hath now eighteen years stood stubbornly, contemptuously, and obdurately, as in the sight of God, by her own wilful separation through schism and heresy, judged and condemned before, so now by name notoriously excommunicated and deposed, in the word of Christ and omnipotent power of God, by sentence given against her by holy Pius V., the highest Court of religion under the heavens. The which state of excommunication (though presently of the faithless, where there is no sense of religion, it be not felt nor feared) is most miserable, most horrible, and most near to damnation of all things that may happen to a man in this life; far more grievous (saith a certain glorious Doctor) than to be hewn in pieces with a sword, consumed by fire, or devoured by wild beasts."²

"And finally to accomplish the measure of all her inhuman cruelty, she hath this last year barbarously, unnaturally, against the law of nations, by statute of riot and conspiracy, murdered the Lady Mary, of famous memory, Queen of Scotland, Dowager of France, God's anointed, her next kinswoman, *and by law and right the true owner of the Crown of England*."³

"Fear not, my dear countrymen, fear not, one generation is not yet past since this wickedness began; trust now in God, and in this self generation it shall be revenged, and in the person of this, the aforesaid King's [Henry VIII.] supposed daughter (in whose parents' concupiscence all this calamity was conceived) shall be both punished and ended."⁴

"Eliseus caused Jehu to be consecrated King, and the house of Achab to lose their right to the Kingdom, and his son Joram to be slain; by whose commandment cursed Jezabel was afterwards thrown out of her chamber window into the court, and after eaten

¹ *Cardinal Allen's Admonition*. With preface by Eupator. London: Duncan & Co., 1842. p. ix.

² *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxix. A pretty plain intimation of the fate awaiting Elizabeth, if the Armada succeeded.

of dogs, in the very same place where she had committed cruelty and wickedness before. This Jezebel for sacrilege, contempt of holy priests, rebellion against God, and cruelty, doth so much resemble our Elizabeth, that in most foreign countries and writings of strangers she is commonly called by the name of Jezebel. *I know not whether God have appointed her to a like, or a better end.*"¹

"There is no war in the world so just or honourable, as that which is waged for religion, whether it be foreign or civil; nor crime in the world deserving more sharp and zealous pursuit of extreme revenge, than falling from the faith to strange religions, whether it be in the superior or subjects."²

"It is clear that what people or person soever be declared rebellious against God's Church, by what obligation soever, either of kindred, friendship, loyalty, or subjection I be bound to them, I may, or, rather, must take arms against them; nothing doubting but when my King or Prince hath broken with Christ, by whom, and for defence of whose honour he reigneth, that then I may most lawfully break with him."³

"Therefore, having now through God's merciful goodness, full and sufficient help for your happy reconciliation to Christ's Church, and to deliver yourselves, your country, and posterity, from that miserable servitude of body and soul which you have long been in, for the more easy achieving of this godly designment [by means of the Spanish Armada], and for your better information, his Holiness confirmeth, reneweth, and reviveth, the Sentence Declaratory of Pius Quintus, of blessed memory, and the censure of all other his predecessors, and every branch, clause, and article of them, against the said Elizabeth, as well concerning her illegitimation, and usurpation, and inability to the Crown of England, as for her excommunication and deposition in respect of her heresy, sacrilege, and abominable life; and dischargeth all men from all oath, obedience, loyalty and fidelity towards her; requiring and desiring in the bowels of Christ, and commanding under pain of excommunication and other penalties of the law, and as they look for the favours to them and theirs, afore promised, and will avoid the Pope's, King's and the other Princes' high indignation, that no man of what degree or condition soever, obey, abet, aid, defend, or acknowledge her for their Prince, or superior; but that all and every one, according to their quality, calling, and ability, immediately upon intelligence of his Holiness' will, by these my letters, or otherwise, or at the arrival of his Catholic Majesty's forces, be ready to join to the said army, with all the powers and aids they can make, of men, munition, and victuals, to help towards the restoring of the Catholic faith, and actual deposing the usurper, in such sort and place, as by the chief managers of this affair, and the General of this Holy War shall be appointed."⁴

¹ *Cardinal Allen's Admonition*. With preface by Eupator. London: Duncan & Co., 1842. p. xxxiv.

² *Ibid.*, p. xl.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xlii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. lii, liii.

"Fight not, for God's love fight not, in that quarrel in which, if you die, you are sure to be damned. . . . Forsake her therefore betime, that you be not enwrapped in her sins, punishment, and damnation. . . . Fight for your father's faith. . . . If you win, you save your whole realm from subversion, and innumerable souls, present and to come, from damnation. If you die, you be sure to be saved, the blessing of Christ and His Church, the pardon of his Holiness, given to all in most ample sort, that either take arms, die, or any way duly endeavour in this quarrel."¹

We left Parsons at Rome, where he arrived in the autumn of 1585 on a visit to Pope Sixtus V. That Pope, though he did all that he could against Queen Elizabeth, yet in his heart had a strange regard for her. He told the Venetian Ambassador in Rome:—"She is a great woman; and were she only Catholic, she would be without her match, and we would esteem her highly." And again he said to the same Ambassador:—"She certainly is a great Queen, and were she only a Catholic she would be our dearly beloved. Just look how well she governs; she is only a woman, only mistress of half an island, and yet she makes herself feared by Spain, by France, by the Empire, by all."² Parsons found Pope Sixtus V. very willing to help on the grand scheme for the invasion of England, but he was very jealous lest Philip II. should become by it too powerful. He and Philip were not quite of one mind as to who should become the Sovereign of England if the enterprise proved successful. Philip wanted it for himself, or at least for his daughter the Infanta; while Sixtus was anxious, if he could not prevent this, yet at least that the new Sovereign should hold the Crown of England as vassal under himself, as the chief Lord of the land—thus renewing the ancient Papal claim to the Crown of England, a claim which I may here remark, has never yet been withdrawn by the Papacy. This controversy between the Pope and Philip was the subject of a conversation between the Venetian Ambassador in

¹ *Cardinal Allen's Admonition*. With preface by Eupator. London: Duncan & Co., 1842. pp. liv, lv.

² *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, vol. viii., pp. 344, 345.

Spain and the Papal Nuncio to the Court of Philip, early in 1586. On February 22 this Ambassador wrote to the Doge and Senate of Venice:—

"Every day Mons. Spetiano, the Nuncio, a Milanese, is expected here. His instructions are conjectured to have reference to the expedition against England and the expedition against Geneva, *both of them eagerly desired by the Pope*. The Nuncio, here resident, in conversation with me, remarked that if his Holiness were as well informed as Pope Gregory had been, he would know that perhaps both undertakings were impossible, both for the King of Spain as well as for any other Prince who might be allied with him. As I desired further light on this point, the Nuncio said, 'as for the enterprise against England, since it will be the joint work of the Pope, the King of Spain, and other allies, they must first determine who is to be the master of that kingdom when it is captured. The King of Spain, as the most powerful of the allies, and as the larger contributor to the undertaking, will certainly claim to be absolute master; while, on the other hand, neither the Pope nor any other Prince can consent to such an aggrandisement of the Spanish. For, although the King of Spain is very calm, and declares that he has no desire for what belongs to others, still the opportunity and the natural thirst for dominion, common to all, may quite soon produce such complications that the remedy will be beyond the power of any to apply, should he some day desire to make himself sole Monarch of Christendom. Besides, even supposing such thoughts to be absent from the King's mind, who will guarantee that they may not occur to his son.'

"In short, the Nuncio's opinion is that the resolution of this point, if not impossible, is exceedingly difficult. I asked him what opinion Pope Gregory held on the subject, and he replied that *the Pope wished the whole decision to rest with himself, and that he should name the Master of the Kingdom*; but that, later on, the Pope saw the impossibility of anyone but the King of Spain holding the Kingdom for any length of time, *and had consented to surrender the Kingdom to his Majesty in return for an annual fee.*"¹

¹ *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, vol. viii., p. 141. This ancient claim of the Pope's to the Throne of England was put forward prominently during the reign of Elizabeth. Cardinal Pole, in the "Instructions" given by him to the Father Confessor of the Emperor, in October, 1553, referring to the then expected return of the people of England to obedience to the Pope, remarks concerning the title of Mary to the Crown of England:— "It must be considered that she is not only called to it [the restitution of her Kingdom to the obedience of the Pope] by the rewards of a future life, but also by those of the present world, inasmuch as, failing the support of the Holy See, she would not be legitimate heir to the crown, for the marriage of her mother was not valid but by a dispensation of his Holiness; so that obedience to the Holy See is necessary to secure her power, since upon it depends her very claim to the crown." (*Calendar of Foreign State Papers*, 1553—1558, p. 21.)

Checked and hindered in every way by the vigilance of the English Government, the conspirators at last became impatient and desperate. They wanted a quicker and more decisive plan for bringing the enterprise to a successful issue. A dagger run into the body of Queen Elizabeth would at once remove their greatest difficulty. Men willing and anxious to do the deed were soon found. They were not common hired assassins, but gentlemen of good social position, some of them of great wealth. Between them they hatched what is known in history as the Babington Conspiracy. Of the fourteen gentlemen who were executed

A learned Roman Catholic priest, the Rev. Charles O'Connor, D.D., who wrote early in the nineteenth century, states that:— "Though Queen Mary was a Catholic, and a gloomy and persecuting bigot she was, whom every Irishman must abhor, yet Paul IV. menaced to depose her, because she had dared to assume the title of 'Queen of Ireland' without his consent! He said that it belonged to him alone to erect new Kingdoms, or abolish the old; that Ireland was, by human and divine right, the property of the Holy See; that he was the successor of those who deposed Kings and Emperors; and that no Monarch should pretend to an equality with him! With his feeble limbs, for now he was about eighty years old, he stamped the boards of the Vatican, 'And all Olympus trembled at his nod!' The Queen's Ambassadors threw themselves at his feet, and he admitted her title, on condition only that it should be assumed from his concession, and that Peter pence, and all the ancient emoluments of Rome should be restored." (*An Historical Address*. By the Rev. C. O'Connor, D.D. 1812. part ii., pp. 196, 197.)

On the afternoon of July 13, 1556, the Venetian Ambassador at Rome, had an interview with Pope Paul IV. The Pope then said to him:— "If compelled to wage war, as we suspect, owing to the deceitful nature of these Imperialists, we, without the slightest scruple, by a legitimate process, and by a sentence so tremendous that it will darken the sun, shall deprive the Emperor and the King of England, as our vassals who have perpetrated felony and rebellion, of all their realms, releasing the inhabitants from their oath of allegiance, giving part of their territories to those who shall occupy them." (*Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, vol. vi. part i., p. 521.) A few months later the Pope again spoke to the same Ambassador on the same subject, when he once more put forth his claim to the temporal dominion, not only of England and Ireland; but also of the Kingdoms of Naples, and Sardinia. And this is what the Pope said on this occasion:— "The truce was made for ten days and then prolonged for forty, although the Duke of Alva wished to have it for a much longer term (as our Cardinal will have told you in detail) to enable him to advise Philip his King about these things, and to receive his reply and decision, which we pray the Lord God (who can do what to us seems impossible) to inspire them to form

for the part they took in promoting this attempt at assassination, no fewer than six were members of a Sodality, or Association, formed in England for the purpose of assisting the Jesuit priests, of whom they were the spiritual children. Their names were Anthony Babington, Chideock Tichbourne, Charles Tilney, Edward Abingdon, Thomas Salisbury, and Jerome Bellamy.¹ The remaining eight were John Ballard (a priest), John Savage, Robert Barnwell, Henry Dunne, Edward Jones, John Travers, John Charnock, and Robert Gage. The Babington Conspiracy was in reality two murder

according to their duty, granting them such repentance of their very grievous error, and causing them to make such amends as to put it in our power, without detracting from our dignity, to pardon and absolve them from the censures they have incurred, restoring to them *in integrum* what they have forfeited, for they are deprived not only of the *fiefs of the Church, which are the Kingdoms of Naples, Sardinia, England, Ireland*, and of so many privileges in Spain, conceded to them by the prodigality of our predecessors (God forgive them for it), and which yield more than the Kingdom [of Naples], but, moreover, of all that they have and possess in the world; and, moreover, they are unworthy to remain on the earth." (*Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, vol. vi., part. ii., p. 838.)

This utterly unjust claim was again put forward in 1580 by Pope Gregory XIII., in the treaty into which he then entered with the King of Spain and the Grand Duke of Tuscany against England, the third article of which was as follows:—"That his Holiness, as Sovereign Lord of the Island [of England] will grant to the Catholic nobles of the Kingdom to elect a Catholic Lord of the Island, who, under the authority of the Apostolic See will be declared King, and who will render obedience and fealty to the Apostolic See, as other Catholic Kings have done before the time of the last Henry." (*Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, vol. vii., p. 650.)

Pope Sixtus V. renewed the claim in 1587. The Venetian Ambassador in Rome, writing on June 27, 1587, stated that:—"The Pope has taken occasion to say that if the King of Spain will undertake the enterprise against England he will furnish him, on the landing of troops in that Kingdom, 600,000 crowns, and 70,000 a month as long as the war lasts, but on condition that the nomination to the Crown of England should rest with the Pope, and that the Kingdom of England be recognised as a *fief of the Church*." (*Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, vol. viii., p. 288.)

Sir John Throckmorton, a Roman Catholic Baronet, writing in 1791, remarks:—"Mr. Milner cannot have forgotten that even since the schism of Henry VIII., the ambition of Rome has claimed the Imperial Crown of England, as one of her feudatory dependencies." (*A Second Letter to the Catholic Clergy of England*. By John Throckmorton, Esqr. [afterwards Sir John] London, 1791, p. 42.)

¹ Simpson's *Campion*. 1st edition, p. 157.

plots merged into one. The first was that undertaken by Savage at the instigation of a priest named Gilbert Gifford. This Gifford had been educated for the priesthood (to which he was ordained, March 16, 1585) first at Rheims, and afterwards in the English College, Rome, then under the control of the Jesuits. There he was a ringleader in the disturbances against the Jesuits, and was expelled by them for misconduct. Gifford acted as one of the Government spies, and although Savage was the dupe of this unprincipled scoundrel, this cannot be said of the others, at least not to the same extent.

The priest Ballard was introduced to Mendoza, at Paris, early in May, 1586, and revealed to him the plan which he had formed to assassinate Elizabeth. A party had been organised in England to undertake the deed, and these sent messages to Mendoza, who, on May 12, wrote thus to Juan De Idiaquez:

"I beg you to have the following very carefully deciphered and put it into his Majesty's own hands. It is written and ciphered by me personally. I am advised from England by four men of position who have the run of the Queen's house, that they have discussed for the last three months the intention of killing her. They have at last agreed, and the four¹ have mutually sworn to do it. They will on the first opportunity advise me when it is to be done, *and whether by poison or by steel*, in order that I may send the intelligence to your Majesty, supplicating you to be pleased to help them after the business is effected."²

About six weeks later Mendoza again wrote to the same correspondent, on June 24, to tell him that the arrangements for the assassination were going on satisfactorily, and that one of the would-be murderers was very diligent indeed in attending to his religious duties as a devout Roman Catholic:—"The four men," he states, "who had taken the resolution about which I wrote to you on the 11th ultimo [it was the 12th], have again assured me that they are agreed that it

¹ Six were actually selected for this purpose.

² *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 579.

shall be done by steel when opportunity occurs. *One of them is confessed and absolved every day*, and says that there is no need for the others in the business at all."¹ There can be but little doubt that the man who wanted all the glory of the vile deed was the man who bore the appropriate name of Savage, who by this time had joined the Babington Conspiracy. It would be interesting to know who the priest was who confessed and absolved him "every day," while without repentance he designed such a foul deed. That will probably never be known, yet, whoever he was, the result of his spiritual ministrations was seen on the scaffold, when Savage, a moment before his death, having confessed his guilt, said that "he did attempt it, for that *in conscience he thought it a deed meritorious*, and a common good for the weal public, and for no private preferment."²

By this time Gilbert Gifford had become acquainted with Ballard and Babington's plans, for assassination and had placed his services at its disposal. Gifford was actually sent from England to Paris by Mary Queen of Scots herself, with a letter of credence to Mendoza. No one can read her letter, dated July 27, 1586, without a strong suspicion, that she knew about the plot to assassinate Elizabeth, and was anxiously helping it on. This was the opinion of even Mendoza himself, who, writing to Philip II. on September 10, after the whole conspiracy had been discovered by the English Government, remarks:—"Of the six men who had sworn to kill the Queen, only two have escaped, namely, the favourite Raleigh and the brother of Lord Windsor. *I am of the opinion that the Queen of Scotland must be well acquainted with the whole affair, to judge from the contents of a letter which she has written to me.*"³

Nearly two months before Mendoza wrote this letter, and, possibly, on the same day that she wrote to him,

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 385.

² *State Trials*, vol. i., p. 133. Edition 1730.

³ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 624.

Mary wrote also to the French Ambassador to England another letter which implies a knowledge of the assassination plot:—"Entreat," she urged, "the Lord Treasurer, that he be careful in the choice of a new guardian for me, that whatever may happen, *whether it be the death of the Queen of England or a rebellion in the country*, my life may be safe."¹ She was evidently, therefore, at this time, expecting the death of Elizabeth, *and* a rebellion in her favour. Outwardly there was no prospect of Elizabeth's death at that moment, since she was in perfect health. She could then only expect that death from the dagger of some assassin. On the same day Mary wrote to Mendoza the letter to which I have already briefly alluded, recommending Gifford to him as a person worthy of credence, who would tell him all that was going on for her release.² This letter is more guardedly worded than that which she wrote to the French Ambassador, but it implies a knowledge of some plot going on, in addition to that of an armed invasion.

"I will," wrote Mary to Mendoza, "freely confess to you that I myself was so discouraged at the idea of entering into *new attempts*, seeing the failure that had attended previous ones, that I have turned a deaf ear to several proposals that have been made to me during the last six months by the Catholics, as I had no ground for giving them a decided answer. But now that I hear of the good intentions of the Catholic King towards us here, I have sent to the principal leaders of the Catholics a full statement of my opinion on all points of the execution of the enterprise. To save time *I have ordered them to send to you, with all speed, one of their number sufficiently instructed to treat with you*, in accordance with the promises given you in general terms, and to lay before you all the requests they wish to make of the Catholic King your master. I wish, on their behalf, and in dependance upon their faithful promise given to me, to assure you that they will sincerely and truly, *at the risk of their lives, carry out their undertakings*, and those entered into for them by their representative. *I therefore beg you to extend full credit to him, as if I had sent him myself*. He will inform you of the means of getting me away from here."³

¹ Raumer's *Queen Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots*. London, 1836, p. 809.

² *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. iii, pp. 594, 603.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 597.

A few weeks later Mary's messenger arrived in Paris, presented himself to Mendoza, and gave to him particulars of the conspirators' plans. These were of a two-fold character. First, the assassination of Elizabeth, and secondly, an armed invasion for the destruction of Protestantism. In a despatch to the King of Spain, dated August 13, Mendoza gave the names of the English Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen who, it was alleged, had agreed to the invasion enterprise, and then proceeded to state their desire that the King of Spain should send help, and their opinion that inasmuch as the whole country was "anxious for a change of government," this had

"Led Babington, who is a strong Catholic, a youth of great spirit and good family, to try to find some secret means of killing the Queen. Six gentlemen, servants of the Queen, who have access to her house, have promised to do this, as I reported to Don Juan de Idiaquez on the 11th of May for your Majesty's information. This gentleman [the messenger Gifford] tells me that no person knows of this but Babington, and two of the principal leaders, it would already have been effected if they had not had their suspicion aroused by seeing the Earl of Leicester armed and with a force in Zealand, which they feared he might bring over to England quickly enough to attack them before they could gather their own forces or obtain help from your Majesty. This has caused them to delay laying hands upon the Queen, until they had reported matters to me, and received assurance that they would be succoured with troops from the Netherlands the moment they might desire it . . . They will not ask for troops to be sent, unless they are urgently needed, and if I will give them my word that they shall at once have help from the Netherlands in case they want it, and that your Majesty will succour them from Spain, if required, they say that they will immediately put into execution their plan to kill the Queen. They beg me not to doubt this, as those who are to carry it out are resolved to do it, and not to wait for a favourable opportunity, but to kill her, even on her throne and under her canopy of State, if I tell them the time has arrived to put an end to her."¹

Mendoza promised the conspirators:—"If they succeeded in killing the Queen, they should have the assistance they required from the Netherlands, and assurance that your Majesty would succour them. This I promised them, in

¹ *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. iii., pp. 605, 606.

accordance with their request, upon my faith and word. I urged them with arguments to hasten the execution." He went even further, and suggested that they "should either kill or seize Cecil, Walsingham, Lord Hunsdon, Knollys, and Beal, of the Council, who have great influence with the heretics, as they are terrible heretics themselves, and I gave them other advice of the same sort."¹ In the heart of Mendoza Papal piety and crime were closely united. He thought the murder of such a heretic as Elizabeth a glorious, Catholic, and truly Christian act. "I received the gentleman [who brought to him the plan of assassination] in a way the importance of his proposal deserved, *as it was so Christian*, just, and advantageous to the holy Catholic faith, and your Majesty's service, and I wrote them two letters by different routes, one in Italian and the other in Latin, encouraging them in the enterprise, *which I said was worthy of spirits so Catholic*, and of the ancient valour of Englishmen."² The King of Spain was delighted when he received Mendoza's letter, and wrote back to him, on September 5, a letter filled with piety, blood, and murder:—"As the affair," he said, "*is so much in God's service*, it certainly deserves to be supported, and we must hope that our Lord will prosper it, unless our sins are an impediment thereto. . . . I recollect some of those you mention as being in the plot, and in other cases their fathers. A business in which such persons are concerned certainly looks serious; and in the service of God, the freedom of Catholics, and the welfare of that realm, I will not fail to help them. I therefore at once order the necessary force to be prepared for the purpose, both in Flanders and here in Spain. It is true that as the whole thing depends upon secrecy and our preparations will have to be made without noise, the extent of the force must not be large enough to arouse an outcry, and so do more harm than good, but it shall be brought

¹ *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 607., ² *Ibid.*, p. 606.

to bear from both directions with the utmost promptness, *as soon as we learn from England that the principle execution planned by Babington and his friends has been effected.* The matter has been deeply considered here, with a view to avoiding, if possible, the ruin of those who have undertaken *so holy a task.*" In another letter written to Mendoza on the same day, the King told him what to do "until, *by God's grace, you receive intelligence that Babington has carried his intention into effect.*"¹

My readers will have observed that in her letter to Mendoza, dated July 27, Mary Queen of Scots informed him:—"I have sent to the principal leaders of the Catholics a full statement of my opinion on all points of the execution of the enterprise. To save time I have ordered them to send to you, with all speed, one of their number sufficiently instructed to treat with you." This "full statement" was actually written on the same day that she wrote to Mendoza. It was addressed to Anthony Babington, in reply to his celebrated letter to her, and was ostensibly the chief cause of her subsequent trial and execution. As every student of English history is aware, much controversy has arisen as to Babington's letter, and Mary's reply. It has been alleged again and again that Phelippes, who was employed by Walsingham to decipher the letters of Babington and Mary, interpolated into that which she wrote on July 27 certain passages, which clearly imply her knowledge of the assassination plot, and that he added to her letter the famous postscript in which she asks for the names of the six conspirators who had agreed to do the deed. It is, of course, possible that the postscript was a forgery, added to enable the Government to know with certainty the names of the chief culprits; but the assertion that interpolations were made in the body of the letter, seems to me built only on mere conjecture, and is scarcely consistent with Phelippes' evident

¹ *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. iii., pp. 614, 615, 616.

anxiety to recover the *original* letter of Mary when Babington was arrested. On July 19 (New Style, 29th) Phelippes wrote to Walsingham:— "You have now this Queen's answer to Babington, which I received yesterday. If he be in the country, *the original will be conveyed unto his hands*, and like enough an answer returned. I look for your honour's speedy resolution touching his apprehension or otherwise, that I may dispose of myself accordingly. . . . If your honour mean to take him, ample commission and charge would be given to choice persons for search of his house. It is like enough for all her commandment [to burn the letter], her letter will not soon be defaced. *I wish it for an evidence against her.*"¹ Walsingham also was anxious to secure the original of Mary's compromising letter, for two days after Phelippes had written the above letter, and therefore probably before it could have reached London, Walsingham wrote to Phelippes:— "Bab.[ington] shall not be dealt withal until your return. He remaineth here. *The original letter unto him you must bring with you.*"² But the whole controversy is too lengthy to be dealt with adequately here.

Those who read the reports of the trials of the fourteen gentlemen executed for the Babington Conspiracy, as contained in the *State Trials*, can scarcely doubt the justice of the sentences, which in some cases were for hiding their knowledge of the plot, rather than for directly taking part in it. In either case, the legal punishment of their offences was death. Savage pleaded guilty; as did also the priest Ballard. On the scaffold Ballard again confessed his guilt as to "those things of which he was condemned, but protested they were never enterprised by him upon any hope of preferment, but only for the advancement of true religion." Babington also pleaded guilty, but laid all the blame of his offence on Ballard—not Gilbert Gifford, who had no hand in bringing him into the plot. "Yea," said

¹ *The Letter Books of Sir Amias Poulet*. Edited by John Morris, S.J., p. 234.

² *Ibid.*, p. 245.

Babington, "I protest before I met with this Ballard, I never meant nor intended for to kill the Queen; but by his persuasions I was induced to believe that she was excommunicate, and therefore lawful to murder her." Barnwell pleaded:—"I never intended harm to her Majesty's person, but I confess I knew thereof, and I held it not lawful to kill the Queen; howbeit, for my other actions, forasmuch as I know I am within the danger of the law, I plead guilty." Tichbourne said:—"I will confess a truth, and then I must confess that I am guilty;" but on the scaffold he acknowledged that he knew about the plot, yet he "always thought it impious, and denied to be a dealer in it." Dunne pleaded guilty, and at his death admitted that he had consented to take part in the effort to deliver Mary Queen of Scots from custody; but as to the proposed assassination he thought it unlawful, though he knew about the plans of the conspirators with regard to it, before his arrest. Abingdon made a similar acknowledgment. Salisbury pleaded guilty of treason, but not of intention to murder, and on the scaffold declared:—"I confess that I have deserved death." Gage, when about to die, said that "he detested his own perfidious ingratitude" to the Queen. Travers pleaded not guilty. Jones said, at his trial:—"For concealing of the treason, I put me to her Majesty's mercy." Tilney pleaded not guilty, though by the confessions of the other prisoners it was proved that he knew about the intended crime. Charnock said:—"I confess that Ballard did make me acquainted with the invasion of the realm, and the other treasons," but he denied any active part in the assassination. Bellamy seems to have been condemned mainly for harbouring the conspirators from justice.

It has been asserted again and again that the whole of the Babington Conspiracy originated solely with the Government and its spies. It is very strange, if this were so, that not one of the prisoners seem to have suspected such a thing, for if they had, one or other of them would have

pleaded it either at their trials or on the scaffold. That the Government employed spies in the case there is no doubt, prominent amongst them being Gilbert Gifford, but no one need wonder at this, nor would it be fair and just then or now, except on the clearest evidence, to charge the spies with suggesting crime. Gifford's part was undoubtedly that of an infamous scoundrel; yet even if he were the originator of the whole plot—which certainly has not been proved—yet that will in no way lessen the guilt of the fourteen gentlemen who willingly, and with their eyes open, took part in it. That they deserved to die there can be no question. It is worthy of note that the chief actors were the spiritual children of the Jesuits, and, as members of the Association, under vows of obedience to them. And what are we to think of our modern English Jesuits who have inserted the name of the self-same priest John Ballard (executed for an attempt at murder, and for nothing else) in their list of "Confessors of the Faith," and as a "Martyr"!¹ Is their not a danger lest honour thus conferred on such a criminal, should induce others to become "Confessors of the Faith," and "Martyrs," by doing the things John Ballard did?

Father John Gerard, the Jesuit priest whose name was prominently before the public in 1606 for the part he was alleged to have taken in the Gunpowder Plot, in his "Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot," refers to the Babington Conspiracy, not for the purpose of censuring the crime, but for that of whitewashing the criminals. This is his account of the transaction:— "After this, about twenty years ago, there was another matter intended by fourteen gentlemen, Mr. Babington, Mr. Salesberie, and others of *the choice of England*, for the said Queen's deliverance and restoring to her right; wherein, though they were ensnared and entrapped

¹ *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, vol. iii., pp. 801, 808, 813. There is only one priest known by the name of John Ballard, whatever *aliases* he may have assumed.

by some politic heads that sought both their overthrow and thereby a seeming justifiable pretence to cut off the said Queen [Mary Queen of Scots] also, yet it was apparent by their examinations and executions, taking their death in so devout and resolute manner, that they intended sincerely the Queen's delivery for the advancement of the Catholic cause."¹ But not a word of censure does the Jesuit write against those whom he honours by terming them "the choice of England."

Father Robert Parsons, S.J., apparently wished people to believe that Babington and his fellow conspirators were the innocent victims of lies told by an "apostate" priest named Anthony Tyrrell. "So here," wrote Parsons, "you shall see Anthony Tyrrell to confess the like that *upon his own malice*, and Justice Young's and others' allurements, *he devised all these odious accusations* of intention to invade and kill the Queen against both the Queen of Scots, Ballard, Babington, and the rest that were put to death about these broils—which is a pitiful and lamentable matter."² And Parsons adds that he has published these confessions of Anthony Tyrrell, "to the end that albeit that for the present there be no remedy, yet that their memory hereafter may be relieved so far forth as it may deserve from the opprobrious crimes of treasons and conspiracies, by the confession and clearing of him [Anthony Tyrrell] that first of all, as it seemeth, did falsely charge them with the same."³

Father William Weston tells us that he knew Anthony Babington well, and gives him the following character:—"He lived in such a manner as to gather around him, by force of his gifts *and moral superiority*, various young men of his own rank and position, Catholics, zealous, adventurous, bold in the face of danger, ardent for the protection of the

¹ *Condition of Catholics under James I.* Edited by John Morris, S.J., p. 26.

² *Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers*, second series. Edited by John Morris, S.J., p. 318.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

Catholic faith, or for any enterprise the end of which was to promote the general Catholic cause,"¹ and, again, "In his religion he was always the best and bravest of young men."²

One of the most zealous of the servants of Mary Queen of Scots, was the well-known Thomas Morgan, many of whose letters are printed by Murdin in the Burghley Papers. This Morgan, while living on the Continent, was one of the most active of conspirators against Elizabeth. Owing to the part he took in the Throgmorton Conspiracy, he had been arrested in Paris, at the request of the English Government. While in prison he managed to keep up a secret correspondence with Mary, and introduced to her several of the men who took part in the Babington Conspiracy, with which he was fully acquainted, and of which there is no doubt he fully approved. Naturally enough Elizabeth wished him, as an English subject, to be sent to England to be tried for his offences, but the King of France refused. He had imprisoned Morgan to please Elizabeth, and that was all he was willing to do. Mary wrote to France in his interests, hoping to get his release from prison, but in vain. Even the Duke of Guise failed in his efforts to secure Morgan's release. All other efforts having proved unavailing, at last the Pope himself sent his Nuncio to the King of France, demanding that this would-be murderer should be let out of prison. Such an application was anything but creditable to the Pope, but it proved successful. On September 3, 1587, the Venetian Ambassador in France wrote to the Doge and Senate:—"The Nuncio has had an audience. *In his Holiness's name* he made four demands. . . . Third, that Thomas Morgan, servant of the Queen of Scotland, who has been for long a prisoner in the Bastille at the instance of England, shall be released. . . . His Majesty has promptly resolved to oblige the Pope, and has ordered the

¹ *Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers*, second series. Edited by John Morris, S.J., p. 183.

² *Ibid.*, p. 186.

instant release of Morgan.¹ We may be quite sure that an act like this of the Pope, in behalf of a man who deserved death as a would-be assassin, was not calculated to benefit the Roman Catholics residing in England. But the Pope and the Jesuits never did anything with a view to conciliating Elizabeth; on the contrary, they did everything in their power to exasperate her and her Government, and to justify her severity towards her disloyal subjects.

¹ *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, vol. viii., p. 309.

CHAPTER V

THE SPANISH ARMADA—TREASONABLE JESUIT BOOKS

THE Babington Conspiracy was worked in the interests of Spain. The Duke of Guise, as a Frenchman, though a warm friend to Spain, was not at all pleased to find that the control of the English enterprise was likely to fall out of his own hands altogether, and therefore, in a fit of jealousy, he set to work to recover his lost influence over the movement. During the years 1585 and 1586 the Jesuit priests had been very actively at work in Scotland, and had made their influence felt in a special manner amongst the Roman Catholic nobles, to whom several of them were related. As a result of their labours a priest named Robert Bruce was sent to the Continent in the summer of 1586, by the Earl of Huntly, the Earl of Morton, and Lord Claude Hamilton, to ask for a Spanish army to be sent to Scotland, consisting of 6000 paid troops, and for a grant of 150,000 crowns to carry on a war against Queen Elizabeth, having for its object the re-establishing of the Roman Catholic religion. They promised that "by the Grace of God" they would carry out their "holy enterprise," deliver the young King of Scotland from the hands of the heretics, and then "make him again join the community of the Church [of Rome], to recognise the obligation he owes" to the King of Spain, and to enter into no marriage engagement except to the satisfaction of Philip II.¹

The Duke of Guise was most anxious to help on this

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 590.

Scottish scheme, which in fact he seems to have originated, because if successful it would lead to his kinsman, James VI. becoming King of England, instead of Philip II. On this very account, when Robert Bruce arrived in Spain, he found that Philip was by no means warm in granting assistance. But inasmuch as the Scottish conspirators had promised him, if he would grant their requests, two important ports on the borders of England from which he might attack Elizabeth with a Spanish army, Philip thought it good policy to send Bruce back with fair words, 10,000 crowns in hand, and a promise of 150,000 crowns more when the Scottish Roman Catholic nobles rose in arms. On his way back to Scotland Bruce travelled through Paris, where he called on Mendoza, and told him that the objects of the proposed insurrection in Scotland included "massacring the English faction and Ministers, unless they could with perfect safety imprison them, in which case they would at once have them executed by process of law." Bruce added that "they had the secret consent of the King for them to set him at liberty by any means."¹

Bruce knew what he was talking about when he told Mendoza that James VI. was willing to see the success of the Roman Catholic insurrection. That double-faced young hypocrite cared nothing for any religion, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, except so far as it might aid him to succeed to the English throne on the death of Elizabeth. His idol was himself, and he cared for nothing else, except as it ministered to his comfort or ambition. Tytler, referring to this period, states that:—"Various Jesuits and seminary priests in disguise (of whom Gordon and Drury were the most active) glided through Northumberland into Scotland, proceeded to the late convention at Edinburgh, and from thence to Aberdeen, where they continued their efforts, in conjunction with their foreign brethren, for the re-establishment

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 682.

of the Catholic faith and the dethronement of Elizabeth. Apparently all this was encouraged by the Scottish King. It is, indeed, sometimes exceedingly difficult to get at the real sentiment of a Prince who prided himself upon his dissimulation; but, either from policy or necessity, he was soon so utterly estranged from England, and so completely surrounded by the Spanish faction, that Elizabeth began to be in serious alarm."¹ The Queen knew well how to manage James, and very soon she persuaded him to enter into an alliance with her to maintain the Protestant religion professed in both countries, against all its adversaries, Elizabeth on her part promising him a yearly pension. With this James felt that his prospects of succeeding Elizabeth were greatly strengthened. He threw off, for the time being, his friendship with the Roman Catholic Lords, and very soon suppressed a rebellion which they had started.

Meanwhile the King of Spain had taken up the business of invading England with energy, and was making active preparations for that Spanish Armada, which, two years later, he sent to the English shores. It was a busy time for the traitorous Jesuits, who were the secret wire-pullers of all that was going on. Mr. Thomas Graves Law (formerly a priest at the Brompton Oratory) truly states that:—"Allen and Parsons, the respective heads of the two missionary bodies, Secular and Jesuit, were the soul of the new enterprise. When Philip procrastinated, or the Pope was cautiously counting the cost, it was these men who passionately entreated and goaded them to war, drew up plans of campaign, named the Catholics in England who would fly to the foreign standard, promised moral aid from the priests, and assured the invaders of success. The foreign Princes seemed to depend for their information far more upon the reports of the Jesuits than upon those of their ambassadors."²

But Philip did not care to go on with his preparations

¹ Tytler's *History of Scotland*. Edition 1864. Vol. iv., p. 164.

² Law's *Jesuits and Seculars*, p. xv.

for the Armada, until he was quite sure that the Pope would allow him to nominate the new King of England, should it be successful. On this point he dreaded most of all the possibility that James VI. might become a Roman Catholic, and thus secure for himself from the Pope the nomination to the English Throne. In July, 1586, Philip gave his Ambassador in Rome definite instructions how to proceed with the Pope in this important affair. The Pope had offered a contribution of 500,000 crowns for the enterprise; but the Ambassador must tell him that the amount was not sufficient, and that what had been offered should be paid in advance.¹ The Ambassador seems to have had some success in his negotiations with the Pope, for on September 6 he reported to his master that the Pope had undertaken to pay towards the cost of the enterprise 700,000 crowns, of which 500,000 would be paid on the arrival of the Armada in England, 100,000 six months later, and 100,000 at the end of another six months.² The Ambassador added that he had not been able to mention the question of the succession to the English throne to the Pope, but that he had begun to "weave the web" around him, and to place "snares" in his way, so as "to have everything ready for the moment when your Majesty may order me to put the screw on." About two months later the Pope put his promise of help into writing, dated December 13. It was as follows:

"His Holiness, desirous of aiding with all his strength this holy enterprise, to which God has stimulated his Catholic Majesty, is willing to employ in it a sum not exceeding one million in gold; that is to say, he will give 500,000 crowns in one sum as soon as the Armada shall have arrived in England, in accordance with the document signed with my hand of the 8th of September of this year, and subsequently, at the end of each four months, he will pay 100,000 crowns until the full sum of a million shall have been paid, the rest of the clauses agreed to in the documents of

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 593.

² *Ibid.*, p. 622.

24th February and 8th September standing unchanged. Signed Antonius Cardinal Carrafa, by orders of his Holiness—Rome, 22nd December, 1586.”¹

At this time the Jesuit Parsons and Dr. Allen were at Rome, and in direct communication with the Spanish Ambassador, to whom they offered their advice for the success of the enterprise, and as to the succession to the throne. “This Father Robert [Parsons] and Allen,” wrote the Ambassador to Philip, “are not only of opinion that the Pope should give the investiture to the person who should be nominated by your Majesty, but say that the succession rightly belongs to your Majesty yourself, by reason of the heresy of the King of Scotland, and, even apart from this, through your descent from the house of Lancaster.”² In the following month Parsons and Allen had become impatient at the slow progress of events, and told the same Ambassador that “the appropriate moment has arrived, both for the main business and for the elevation of Allen [to the Cardinalate], and they look upon every hour’s delay as a great evil.”³ These two traitors had begun to despond, fearing that Philip would not move until it was too late. To comfort them Philip sent word to his Ambassador at Rome (Count Olivares):—“You will maintain Allen and Robert [Parsons] in faith and hopefulness that the recovery of their country will really be attempted, in order that they may the more zealously and earnestly employ the good offices which may be expedient with the Pope.”⁴

The King of Spain was anxious that the Pope should at once, and publicly, acknowledge his claim to the Throne of England; but the cunning mind of Parsons saw danger in this. It was true that he had no objection to the thing in itself; on the contrary he believed that the Kingdom of England was Philip’s by right. But he dreaded—and not

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 659.

² *Ibid.*, p. 660.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 10.

⁴ *Records of English Catholics*, vol. ii., p. lxxvi.

without reason—the jealousy of other nations. On March 18, 1587, he handed to the Count Olivares a paper which he had written, entitled “Considerations why it is desirable to carry through the Enterprize of England before discussing the Succession to the Throne of that country, claimed by his Majesty.” In this paper the Jesuit reveals his earnest wish that the Armada should be victorious. He feared, however, so he wrote, that:

“The very fact of this Spanish claim being made would greatly aggravate heresy in England, as his Majesty’s participation in this enterprize would thereby become odious to all other Princes, heretics and Catholics alike, with the idea that Spain wishes to dominate all Europe, and so the cause of the heretics would be more favourably regarded, on the ground that the enterprize was undertaken for reasons of State, and not for the sake of religion....

“Inasmuch as the whole world is now of opinion that his Majesty is to undertake the enterprize in order to restore the Catholic faith, to avenge the open and intolerable injuries against himself, and especially against God’s Church, and the multitude of martyrs, all good Catholics in Christendom would favour it with their prayers, blessings, writings, and other aids; so that those who, for State or other reasons, or jealousy of the power of Spain, were averse to it, will not venture to oppose it. His Majesty’s friends will be better able to work in favour of the enterprize, as, for instance, the Pope with the King of France, who may not be pleased with the affair, and get him to remain quiet, with the Princes of the House of Lorraine, and other French Catholics; whilst Allen’s negotiations with the English Catholics and neutrals will be also more effectual, as he can assure them by letters, books, &c. that the only object entertained here is to reform religion and punish those who have deserved punishment. This will greatly encourage them in England.

“When the enterprize shall have been effected, and the whole realm and the adjacent islands are in the hands of his Majesty, and the fortresses and strong places powerless to oppose him, then will be the proper time to deal with the question, because if the Queen of Scotland be dead, as she probably will be, as the heretics, having her in their hands, and in the belief that the enterprize is in her interest, will kill her, there will be no other Catholic Prince alive whose claims will clash with those of his Majesty; whereas if she be alive and married to his Majesty’s liking, the question of his Majesty’s succession can be taken in hand with her authority, and the claims of the House of Lancaster asserted.”¹

The news of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, reached Rome on March 24, when Parsons and Allen

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iv., pp. 41—43.

hastened to Olivares for advice as to how to act under the altered circumstances produced by her death. It was decided that they should reply to all enquiries from Roman Catholics in England that, now Mary was dead, they must rest all their hopes in the King of Spain. Allen wrote direct to Philip II. expressing a hope, that he would "urge his just claims as next heir in blood, heretics being disqualified to succeed," and he denounced Queen Elizabeth as "an impious traitress and usurper."¹ In the opinion of these two leading traitors the death of Mary Queen of Scots was no loss to the cause they had at heart. "They are," wrote Olivares to Philip, "using every effort to convince me that, not only will the Queen's death be no loss to the business, but will do away with many of the difficulties which beset it."² Mary, before her execution, had expressed a hope that Philip would go on with the enterprise against England, and this he certainly did with all his heart, and on a scale well known to all who have read the story of the Spanish Armada. But in making his arrangements for the future of England he proposed that he should himself nominate to the Archbishoprics and Bishoprics which would become vacant when the Armada had finished its work. When Pope Sixtus V. heard this he was furious, considering that the King of Spain had thus usurped the Papal prerogatives, and therefore he at once wrote to Philip a letter in the haughty style of a Hildebrand. And this is what he wrote:

"Dear Son in Christ, Greeting—

"This morning I held a Consistory, and Allen was made a Cardinal to please your Majesty, and although when I proposed it, I alleged reasons calculated to give rise to no suspicion, I am told that, as soon as it was known in Rome, they at once began to say that we were now getting ready for the war in England, and this idea will now spread everywhere. I urge your Majesty therefore, not to delay, in order not to incur greater evils to those poor Christians, for if we tarry longer that which you have judged for the best will turn out for the worst.

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iv., p. 54.

² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

"With regard to the aid for the enterprise I have at once ordered the fulfilment of every thing that Count de Olivares has requested, and I believe he sends particulars to your Majesty.

"On undertaking this enterprise, I exhort your Majesty first to reconcile yourself with God the Father, for the sins of Princes destroy peoples, and no sin is so heinous in the eyes of the Lord as the usurpation of the Divine Jurisdiction, as is proved by history, sacred and profane. Your Majesty has been advised to embrace in your edict Bishops, Archbishops, and Cardinals, and this is a grievous sin. Erase from the edict these ministers of God and repent, or otherwise a great scourge may fall upon you. Regard not the man who may advise you to the contrary, for he must be either a flatterer or an atheist; but believe me, who am your spiritual father, believe our holy faith, your spiritual mother, whom you are bound to obey for your salvation's sake. Human, canon, and theological laws, all counsel you the same way, and they cannot advise you wrongly. Octavius Cæsar and other Pagan Emperors respected the Divine Jurisdiction so much that, to enable them to make certain laws touching the same, they caused themselves to be elected Pontiffs. I have shed many tears over this great sin of yours, and I trust that you will amend it, and that God will pardon you. The Vicar of Christ must be obeyed, without reply, in questions of salvation, and I, therefore, hope that you will submit—Rome, 7th August, 1587."¹

I need not write here even a summary of the story of the Spanish Armada, its disasters, and its defeats, mercies for which we still need to thank God as a nation. Two points, however, I may be permitted to mention. Major Martin Hume, the editor of the *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, tells us that he found in the National Library, Madrid, a contemporary manuscript, apparently intended to be issued to the men on the Armada, and bearing the title of "An Address to the Captains and Men of the Armada." It is a most boastful document, as may be seen by the following extracts:—

"Onward, gentlemen, onward! Onward with joy and gladness, onward to our glorious, honourable, necessary, profitable, and not difficult undertaking! Glorious to God, to His Church, to His saints, and to our country. Glorious to God, who for the punishment of England has allowed Himself to be banished from the land, and the holy Sacrifice of the Mass to be abolished. Glorious to His Church, now oppressed and down-trodden by the English heretics. Glorious to the saints, who have been there persecuted,

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iv., pp. 132, 133.

and maltreated, insulted, and burnt. Glorious for our country, because God has deigned to make it His instrument for such great ends.... Profitable also because of the plunder and endless riches we shall gather in England, and with which, by the favour of God, we shall return, gloriously and victoriously, to our homes. We are going on an undertaking which offers no great difficulty, because God, in whose sacred cause we go, will lead us. With such a Captain we need not fear. The saints of Heaven will go in our company, and particularly the holy Patrons of Spain; and those of England itself, who are persecuted by the heretics, and cry aloud to God for vengeance, will come out to meet us and aid us....

"With us go faith, justice, and truth, the benediction of the Pope, who holds the place of God on earth, the sympathies of all good people, the prayers of all the Catholic Church; we have them all on our side. God is stronger than the devil, truth stronger than error, the Catholic faith stronger than heresy, the saints and angels of Heaven stronger than all the power of hell, the indomitable spirit and sturdy arm of the Spaniard stronger than the drooping hearts and lax and frozen bodies of the English."¹

Alas for the proud hopes and vain boastings of the Spaniards! Equally proud and boastful was that *Admonition to the Nobility and People of England*, written by the Jesuit Parsons in the name of Cardinal Allen, for distribution in England when once the Spanish Armada had landed on her shores. I have already quoted from this document.² To encourage the invaders Pope Sixtus V. issued a Bull deposing Elizabeth from her Throne, declaring her worthy of death, absolving her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and affirming that no Prince can lawfully possess the Crown of England without the consent of the Pope of Rome! The Bull of Pius V. deposing Elizabeth is well-known, but this of Sixtus V. has been read but by very few Protestants, and therefore it is that I feel justified in reproducing it here entire, as proving beyond dispute the fact of the Papal claim to the sovereignty of England—a claim which the Papacy has never withdrawn. I copy it from Tierney's edition of *Dodd's Church History*, modernizing the spelling, Mr. Tierney printed it from an original broadside of the period, in his possession:

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iv., pp. 294, 295.

² *Supra*, pp. 109—111.

"A Declaration of the Sentence and Deposition of Elizabeth, the Usurper and Pretended Queen of England.

"Sixtus the Fifth, by God's providence the Universal Pastor of Christ's flock, to whom by perpetual and lawful succession appertaineth the care and government of the Catholic Church, seeing the pitiful calamities which heresy hath brought into the renowned countries of England and Ireland, of old so famous for virtue, religion and Christian obedience; and how at this present, through the impiety and perverse government of Elizabeth the pretended Queen, with a few her adherents, those kingdoms be brought not only to a disordered and perilous state in themselves, but are become as infected members, contagious and troublesome to the whole body of Christendom.¹ And not having in those parts the ordinary means, which by the assistance of Christian Princes he hath in other provinces, to remedy disorders, and keep in obedience and ecclesiastical discipline the people, for that Henry VIII., late King of England, did of late years by rebellion and revolt from the See Apostolic violently separate himself and his subjects from the communion and society of the Christian commonwealth; and Elizabeth the present usurper, doth continue the same, with perturbation and peril of the countries about her, showing herself obstinate and incorrigible in such sort that, without her deprivation and deposition there is no hope to reform those states, nor keep Christendom in perfect peace and tranquillity.

"Therefore our Holy Father, desiring, as his duty is, to provide present and effectual remedy, inspired by God for the universal benefit of His Church, moved by the particular affection which himself and many of his predecessors have had to these nations, and solicited by the zealous and importunate instance of sundry the most principal persons of the same, hath dealt earnestly with divers Princes, and specially with the mighty and potent King Catholic of Spain, for the reverence which he beareth to the See Apostolic, for the old amity between his house and the Crown of England, for the special love which he hath shown to the Catholics of those places, for the obtaining of peace and quietness in his countries adjoining, for the augmenting and increase of the Catholic faith, and finally for the universal benefit of all Europe; that he will employ those forces which Almighty God hath given him, to the deposition of this woman, and correction of her accomplices, so wicked and noisome to the world; and to the reformation and pacification of these kingdoms, whence so great good, and so manifold public commodities are like to ensue.

"And to notify to the world the justice of this act, and give full satisfaction to the subjects of those kingdoms and others

¹ In a copy of this Bull printed in *Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. iv., pp. 641—647, the following words are inserted, which were omitted by Mr. Tierney. — "And to his Holiness like manner, not paying unto him his due and lawful rents"—referring no doubt to the yearly tribute promised by King John when he received back his Crown, as the Vassal of the Pope, from the Papal Legate.

whosoever, and finally to manifest God's judgments upon sin, his Holiness hath thought good, together with the Declaratory Sentence of this woman's chastisement, to publish also the causes which have moved him to proceed against her in this sort.

First, for that she is an heretic and schismatic, excommunicated by two of his Holiness's predecessors; obstinate in disobedience to God and the See Apostolic; presuming to take upon her, contrary to nature, reason, and all laws both of God and man, supreme jurisdiction and spiritual authority over men's souls.

Secondly, for that she is a bastard, conceived and born by incestuous adultery, and therefore incapable of the kingdom, as well by the several sentences of Clement VII. and Paul III., of blessed memory, as by the public declaration of King Henry himself.

Thirdly, for usurping the Crown without right, having the impediments mentioned, and contrary to the ancient accord made between the See Apostolic and the Realm of England, upon reconciliation of the same after the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury, in the time of Henry II., *that none might be lawful King or Queen thereof, without the approbation and consent of the Supreme Bishop*: which afterwards was renewed by King John and confirmed by oath, as a thing most beneficial to the kingdom, at request and instance of the Lords and Commons of the same.

And further, for that with sacrilege and impiety she continueth violating the solemn oath made at her Coronation, to maintain and defend the ancient privileges and ecclesiastical liberties of the land.

For many and grievous injuries, extortions, oppressions, and other wrongs done by her, and suffered to be done against the poor and innocent people of both countries. For stirring up to sedition and rebellion the subjects of other nations about her, against their lawful and natural Princes, to the destruction of infinite souls, the overthrow and desolation of most goodly cities and countries. For harbouring and protecting heretics, fugitives, rebels, and notorious malefactors, with great injury and prejudice of divers commonwealths, and procuring, for the oppression of Christendom and disturbance of the common peace, to bring in our potent and cruel enemy the Turk. For so long and barbarous persecution of God's saints, afflicting, spoiling, and imprisoning the sacred Bishops, tormenting and pitifully murdering numbers of holy priests, and other Catholic persons. For the unnatural and unjust imprisonment, and late cruelty used against the most gracious Princess, Mary, Queen of Scotland, who under promise and assurance of protection and succour came first into England. For abolishing the true Catholic religion, profaning Holy Sacraments, Monasteries, Churches, sacred persons, memories of saints, and what else soever might help or further to eternal salvation. And in the commonwealth disgracing the ancient nobility, erecting base and unworthy persons to all the civil and ecclesiastical dignities, selling of laws and justice. And, finally, exercising an absolute tyranny, with high offence to Almighty God, oppression of the people, perdition of souls, and ruin of those countries.

Wherefore, these things being of such nature and quality that some of them make her unable to reign, *others declare her unworthy to live*; his Holiness, in the Almighty power of God, and

by Apostolical authority to him committed, doth renew the sentence of his predecessors Pius V. and Gregory XIII., touching the excommunication and deposition of the said Elizabeth; and further anew doth excommunicate, and deprive her of all authority and princely dignity, and of all pretension to the said Crown and Kingdoms of England and Ireland, declaring her to be illegitimate, and an unjust usurper of the same. And absolving the people of those states, and other persons whatsoever, from all obedience, oath, and other band of subjection unto her, or to any other in her name. And further, doth straightway command, under the indignation of Almighty God and pain of excommunication, and the corporal punishments appointed by the laws, that none, of whatsoever condition or estate, after notice of these presents, presume to yield unto her obedience, favour, or other succours; but that they and every of them concur by all means possible to her chastisement; to the end that she, which so many ways hath forsaken God and His Church, being now destitute of worldly comfort, and abandoned by all, may acknowledge her offence, and humbly submit herself to the judgment of the highest.

"Be it therefore notified to the inhabitants of the said countries, and to all other persons, that they observe diligently the premises, withdrawing all succour public and private from the party pursued, and her adherents, after they shall have knowledge of this present. And that forthwith they unite themselves to the Catholic army conducted by the most noble and victorious Prince, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma and Placentia, in the name of his Majesty, with the forces that each one can procure, to help and concur as is aforesaid (if need shall be) to the deposition and chastisement of the said persons, and restitution of the holy Catholic faith, signifying to those which shall do the contrary, or refuse to do this here commanded, that they shall not escape condign punishment.

"Moreover, be it known that the intention of his Holiness, of the King Catholic, and his Highness the Duke, in this enterprise, is not to invade and conquer these Kingdoms; change laws, privileges or customs, bereave of liberty or livelihood, any man (other than rebels and obstinate persons) or make changes in anything, except such as by common accord between his Holiness, his Catholic Majesty, and the states of the land, shall be thought necessary, for the restitution of the Catholic religion, and punishment of the usurper and her adherents. Assuring all men that the controversies which may arise by the deprivation of this woman, or upon other cause, either between particular parties, or touching the succession, to the Crown, or between the Church and commonwealth, or in otherwise whatsoever, shall be decided and determined wholly according to justice and Christian equity, without injury or prejudice to any person. And there shall not only due care be had to save from spoil the Catholics of these countries, which have so long endured, but mercy also showed to such penitent persons as submit themselves to the Captain General of this army. Yea, forasmuch as information is given that there be many which only of ignorance or fear be fallen from the faith, and yet notwithstanding are taken for heretics; neither is it purposed presently to punish any such persons, but to support them with clemency till, by conference

with learned men and better consideration, they may be informed of the truth, if they do not shew themselves obstinate.

"To prevent also the shedding of Christian blood, and spoil of the country, which might ensue by the resistance of some principal offenders, be it known by these presents that it shall not only be lawful for any person public or private (over and above those which have undertaken the enterprise) to arrest, put in hold, and deliver up to the Catholic party the said usurper, or any of her accomplices; but also holden for very good service and most highly rewarded, according to the quality and condition of the parties so delivered. And, in like manner, all others which heretofore have assisted, or hereafter shall help and concur to the punishment of the offenders, and to the establishment of the Catholic religion in these provinces, shall receive that advancement of honour and estate which their good and faithful service to the commonwealth shall require; in which respect shall be used to preserve the ancient and honourable families of the land, inasmuch as is possible.

"And finally, by these presents, free passage is granted to such as will resort to the Catholic camp, to bring victuals, munition, or other necessaries; promising liberal payment for all such things as shall be received from them for the service of the Army. Exhorting withal, and straightway commanding that all men, according to their force and ability, be ready and diligent to assist herein, to the end no occasion be given to use violence, or to punish such persons as shall neglect this commandment.

"Our said Holy Father, of his benignity and favour to this enterprise, out of the spiritual treasures of the Church, committed to his custody and dispensation, granteth most liberally to all such as assist, concur, or help in any wise to the deposition and punishment of the above named persons, and to the reformation of these two countries, Plenary Indulgence and pardon of all their sins, being duly penitent, contrite, and confessed, according to the law of God and usual custom of Christian people."¹

Were it not for the efforts of the Jesuits, and particularly those of Robert Parsons, the Spanish Armada would never have sailed to the shores of England, nor would this outrageous Deposing Bull of Sixtus V. have ever been issued. Both the Pope and the King of Spain were willing enough to punish England for her Protestantism, but they would never have ventured on the task were it not for the encouragement given to them by the English and Scottish Jesuits. And it is well to remember that the claim to the Deposing Power of the Pope is put forward at the present time by the Jesuits, and by other writers too, in as strong terms as any used by writers of the sixteenth century.

¹ Tierney's *Dodd's Church History*, vol. iii., Appendix, pp. xliv—xlviii.

It is a pleasure to know that Philip II. was disappointed in his expectations of receiving large grants of money from the Pope for the expenses of the Spanish Armada. He never got a penny. The wily old Pope was as cunning and as unscrupulous as any member of the Jesuit Order could possibly be. The Spanish Ambassador in Rome was continually pestering the Pope for money, but could not get a penny from the old miser, who loved money with all his heart. After one of his interviews with Pope Sixtus, the Ambassador wrote to his master:—"When that subject [of money] is broached to him the only effect is that, the moment my back is turned, he babbles the most ridiculous nonsense at table, and to everyone who comes near him, such as would not be said by a baby of two years old. He possesses no sort of charity, kindness, or consideration, and his behaviour is attributed by everyone to the repulsion and chagrin that he feels as the hour approaches for him to drag this money from his heart."¹

The Jesuits and Philip II. realized that the defeat of the Spanish Armada made it impossible, for the time being, to do anything more in England to put down Protestantism by the sword. This, however, made them all the more anxious to do what they could to annoy Elizabeth indirectly by machinations carried on through Scotland. As early as November 1588, Robert Bruce once more appealed for help to the Duke of Parma, to be given to the Roman Catholic Noblemen of Scotland, who were now willing to throw James overboard altogether, so that Philip might become King of Scotland, and eventually succeed to the English Throne. "It has been discussed," Bruce wrote to the Duke, "and resolved by most of the Principal Catholics here that it is expedient for the public weal that we should submit to the Crown of Spain, and the Earl of Huntly therefore, who is the first subject in this country in point of strength

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iv., p. 385.

and influence, has authorised me, in the presence of a sufficient number of witnesses, to write and assert in his name that if our King will not consent to act well, he (Huntly) and several others of his party wish to submit to the rule of his Catholic Majesty and his forces, and to render him the peaceful possessor of the whole country, if he will consent to direct his forces to be employed to this end."¹ Mendoza, at Paris, strongly favoured the idea of helping the Scotch nobles, and told his master so. "If," he wrote to Philip, on November 7, "it was important before to hold the [Scottish] Catholic nobles to their good resolve it is doubly so now, and also to show the Queen of England that your Majesty intends to assail her on all sides, which will cause her not to divest herself of her ships suddenly, which otherwise will go out to pillage and trouble your Majesty's forces. Your Majesty should keep up the talk of war and great armaments, even if you do not carry them out; publicity is as important now as secrecy was before. As the Duke of Parma has so many troops, it would be well to relieve the country and provide winter quarters for them, which would prevent troublesome mutinies, by sending to the Scottish Catholic nobles the number of troops they request."²

In the month of February the English Government captured a Scotsman named Pringle, who was on his way to Spain with letters from Roman Catholic noblemen of Scotland, asking for help from Philip. Elizabeth at once sent on these letters to Edinburgh, accompanied with a strong letter from herself to James, urging him to punish the traitors. One of these letters was written by Robert Bruce to the Duke of Parma, to whom he joyfully announced that the ranks of the traitors had been strengthened by the perversion to Romanism of the Earl of Erroll, and the Earl of Crawford. Nothing could, perhaps, more clearly reveal

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iv., p. 478.

² *Ibid.*, p. 476.

the seditious conduct of the Jesuits than what Bruce here records of their work :

"By the instant prayers and holy persuasions of two fathers, Jesuits, [they have] converted to our holy faith two heretics, Earls of the first authority and power amongst them, the one whereof is called the Earl of Erroll, Constable of Scotland, converted by Father Edmund Hay; the other, called the Earl of Crawford, converted by the said Father William Creighton. They are both able and wise young lords, and most desirous to advance the Catholic faith, and your enterprises in this island, which they are intending to testify to his Majesty Catholic and your Highness, by their own letters, which by the grace of God I shall send with the first commodity. In the meantime they have required me to make you offer of their most humble and affectionate service, *promising to follow whatsoever the said Jesuits and I shall think good to be done* for the conservation of the Catholics; and to dispose and to facilitate the execution of your enterprises here, *which they may do more easily nor they that are known to be Catholics*, whose actions are ever suspicious to the heretics for their religion, *whereof the two Earls have not yet made outward profession*, but in that, as in the rest, they submit themselves to our will, and to what we find *most expedient*.

"The said Fathers of that [Jesuit] Company make great fruit in Scotland; and so soon as a Lord or other person of importance is converted by them, they dispose and incline, in the very mean time, their affections to the King of Spain and your Highness [the Duke of Parma] as a thing inseparably conjoined with the advancement of true religion in this country. If I had commandment of your Highness, I would give them some little alms in your name to help them, and eight others, whereof four are also Jesuits, and other four are Seminary priests of Pont Moncon, in Lorraine, which are all the ecclesiastics that produce so great spiritual fruit in Scotland, and acquire to you here such augmentation of your friends and servants.

"After the parting of Colonel Semple from this, the Lords sent letters with the said [Jesuit] Father Creighton, and other gentlemen, after the army of Spain [that is, the Spanish Armada] to cause it to land in this country; but it had taken the way of Spain a few days before their arrival at the Isles, where it had refreshed itself, so that it was not possible for them to attend to it."¹

The deception practised by these young Earls, in continuing to publicly profess the Protestant religion after having been received into the Church of Rome was, in these instances, manifestly the result of the advice given to them by the Jesuits and Robert Bruce, since they were willing to act as their spiritual advisers thought "most expedient." Disgrace-

¹ Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. v., pp. 25, 26.

ful deception of this kind was by no means uncommon at this period by the spiritual children of the Jesuits. Bruce, in the letter I have just quoted, revealed also the deception practised by the Earl of Huntly, one of the rebel Lords, of whom he wrote:—"The Earl of Huntly is constrained to remain at Court. He is fallen from his constancy in his *outward* profession of the Catholic religion, partly for having lost all experience of your [the Duke of Parma's] support, before the return of the said Chisholm, because of his long study there; partly by the persuasion of some politics; partly to eschew the perils imminent to all them that call themselves Catholics; *partly to keep himself in favour of his King*, who pressed him greatly to subscribe the Confession of the heretics, and to league with England. *But for all this, his heart is no wise alienated from our cause*; for he hath the soul ever good."¹ This statement by Bruce was confirmed by the Earl of Huntly himself, who, writing to thank the Duke of Parma for the sum of 10,000 crowns for the support of the Roman Catholic cause in Scotland, boasted that by his dissimulation in signing the Solemn League and Covenant he had procured the "advancement of the cause of God, who hath put me into such credit with his Majesty [James VI.] that since my coming to Court, he hath broken his former guards, and caused me to establish others about his person, *of my men*, by the means of whom and their captains, I may ever be master of his person, and, your support being arrived, spoil the heretics of his authority, to fortify and assure our enterprises."²

Cunning as were the Jesuits and their pupils, they were not a match for Queen Elizabeth, whose prompt action in sending on to James the intercepted correspondence with Spain, led soon after to the defeat of the Roman Catholic Lords by the forces of the King of Scotland.

¹ Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. v., p. 21.

² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

One of the chief lay supporters of the Protestant cause at this period was Maitland, Lord Chancellor of Scotland. Pasquier, the Roman Catholic author of *The Jesuits' Catechism*, asserts that Father Creighton tempted this Robert Bruce to murder Maitland, and was very indignant because he refused to do the vile deed.

"A short time after Bruce's arrival in Scotland," writes Pasquier, "(he having been all his young days brought up and nourished with the Jesuits) there came thither Father William Creighton, a Scottish man, who some time had been Rector of the College of the Jesuits at Lyons. And he was in the company of the Bishop of Dunblane, who was sent by Pope Sixtus V. to the King of Scotland, to make him an offer of marriage with the Infanta of Spain, so that he would become a Catholic, and join with them against the English.

"My Lord John Metellenus [i.e. Lord Chancellor Maitland] set himself against this negotiation, and for sundry good and weighty reasons, counselled his master not to regard it; insomuch that the Bishop returned thence, without effecting anything, leaving Creighton in Scotland, who joined himself with Bruce and was his companion. And because he conceived that Metellenus alone had turned the King from accepting the offers made him, he purposed to show him a Jesuit's trick indeed. And that was this. A Catholic Lord had invited the King and his Chancellor to a banquet. Creighton solicited Bruce, if it would please him to lend him some money, to compass this Lord, that should give order for procuring the slaughter of the Chancellor, assuring himself that by means of the money, he should make him do whatsoever he would. Bruce flatly refused. . . . Creighton seeing he had missed of this his match, went to move him to another, and to persuade Bruce to give 1500 crowns to three gentlemen that did offer to kill the Chancellor, after some less slanderous and offensive manner. But Bruce answered him that, as in respect of the fault or sin, it was all one to kill a man with his own hands, and to give money to procure such a purpose and act to be done. And that, for his part, he was a private person that had not any authority over the life of any man, and less over the life of the Chancellor, who was a chief man in the execution of the justice of the land."¹

It is certain that at about this period both the Bishop of Dunblane, Creighton, and Robert Bruce were in Scotland. In the early summer of 1589, as we learn from the *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, this Bishop was willing to get Chancellor Maitland murdered, and that he claimed the

¹ *The Jesuites' Catechisms*. Printed 1602, f. 136.

sanction of Pope Sixtus V. for the proposed crime. John Arnold, Carthusian Prior, wrote thus about the suggested murder to Philip II:—

“Although it was necessary in the interests of our Order that the Chapter General held this year in France should send someone to crave the aid of your Majesty, I myself should not have come but for a *business of great importance*, in your Majesty's service. The Bishop of Cassano [Dr. Lewis], in Calabria, desirous of serving your Majesty to the utmost in your attempt to recover the lost Kingdoms of England and Scotland, sent about two years ago, at his own cost, to Scotland a Scotsman, the Bishop of Dunblane, a monk of the Carthusian Order, to gain over the King or some of the nobles to aid the Spanish Armada. By the persuasions of the Bishop and of other Catholics, and through fear of the Armada, the King was for a time induced to consent, if his life were spared and a proper maintenance secured to him, to deliver himself into your Majesty's hands and admit the Armada into his realm. On the evil fate of the Armada being known, his Chancellor, who is maintained by English tyranny, and is a pestilent heretic most fatal to his country, dissuaded him, and induced him rather to ally himself with the murderess of his sainted mother. Notwithstanding this, the Bishop [of Cassano] sends me to you in his [the Bishop of Dunblane's] name, to say that if you wish to have the King in your power he will deliver him to you, although against the King's own will and that of all his people. *But in order to bring this about, the first thing to do is to kill the Chancellor*, who is so bound up with the English woman (Elizabeth) and is so powerful in Scotland. *The Bishop promises to have this done* (although he is a priest), AS HE HAS HIS HOLINESS'S AUTHORITY FOR IT.”¹

Spottiswoode also mentions an attempt to murder Lord Chancellor Maitland in the year 1589, and affirms that it was undertaken by the advice of two Jesuits, Hay and Creighton. “Neither,” he remarks, “were the Jesuits that lurked in the country in this meantime idle. Of these the principals were Mr. Edmond Hay and Mr. William Creighton, who had been prisoners some months in the Tower of London. They advising the Popish Lords to attempt somewhat by themselves, which would make the King of Spain more earnest to give succour, a plot was laid to take the King out of the Chancellor and Treasurer's hands, by whose counsel they thought he was only ruled. . . . The device was

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iv., p. 542.

that they should all meet at the Quarrel Holes between Edinburgh and Leith, and go from thence to Holyrood House, and settle themselves about the King, secluding those two counsellors; or, if they found them with the King, that they should presently kill them. But this device was overthrown by the King's remaining in Edinburgh, who, suspecting some plots against the Chancellor, did for his security stay in the same lodging with him." ¹

Let us now return to the work of Robert Parsons. Even the bitterest enemy of this celebrated Jesuit must acknowledge that he was a man of great ability, perseverance, and untiring industry. In his efforts to attain the objects he had placed before him he seemed to know no fatigue, and only took rest when compelled to do so by illness. His great object was the suppression of Protestantism in England, and this he was convinced could never be accomplished except by the sword. His main reliance was on the arm of flesh. His political intrigues were numerous. In prosecuting them he was a frequent traveller, seeking the help of Kings, Princes, Popes, Statesmen, Cardinals, Bishops, and priests of humbler degree. He knew very well that if Spanish troops and Spanish rule were to be welcomed by English Roman Catholics, they must be educated into approval of the plans of the King of Spain, and this work could only be done by priests, who themselves must have been properly educated by the Jesuits before being sent on the English Mission. Hence the zeal of Parsons in founding various Seminaries on the Continent for the education of the English priesthood. We have already seen what was the opinion of Cardinal D'Ossat as to the political influence of the English seminaries founded abroad by the Jesuits. Now let us see what was the opinion on this subject of a Roman Catholic secular priest who wrote in 1603. The author of *A Replie unto a Certaine Libell*, writes as follows:—

¹ Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 392.

"And touching the Colleges and pensions that are maintained and given by the Spaniard (which he [Parsons] so often inculcateth), we no whit thank him for them, as things are handled, and occasions thereby ministered of our greater persecution at home, by reason of Father Parsons' treacherous practices, thereby to promote the Spaniards' title for our country; and his hateful stratagems with such scholars as are there brought up; enforcing to subscribe to blanks, and by public orations to fortify the said wrested title of the Infanta; which courses cannot but repay us with double injuries and wrongs, for the benefit received."¹

"After this he [Parsons] reckoneth his seminaries in Spain and Flanders. A goodly brood! He gave us a reward to break our heads, by his good deeds to bring men into treason against their Prince and country, as is declared before, and more appeared by his soliciting some of the priests brought up there to come in hostile manner against their country. So he dealt with Master Thomas Leake and others; and such as refused, he fell out with them."²

"For the proof of the second objection, of the scholars [in the Seminaries] being urged to subscribe to blanks, and to confirm the Infanta's title to the Crown of England, is a matter very notorious and evident. We have divers priests yet alive in England to confirm the same by oath, as well of them that were enforced to subscribe against their wills, as others that openly refused the same. I do therefore wonder to see the man's unshamefast denial of so manifest and apparent a truth."³

This opinion of the seditious and traitorous uses to which the Jesuit-ruled Seminaries were put, was shared also by the secular priests who, in a declaration which they addressed in 1601, to the Archpriest Blackwell, signed themselves, "The Unjustly Defamed Priests." They asserted that:—"It is evident that those new Colleges ["in Spain set forward by Father Parsons"] were erected upon some other ground, as may appear by the usage of the students; which hitherto hath been to abuse [? advise] the Catholic Princes of that country, and to induce them into an admiration of Father Parsons, as of a man likely to further any intention which he should put into them. And to the better effecting thereof the students have been pressed, some of them to set to their hands directly to the Lady Isabell's title to England; some of them to divers blanks, subscribing in English to some, to other in Latin, and to other in Spanish; which, and his

¹ *A Replie, &c.*, f. 52.

² *Ibid.*, f. 56.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 63.

like practices (how well soever he might otherwise deserve of us), cannot be reckoned amongst good deserts; as having thereby given our adversaries so clear a proof of his disloyalty towards his Prince and country, that unless we should yield ourselves to be traitors to the State, for the love of which and reducing thereof to the Catholic faith we daily adventure our lives, we cannot but sever ourselves from him and his accomplices,"¹

A recent Roman Catholic writer also shows how Parsons used these Seminaries for the furtherance of his political schemes. "Besides the immense advantage and influence such Colleges would give the English Jesuits," writes Father Taunton, "they would be useful in another way. The one hope of regaining England was, in Parsons' eyes, not the patient toil and blood of missionaries, but the armed intervention of Spain. The zealous young men who offered themselves to the Seminaries as soldiers of Christ, *found that they were also required to be soldiers of Philip*. The policy of thus bringing up young men in Spain itself, where they would have the glories of that great country before their eyes, and would live in an atmosphere thoroughly Spanish, and be accustomed to live on Spanish generosity, would in itself tend to habituate them to the idea of Spanish dependence. Nor did Parsons intend only to influence only these young men. His plan was, as will be seen, that students from other Colleges should also spend some time in Spain before they went back to England, so that they, too, might be 'hispaniolated.'"²

From these facts it will be seen how necessary it was for Queen Elizabeth to oppose not only the Jesuits, but also those priests who had been educated in foreign Seminaries under their influence. She always made a great distinction between "Seminary priests" and those who had been ordained in England before her accession to the Throne.

¹ *The Archpriest Controversy*, vol. ii., p. 172.

² Taunton's *History of the Jesuits in England*, p. 133.

But the zeal of Robert Parsons was not expended solely on personal interviews with influential personages in various parts of the Continent. He was fully aware of the power of the pen, and used it largely on behalf of his schemes. His letters to various individuals are scattered far and wide, and if collected would alone fill several volumes. But the wonder is how, with his various other works, he found time to write such a large number of books. Many of these have now become extremely scarce, and this remark may also be applied to many other books written by Jesuits of the period. The Rev. Dr. Augustus Jessopp, a high authority on such matters, in the preface to his *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, in which he deals with ecclesiastical events at the close of the sixteenth century, tells us that:

"One of the greatest difficulties which I have had to contend with has been the extreme rarity of some of the books which it has been necessary to consult, and the consequent difficulty of procuring them at any cost, or even of obtaining a sight of them at any library. Of all the works mentioned by Dr. Oliver's *Collections* as written by Michael Walpole, not one is to be found either in the British Museum, the Bodleian, or the Cambridge Libraries. There are probably not ten copies of More's *History of the English Province* in England. As to Cresswell's little *Life of Henry Walpole*, it is probably unique; and more than one of Parsons's minor works even a Bibliomaniac would count himself fortunate in obtaining twice in a lifetime.

"It was with a painful recollection of my own mistakes, loss of time, bootless journeys, and provoking waste of money, that I determined to append the short list of the rarer books which I have had occasion to use and refer to. A solitary student with limited resources, and cut off from access to the larger libraries, except at intervals of some months, works at very great disadvantage, and I would gladly spare others some of the trouble I have gone through in the long process of simply learning *where to look for* information. The list is after all a meagre one, and I have not named such works as anyone can consult almost anywhere; but I must warn those who may feel any inclination to go at all deeply into the history of the period with which this volume deals, that they must make up their minds to be book buyers, and not to be frightened at the prices they will have to pay. It was at the peril of a man's life that he ventured three hundred years ago to be in possession of some of the books which this list contains, and if we want to possess them now we cannot hope to get them below their market price."¹

¹ Jessopp's *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, p. ix.

The books to which Dr. Jessopp refers have become scarcer and more difficult to obtain since he wrote. It has been frequently asserted that the Jesuits buy up old books which tell against them. If this be so it serves to explain their great scarcity. The Rev. Hugh Tootell, the author of *Dodd's Church History*, writing in 1742, states that: "The same politic method is observed [by the Jesuits] in regard of all who are influenced by them, and under their direction; who are commonly forbidden either to read or purchase such books as might contribute towards setting them right in several matters, where false notions had taken possession of them to the prejudice of truth. To carry on this contrivance their way is to buy up, commit to the flames, and use several other uncommendable methods, to hinder the spreading of such books as would give proper intelligence."¹

The writings of Robert Parsons were generally, though not exclusively, of a seditious and traitorous character. This was specially the case with a book which he published in 1592, with the title: *Andræ Philopatri ad Elizabethæ Regina, 29 Novembris, 1591, promulgatum Responsio*. I have no doubt that in this book Parsons accurately described the general teaching of his Order at the time; indeed he claims for his teaching the general sanction of the whole of his Church, which from that day to this has never repudiated it. If the doctrines of Parsons were now carried into effect King Edward VII. would at once lose his Throne, and his subjects would repudiate all allegiance to him. This is what Parsons wrote:

"The whole of Divines and Canonists do hold that it is certain, and of faith, that any Christian Prince whatsoever, if he shall manifestly defect from the Catholic religion, and endeavour to draw others from the same, does presently fall from all power and dignity, by the very force of human and Divine law, and that also before any sentence of the Supreme Pastor or judge denounced against him, and that his subjects whatsoever are free from all obligation of that oath, which they had taken for their allegiance

¹ Dodd, *An Apology for the Church History of England*, p. 204.

to him as their lawful Prince; and that they may and ought (if they have forces) drive out such a man as an apostate or heretic, and a backslider from the Lord and Christ, and an enemy to the Commonwealth, from all dominion over Christians, lest he infect others, or by his example or commandment avert others from the faith, and that this certain, definite, and undoubted opinion of the best learned men is wholly agreeable to the Apostolical doctrine."¹

Parsons also wrote another book of such a character that, by Act of Parliament, it was declared to be high treason in any person to be found with a copy in his possession. It was written in the interests of Spain, and argued that the Infanta was, by law and right, the next heir to the Throne of England after the death of Queen Elizabeth. It was first published in 1594, and was re-issued (Dr. Oliver says "privately reprinted") in 1681, with the title of *A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England*. A few extracts from this book may serve to show how unsafe it was to admit the Jesuits into her Kingdom:

"Hereof it ensueth also that nothing in the world can so justly exclude an Heir Apparent from his succession as want of religion, nor any cause whatsoever justify and clear the conscience of the Commonwealth, or of particular men, that in this case should resist his entrance, as if they judge him faulty in this point, which is the head of all the rest, and from which all the rest do serve. . .

"But you may say, perhaps, that St. Paul speaketh of an Infidel or Heathen, that denieth Christ plainly, and with whom the other party cannot live without danger of sin and losing his faith, which is not the case of a Christian Prince, though he be somewhat different from me in religion, to which is answered that, supposing there is one only religion that can be true among Christians, as both reason and Athanasius' Creed doth plainly teach us; and, moreover, seeing that to me there can be no other faith or religion available for my salvation, than only that which I myself do believe, for that my own conscience must testify for me or against me; certain it is that, unto me and my conscience, he which in any point believeth otherwise than I do, and standeth wilfully in the same, is an Infidel, for that he believeth not that which in my faith and conscience is the only and sole truth, whereby he must be saved. And if our Saviour Himself, in his Gospel, doth hold certain men to be held for heathens, not so much for difference

¹ Quoted by Sir John Throckmorton (a Roman Catholic Baronet) in his *Letter Addressed to the Catholic Clergy of England*, London, 1792, pp. 125, 129.

in faith and religion as for lack of humility and obedience to the Church; how much more may I hold him so that, in my opinion, is an enemy to the truth; and, consequently, so long as I have this opinion of him, albeit his religion were never so true, yet so long, I say, as I have this contrary persuasion of him, I shall do against my conscience, and sin damnably in the sight of God, to prefer him to a charge where he may draw others to his own error and perdition, wherein I do persuade myself that he remaineth..."

"And now to apply all this to our purpose for England, and for the matter we have in hand, I affirm and hold, that for any man to give his help, consent, or assistance, towards the making for King whom he judgeth or believeth to be faulty in religion, and consequently would advance either no religion, or the wrong, if he were in authority, is a most grievous and damnable sin to him that doth it, of what side soever the truth be, or how good or bad soever the party may be, that is preferred."¹

Parsons wrote another important book in 1596, which remained in MS. for nearly one hundred years, when it was printed for the first time with an introduction by the Rev. Edward Gee, Chaplain in Ordinary to William III., from a MS. copy which had been presented to James II., but which he left behind when he ran away from England. It bore the title of *The Jesuit's Memorial for the Intended Reformation of England Under their first Popish Prince*. For a century copies in MS. had been circulated, but it was careful kept out of the hands of Protestants. The author of *A Replie Unto a Certaine Libell*, writing in 1603, mentions the work and says that Parsons himself showed it to several priests, but that it was kept "secretly." And Parsons himself mentions the work, in an anonymous volume from his pen, dated 1602, and gives lengthy extracts from it.² Anything which Parsons wrote necessarily had a great deal of influence amongst the Roman Catholics in England, and their countrymen abroad, who were brought under the teaching of the Jesuits, for, as a modern Jesuit reminds us, to him "was committed the general charge of the Jesuit mission in England, and of the establishments on the Con-

¹ *A Conference About the Next Succession*. Edition 1681, Part I, pp. 169—172.

² *A Manifestation of the Great Folly*, 1602, Chapter V.

tinent connected with it." ¹ It is also important to bear in mind that Parsons' scheme for the Reformation of England, when the next Roman Catholic comes to the British Throne, has been generally approved of in recent years by the official organ of the English Jesuits, who, I doubt not, would, were circumstances favourable, gladly see it enforced on the first opportunity.

And this is what Parsons proposes shall be done, should a Roman Catholic King again come to the British Throne. Only "known Catholics" "are to be used and employed by the Commonwealth in all principal charges, rooms, and offices." ² As for "enemies and obstinate heretics," all the cunning of a Jesuit is seen in the way they are to be treated.

"And first of all," writes Parsons, "perchance it would be good, considering the present state of the realm, and how generally and deeply it is, and has been, plunged in all kinds of heresies, not to press any man's conscience *at the beginning*, for matters of religion, *for some few years*; to the end that every man may more boldly and confidently utter his wounds, and so be cured thereof, which otherwise he would cover, deny, or dissemble to his greater hurt, and more dangerous corruption of the whole body; but yet it may be provided jointly that *this toleration be only with such as live quietly, and are desirous to be informed of the truth, and do not teach and preach, or seek to infect others*; and by experience it hath been seen that this kind of suffering and bearing for a time hath done great good, and eased many difficulties in divers towns rendered up in the Low Countries, which being mitigated at the beginning with this entrance of clemency, never greatly cared for heresies afterwards. Yet do I give notice that my meaning is *not any way to persuade hereby that liberty of religion to live how a man will should be permitted to any person in any Christian Commonwealth*, for any cause or respect whatsoever; from which I am so far off in my judgment and affection, as I think no one thing to be so dangerous, dishonourable, or more offensive to Almighty God in the world, than that any Prince should permit the Ark of Israel and Dagon, God and the Devil, to stand and be honoured together within his realm or country. But that which I talk of, *is a certain connivance or toleration of magistrates only for a certain time*, and with particular conditions and exceptions, *that no meetings, assemblies, preaching or perverting of others be used*, but that such as be quiet and modest people, and have never heard, perhaps, the grounds of Catholic religion, may use the freedom of their consciences to ask, learn, and to be instructed *for the space prescribed*,

¹ *The Month*, January 1897, p. 39.

² *The Jesuits' Memorial*, p. 29.

without danger of the law or of any enquiry to be made upon them to inform themselves of the truth."¹

Parsons says that he would, for a time, allow public discussions on controversial matters between learned Protestants and Roman Catholics, but he thinks that "in a quiet and established Catholic State, disputations with heretics were not to be presumed profitable."² As to "wilful apostates, or malicious persecutors, or obstinate perverters of others," he would leave them to be dealt with by the authority of the State, reminding the rulers, however, that "as God doth not govern the whole Monarchy but by rewards and chastisements; and that as He hath had a sweet hand to cherish the well-affected, so hath He a strong arm to bind the boisterous, stubborn, and rebellious; even so the very like and same must be the proceeding of a perfect Catholic Prince and Commonwealth."³ There is no doubt that by these "boisterous, stubborn, and rebellious" persons. the Jesuit primarily had in his mind those Protestants who should persist in refusing obedience to the Church of Rome, and, perhaps, seek to convert Roman Catholics to the Protestant faith. That sort of thing would never be allowed, where the Jesuit Order had a free hand in a Roman Catholic country. In Protestant lands they claim the right to proselytise, but Protestants have, in their opinion, no right to proselytise whatever, and their efforts in this direction must be put down by brute force. In order to deal with persons of this class, Parsons suggests that as soon as possible after we have a Roman Catholic Sovereign, it would be well to restore that blood-stained institution, the so-called "Holy Inquisition." But the wily and cunning Jesuit would do the thing carefully, and therefore this is what he recommends:

"For the execution of all these notes and advertisements that here are set down about the Reformation in England, nothing will be of so much moment as to have certain prudent and zealous men

¹ *The Jesuits' Memorial*, pp. 32—34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 41. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

put in authority by the Prince, and Parliament, and Pope's Holiness, to attend principally and as it were only to this affair, and to be bound to give a continual account what they do in the same. *And for that the name of Inquisition may be somewhat odious and offensive at the beginning, perhaps it would not be amiss to name these men a 'Council of Reformation.'*"¹

This Council is to look after the property of the Church of England, all of which we may be quite sure will be taken from the Protestant clergy; though there would not be much difficulty, I think, in inducing our modern Ritualistic clergy to come to terms with the new "Council of Reformation." And then, Parsons thinks it would be a good idea if some "new Order were erected also in our country, of Religious Knights, and that *their rule might be to fight against heretics, in whatsoever country they should be employed.*" "And this Order of new English Knights might quickly be made a very flourishing Order, being permitted also to marry."² This Council must also see that all "public and private Libraries be searched and examined for books, as also all Bookbinders, Stationers, and Booksellers' shops, and not only *heretical books and pamphlets*, but also profane, vain, lascivious, and other such hurtful and dangerous poisons are utterly to be removed, *burnt, suppressed*, and severe order and punishment appointed for such as shall conceal these kinds of writings."³ A law like this would soon make trade bad for our modern bookbinders and booksellers, and certainly it would be death to Freedom of the Press.

When this Council of Reformation has ended the work for which it is established, the Jesuit suggests, that:—"It would be very much necessary that they should leave *some good and sound manner of Inquisition established* for the conservation of that which they have planted; for that, during the time of their authority, perhaps it would be best to spare *the name* of Inquisition at the first beginning, in so new and green a state of religion as ours must needs be,

¹ *The Jesuits' Memorial*, p. 70.

² *Ibid.*, p. 79. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

after so many years of heresy, Atheism, and other dissolutions, *may chance offend and exasperate* more than do good; *but afterwards it will be necessary to bring it in, either by that or some other name*, as shall be thought most convenient for the time, for that without this care, all will slide down and fall again."¹

Parsons next proposes to reform Parliament. He advises that Abbots as well as Bishops be admitted into the House of Lords, and Deans, Archdeacons, and Monks into the House of Commons. As to choosing ordinary laymen as Members of Parliament, no candidate must be allowed to come forward until he has been approved of by some Roman Catholic Bishop. "And for Knights of the Shire," writes Parsons, "perhaps it would not be amiss to give some hand in the matter, at leastwise for a time, to the Bishop of the Diocese, to judge of their virtue and forwardness in religion, and to confirm their election, or to have a negative voice, when cause should be offered, *and that they made public profession of their faith before their election could be admitted*, or they take their way towards the Parliament."² Under these regulations we may be quite sure that no Protestant whatsoever would ever be allowed to sit in the British House of Commons, since none of them could make such a "public profession of faith" as would satisfy a Roman Catholic Bishop.

And when the first Parliament of a Roman Catholic King meets, Parsons suggests that its second decree should be: "That *every man be sworn to defend the Catholic Roman faith*; and, moreover, that *it be made treason for ever for any man to propose anything for change thereof*, or for the introduction of heresy."³ After this is done, the Parliament must proceed "to abrogate and revoke all laws whatsoever that have been made at any time, or by any Prince or Parliament, directly or indirectly in prejudice of the Catholic Roman religion,

¹ *The Jesuits' Memorial*, p. 98.

² *Ibid.*, p. 104. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

and to restore and put in full authority again all old laws that ever were in use in England in favour of the same, and against heresies and heretics." ¹ By this plan no doubt we should soon see again the days of Queen Mary and the fires of Smithfield. Amongst the matters the new Parliament must give early attention to, is: "The decree or law for the faithful restitution of Abbey Lands and ecclesiastical revenues," and that as "among the first points of importance."

The new Roman Catholic King's Council must, says Parsons, "be made with great care," and no heretic allowed to be a member of it, "for that if any one person thereof should be either infected with heresy, or justly suspected, or not fervent nor forward in the Catholic religion, and in the Reformation necessary to be made for good establishment of the same, it would be to the great prejudice of the cause, and of his Majesty and Realm." ² The King must "exclude from his Privy Council, and other places of chief charge and government, not only men known or justly feared to be favourers of heresy and heretics, that will never be secure to God or his Majesty, but also cold and doubtful professors of Catholic religion, until they be proved by long tract of time." ³

Here we get a view of THE JESUITS' ENGLISH UTOPIA!

This is what the Jesuits would like our country to become! It may be said they have no chance of realising it; but be it remembered that the Jesuits are very patient as well as persevering. They do not expect to gain all they want in a day, and they know very well that they are not at all likely ever to secure *all* that Robert Parsons hoped for. But if they cannot get everything they need, they stand a chance of securing a great deal more than Protestants suppose. Parsons' Plan of Campaign holds good not only for the mother country, but for *her Colonies and Dependencies*

¹ *The Jesuits' Memorial*, p. 107.

² *Ibid.*, p. 206.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

also. And the Jesuits are working out there, with greater prospects of success, in some instances, than in England. Where the majority of the population in a Colony, or a very large proportion, is Roman Catholic, the Jesuits have, for them, good ground to work upon, likely to produce abundant fruits for their labour.

The English Jesuits of the present generation have, as I have already intimated, given a general approbation to the scheme of Father Parsons, and in doing so have been careful to utter no word of censure of those intolerant proposals which I have just quoted. The general approbation was given in the official organ of the Order in England, for which, not only the English Jesuits but the whole Society also is responsible, since none of its members are allowed to print anything without the sanction of the authorities. The writer of the article I am about to cite was the editor of the official organ, the Rev. R. F. Clarke, a prominent and influential member of the Society of Jesus. It appeared in the *Month*, for October 1889, with the title of "A Jesuit Scheme for the Reformation of England," and is avowedly a review of Parsons' *Memorial for the Reformation of England*, as published by Gee, in 1690. No doubt whatever is thrown on the genuineness of the work, of which it appears several MS. copies are still extant. Mr. Clarke looks upon the book as one of practical value for the present time, which ought not to be forgotten, since it "has a number of points of interest at the present time;" and he thinks that Parsons "acted with prudent foresight in drawing" it up. "A copy of the book was presented to King James," writes Mr. Clarke, "soon after his accession. If he had followed its directions, his chance of remaining King of England would at least have been far greater, and the *salutary measures it recommends* would have retarded, even if they did not entirely prevent the rebellion." In other words, if James had not been in such a hurry to show his tyrannical powers against Protestants, and had put on the Jesuits' mask of tolerance

and charity for a while, he would have been more successful. That mask of tolerance is still occasionally worn by the Jesuits; it serves to hide from a too confiding Protestant public their real designs. Mr. Clarke further states that:—

“Father Parsons’ object in his book, however, is not to criticise the past, but to provide such plans for the future that Catholics may avail themselves of them *if the occasion offers* of restoring the Church in England. He is constructive throughout, and his constructive scheme is not only that of a good and prudent man, but of one who knows by experience the nature of the evils to be met and *the best remedies* for them. He is very practical, and sometimes enters into details into which we shall not attempt to follow him. But the main features of his proposal are *of permanent interest*, not merely as a historical study, but as affording *some valuable suggestions for the guidance of Catholics*, even in circumstances very different from those which the headstrong House of Stuart turned to such ill account.”¹

Now the “main features” of Parsons’ proposal were undoubtedly the suppression of Protestantism in England, and the establishment of Roman Catholicism in its place, and that by means of intolerance of the most extreme type. Yet here we have the modern Jesuits assuring us that the “best remedies” for the evils complained of are to be found in Parsons’ book, which affords “some *valuable* suggestions for the guidance of Catholics” whenever they get a chance to enforce the “main features” of the “Jesuit scheme for the *Reformation*(?) of England.” There are some good things in the scheme I willingly admit, but they are not its “main features”; on the contrary they take quite a subordinate position. It is a question whether the British Government ought any longer to tolerate in its dominions an Order which has so recently given its official approbation to such an outrageously unjust and intolerant scheme as that of Robert Parsons, and that without excepting any of its intolerant provisions.

The JESUITS’ ENGLISH UTOPIA would be an uncomfortable place for Protestants to live in.

¹ *The Month*, October 1889, p. 191.

And here it may be well to mention another book of Robert Parsons, containing Jesuit teaching on Equivocation, a right understanding of which is necessary for those who have to enter into controversy with the Order in the twentieth century, since his teaching is that which substantially obtains at the present time. Parsons thought that it was wrong to tell lies, but it was quite lawful, under certain circumstances to equivocate, or to use mental reservations. The conduct of his own disciples is aptly described by a modern Jesuit Father, John Morris, who wrote:—"The only difference between modern morality and that which Father Gerard acted [over whom Parsons acted as Superior] was that now-a-days men say, 'Have recourse to evasions.' Then men said, 'Say what you like, it is their fault if they think it true.' It is evident," continues Father Morris, "that of the two courses of proceeding, the plain-spoken old way is the least open to abuse."¹ And he defines an equivocation thus:—"An 'equivocation' was a false expression used under such circumstances that if they to whom it was addressed were deceived by it, it was their own fault. They had then no right to the truth, and even in some cases it would have been a sin to tell them the truth."² We need not therefore wonder very much when Father Taunton tells us that "we should have sufficient cause for distrusting any statement which comes to us on the unsupported testimony of Robert Parsons."³

Now as to this book of Parsons', published by him in 1607. When treating about Auricular Confession he is not content with asserting that a priest must not reveal anything revealed to him in the Confessional. He goes further and recommends the priest, if questioned about what he has heard, to adopt a course of conduct which ordinary men of sense

¹ *The Condition of Catholics Under James I.* Edited by John Morris, S.J., p. cex.

² *Ibid.*, p. ccxi.

³ Taunton's *History of the Jesuits in England*, p. 374.

call lying and perjury; and he even affirms that the priest would commit a sin who did not so act. Parsons, however, would dignify such conduct by the names of mental reservation and equivocation, as the case might be. He writes thus:

"If a priest who has heard another man's Confession should be demanded whether such a one had confided such a sin unto him or not, though by no ways, nor upon any consideration whatsoever he may tell a lie[!], according to our former doctrine; yet may he not only say, *nescio*, 'I know nothing,' but answer directly that he hath not confessed any such thing unto him, albeit he had so done; and that the said confessor may not say, *but swear also this answer of his*, understanding and reserving in his mind, that the penitent hath not confessed the same unto him so as he may utter it."¹

Parsons adds that the Confessor "is bound also in conscience" to act thus, "under greivous sin"; and that "no denial of matters heard or known by Confession, in what sort soever, can be a lie, or perjury."² But it is not merely in regard to matters heard in Confession that equivocation and mental reservation may be used.

"Wherefore," he writes, "seeing the obligation not only of concealing secrets heard in Confession, *but of those also that be secular out of Confession*, is so great, especially of those that be public and appertain to the Commonwealth, it followeth that when a man shall be unjustly pressed to utter the same, he may not only deny to utter them, which he must do upon pain of damnation as you have heard; but also dissemble to know them by any way of lawful speech, that may have a true sense in his meaning, though in his that presseth to know them, it may be otherwise.... Knowing the said secrets of the Commonwealth, *they may as private persons deny to know the same*, with this or like true reservation of mind, so as they are bound, or may utter the same unto him that unlawfully demandeth."³

Another case in which equivocation may be used is that of a defendant in a criminal action. But in this case, says Parsons, if the defendant is tried by a "lawful Judge," who conducts the trial lawfully, that is "according to form of law and equity," then he must "answer directly, truly,

¹ *A Treatise Tending to Mitigation*. By Robert Parsons, 1607, pp. 407—408.

² *Ibid.*, p. 409.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 412, 413.

and plainly, according to the mind and intention of the demander, and not to his own, and to confess the truth without art, evasion, equivocation, or other shift or declination." "But now," he continues, "when the Judge is not lawful, or not competent at least in that cause; *then all these foresaid obligations do cease in the defendant . . .* When this, I say, or any of this falleth out, then hold the former Doctors that all the foresaid obligations of true answering unto him do no more bind."¹ "The famous Doctor Nauar . . . proveth that the said defendant being so pressed unjustly to answer, when he hath no other way left to defend himself, may truly, and without any lie at all, say 'He did it not,' with the foresaid reservation of mind, that he 'did it not,' *in some such sense*, as in his own meaning, and in the ears of Almighty God is true; though the unjust Judge, taking it in another sense, is deceived thereby."²

"Wherefore all these authors do conclude that, in the foresaid case, when injury is done against law, and when no appellation or other refuge is permitted, nor any doubtfulness of amphibology or words can take place, then is the oppressed defendant to turn himself to Almighty God the righteous Judge of all, and framing to himself some true reserved sense, may say, 'I have not done it,' 'I have not seen him,' 'I have not killed him,' and the like, understanding that he hath not done it so, as the examination or punishment thereof is subject to that tribunal, or he subject to their jurisdiction, whereby he is bound to utter the same unto him."³

It is even lawful, according to Parsons, for the defendant to confirm his equivocations and mental reservations by a solemn oath. "The second rule," he says, "is that if the defendant should be demanded *an oath* by the judge about a secret crime committed by him, and this contrary or besides the order of law, he may with a secure conscience answer, *and swear* that he hath not committed that crime, nor knoweth anything of it."⁴ "The substance of School doctrine in this point, and of Canon Lawyers is, that when a man is offered

¹ *A Treatise Tending to Mitigation*. By Robert Parsons, 1607, pp. 415—416.

² *Ibid.*, p. 419.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 423, 324.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

injury, or unjustly urged to utter a secret, that without his hurt, or loss, or public damage he may not do; then is it lawful for him without lying or perjury, to answer either in word or oath, according to his own intention and meaning, so it be true, *though the hearer be deceived therewith.*"¹

In another of his books Parsons explains and defends the opinion of Emmanuel Sa on this subject, who, he says, teaches that: "The priest that heareth Confessions may lawfully swear that he knoweth nothing, nor that he hath heard anything in Confession; understanding in his mind, *so as he is bound to utter the same.* Again, the penitent *may swear* that he said nothing, or no such thing, as he is demanded in Confession, *though he had said it.* And, moreover, in another place: He that is not lawfully demanded, may deny that he knoweth the thing he is demanded (*though he know it indeed*), understanding in his mind, that he knoweth it not so, as he is bound to open it to him."²

This teaching of Robert Parsons, which would, in many of the affairs of life, undermine all confidence between man and man, was the common opinion of the Jesuits then, as it is in the twentieth century, though modern Jesuits may differ as to how the thing is to be done in particular instances. Father Henry Garnett, S.J., whose connection with the Gunpowder Plot has made his name notorious in English history, sanctioned equivocation and mental reservation in terms quite as strong as those of his Superior, Father Parsons. He would allow it, not merely as a defence against attack, but for the purpose of securing some positive good. "Neither," wrote Garnett, "is equivocation at all to be justified, but in case of necessary defence from injustice or wrong, *or of the obtaining of some good of great importance* when there is no danger of harm to others."³ Garnett even permits the use

¹ *A Treatise Tending to Mitigation.* By Robert Parsons, 1607, p. 437.

² *A Quiet and Sober Reckoning with M. Thomas Morton.* By Robert Parsons, pp. 277, 278.

³ *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, vol. iv., p. 190.

of equivocation at the solemn hour of death, which is a peculiarly horrible thing, just as a man is going into the presence of his Maker. One could hardly believe that even a Jesuit would sanction such deception at such a solemn moment, were it not that we possess the evidence in Garnett's own handwriting. This is what he teaches:

"But in case a man be urged *at the hour of his death, it is lawful for to equivocate, with such due circumstances as are required in his life.* An example we may bring in another matter. For the Divines hold that in some case a man may be bound to conceal something in his Confession, because of some great harm which may ensue of it. And as he may do so in his life, so may he at his death, if the danger of the harm continue still.

"The case being propounded, supposing that I know Gerard acquainted with this [Gunpowder] Treason, and having been often demanded thereof, I still denying it by way of equivocation, *whether at the hour of my death,* either natural or by course of justice, I may by equivocation seek to clear him again. I answer that in case I be not urged, I may not, but I must leave the matter in case in which it stands; but if I be urged, then I may clear him by equivocation, whereas otherwise my silence would be accounted an accusation."¹

Garnett further affirmed that equivocation "may be without perjury confirmed by oath, or by any other usual way, *though it were by receiving the Sacrament,* if just necessity so require."² No wonder that Father Taunton declares of Garnett: "As it is, we are forced to conclude that no reliance can be put upon any word he says, unless it be supported by other evidence."³ And even Dr. Lingard, when dealing with the case of Father Garnett, goes so far as to say that: "By seeking shelter under equivocation, he

¹ *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, vol. iv., pp. 190, 191.

² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

³ Taunton's *History of the Jesuits in England*, p. 318.

had deprived himself of the protection which the truth might have afforded him; nor could he in such circumstances reasonably complain, if the King refused credit to his assertions of innocence, and permitted the law to take its course." ¹

It is admitted by a Jesuit writer on "Equivocation and Lying," in the *Month*, of July, 1898, that: "Nothing has so powerfully contributed to injure Father Garnett's cause, and disparage his memory as his doctrine and practice respecting what he termed 'equivocation.' Whatever may be thought of his connection with the Powder Plot, historians are unanimous in declaring that his professed sentiments on this subject abundantly sufficed to justify his condemnation, that no Government could acquit a man whose principles struck at the root of all morality, and deprived his own protestations of all credit." The writer devotes the whole of his article to a consideration of Garnett's theory and practice on this subject, and certainly he treats it in a thoroughly Jesuitical manner. He asserts he does not write on Garnett's doctrine "as advocating or justifying its adoption, but in order to a satisfactory judgment on Father Garnett's position in its regard," which, he thinks "has been largely misunderstood." ² Instead, however, of denouncing that doctrine and practice in the strongest terms, as was done by Lingard, this Jesuit writer makes every possible excuse for the culprit, and whitewashes him to the utmost of his power. "On the merits of such theory it is not," he says, "necessary to attempt any pronouncement," though ordinary persons would think it very necessary indeed to do so. The worse things he can say against Garnett are contained in the following sentence:—"The instances in which he [Garnett] put his theory into practice, three in number, were *most singularly infelicitous*, and certainly '*impolitic*'; for, as a very kindly biographer observes, his subterfuges and equivocations were so *unskil-*

¹ Lingard's *History of England*. Edition 1844, vol. ix., p. 67.

² *The Month*, July 1898, pp. 7, 8.

fully framed as to be easily detected, and show that he was but a clumsy performer on this line of defence."¹ And this is all the modern Jesuit has to say against conduct which has merited the sternest reprobation of truth-loving men of every denomination! His greatest fault was that he was not successful in deceiving his opponents, through lack of cleverness! The article in the *Month* is, in reality, an *apology* for Garnett, leading a candid reader to believe that the writer is, in reality, in full sympathy with both the theory and practice of a prominent member of his Order at the commencement of the seventeenth century.

It is only fair to add that the advocacy of equivocation and mental reservation has now become common amongst Roman Catholic theologians who are not Jesuits, though I do not think many of them advocate the one or the other in such an extreme form. In the *Roman Catholic Dictionary*, issued with the *Imprimatur* of Cardinal Vaughan, we are told that "almost all theologians hold that it is sometimes lawful to use a mental reservation which may be, though very likely it will not be, understood from the circumstances;" and that:—"No doubt, equivocation is always an evil, though not always a sin, and the less of it there is the better."²

¹ *The Month*, July 1898, p. 13.

² *The Catholic Dictionary*. Edition 1893, pp. 620. 621.

CHAPTER VI

MORE ASSASSINATION CONSPIRACIES—THE GUNPOWDER PLOT AND THE JESUITS

BETWEEN the defeat of the Spanish Armada and the death of Queen Elizabeth several attempts were made to assassinate her, in which the names of several Jesuits were more or less mixed up. Although, to our modern notions, it seems strange that any professed Ministers of the Gospel should so far forget its principles as to sanction murder under any circumstances, of the fact itself there can be no doubt whatever. I have already called attention to the startling statements, on this point, of the learned Roman Catholic historian, Lord Acton.¹ We need not, therefore, be surprised that so many attempts were made to assassinate Queen Elizabeth, in some instances even with Pontifical sanction. Yet in dealing with the attempts towards the close of her life we are met with many difficulties in forming a fair and accurate opinion as to the evidence on which the alleged plotters were executed, and of the part the Jesuits took in these transactions. The witnesses were not always to be trusted. Many of them were spies in the pay of the Government, and although we cannot reject their evidence altogether, for frequently it was reliable, yet the testimony of such witnesses needs support from other quarters. We must not believe every story, merely because it was against the Jesuits. Major Martin Hume, while describing several of the alleged plots to murder the Queen, is constrained to admit that:—"Though many of the so-called murder conspiracies for which perfectly innocent Catholics suffered were thus elaborated, there were undoubtedly several that

¹ *Supra* p. 89.

were in some degree dangerous and real. They all emanated from the same small group of extremists in Flanders, with the more or less open connivance of the Spanish Ministers there—though probably at this juncture without the aid of Philip himself. The proposed perpetrators were usually some of the wild, reckless swashbucklers, English or Irish, who swaggered, drank, and dined in the Flemish cities. There seems to have been no attempt at concealment. We are told that these plots were regularly discussed at a council table at which sat such men as Stanley, Owen, Jacques Francis (Stanley's Burgundian lieutenant), and even some of the Jesuit priests, such as Holt, Sherwood, and Walpole, are said to have given their approval."¹

Early in 1594 an Irishman named Patrick Collen was executed for an attempt to assassinate the Queen. Most of the witnesses, who apparently were not personally examined in Court in this remarkable case, testified that, while residing on the Continent, they had been urged by Jesuit priests to murder the Queen. In some instances the Jesuits admitted having met the witnesses abroad, but denied that they gave them any encouragement. In this it is quite as hard to believe the Jesuits as to believe the witnesses. By means of mental reservations and equivocations the Jesuits were often able to deceive even the astutest of their enemies. Yet there is nothing improbable in the evidence of these witnesses, whose testimony against the Jesuits I now proceed to give my readers.

William Polwhele testified that, while on the Continent, a man named Jacques "wished him to come to England to kill the Queen, saying that no action could be more glorious than cutting off such a wicked member, who is likely to overthrow all Christendom. Soon after they sent Hesketh into England."² Went to Father Sherwood [a Jesuit], and

¹ *Treason and Plot*. By Martin A. S. Hume, p. 100.

² Hesketh was sent to induce the Earl of Derby to enter into a plot by which he would become King of England on the death of Elizabeth, on the ground that he

offered to do it resolutely, if he had a fit opportunity. Jacques said it was a motion of the Holy Ghost."¹ "When he told Father Sherwood of his motion to go to England to kill the Queen, Sherwood said he was a fool for not undertaking it sooner, when he was moved to it, as he then might have had the honour of it, but that Patrick Collen was gone for the same service, and more were going every day. . . Has often heard Jacques say that he did not esteem the killing of Perez, who has done all the hurt he can, nor the killing of the Lord Treasurer, as he is old; and if he were taken away some other as ill or worse would come in his place; nor the killing of any one else save the Queen; and that a man would hazard as much by enterprising the killing of another person as the Queen herself, and neither he nor Father Holt [a Jesuit] would deal with any but for the killing of the Queen. Heard Father Sherwood reprove Edmund Halsey, servant to Sir Thomas Tresham, for undertaking to poison the Lord Treasurer, as Captain Jacques would not hear of any being meddled with but the Queen."²

Hugh Cahill, an Irishman, testified that:

"Being in Brussels in May, 1592, John Daniell, an Irish gentleman, informed him, on pledge of secrecy, that Sir William Stanley, Father Holt, and Hugh Owen, wanted to employ a tall, resolute, and desperate Irishman to go to England to kill the Queen, preferring a stranger to one of Sir William's followers, as less likely to be suspected; and that if the examinee would agree with them to do it, they would give him money, and he, Daniell, would accompany him to England, and reveal it to the Queen or Lord Treasurer, that Her Majesty might look better to her safety.³ Thereupon went with Daniell to Father Holt at Brussels, where they also found Father Archer, the Jesuit, and Hugh Owen, to whom Daniell said he had brought a special man, who had served the King of Spain under strange captains, as they desired, and that

was in the line of succession. Heskett's instructions are printed in the *Cecil Papers*, Historical MSS. Commission, vol. iv., pp. 461-63.

¹ *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1591-94, p. 398.

² *Ibid.*, p. 435.

³ In other words, they should play the traitor to those who employed them.

he had promised to do the deed they had so often wished done. They said that it would be a most blessed deed for him, a soldier, to kill the Queen, as by it he would win Heaven, and become a saint if he should be killed, and that he that should do it would be chronicled for ever. . . . Two or three days afterwards, Daniell brought him 100 golden crowns, and said that Father Archer, the Jesuit, had sent it from Hugh Owen, according to promise, in part payment. . . .

"Meanwhile Father Archer, an Irish, and Father Walpole, an English Jesuit, came to Calais, and hearing that exanimate had not gone over to England according to promise, Father Archer found great fault with him for having lingered in his business; said that Holt, Owen, and Stanley were very angry at his delay, earnestly persuading him to go forward in that godly and laudable enterprise to kill the Queen, and promised that he and Walpole would pray to God for his good speed."¹

The man, John Daniell also gave his testimony, fully confirming that of Hugh Cahill. He said:—

"On 2 May, 1592, being in the Jesuits' garden at Brussels, James Archer, a Jesuit born in Kilkenny, told him that he had been sent to him by Sir William Stanley and Hugh Owen, to let him understand of a practice they had in hand for killing the Queen, and besought him to make choice of some tall soldier, an Irishman, but not of the Irish regiment, to take the execution thereof; persuading him that it was a most godly act, and that the party should not only merit his salvation thereby, but should also have 2000 crowns, and a pension of 30 crowns a month during his life, as a reward.

"On 5 May, Wm. Holt, another Jesuit, came to him, and made the same offer; promised to do his best to help them to a man fit for their purpose. 6 May, Sir Wm. Stanley and Hugh Owen sent for him, and asked if Archer and Holt had delivered any message from them; said they had, and that he had promised to help them; they besought him to use all expedition. In order to avoid the peril that might ensue if their devilish practices should take effect, made choice of Hugh Cahill, and persuaded him to take the same upon him, but never to put it in execution. 7 May, Cahill came to his chamber in Brussels; made Cahill swear to keep his counsel, told him of the practices before mentioned, and persuaded him to take the thing in hand, but made him also swear that he would never put it in execution; thereupon persuaded him to accompany him to the Jesuits, and to yield to anything they should say.

"When they came there, told Archer and Holt he had persuaded Cahill to take the execution thereof, and they, finding him resolute and answerable to their desires, made him the promises before mentioned; and to further persuade him, they delivered the story of Judith and Holofernes, and said he might execute his purpose

¹ *Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1591—94, pp. 436, 437.*

by first buying a horse for £10, and when finding Her Majesty in progress, or abroad taking the air, and somewhat distant from her train, or passing into a gap of a park or close, set spurs to his horse, and strike her with a sword on the head, or thrust it into her body. If that opportunity should miss, he might devise a supplication, and in exhibiting it to her, as she was coming out of her garden or door, thrust a dagger or strong knife into her body. They willed him to come to them until they had found the means for his going over, and he was with them, 8 to 10 May.

"Was sent for by them 12 May, to consult which way to provide for sending Cahill safely over. Fearing lest by their cunning they might actually persuade Cahill to do the deed proposed, told them, 16 May, that if they would procure him a passport from Count Mansfeldt for six months, to fetch his wife and children into the Low Countries, he doubted not, by means of the Earl of Ormond, to procure one for Cahill. This they approved; while they were procuring that passport, and Cahill's for France, sued for and received 200 crowns due of his pay; on 5 June, the passports being ready, Archer gave to Cahill 100 crowns, received from Owen. Went 7 June to the Jesuits to take leave, when they willed him and Cahill to use all haste, as there were an Englishman and a Scotchman appointed for a similar purpose . . . arrived [in England] 24 August, and in September acquainted his Lordship of the before mentioned practices. After his departure, Cahill came to Calais, waiting for a passport; Archer and Walpole, a Jesuit, came there, on their way to Spain, and finding him there, they persuaded him to come over secretly, with Sir John Skidamore's son, which he accordingly did; informed the Lord Treasurer of his arrival at Westminster, and was ordered to bring Cahill to his house in the Strand the next day; did so, but his Lordship being ill, and about to take horse for Theobalds, could not examine him, and thought of committing him to the Marshalsea; besought him not to do so, and offered to produce him when required, so Cahill was delivered to him. Three or four days after, Justice Young examined Cahill."¹

A man named John Annias testified that Patrick Collen was also employed to murder the Queen, and Collen himself acknowledged his guilt. Amongst other things, Annias said that: "Patrick Collen told him he was sent from Father Holt and Jacques to kill the Queen, and caused him to swear not to reveal it."² Apparently the conspirators on the Continent had become impatient at the delay of Cahill and Daniell, and feared they would not keep their promise to kill the Queen; hence their employment of Collen. That

¹ *Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1591-94*, pp. 442, 443.

² *Ibid.*, p. 431.

individual himself testified that in the previous October, while at Brussels, "Jacques asked him to do the King [of Spain] a good service, and would tell him what it was next morning . . . Next day went to Jacques, who told him that Ant. Perez, a Spaniard, who had been Secretary to the King of Spain, had become the King's enemy, had been in France and was come into England, and asked the examinee to kill him with a pistol. Undertook the matter, and swore to perform it, whereupon Jacques gave him £30 in gold for his voyage; departed immediately from Brussels for St. Omer; found an old Irish priest called Sir Thomas —, to whom he confessed what he had undertaken; the priest dissuaded him, telling him it was unlawful to commit murder; the day after his undertaking the enterprise, was brought by Jacques to Father Holt, who said he might lawfully enterprise anything for his King's service, advised him to prepare himself to God, and thereupon absolved him. Did not hear Jacques declare to Father Holt what he had undertaken, but perceived afterwards he had done so, as he told examinee in his confession that he wished Jacques had not acquainted him with the matter, because he, Holt, was a churchman." ¹ Ten days after making the above statement, Collen said that at this interview with Holt that Jesuit declared that—"he saw no reason why he might not lawfully do what Jacques wished." ²

It will be observed that four Jesuit priests were named by these witnesses, as having approved of their plots to murder the Queen. As I have already remarked, however shocking to the reader's feelings the thought may be of professed disciples of Christianity approving of, and even encouraging such awful crimes, there is nothing at all improbable in the testimony of these witnesses. When Popes were found encouraging assassination, we need not wonder at Jesuit priests following such examples. The Jesuit Order has a

¹ *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1591—94, p. 427.

² *Ibid.*, p. 431.

bad name for this sort of work, and not without reason. A few months later, Father Henry Walpole was captured when landing on the Yorkshire coast. While in prison he expressed his abhorrence of any attempts to murder the Queen, but he admitted that he had been asked, four years previously, by Jacques, "whether it would be well to seek the death of Her Majesty, but dissuaded it;" on which the Editor of the *Calendar of Domestic State Papers* very properly asks:—"Why did he not reveal this as a warning?"¹ Walpole further admitted that while abroad he had heard of other plots to murder Elizabeth; that Father Holt had told him that "Jacques was sent over to burn the Queen's ships;"² and he also admitted that he (Walpole) had translated "Philopater's" [i.e. Father Parsons] book, in which he had "spoken unreverently of Her Majesty and some of her Ministers deceased, as also the Treasurer."³ Of this latter nobleman Walpole had written:—"My L. Treasurer etc. may justly feare the greate and high galowes prepared by himself for Mardocheus, and the children of Israel, for that God is as juste now, as he was then and as potent."⁴ Walpole praised also the work of the King of Spain, and, referring to the defeat of the Spanish Armada, with an implied threat, he declared that "the Inglishe oughte not to bragg, seeing there are so many reasons, and examples of enterprises that take successe the second or thirde tyme, which did not at the firste."⁵ Father Henry Walpole was manifestly a disloyal man, whatever may be thought about his alleged part in Collen's attempt to murder Elizabeth. He was executed, but has been raised to the rank of a "Venerable" Saint by Pope Leo XIII.

Hugh Owen heard of the charges brought against him, and indignantly repudiated them. He wrote a long letter

¹ *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1591—94, p. 517.

² *Ibid.*, p. 534.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 535.

⁴ *An Advertisement Written to a Secretarie of my L. Treasurer of England*. Anno Domini 1593, p. 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

to Phelippes on the subject, in which he "swears" that all the accusations were false, though he admits that he was personally acquainted with Cahill and Daniell. Owen further declared that he had never taken part in any such plot, yet Father Henry Walpole, S.J., affirmed that he remembered that "Mr. Creak's man, when on his death-bed, told him [Walpole] that Owen offered him money to do violence to Her Majesty's person."¹ Owen's declarations of innocence cannot be trusted. "No doubt," remarks Mr. Martin Hume, "the confessions of the criminals were in most cases interested or exaggerated, but Hugh Owen's denials fail to carry conviction sufficient to demolish their stories altogether. An age that saw Henry III., Guise, Orange, and Henry IV. assassinated was not squeamish about killing Princes, if they were considered in the way; and the few violent extremists in Flanders, and more especially Jacques, belonged to the visionary type from which regicides are usually drawn."²

The conspiracy to poison the Queen for which Dr. Lopez was executed the day before Patrick Collen, does not appear to have been in any way connected with the Jesuits. But soon after the death of Lopez another conspiracy to murder Elizabeth was discovered, for which, early in 1595, Edmund Yorke and Richard Williams were executed. In this latter conspiracy the Jesuits were once more named as active parties in the villainy.

Richard Williams declared that he "was sent by Father Holt and Sir W. Stanley to kill the Queen, with the promise of great reward, and received the Sacrament with Yorke thereon."³ Edmund Yorke affirmed that "Holt promised him, or any confederate, 100,000 or 200,000 crowns, if he would raise a rebellion or do some notable act;⁴ and that

¹ *Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1591—94*, p. 535.

² Hume's *Treason and Plot*, p. 110.

³ *Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1591—94*, p. 550.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 543.

he "was persuaded by Father Holt to come over on the Queen's pardon, and to live in the Court, as one fled away, having the money due to him to his uncle sent for his maintenance, and an assurance on oath of 40,000 crowns, with present payment guaranteed by the Secretary, Stephen de Ibarra, if he performed the required service of killing the Queen...; they swore on the Sacrament to do it, and were absolved by Father Holt."¹ Yorke further testified that "they solemnly swore him to perform the service, and Holt confessed him and gave him the Sacrament. Williams swore to kill the Queen, Yorke to aid him, and to do it if he failed, by poisoned arrow, pistol, or rapier."²

At his trial in 1606, Father Garnett, said: "The third thing I determined to speak of was the Jesuits in general; of whom some have been by Mr. Attorney accused of undertaking several treasonable attempts, as the matters of Patrick Collen, Yorke, Williams, and Squire, of all which I can say no more but this, that I have had the hands and protestations of those Fathers that are accused, as Father Holt and Father Walpole, who on their salvations affirm that they never treated with the parties concerning any such matter."³ To this it may suffice to reply by asking, if Garnett had these written statements in his possession, why did he not publish them to the world years before his own trial in 1606? Indeed, they have never yet, so far as I am aware, been published. Besides, as we have already seen, Garnett was such a master in deception, even on oath, that it is impossible to believe a word he said, in defence of himself or his brethren, unless supported by outside evidence.

In 1602, Thomas Fitzherbert, a Jesuit, published two pamphlets, now exceedingly scarce, in which he dealt with the cases of Collen, Williams, and Yorke. His apology for

¹ *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1591—94, p. 546.

² *Ibid.*, p. 548.

³ *The Condition of Catholics Under James I.*, p. 249.

these men is far from convincing. As to Williams and Yorke, Fitzherbert asks, was it reasonable to suppose that two such young men, who were new converts to the Church of Rome, would ever be entrusted with such a secret business? To which it may suffice to reply that new converts, full of zeal for their new faith, and hatred of that which they had left, were just the kind of men most likely to undertake such a business as that which was required of them. As to their youth, it is well known that young men are more ready to undertake such work, and more blind to its dangers, than older men, who but rarely hire themselves out for assassinations. Besides, the Jesuits accused of plotting these murders were residing on the Continent, where they were safe from arrest, if discovered. And even if the men they employed should prove untrustworthy, by betraying their secrets to the English Government, the Jesuits knew very well how, by equivocations and mental reservations to deny the plain facts of the case, and confirm their denials by oaths. The fact is they selected just the most likely men for their work. Fitzherbert asserts that "some" of those conspirators named in the case as members of an assassination Council which met at Brussels, resided at St. Omers, or Antwerp, and were in their ordinary places of residence at the very time they were asserted to be in Council together at Brussels. But he conveniently omits to mention any names, and produces no evidence in support of his assertion. As to Patrick Collen, Fitzherbert declares that "he never confessed either publicly or privately that he was any way employed against Her Majesty's person."¹ This we certainly know to be untrue, for Collen's confessions, quoted above, still exist in the Record Office in London. Fitzherbert adds that, at his execution, Collen "called God to witness that he was never employed against Her Majesty,

¹ *An Apology of T.[homas] F.[itzherbert] in Defence of Himself and Other Catholyks Falsly charged with a Fayed Conspiracy Agaynst Her Maiesties Person*, chapter xv., f. 27. Imprinted with Licence, 1602.

nor came into England with any such intention;" but I can find no evidence that he ever said anything of the kind.

On November 13, 1598, a man named Edward Squire was executed for an attempt to poison Queen Elizabeth. In this case the evidence against the prisoner of a man named John Stanley was clearly false. He declared that he (Stanley) on a certain date had an interview with the King of Spain, who gave him full directions how to proceed in an attempt to poison the Queen, but Mr. Martin Hume has clearly proved that at that time the King "was lying at the Escorial hopelessly ill and quite unable to see any one on business." Besides, in his evidence, Stanley declared that he had brought with him "two letters from Father Thomas Fitzherbert, S.J., and Father Richard Walpole, S.J.," but, as the Government officer, Waad, wrote to the Earl of Essex directly after Stanley's examination:—"Privately he confessed to me that he devised them himself, and caused a Spaniard to write them both."¹ It is evident that we cannot rely on the evidence of such a scoundrel.

Squire himself, however, gave evidence. He said:

"When Walpole [Father Richard, S.J.] persuaded me to be employed against Her Majesty's person, he asked whether I could compound poisons; I said no, but that I had skill in perfumes, and had read in Tartalia of a ball, the smoke whereof would make a man in a trance, and some die. Walpole said that would be difficult, but to apply poison to a certain place was the most convenient way; I said I had no skill therein, to which Walpole replied, 'you shall have directions. . . .' Walpole said he would write to Bagshaw at Wisbeach Castle, as he knew all the courses of the Jesuits. I had directions from Walpole, under his own hand, but I threw them into the water, and also the letter to Bagshaw. Certain poison drugs, whereof opium was one, were to be beaten together, steeped in white mercury water, put into an earthen pot, and set a month in the sun; then to be put in a double bladder, and the bladder pricked full of holes in the upper part, and carried in the palm of my hand, upon a thick glove, for safeguard of my hand; and then I was to turn the holes downward, and to press it hard upon the pommel of Her Highness's saddle; it would lie and tarry long where it was laid, and not be checked by the air."²

¹ *Cecil Papers*. Historical MSS. Commission, vol. viii., p. 396.

² *Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1598—1601*, p. 107.

"He [Walpole] said it were a meritorious act to stab or kill the Earl of Essex, 'but this against the Queen is all in all, for there shall need but little else than to do that well, which I charge you to perform before all things.'... At my next Confession, he charged me that I meant not to perform my promise; I protested to him that I verily meant to do it. Then he laid before me the danger I was in if I did not endeavour to the utmost to perform it, and that I must not now fear death, though it might seem very imminent, for what availeth it a man to win the whole world and lose his own soul? and if I did but once doubt of the lawfulness or the merit, it was sufficient to cast me down headlong to hell; and then, taking me by the arm, he lifted me up, and took me about the neck with his left arm, and made a cross upon my head, saying, 'God bless thee, and give thee strength, my son, and be of good courage; I will pawn my soul for thine, and thou shalt ever have my prayers, both dead and alive, and full pardon of all thy sins.' He also used a speech over my head, which I could not understand, save the first word, *Dominus*."¹

William Monday also testified, and said:—"Between last Whitsuntide and Midsummer, as I was in the hall of Thomas Fitzherbert at Madrid, he came in from Father Cresswell [a Jesuit] in a great rage, and said Rolls and Squire were villainous rascals to deceive the Catholic King, and undo us all, as they had betrayed a number of godly priests in England, and exposed all their secrets; and that Squire undertook to poison the Queen's saddle and Rolls to kill the Queen."² Richard Rolls, mentioned by Monday, was also examined. He said: "I and Squire came from Seville towards England last June twelvemonth, and the April or May before, we received the Sacrament at Walpole's hands at Seville. After I was out of prison, Walpole persuaded me to serve the King, but I refused."³

Thomas Fitzherbert, the Jesuit, wrote a defence of his own conduct in the case of Squire, on lines which, if accepted, would have upset every verdict in similar cases at that period. The witness Monday, as we have just seen, testified that while he was at Madrid, Fitzherbert came into the hall, and said that Rolls and Squire were "villainous rascals," because they had not assassinated the Queen, as they had

¹ *Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1598—1601*, pp. 108, 109.

² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

promised. In dealing with this statement Fitzherbert attributes it to Stanley, and then adds:—"I answer that I protest before God, and upon my salvation, that I never said any such thing to Stanley in my life."¹ A very convenient way of getting out of a difficulty. Fitzherbert further asserted that there was no evidence against Squire but his own confessions and the testimony of Stanley, the fact being that two other witnesses gave evidence—viz., Monday and Rolls. The Jesuit admits that at his trial Squire acknowledged the truth of the statements which he had made, and which were read in open Court, but that on the scaffold he denied them. He quotes, however, a pamphlet issued directly after the execution by Christopher Barker, the Queen's printer, in which it was asserted that Squire in no point retracted or disavowed his confession, either at his trial or at his death. Fitzherbert denies this, and declares that on the scaffold Squire withdrew his confession, and declared that it was false. As man against man I may be pardoned for believing the Protestant before the Jesuit. Camden says:—"At the bar, and at the gallows he [Squire] protested, that though he were put on by Walpole and others to commit the fact, yet he could never be persuaded in his heart to do it."²

In commenting on the case of Squire, Mr. Martin Hume suggests that Father Richard Walpole's action was moved by a revengeful desire to get a secular Roman Catholic priest, named Dr. Bagshaw, into trouble with the Government, on the ground that he [Bagshaw] was in favour of the attempt to poison the Queen. This Bagshaw was a stern enemy of the Jesuits, as may be seen by a perusal of his *True Relation of the Faction Begun at Wisbich*. Mr. Hume suggests that "while Squire appears to have been sent on a fool's errand by Walpole so far as the actual commission of the crime was concerned, the reference and letter to Dr. Bagshaw, which would hardly have been invented by Squire on the

¹ *An Apology of T. F. in Defence of Himself and Other Catholyks*, Ch. vi.

² Camden's *Elizabeth*. Fourth Edition, p. 562.

rack, point to a desire on the part of the Jesuits to strike a fatal blow at the leader of their opponents. Dr. Bagshaw, as we have seen, was then, and for years afterwards, the champion of the 'loyal' clergy, and was precisely the least likely man to connive at the murder of the Queen by a Spanish agent."¹

Mr. Hume's theory is strengthened by a letter written from Rome on February 20, 1599, by a priest named Array, a friend to the Jesuits. He writes:—"At this very instant, I have seen a letter of the 3rd of January, from Doway, of the principal there, who do say that three days before there passed one Browne that way, and was newly come out of England and had a messenger [? message] from the said Dr. [Bagshaw] to his friend at Lille, willing him to write a letter of defiance to Father Parsons, and charge him with having suborned Father Walpole to send in one Squire to draw the said Dr. and his friends into suspicion of killing the Queen, and this he will prove to the whole world."²

It is only fair to add that Father Richard Walpole denied in the strongest terms the truth of the charges brought against him at the trial of Squire. "I call God to witness upon my soul," he said, "as it is written in the Book of Kings—*jusjurandum concipio*—may God be witness, and may His Christ be witness, that the whole of this accusation is false, and I protest before God, and the whole Court of Heaven, and on the word of a priest, that nothing of the kind objected against me, even entered my thoughts."³ If this solemn assertion were made by anybody but a Jesuit it would be conclusive. But Father Garnett's justification of equivocation, even at the hour of death, and by oath, forbids that confidence in Walpole which otherwise would be gladly extended to him.

¹ Hume's *Treason and Plot*, p. 324.

² *The Archpriest Controversy*, vol. i., p. 122.

³ *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, vol. ii., p. 238.

Eight years later, Sir Charles Cornwallis, English Ambassador to Spain, wrote, on March 28, 1606, to the Earl of Salisbury, of this same priest:—"Walpole the Jesuit (the intemperature of whose heart is not to be contained within his lips) yesterday in a discourse with a man of mine (whom sometimes I use to unlock him, and to draw some part of his intelligence and intentions from him) said plainly unto him, that '*if your Lordship [Salisbury] were taken out of the way, the authority and guiding of the Estate should with more equal distribution descend unto other Lords of the Council, more temperate, and better disposed in religion.*' He proceeded with a great deprivation of your late answer to the *Admonitory Letter*. Said, '*if there were not means found otherwise to shorten your course, you would perhaps live to see the end of others, who (your Lordship being taken away) might do some good to the Church.*'" Cornwallis, after relating this interview with Walpole, shows how seriously he thought of it, by adding:—"My good Lord, for the love of your Prince, country, and other friends (whose fortunes and contentment depend upon your life and well-being) give me leave to beseech you to be very careful and wary of yourself. By many proofs it is known unto your Lordship, what strange attempts malice, fortified with a superstitious and blind conceit of pardon and merit, hath in this depraved age brought forth... I shall have no quiet with myself till your Lordship shall direct me concerning *Walpole*. If it please you to have *his desperate and unchristian speeches concerning your life* called in question, I assure myself, that so dear and much respected you are now unto this State, as there will be done what may be, for his chastisement and further examination."¹

From the defeat of the Spanish Armada until the death of Queen Elizabeth the Jesuits were incessantly at work promoting sedition and treasonable practices. Of course

¹ Winwood's *Memorials of Affairs of State*, vol. ii., pp. 202, 203.

Spain longed to be revenged for her defeat, and to recover her lost glories in the eyes of the world; but her boasted Armada was destroyed, her exchequer nearly empty, and Philip soon realised that he must patiently wait for a more favourable opportunity. But, meanwhile, he was not idle. It was true he could not attack England as he desired, but he could at least encourage those Roman Catholics who sought to injure her through Scotland, and strengthen the hands of the Jesuits and their friends in their perpetual intrigues in the Spanish interests.

On the first of January, 1593, the city of Edinburgh was greatly excited by the news that a new Popish Plot had been discovered of startling importance, and that George Kerr, a Roman Catholic and brother of Lord Newbottle, had been taken to prison as, apparently, the chief conspirator. He had been arrested as he was about to set sail for Spain, and on his person was discovered a number of letters from Jesuits and others, with certain mysterious Blank Papers, signed by the Roman Catholic Earls of Huntly, Errol, and Angus, and Sir Patrick Gordon. From a document discovered by Mr. Martin Hume in the Spanish Archives, we learn on undoubted authority, what was the object of Kerr's mission, and the part the Jesuits took in it. It states that: "God having by means of the priests, Jesuits, Seminarists, and others, during the past years, brought a great number of the nobles and people of Scotland into the Catholic Church, and as the King of Scotland was so uncertain in his faith, and the Queen of England in constant opposition, some of the principal Catholic Lords decided to send a man of their own to his Catholic Majesty to beg for aid in their need, as they thought with some assistance they could get the King into their hands; and then, in his name and authority, convert the Kingdom, and perhaps keep the Queen of England so busy that she could not disturb Christendom, as is her wont. They therefore determined to send a gentleman of rank named George Carre

[i.e. George Kerr], and the three principal Earls, the Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, gave him letters of credence, and other letters in blank, signed with their names and sealed with their seals, with orders on his arrival in Spain to write in the letters the message which they had given him verbally; and many other Catholic gentlemen in the country did the same."¹

The letters discovered in the possession of Kerr are printed in the fifth volume of Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*. One from the Jesuit James Gordon, writing over the *alias* "J. Christesone;" and another from Father Robert Abercrombie, S.J., both addressed to Father Creighton, S.J., contain indirect allusions to help expected from Spain. The real facts of the conspiracy came out during the examination of George Kerr, and Graham of Fintry, who had been arrested as an accomplice while in prison. They both agreed in testifying that:

"In March, 1591 (new style, 1592) Mr. William Creighton [Jesuit] (who has remained these two years past in Spain) sent to Mr. James Gordon, Jesuit Father, brother to George now Earl of Huntly, a gentleman called Mr. William Gordon, son to the Laird of Abergeldie, with letters to let the Catholics here [in Scotland] understand what travail Mr. William Creighton had taken with the King of Spain since his coming there; and that the said King had opened to him that he had been deceived by Englishmen, and would from that time forth embrace the advice and way which the said Mr. William should shew him both for invading of England, and alteration of religion within this realm. And for that purpose the said Mr. William craved by this gentleman to be sent to him so many blanks and procurations as could be had of noblemen here [in Scotland], for the assurance of his traffic."

"Upon the sight and receipt of such Blanks, sent with some other discreet gentleman, having the noblemen's commission, to be filled up with such conditions as should be capitulated and agreed upon between the King of Spain and Mr. William Creighton, which should have served as pledges and sureties for the subscribers' part, at the landing here [in Scotland] of the Spanish army, it was concluded that there should have been sent out of Spain about the latter end of the spring, in this present year, 1592 [1593], an army of 30,000 men, to have landed here at Kirkcudbright, or at the mouth of the Clyde."

"And, first of all, money should have been sent to the Catho-

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iv., p. 603.

lics here, for raising of forces to supply the said Army, whereof four or five thousand should have remained within this country, who, with the fortification and assistance of the noblemen, Catholics, their friends, and such other forces as the Spanish money would raise, should have, immediately after their landing, begun to alter the religion presently professed within the realm, or at least, procured liberty of conscience, and Papistry to have been erected here; and the rest of the Army should have passed toward England, the nearest way from their landing to the border."¹

Graham of Fintry specially testified that the first knowledge he had of the conspiracy was from Father Abercrombie, S.J., and that "the said Blanks and letters which were procured for that errand were all delivered by Mr. James Gordon [Jesuit] and Mr. Robert Abercrombie [Jesuit] to Mr. Robert Kerr, to be carried by him to Mr. William Creighton, Jesuit, and to be filled up at the discretion and direction of the said Mr. William, and of Mr. James Tyrie [Jesuit], who were best acquainted with the affairs there."² It will thus be seen that the Jesuits were at the bottom of the whole of this conspiracy to suppress Protestantism in Scotland by the force of Spanish arms. Robert Kerr escaped from prison, "chiefly owing," says Bellesheim, "to the intervention of the Queen of James VI.," who was secretly a Roman Catholic; but Graham of Fintry was executed. On the discovery of the Spanish Blanks the Roman Catholic Earls fled northwards from the Court for safety.

The next move of the conspirators was to send Father John Cecil, a secular priest, on a mission to Spain seeking for help. With the experience of the discovery of the Spanish Blanks before their eyes, they thought it undesirable to commit their wishes to paper. Cecil therefore simply conveyed a verbal message. But as a document which I have already cited states:—"As they dared not send their signatures so soon after the other affair, they sent the priest with a token to Father Robert Parsons of the Society of

¹ Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. v., pp. 224—26.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 228, 229.

Jesus, to whom he was already well known."¹ Parsons was rejoiced to see Cecil at Valladolid, and on 31st of August, 1593, he sent him on to the Spanish Secretary, Juan de Idiaquez, with an introductory letter:—"He [Cecil] is a good man," wrote Parsons, "who has suffered for the cause, and full credit may be given to him."² As to the Scottish Roman Catholic Lords who had sent Cecil, Parsons wrote:—"In no place in the world can the Queen of England be so much troubled as in Scotland, if these gentlemen can raise the force they say. Nothing has grieved her as much for years as these Scottish troubles. Thirdly, whenever France has been at war with England the French have always sent money and men to Scotland, which caused a diversion. They used to say that every thousand Frenchmen in Scotland were of more avail against England than 3000 in France. So if his Majesty sends the 4000 men they ask, it will be better than 10,000 elsewhere against the Queen."³ It was decided by Philip to send back Cecil to Scotland, together with a Spanish officer named Porres, the business of the latter being to inspect the harbour accommodation in Scotland, and to ascertain what were really the military resources of the Roman Catholic nobles. Unfortunately for the rebels the vessel in which these two gentlemen sailed was driven by tempests into Plymouth Harbour. Cecil was really in the pay of the English Government as a spy, and was therefore, after, no doubt, revealing the whole conspiracy, allowed to proceed to Scotland accompanied by Porres.

It is evident that James was secretly and treacherously furthering the interests of the Roman Catholic Lords, while publicly appearing as their enemy. Father Forbes Leith, S.J., states that:—"With the advice of his councillors of State, James sent Father Gordon and Father Creighton secretly to Rome, for the purpose of laying the whole

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iv., p. 603.

² *Ibid.*, p. 606.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 607.

matter before the Pope, and arranging with him the means of restoring the Catholic religion in Scotland. Gordon accomplished this according to his instructions, and returned to Scotland in company of Father William Creighton and the Pope's Legate, George Sampiretti. The last named was the bearer of a large sum of money which he was to give to the King of Scotland, promising him a monthly allowance of 10,000 ducats, on condition of his protecting the Catholics and allowing them to remain unmolested in the exercise of their faith. On the 16th of July, 1594, the party landed at Aberdeen."¹

But at this time the Presbyterian party were strong and not to be trifled with. James had consequently to bow to the storm blowing from that quarter; and therefore he gave a commission to the Earl of Argyll to pursue the Popish Lords—who were up in arms—with fire and sword. Two of them, the Earls of Huntly and Errol, says Father Forbes Leith, "quickly collected fifteen hundred horsemen from among their friends and retainers, with a few foot-soldiers, and invoked the divine assistance by Confession and Communion. Father Gordon, with two or three other Jesuit Fathers, heard the Confessions of the whole army, and gave them Communion. They asked to have their weapons sprinkled with Holy Water, and marked a white cross upon their arms and coats." On October 4, 1594, the contending forces met at Glenlivet, the victory remaining with the Popish Lords. The victory, however, was soon turned into a defeat, by the resolution of James himself, who advanced against the Popish rebels, and Huntly and Errol, as a result, found it wise to retire from Scotland for a time. "With these exiled," writes Mr. Martin Hume, "the Catholic revolt was at an end in Scotland, and the King's position with the Protestant party firmer than ever it had been."² And thus ended this essentially Jesuit Plot.

¹ *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, p. 222.

² *Hume's Treason and Plot*, p. 75.

In the year 1597 the King of Spain sent another Great Armada to England, with orders to land at Falmouth. But once more, as in 1588, the winds of heaven were against the Armada, which was driven back to Spain by storms, before even one blow had been struck, or one shot fired from the Spanish ships. This Armada had been two years in preparation, watched with eager anxiety by the English Jesuits residing in Spain. That ringleader of traitors, Robert Parsons, was very active, and wrote a special memorandum for the King's guidance, headed: "Principal points to facilitate the English enterprise." He suggested that "one very good way" to assist the enterprise, "would be for a little tract to be written by some reputable Englishman, who might set forth that for the general welfare it would be advantageous that all should agree to accept the Infanta of Spain," as Queen of England. "It would be well," added Parsons, "to support the Catholic nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, for the Queen is more alarmed at 1000 men in Scotland than 10,000 elsewhere. It will cost very little to support those Scotsmen, and they will take islands and forts, to the Queen's prejudice. The same thing may be said of the Irish savages, who should be encouraged by some trifling help, in the form of money and arms (as they have plenty of men), and thus the Queen might be kept uneasy. . . . What would disturb and trouble her most of all, however, is that the English exiles in Flanders should make constant raids, summer and winter, with those little vessels they have in England." "Another way of strengthening our friends," Parsons added, "is that in any fleet his Majesty sends to England, Ireland, and Scotland, there should go some high English ecclesiastic (such as Dr. Stapleton, or some other in Flanders) with authority, both from the Pope and his Majesty, to settle matters." "The excommunication of the Queen should be renewed by the Pope," and it is important to note that Parsons expressed his belief that Father Henry Garnett had helped and would help the King

of Spain with valuable information. "Father Henry Garnett, Provincial of the Jesuits, writes that trustworthy men may be obtained in London, who will get their information at the fountain-head in the Council, and they [the Jesuits] themselves will provide correspondents in the principal ports, who will keep advising as to the warlike preparations."¹

Father Joseph Creswell, another Jesuit, also wrote to the King of Spain a letter of advice on the same subject. In it he commenced by boasting of the services rendered to the Spanish Armada of 1588, by his Jesuit Superior at Rome and by himself personally:—"My Superiors," he wrote, "having sent me from Rome to Flanders at the instance of Cardinal Allen and Count de Olivares, to serve the Duke of Parma in the English undertaking in 1588, his Highness ordered me to write out the Edict that was then printed in English." He recommended the King to use conciliation towards the English when this new Armada reached their shores, but a conciliation of a thoroughly Jesuitical character. His real sentiments come out in the following startling statement: "I find myself," he declared, "by His Divine grace, so free from personal or national bias in the matter that, if I heard that the entire destruction of England was for the greater glory of God and the welfare of Christianity, I should be glad of it being done."² Who can doubt that in this Jesuit's opinion "the greater glory of God and the welfare of Christianity" were identical with the glory of the Pope and the welfare of his Church; and that he would rather see all England entirely destroyed than that the new Spanish Armada should fail in its objects?

Soon after these opinions of Parsons and Creswell had been delivered, a wellinformed spy, residing in England, reported to his Government on February 24, 1597, that:—"Within these two days a priest has arrived [in England]

¹ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iv., pp. 628—33.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 635, 636.

from Father Parsons to Father Whalley [an *alias* of Father Henry Garnett, S.J.], to report all his proceedings with the King of Spain; that there are great preparations, and that Parsons told all the scholars at Valladolid and Seville that his Majesty was determined this spring to turn all his forces for the recovery of England from heresy, and wished them to assist him with their prayers, and to be ready to obey as they would himself, Fathers Charles Tankerd, the Jesuit, and Dr. Stillington. He also told them the King's pleasure that after the conquest, the Spaniards should not be commanders and rulers in England, as it was resolved that the Cardinal Albert of Austria should marry the Infanta of Spain, and with her enjoy the Throne of England, without altering the ancient customs and prerogatives thereof; and that all the priests in the three Colleges, of which there are almost thirty, are stayed by commandment, so as to come with the Armada."¹

In the month of June, 1598, Charles Paget, a loyal Roman Catholic wrote "A Brief Note of the Practices that divers Jesuits have had for Killing Princes and Changing of States," in which he expressed an earnest hope that the Pope might be induced to issue an order for the withdrawal of all Jesuits from England, until at least the death of the Queen. As this document is both an interesting and important exposure of Jesuit tactics, from the pen of one who understood their ways as well as any body then living, I think it well to quote here its opening paragraphs:—

"Father Parsons and the rest of the Jesuits first sent into England had orders not to deal in matters of State, but only to gain souls; nevertheless Parsons so broiled in matters of State that some Catholics, now dead, desired him to retire out of the country, or they would discover him, whereupon he went to France without the privity of his General.

"There he did not cease to deal in State matters, and wrote the Earl of Leicester's Life, and sent it to England by a Lay Brother; and was one of those that advanced Parry's and Savage's practices to kill the Queen.

¹ *Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1595-97*, p. 364.

"He and Father Claude Matheus, a Jesuit, were the chief dealers with the Duke of Guise, to his ruin, to enter with 5000 men into England, where Father Parsons promised he should have been seconded with some English, for the sudden surprising of the Queen's person, and of London. *An Italian Jesuit in Paris gave Parry his absolution for killing the Queen, and another in England animated Savage, who had some scruples about it.*

"Father Parsons assisted Cardinal Allen to make the book that should have been divulged against the Queen, at such time as the Spanish Army was to invade England, and has ever since, until lately, remained in Spain, to advise practices for the ruin of Her Majesty and her estate. He made the book of the pretenders to the Crown of England, caused it to be printed, and by Father Holt's and Owen's means, sent into England... He has made another book, not yet printed, for the Reformation of England, to the prejudice of the nobility, ancient customs, and laws of England. *Fathers Holt and Archer were privy to and practised with Daniell for killing the Queen, and Owen and Archer were privy to Polwhele's practices.*

"A Jesuit persuaded the youth that was executed in France, to kill the King of France, who expelled all the Jesuits out of France; since which Boetius, a French Doctor of the Sorbonne, has written a most bitter book against the French King, printed by two Englishmen called Thwing and Tipping, and the licence of printing was procured by Father Holt, who lent money for it.

"The Jesuits of England, under colour of godly uses, collect money of Catholics, and bestow it not on the English poor, according to the intention of the givers, but keep it for their private uses, for the printing of seditious books, and aiding of such as will second them in bringing the State of England to be only governed by them, as well for spiritual as temporal affairs. The General of the Jesuits has given absolute authority to Father Parsons, to send into England and to revoke such of his Society as he thinks good, and it is therefore likely that he will maintain them in such practices as he has set on foot, for making Kings and changing the State of England, according to his fancy."¹

The next murder plot with which the Jesuits were, in popular opinion, associated, was that of the Gunpowder Treason of 1605. It is unnecessary for me to write here the full story of that attempt at wholesale murder. It has already been written by the late Mr. David Jardine, first of all in one of the volumes of "Criminal Trials," issued by the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, in 1835; and, subsequently, in his invaluable *Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, published in 1857. It seems a great pity that both

¹ *Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1598—1601, pp. 68, 69.*

of these volumes have been out of print for many years. A modern Jesuit, the Rev. John Gerard, in 1897 attacked the Protestant versions of the Gunpowder Treason, in a volume entitled: *What Was the Gunpowder Plot?* His attack was ably refuted by that learned historian, the late Mr. Samuel Rawson Gardiner, in a volume bearing the title of *What Gunpowder Plot Was*. It is therefore unnecessary for me to enter into the general controversy raised by Father Gerard, S.J. I will simply confine myself to the part which the Jesuits are said to have had in the Plot.

Every one of the Gunpowder Plotters was entitled to be ranked as a gentleman, with the exception of Bates. They appear to have all been the spiritual children of the Jesuits. One of the Jesuit priests implicated in the Plot was Father John Gerard, who by a singular coincidence bore the same name as the author whose book I have just referred to. He escaped to the Continent, and subsequently wrote a history of the Plot, from the Jesuit point of view, which was first published in full by the English Jesuits, in 1871, in *The Condition of Catholics Under James I.*, edited by John Morris, S.J. A portion of the narrative of Gerard, relating to events previous to the discovery of the Plot, has also appeared in the "Quarterly Series" of books issued by the English Jesuits, entitled *During the Persecution. Autobiography of Father John Gerard of the Society of Jesus*, edited by G. R. Kingdon, S.J.

This Gerard gives a very flattering account of the religious condition of most of the Conspirators. Robert Catesby was the first to plan the Gunpowder Plot, and if ever villain deserved to die, he was the man. Yet Gerard, who knew him well, tells us that "he was a continual means of helping others to often frequentation of the Sacraments, to which end he kept and maintained priests in several places. And for himself he duly received the Blessed Sacrament every Sunday and Festival Day . . . so that it might plainly appear he had the fear of God joined with an earnest desire to

serve Him."¹ Catesby was a penitent of Father "Greenway," a Jesuit, whose real name was Tesimond.²

What was the religious character of the notorious Guy Fawkes himself? This same Father Tesimond, *alias* Greenway, who knew him personally, testifies that "he was a man of great piety, of exemplary temperance, of mild and cheerful demeanour, an enemy of broils and disputes, a faithful friend, and remarkable for his punctual attendance upon religious observances."³ Father Gerard tells of Guy Fawkes that "at his apprehension, he had a shirt of hair found upon his back."⁴

Thomas Percy, another plotter, whose guilt is not denied by any Roman Catholic, was, says Father Gerard, one who by "often frequentation of the Sacraments" came "to live a very staid and sober life, and for a year or two before his death kept a priest continually in the country to do good unto his family and neighbours."⁵

Thomas Winter, says the same Father Gerard, "was very devout and zealous in his faith, and careful to come often to the Sacraments."⁶

John Wright, the same Jesuit authority declares, "grew to be staid and of good sober carriage after he was a Catholic, and kept house in Lincolnshire, where he had priests come often, both for his spiritual comfort and their own in corporal helps."⁷

Christopher Wright another Conspirator was, says Father Gerard, "a zealous Catholic, and trusty and secret in any business as could be wished, in respect whereof they [the other Conspirators] esteemed him very fit to be of their company and so caused him to take the oaths of secrecy and he received the Blessed Sacrament thereupon (as they had also done) and so admitted him."⁸

¹ *The Condition of Catholics*, pp. 56, 57.

² *The Life of a Conspirator*. By One of His Descendants. London, 1895, p. 203.

³ *Jardine's Narratives of the Gunpowder Plot*, p. 38.

⁴ *The Condition of Catholics*, p. 117.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

Robert Winter "was also an earnest Catholic."¹

Of other Conspirators, we are informed by Father Gerard that Mr. Ambrose Rookewood "was brought up in Catholic religion from his infancy and was ever very devout" and that "he was known to be of great virtue."²

John Grant must have been a very pious Roman Catholic for he kept "a priest in his house, which he did with great fruit unto his neighbours and comfort to himself."³

Of Robert Keys it is recorded, by the same Jesuit priest, that "he had great measure" of "virtue."⁴

Sir Everard Digby was also put to death as one of the Conspirators, and no modern Jesuit attempts to deny that he was guilty. Of Digby and his wife, Father Gerard writes: "Certainly they were a favoured pair. Both gave themselves wholly to God's service, and the husband afterwards *sacrificed* all his property, his liberty—nay, even *his life, for God's Church.*"⁵

I should think it would have been more accurate to have said, not that Digby "sacrificed" his "life for God's Church," but that he sacrificed it in a wicked attempt to commit wholesale murder. This Jesuit further relates that Digby "used his prayers daily, both mental and vocal, and daily and diligent examination of his conscience: the Sacraments he frequented devoutly every week."⁶ And, further, Gerard declares of Digby:—"He was a most devoted friend to me, just as if he had been my twin-brother."⁷

Now here we have the religious character of *eleven* out of *thirteen* Gunpowder Plot Conspirators executed for their crimes, and of whose guilt there is no question. The Jesuit priests and Jesuit Lay Brothers implicated in the plot are not included amongst the thirteen. All of these eleven were,

¹ *Condition of Catholics*, p. 71.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 86.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁵ *During the Persecution*, p. 212.

⁶ *Condition of Catholics*, p. 89.

⁷ *During the Persecution*, p. 214.

then, as we learn solely on Jesuit authority, what is now termed "good Catholics" who attended regularly to their religious duties. All we can say now about the quality of their religion is that, if they were "good Catholics," we may be quite certain that they were very bad Christians.

It so happens that we have, recorded by the Jesuits themselves, the opinion of a Jesuit, residing in England at this period, on King Killing, when ordered by superior authority. It was printed by Henry Foley, S.J., in 1878, from a MS. narrative of the period, preserved in the Jesuits' College at Stonyhurst. The Jesuit priest to whom it refers was Father Thomas Strange, who was in prison in London in 1606, soon after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. The writer states that:

"To excite the King against the Father [Thomas Strange], he [Cecil] wished to know his mind upon the authority of the Pope to depose his Majesty, *and if it was lawful to kill a deposed King.* The Father replied that he had been brought to the examination to give account of his deeds, and he desired before going to another point to be declared innocent of the charges laid against him. But Cecil wished above all things to know his opinion; and so the Father replied that the subjects of a deposed King were no longer subjects, and that when a deposed King came to do violence, *the subject in self-defence might KILL THE KING.* Cecil was not satisfied with this, but wished him to answer straightforwardly if in such a case of deposition it was lawful for the subject to kill his King? But the Father would give no other reply, but that it was lawful to do what the Church had defined. 'Then,' says Cecil, 'if it is defined in such a case by the Church that the subject can kill his King, you also hold it lawful?' 'Yes,' says the Father."¹

Men who held views like those of this Jesuit Father Strange, were, it will be admitted, a dangerous class for the Government to have to deal with in those most dangerous times. They needed to be carefully watched. It is worthy of note, as showing the state of things at the present time amongst the English Jesuits, that in printing this narrative, Brother Henry Foley, S.J., has not one word of censure for the King Killing and murderous doctrine of Father Thomas Strange, S.J.

¹ *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, vol. iv., p. 6.

As to the connection of Father Tesimond, *alias* Greenway, with the Gunpowder Plot, we have the evidence of Thomas Bates, Catesby's servant. He stated, while under examination:

"Then they [the Conspirators Catesby and Thomas Winter], told him [Bates] that he was to receive the Sacrament for the more assurance, and he thereupon went to Confession to a priest named Greenway; and in Confession told Greenway that he was to conceal a very dangerous piece of work that his master Catesby and Thomas Winter had imparted unto him; and that he, being fearful of it, asked the counsel of Greenway, telling the said Greenway (which he was not desirous to hear) their particular intent and purpose of blowing up the Parliament House; and Greenway the priest thereto said that he would take no notice thereof, but that he, the said examinee, *should be secret in that which his master had imparted unto him*, BECAUSE IT WAS FOR A GOOD CAUSE, and that he willed this examinee to tell no other priest of it. And *thereupon the said priest Greenway gave this examinee Absolution*; and he received the Sacrament in the company of his master Robert Catesby and Thomas Winter."¹

This was Bates' Confession, and very damaging it was to the character of the Jesuit Greenway, who had thus, in the Confessional, declared that the Conspirators were engaged in "a good cause." But how does the modern Father Gerard deal with the difficulty? In a thoroughly Jesuitical manner! He declares of Bates' Confession that "he afterwards retracted it."² This assertion is simply an untruth. Bates never retracted his very damaging Confession. In proof of his assertion Father Gerard quotes a letter written by Bates when in prison to his Father Confessor; and he quotes it in this unfair manner: "At my last," wrote Bates, "being before them, I told them I thought Mr. Greenway knew of this business. . . . This I told them and no more. For which I am heartily sorry for, and I trust God will forgive me, for I did it not out of malice, but in hope to gain my life by it, which I now think did me no good. Thus desiring your daily prayers, I commit you to God." Father Gerard gives as his reference for Bates' letter his name-

¹ Jardine's *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii., p. 164.

² *The Month*, January, 1895, p. 10.

sake's "*History of the Gunpowder Plot*," page 210. On turning to this history, I find that the modern Father Gerard has left out an important passage in the middle of his quotation (though with the usual marks of omission) which entirely overthrows his contention that Bates in it "retracted" his Confession. What Bates wrote was this:

"At my last being before them I told them I thought Mr. Greenway knew of this business, but I did not charge the others with it, but that I saw them all together with my master at my Lord Vaux's, and that after I saw Mr. Walley and Mr. Greenway at Coughton, AND IT IS TRUE. For I was sent thither with a letter, and Mr. Greenway rode with me to Mr. Winter's to my master, and from thence he rode to Mr. Abington's. This I told them and no more. For which I am heartily sorry" etc.

We thus see, by reading the passage of Bates' letter omitted by Father Gerard, that in it Bates, instead of "retracting" what he had said about Father Greenway, declares, on the contrary, that "IT IS TRUE." He was "heartily sorry," and trusted God would forgive him, not because he had told an untruth, but because it had brought trouble on his master, and eternal and richly merited disgrace upon the Jesuit Order.

Father Gerard further informs us that "Greenway himself, when he was afterwards beyond reach of danger, declared on his salvation, that Bates never spoke one word to him of the Plot either in or out of Confession."¹ This, at first sight, seems almost conclusive. We would, as I have already said, naturally think that even a Jesuit priest who has "declared on his salvation" that a certain statement is false, ought to be believed. But Father Gerard, soon after the Plot, made a precisely similar false statement to that of Father Tesimond, *alias* Greenway, and in even stronger terms. He protested "upon his soul and salvation" that he did not know who the priest was that gave the Sacrament to the Gunpowder Conspirators in a house off the Strand.² And yet it is

¹ *The Month*, January, 1895, p. 11.

² *Condition of Catholics*, p. 201.

beyond possibility of refutation that Gerard in that protest made what amounted to an oath in favour of a deliberate and wicked lie! The Sacrament was given to the Conspirators by Gerard himself! No wonder that the historian, Father Tierney, with reference to this very circumstance, declared that "very little reliance can be placed on the assertions of Gerard, when employed in his own vindication."¹ It is the modern Father Gerard who assures us that equivocation, as used at this period by Garnett and his brethren, was "not a play upon words, which the term is usually taken to mean, but a downright denial" of the plain truth.² Bearing these facts in mind, the question naturally arises, how far can we trust the words, or even the oaths, of men like Greenway and Garnett? Greenway's denial of the Confession of Bates is therefore clearly not worth anything as evidence. He manifestly expressed approval of the Gunpowder Plot to Bates, after hearing from him full particulars of the proposed crime. I am quite certain that had this Jesuit Greenway been caught by the Government he would have deserved to die, as an accomplice in that foul crime, just as much as Catesby or Guy Fawkes. But, fortunately for himself, he escaped to the Continent.

Now let us look, for a moment, at the case of another Jesuit priest, who was executed at Worcester for his part in the Gunpowder Plot. The priest was Father Oldcorne, *alias* Hall, who was Father Confessor to Catesby³ and Robert Winter. Humphrey Littleton, who was one of those who gave assistance to the Conspirators after the discovery of the Plot, and was executed for his crime, wrote a confession before his death, in which he affirmed that he had consulted Father Oldcorne, *alias* Hall, about the Gunpowder Plot, and that that Jesuit had instructed him that "*the action*

¹ Tierney's *Dodd's Church History*, vol. iv., p. 44, note.

² *The Month*, March, 1895, p. 358.

³ Catesby seems to have had two Jesuit Father Confessors, Greenway and Oldcorne.

was good;" and he added that, in his [Oldcorne's] opinion, "although the said action had not good success, *yet was it commendable and good*, and not to be measured by the event, but by the goodness of the cause when it was first undertaken." ¹ Later on, Littleton expressed his regret for having betrayed the Jesuits, but I cannot find that he ever charged himself with telling falsehoods about them. Father Oldcorne himself acknowledged that he had been consulted by Littleton about the Plot, and that he told him that the Powder action "is not to be approved or condemned by the event, but by the proper object or end, and means which were to be used in it; and because I knew nothing of these, I will neither approve it *nor condemn it*, but leave it to God and their own consciences." ² So that here we have Oldcorne's own acknowledgment that he did not "condemn" the Gunpowder Plot, when consulted about it. I believe Humphrey Littleton when he declares that Oldcorne told him that the Plot was "commendable and good."

And here it may be well to mention that a secular Roman Catholic priest named Clark, writing to a friend about five years before the Gunpowder Treason, remarks of this same Oldcorne:

"It is true that Mr. Oldcorne dealt with a gentleman, and my friend, to have been of a certain small number as I take it 25 or 18, all which as he said should be gentlemen or gentlemen's fellows, who should upon a sudden surprise the Tower of London. The manner should have been (as Mr. Oldcorne said) that the said parties should so dispose of themselves, as that some of them being entered under some pretence or other, the rest should suddenly set upon the warders, *knock them down and slay them*, and then taking away the keys, possess the rest of the wards, and so maintain the said Tower for some month or six weeks, until aid should come from the Spaniard. This attempt was to have been practised, if their designs had taken place, much about the time of the investing of our new Archpriest. But when the good Jesuit perceived that this gentleman, in whom, as I dare boldly affirm, never scintil of disloyalty towards his Prince and country did once lurke, altogether disliked such courses, as disloyal and treacher-

¹ *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, vol. iv., p. 219.

² *Ibid.*, p. 227.

ous in themselves, and foul and tainty to the actors, he gladly would have intreated secrecy therein; which assuredly had not fallen out if this plot had not been let fall, by reason of contrary success, as I suppose, to their expectations in their Spanish attempts."¹

It will probably surprise some of my readers to learn that the present Pope, Leo XIII, has raised this self-same Jesuit, Father Oldcorne, to the ranks of the "Venerable," as a preliminary to his expected Beatification, and eventual Canonization.

With Oldcorne two other Gunpowder Plot men, lay Brothers of the Jesuit Order, have also been raised to the rank of "Venerable" by the present Pope, with a view to *their* ultimate Canonization—namely, Nicholas Owen and Ralph Ashley. And even the notorious Father Henry Garnett himself is down on the list for consideration of his claims to be ultimately declared a Canonized Saint in Heaven!²

None of these Jesuits died for their religion, but for an alleged participation in an attempt to commit wholesale murder. If a Protestant were at the present time put to death in Spain for an attempt to commit wholesale murder by dynamite, no one in England would think of saying, even if the man were innocent, that he died for the Protestant religion. This action of Pope Leo XIII. has a very unpleasant look about it.

We have now to consider the alleged guilt of Father Henry Garnett. My case against him rests mainly upon his own acknowledgments of guilt. The first of these is his Confession written with his own hand, and still in existence at the State Paper Office. The modern Father Gerard admits that it is a genuine document.³ It is as follows:

"I, Henry Garnett, of the Society of Jesus, Priest, do here freely protest before God, that I hold the late intention of the Powder

¹ *The Archpriest Controversy*, vol. i., pp. 157, 158.

² Stanton's *Menology of England and Wales*, p. 663, where we are told that Garnett's "cause is deferred for further investigation."

³ *The Month*, March, 1895, p. 349.

action to have been altogether unlawful and most horrible, as well in respect of the injury and treason to his Majesty, the Prince, and others that should have been sinfully murdered at that time, as also in respect of infinite other innocents, who should have been present. I also protest that I was ever of opinion that it was unlawful to attempt any violence against the King's Majesty and the estate after he was once received by the realm. Also I acknowledge that I was bound to reveal all knowledge that I had of this or any other treason out of the *Sacrament of Confession*. And whereas, partly upon hope of prevention, partly for that I would not betray my friend, I did not reveal the general knowledge of Mr. Catesby's intention which I had by him, *I do acknowledge myself highly guilty, to have offended God, the King's Majesty and estate; and humbly ask of all forgiveness; exhorting all Catholics whatsoever, that they no way build upon my example, but by prayer and otherwise seek the peace of the realm, hoping in his Majesty's merciful disposition, that they shall enjoy their wonted quietness, and not bear the burden of mine or others' defaults or CRIME.* In testimony whereof I have written this with my own hand.

"HENRY GARNETT."¹

I gave a brief quotation from this Confession of guilt in a paper which I wrote, and which was read at the National Protestant Congress at Preston, in October, 1895. Immediately after the word "intention" in the sentence, "I did not reveal the general knowledge of Mr. Catesby's intention which I had by him," I inserted in my paper, within square brackets, as an explanation of the word "intention," the following sentence—"to blow up the Houses of Parliament." The modern Father Gerard, when he read these words, was very angry with me, and wrote a letter to the *Rock*, which he subsequently had inserted in the *Tablet*, in which he declared that the "general knowledge of Mr. Catesby's intention" which Garnett admitted to have received *outside* of the Confessional, "did not include the particular scheme on which Catesby was engaged. He knew that this man and others were talking of the resistance to the persecution directed against them, but he never heard from them of the Powder Plot, which, according to their own declarations, he carefully concealed from him."²

Now to all this I replied that Father Garnett knew what

¹ Jardine's *Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, p. 242.

² *Tablet*, November 23, 1895, p. 834.

Catesby told him, far better than my critic or myself. At his trial Garnett said:—I am well assured that Catholics in general did never like of this action of Powder, for it was prejudicial to them all; and it was a *particular crime of mine*, that when I knew of the action I did not disclose it.”¹

This is, surely, as plain and distinct as words can make it. Garnett admits that he “knew of the action” and that it was a “crime” on his part that he “did not disclose it.” This is an opinion which he would not avow of knowledge received in the *Confessional*. He would never consider it a “crime” to conceal what he heard in the Confessional; on the contrary he would think it a virtue to keep the “seal of Confession.” It is therefore plain that I was fully justified in asserting that “Catesby’s intention” which was revealed to Garnett generally, related to his design to blow up the Houses of Parliament by Gunpowder. If that was not Catesby’s “intention” which he revealed to Garnett, I challenge any one to name any other “intention,” or plot, which Catesby had in hand at that time. Mr. Jardine was appealed to by Father Gerard, as though he were on his side. But this is not so. Mr. Jardine is on my side on this question, for he writes: “In the first place, that Garnett had some general *knowledge of the Plot from Catesby . . . is quite evident.*”² On the day after he made the confession of guilt cited above, Garnett wrote to Greenway:—“I wrote yesterday a letter to the King, in which I avowed, as I do now, that I always condemned that intention of the Powder Plot; and I admitted that I might have revealed the general knowledge I had of it from Catesby out of Confession, and should have done so if I had not relied upon the Pope’s interference to prevent their design, and had not been unwilling to betray my friend; and in this I confessed that I had sinned both against God and the King, and prayed for pardon from both.”³

¹ Jardine’s *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii., p. 289.

² Jardine’s *Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, p. 288.

³ Taunton’s *History of the Jesuits in England*, p. 318.

Garnett's strong language of self-reproach shows that he had done something which he thought was very wicked, and a crime against God and man. Father Gerard now tells us that two years before the Gunpowder Plot, Father Garnett discovered that a political plot against the Government of King James was being hatched by two Secular Roman Catholic priests, and that he and another Jesuit "actually conveyed information of the scheme to the Government."¹ We may well ask, why did he not do the same thing, when he heard from Catesby of *his* disloyal "intention"? I fear that the only reasonable answer to this question must be that, in the one case, those disloyal secular priests were bitter enemies of the Jesuits, who were therefore anxious to get rid of them altogether; while, in the other case, the Jesuits approved of the Gunpowder Plot, and therefore would not reveal their knowledge of it. It is said that Garnett wrote to the Pope, asking him to put down commotions amongst the English Romanists. But why did he not write to the English Government, to whom the information would have been of real value? Some months before the Plot was discovered Father Greenway revealed the *full particulars* of the Plot to Garnett, it is said in Confession. But even in this instance the information was given to him in such a way as to leave him free to reveal it to the Government if he should "be brought in question for it." Writing to Mrs. Vaux, Garnett said:—"I acknowledged that Mr. Greenwell [one of Greenway's *aliases*] only told me in Confession, *yet so that I might reveal it* if after I should be brought into question for it."² He *was* called in question for it, but waited a long time, until it was too late to be of any use, before he revealed the knowledge he possessed. Why this concealment? Mr. Gardiner, the Historian, was quoted against me by Father Gerard; but here also I claimed that

¹ *The Month*, March, 1895, p. 353.

² *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, vol. iv., p. 104.

Mr. Gardiner is on my side, and not on that of my opponent. Mr. Gardiner writes thus:

"On the scaffold he [Garnett] persisted in his denial that he had any positive information of *the Plot* except in Confession, though he allowed, as he acknowledged before, that he had a general and confused knowledge from Catesby. In all probability this is the truth."¹

It is evident to anyone who carefully studies the quotation I have just given from Gardiner, that that historian connects the "general and confused knowledge from Catesby" with "the plot" which he had just mentioned before—that is, the Gunpowder Plot.

If any further evidence be needed of Garnett's guilt it will be found in his speech to the Deans of Westminster, St. Paul's, and the Chapel Royal, shortly before his death. They visited him together in prison, and one of these gentlemen asked him:

"Whether he conceived that the Church of Rome, after his death, would declare him a martyr; and whether, as a matter of opinion and doctrine, he thought the Church would be right in doing so, and that he should in that case really become a martyr?' Upon this Garnett exclaimed, with a deep sigh, 'I a martyr? Oh what a martyr I should be! God forbid! If, indeed, I were really about to suffer death for the sake of the Catholic religion, and if I had never known of this project except by the means of Sacramental Confession, I might perhaps be accounted worthy of the honour of martyrdom, and might deservedly be glorified in the opinion of the Church; as it is, *I acknowledge myself to have sinned in this respect, and deny not the Justice of the sentence passed upon me.*' 'Would to God,' he added, 'that I could recall that which has been done! Would to God that anything had happened rather than this stain of treason should attach to my name! I know that *my offence is most grievous*, though I have confidence in Christ to pardon me on my hearty penitence; but I would give the whole world, if I possessed it, to be able to die without *the weight of this sin upon my soul.*'"²

Who can doubt Father Garnett's guilt, after reading this confession of his misdeeds?

¹ Gardiner's *History of England*, vol. i, p. 282. Edition 1887.

² Jardine's *Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, pp. 250, 251.

CHAPTER VII

A QUEEN AS A DISGUISED ROMANIST

THE fact that the wife of a King of England was secretly a Roman Catholic, while openly attending the services of the Church of England, is certainly startling. Yet the fact cannot be denied. The Jesuits themselves, who are primarily responsible for the secret reception of the Queen, are the first to make known to the public full particulars of the subtlety and deception practised under the guidance of their predecessors. The lady in question was Anne of Denmark, wife of James VI. of Scotland, subsequently James I. of England. This secret reception of a Queen enabled the Jesuits to have a trustworthy spy of their own, and a traitor to the religion she openly professed, even in the bosom of the King himself, and that for upwards of twenty years! Anne of Denmark had been educated in the Lutheran Church, and on her marriage with James VI., November 23rd, 1589, it was agreed that she should be permitted the free exercise of her religion in Scotland, and accordingly she brought with her a Lutheran chaplain to look after her spiritual interests. There is some doubt as to the exact year in which the Queen was received into the Church of Rome. Father Robert Abercrombie, S.J., who claims to have received her, states that "About the year 1600 she began to think about changing her religion;"¹ but Father MacQuhirrie, S.J., also a Scotchman, writing in 1601, affirms that the event had taken place "three years ago,"² that is, in 1598. I am inclined to think

¹ *The Month*, vol. xvi. (Jan. to April, 1879), p. 259.

² *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, p. 272.

that it took place even before the latter date. A few references to the Queen in the Calendars of State Papers have led me to adopt this opinion. Writing from Brussels on May 17th, 1595, Dr. W. Gifford, a well-known Roman Catholic priest, announces:—"The King of Scots' wife is reconciled; this is a great secret, but Father Creighton told Paget."¹ Creighton, who gave this information, was a Scotch Jesuit, who was sure to be accurately informed as to so important an event. The next entry on the subject is nearly two years later. John Petit, writing April 29th, 1597, from Brussels to Phelippes remarks:—"The Queen of Scots is converted, and wants but absolution."² If Anne seceded to Rome in 1595 she would have been secretly a Roman Catholic for twenty-four years at the time of her death, in 1619. If we accept Father Abercrombie's date, she was a Romanist nineteen years, during which her life may be truly said to have been an acted lie. The story of her reception is graphically related by Father Abercrombie himself, in a letter dated September, 1608, addressed to a Scotchman named John Stuart, Prior of the Monastery of Ratisbon. The italics in the quotation from this letter are mine:—

"About the year 1600 [Queen Anne] began," wrote Abercrombie, "to think about changing her religion from Lutheranism to Catholicism. . . . It recurred to her how, being in Germany while she was very young, and resident for her education in the house of a certain great Princess who was a Catholic, she had seen a priest who daily celebrated Mass; the memory of whom, and the love of the Princess (who, if I be not mistaken, was the granddaughter of Charles the Fifth), suggested to her that she should embrace that religion. She consulted some friends of hers, who were Catholics, about this matter, especially a Catholic Earl, as to what should be done, and he assured her that the Catholic Religion was the only true religion, and that all the rest were sects and heresies; and he recommended me by name to her as her spiritual father. After a considerable delay, I was summoned to wait upon the Queen, where, having been introduced into the Palace, I remained for three days in a certain secret chamber. Every morning for one hour she came to me there for the purpose of being instructed, her ladies remaining all that time in the outward chamber, while

¹ *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*. Elizabeth, vol. cclii, p. 36.

² *Ibid.*, p. 391.

she herself went into it, as though she had some letters to write. Whenever she came out she always carried some paper in her hand. On the third day she heard Mass, and received from me the Most Holy Sacrament, and then I took my departure from her. My stay in Scotland did not exceed two years complete after this Communion, during which time, if my memory does not cheat me, *she nine times received the Most Holy Sacrament*, and this so early in the morning that all the rest of the household was asleep, with the exception of a few women, who communicated along with her. After Communion, she always gave herself up to holy conversation; sometimes *she expressed her desire that her husband should be a Catholic, at other times about the education of her son¹ under the direction of the Sovereign Pontiff.* She spoke also about the happiness of the life of a Nun, among whom she said she was sure she would end her days. She had a great scruple because a part of her dower arose from a Monastery, and she promised that whenever there should be a change of religion she would restore that Monastery either to its lawful owners, or at least would change it into a College of Jesuits. She would not set out for England² until I had been summoned, and had provided her with the Most Holy Viaticum, promising further that I would come to her in England if she should summon me.

"As a consequence of this frequent use of the Sacraments, her husband noticed a great improvement in her, and suspecting that it arose from the influence of some Popish priest—noticing also that she held her own Minister in contempt—one night when they were in bed (she herself told me the story) he spoke to her in some such terms as these: "I cannot but see a great change in you; you are much more grave, collected and pious. I suspect,³ therefore, that you have some dealings with a Catholic priest." She admitted that it was so, and she named me, an old cripple. His only answer was this: 'Well, wife, if you cannot live without this sort of thing, *do your best to keep things as quiet as possible, for if you don't our Crown is in danger.*' After this conference between them, the King always behaved to me with greater gentleness and kindness.

"The Queen, moreover, spoke with such of the leading courtiers as had shewn themselves most hostile to the priests, advising them to do me no harm, unless they wished to incur her anger, and this they promised....

"One of the leading ladies of the Court has written to me from Greenwich about the Queen's state of mind at this present time [i.e., in 1608]. As to her religion, she is just as she was when I left her; there is this difference, however, that she can no longer enjoy the free practice of her religion which she had while in

¹ Then the heir to the thrones of England and Scotland.

² That is, in 1608, when her husband became King of England.

³ It is plain, therefore, that he was not *sure*. This story proves that the Queen was slyly received by the Jesuits into the Church of Rome, without the consent of her husband, and even without his knowledge.

Scotland. I will here record two acts of hers, which show her heroic courage.

"The first of the two occurred shortly after the arrival of the King and Queen in England, at the time of their coronation. When they reached the Church it had been decided that before they could be crowned they must receive communion in the heretical fashion. This the King did forthwith, but the Queen refused, stating distinctly that she would not communicate, and rather than receive their communion would go without the Coronation. The King and the councillors were urgent with her, but all in vain.

"The next instance is the following:—Upon one occasion she visited the Spanish Ambassador; apparently it was a mere matter of compliment; *but she heard Mass, and received the most Adorable Sacrament.* When the King heard it he scolded her bitterly, and told her that she would lose the Crown and the Kingdom.

"What shall I say about *their daughter?* I knew her very intimately when she was about eight or ten years old. *She was brought up in the house of a Catholic lady, who is a Countess, and is a child of most excellent disposition.*

"Braunsberg, in the month of September, 1608.

"Robert Abercrombie, Priest of the Society of Jesus.

"To the Very Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, John Stuart, of the Order of St. Benedict, Prior of the Monastery of the Scots at Ratisbon. his most honoured Father and friend."¹

It will be observed from this letter that the Queen became a Roman Catholic without the consent, and even without the knowledge of her Royal husband. The King, however, does not appear to have made any effort to reclaim his wife to Protestantism. On the contrary, he seems to have taken pains to supply her with the religious consolation she now coveted. He actually appointed Father Abercrombie to the office of "the Keeper of his Majesty's hawks,"² and in this disguised character he was able to obtain access to the Queen's person, without exciting the suspicions of the numerous Protestants around her. But though the King was indifferent to his wife's spiritual state, she was not indifferent to his. She held frequent conversations with him, for the purpose of perverting him to Popery. Within a

¹ *The Month*, vol. xvi., pp. 259—261.

² *Ibid.*, p. 261.

year after her reception the Queen opened negotiations with the Pope, which are thus related by the Scottish Jesuit, Father MacQuhirrie, in a *Memorial of the State of Scotland*, which he wrote to the General of the Jesuits in 1601:—

“In the first year of her reconciliation she was very desirous to render due Christian homage to his Holiness by letter, and accordingly enjoined her spiritual father to dictate a suitable letter for her to write to his Holiness, informing him of her reconciliation with the Catholic Church, and tendering her obedience and respect. She also wrote a letter, addressed to your Paternity [the General of the Jesuits], requesting him to act as her advocate with his Holiness. Both these letters were written out, signed and sealed, with the Queen’s own hand. The person selected by her Majesty to convey these letters, James Wood, of Boniton, took charge of them; but was shortly afterwards, as you have heard, taken prisoner and beheaded. He lost his life, beyond all doubt, in behalf of the Catholic religion, for, had he been a heretic, he would certainly not have exposed himself to such a death. God, for his greater glory, and the preservation of the innocent Queen, did not permit the letters to be intercepted, and Boniton had them secretly conveyed to me just before his trial. After his martyrdom, we asked the Queen what she would wish to be done with them, and whether they should be destroyed. She replied that they were not on any account to be destroyed, that she did not abandon her pious purpose of sending them, but would add three others to explain the cause of the long and unfortunate delay, and the accident which had led to it. One of these was addressed to his Holiness, another to the illustrious Cardinal Aldobrandini, and the third to your Paternity; and after they had been dictated to her she wrote them out, signed them with her own hand, and sealed them, as she had done the other two last. They were all to have been despatched to your Paternity last summer, by a nobleman who was a member of the Queen’s household; but I am ashamed to own that this was prevented through want of money. I should hardly venture to write this down, only I know to whom I am writing, and in whose presence; and that your Paternity, in whom the poor Queen reposes her greatest hopes, will regard her situation with compassion. The fact is, the letters are still in the hands of the honest gentleman who keeps them quite safe. Her Majesty has promised every day, for the last year, to send the money requisite for their despatch, but has never been able to do so. I hope, however, they will reach you early in the spring.”¹

Jesuit “martyrs” are not always remarkable for holiness. This James Wood was really executed for breaking into his father’s house and stealing his property, and not for his

¹ Forbes Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, pp. 273, 274.

religion at all.¹ His arrest took place at Edinburgh, after he had attended a Mass offered by Father MacQuhirrie. Calderwood says that at his death Wood "pretended he suffered for the Catholic Roman religion, but it was no point of his dittay [*i.e.*, indictment]. Only the stealing of his father's evidences and writs was laid to his charge."²

Although the fact that Anne of Denmark was a Roman Catholic was generally unknown at the time, there were a select few, members of the Church of Rome, who were made acquainted with the secret. Long before she left Scotland she told certain Roman Catholic ladies, and particularly the mother of Lord Seton, that she was "really a Catholic, and prays by the Rosary."³ After her arrival in England, Beaumont, the French Ambassador, had an interview with her, during which she told him that "she wished to show the Catholics some favour, since she was of their religion in her heart, and that she had very frequently spoken to the King about his conversion, but that she had always found him firm in his opposition. Yet she should always persevere in such a good work."⁴ Bellesheim relates that on October 29, 1603, Count Alfonso Monticuculi, the Tuscan Ambassador, had an interview with Anne, when she "professed herself a Catholic, and said that she desired nothing but the exaltation of Holy Mother Church."⁵

Shortly before this, Baron de Tur, formerly French Ambassador at Edinburgh, informed the Papal Nuncio at Paris that "the Queen was, without doubt, a Catholic, but on account of the heretical Ministers in Scotland, did not venture openly to profess the faith."⁶ The Protestant Duke of Sully knew about her Popery when, a few years later,

¹ Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. vi., p. 103.

² *Ibid.*, p. 105.

³ *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iv., p. 604.

⁴ *The Month*, vol. xvi., p. 265.

⁵ Bellesheim's *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 349.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

he wrote his celebrated *Memoirs*. "The character of this Princess," he wrote, "was quite the reverse of her husband's; she was naturally bold and enterprising; she loved pomp and grandeur, tumult and intrigue. She was deeply engaged in all the civil factions, not only in Scotland, in relation to the Catholics, whom she supported, and had even first encouraged, but also in England, where the discontented, whose numbers were very considerable, were not sorry to be supported by a Princess destined to become their Queen." ¹ There is a great deal of evidence in proof of Queen Anne's being a Roman Catholic in the tenth volume of the *Venetian State Papers*, recently published by the Government. Scaramelli, the Venetian Secretary in London, writing to the Doge and Senate on May 28th, 1603, tells them that:—

"The Queen [Anne], whose father was a Martinist, and who had always been a Lutheran herself, became a Catholic, owing to three Scottish Jesuits, one of whom came from Rome, the others from Spain. Although in public she went to the heretical Church with her husband, yet in private she observed the Catholic rite. With the King's consent the Mass was sometimes secretly celebrated for her. He is much attached to her, and she has obtained leave to bring up her only daughter, a girl of eight, as a Catholic. In order to secure the Protestant education of Prince Henry [then Heir to the Throne], the King has kept him far away from his mother." ²

Two months later Scaramelli reported that Anne was using her influence to get Papists into public offices of influence: "The Queen," he wrote, "is most obedient to her husband, and goes with him to the heretical services, but all the same she endeavours to place in office as many Catholic nobles as possible, and as the King is extremely attached to her she succeeds in all she attempts." ³ When the day

¹ *Sully's Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 111. Edition 1757.

² *Venetian State Papers*, vol. x., p. 40.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

came for their Coronation of the King and Queen in Westminster Abbey, she was present throughout the service, but, as related above, resolutely refused to partake of the Holy Communion. The refusal caused a great deal of astonishment, yet it does not appear to have shaken the confidence of the English Bishops in her religious principles, for we find one of them (the Bishop of Winchester) declaring of her: "We have not the daughter of a Pharaoh, of an idolatrous King, nor fear we strange women to steal away King James's heart from God; but a Queen as of a Royal, so of a religious stock, professing the Gospel of Christ with him."¹

Soon after her arrival in England Anne of Denmark opened up communications with the Pope, who was made acquainted with all that was going on. Not long after her arrival she received a present of devotional objects from Clement VIII. The Grand Duchess of Tuscany sent her some sacred pictures, and Cardinal Cajetan forwarded a miniature Crucifix in ivory for her acceptance. The Pope also sent the Queen a letter, dated January 28th, 1605, "in which," says Bellesheim, "he congratulated her on her devotion to the Holy See, and expressed his earnest hope that she would educate the young Prince in the Catholic faith, and would also use her influence to instil true religious principles into the mind of the King her husband."² It would have been more to the credit of the Pope if he had added an exhortation, beseeching her no longer to act the part of a religious hypocrite.

It is evident that the Queen was a tool in the hands of the wily Jesuits, who well knew how to use such a Royal pervert for their own purposes. Both English and Scotch Jesuits were, at that time, labouring hard in the Spanish interests. On October 29th, 1605, Mr. Levinus Muncke, writing from the Royal Court at Wilton, near Salisbury, to Mr., afterwards Sir Ralph Winwood, remarks: "Let me

¹ Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. iv., p. 78. Edition 1888.

² Bellesheim's *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 394.

tell you in your ear without offence, she [the Queen] is meerly Spanish."¹ About the same time Sir Charles Cornwallis, English Ambassador to Spain, wrote to the Earl of Salisbury, (who was then actively engaged in opposing the disloyal schemes of the Jesuits) warning him that the Queen was using her influence with the King to withdraw his affection from him, on the ground that Salisbury was an enemy of Spain. The Spanish Council had decided to use, for their own purposes, the service of an English Lord, residing in the English Court, "expecting," wrote the Ambassador, "that Lord should use the means of the Queen to alienate the King's favour from you, as one who, for your own ends, sought to cross her desires of amity with Spain."² Queen Anne's friendship for Spain, and her zeal for the Roman Catholic religion, were specially shewn in her efforts to secure the marriage of her son, Prince Henry, with the Infanta Anne, daughter of Philip III., King of Spain. The Prince was the heir to the English throne, and at that time the Infanta was heiress to the throne of Spain. It was a cunning scheme, part of the plan being that, before the proposed marriage, the English Prince should be sent to Spain for the purpose of being educated in the Roman Catholic religion.³ Had it succeeded Rome would have triumphed once more in the United Kingdom, and the civil and religious liberties of the Protestants would have been destroyed. Happily it was defeated. Nine years later, in 1613, the Queen's love for Spain continued. At that time Sarmiento, the Spanish Ambassador to England, was engaged in bribing several of the more influential members of the English aristocracy, in the interests of his Royal Master. Mr. Gardiner, who had access to the despatches of the period from Sarmiento to the King of Spain, still preserved in the Simancas MSS., tells us that, "Amongst

¹ Winwood's *Memorials of Affairs of State*, vol. ii., p. 155.

² *Ibid.*, p. 159.

³ Gardiner's *History of England*, vol. i., p. 220.

those of whose assistance he [Sarmiento] never doubted was the Queen. The influence which Anne exercised over her husband was not great, but whatever it was, she was sure to use it on behalf of Spain. Mrs. Drummond," he continues, "in whom she placed all her confidence, was a fervent Catholic, and from her, whilst she was still in Scotland, she had learned to value the doctrines and principles of the Church of Rome. She did not indeed make open profession of her faith. She still accompanied her husband to the services of the Church of England, and listened with all outward show of reverence to the sermons which were preached in the Chapel Royal. But never could she now be induced to partake of the Communion at the hands of a Protestant minister, and those who were admitted to her privacy in Denmark House, knew well that, as often as she thought she could escape observation, the Queen of England was in the habit of repairing to a garret, for the purpose of hearing Mass from the lips of a Catholic priest, who was smuggled in for the purpose."¹ An interesting story concerning one of her attendances at Mass was related by a Mr. Gray to a Roman Catholic named Rant, a few years after the Queen's death. It is published by Father Tierney in his edition of *Dodd's Church History*, vol. v., p. 107: "Queen Anne, being with child of Prince Charles [in 1600], being near her time, and fearing to miscarry in child-bed, sent for a priest, who said Mass, soon after midnight. A fool, that was then in Court, was in another room, next to the chamber where Mass was, unknown to any. He opens the door, while the priest elevates the chalice. They shut him out. The next day, he sported before the King, how she made good cheer at midnight, and how the table cloth was laid, and cups walking, but he was thrust out. The King was jealous of some worse matter; the Queen told him of it the truth; and he was satisfied."

¹ Gardiner's *History of England*, vol. i., p. 224.

Mr. Jesse tells us that when Anne of Denmark "followed the King from Scotland it was rumoured he [Sully] says, that she was coming to England, in order to add her personal influence to the Catholic faction; a circumstance which so disturbed the King, that he sent the Earl Lennox to endeavour to oppose her progress, and, if possible, to persuade her to return to Scotland. The Spaniards indeed, whose interests she adhered to in opposition to those of France, appear to have rested their hopes of destroying the Protestant faith in England principally on her influence and exertions. She endeavoured to exert her prejudices, in favour of Spain and the Pope, into the mind of her son Prince Henry. Sully says that none doubted but that she was inclined to declare herself 'absolutely on that side'; and that in public she affected to have the Prince entirely under her guidance. In a letter from Sir Charles Cornwallis to the Earl of Salisbury, she is even stated to have told the Spanish Ambassador, that he might one day see the Prince of Wales on a pilgrimage to St. Jago."¹

The Queen's attachment to the Church of Rome continued till the end of her life, though she never made a public profession of her faith. Indeed, so artfully did she conceal her religious opinions that but very few, if any, suspected the truth. At her residence at Oatlands, in 1617, she kept two priests in the house, one of whom said Mass for her every day. At that time she was suffering from dropsy, and her physicians looked upon her condition with grave anxiety. While in this weak condition, the priests, whose names are unknown, refused to hear her Confession, or give her Communion, unless she abandoned her practice of going to the Protestant Church services with her husband.² But why, it may well be asked, did they not refuse the Sacraments to her when she was in good health? No doubt the Jesuits

¹ Jesse's *Memoirs of the Court of England During the Reign of the Stuarts*. Edition 1855, vol. i., p. 104.

² Gardiner's *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 298.

winked at that, in a Royal pervert, which they would have condemned severely in persons of a lower rank in life. I can only find one other instance recorded in which a priest urged her to cease attending a Protestant service. The priest was Father Richard Blount, a Jesuit. He had been asked by the Queen, who was expecting to be confined shortly, to give her the Sacraments, and, therefore, taking advantage of her condition and fears, he extracted from her a promise to go no longer to a Protestant Church. But Father Abercrombie's letter proves that the Sacraments of the Church of Rome were given to her frequently, while openly professing the Protestant religion; and thus her priests were partakers of her sin of deception. At Oatlands, the two priests already mentioned, easily obtained the promise they required from her. The King soon after heard about it, and was very angry. The Queen failed to keep her promise. It is recorded that subsequently "she was able to attend to a long sermon, preached by the Bishop of London in her inner chamber."¹ Miss Strickland affirms that the Queen "died in edifying communion with the Church of England."² No doubt, to all outward appearances, she did so. She received the religious ministrations of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, on her death-bed; but there is no evidence that they administered to her the Holy Communion, according to the rites of the Church of England. This was a most significant omission. It is certain that, though all her life she had been a gay and worldly woman, she was then in a religious mood. Had she, at that time, in her heart repudiated the Popery she had secretly cherished for twenty years, there can be no doubt that she would have received the Sacrament at the hands of the Anglican Prelates, who were most anxious to afford her every religious consolation in their power. The fact is that down to the last moment of her life she did not realise that she was actually

¹ Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. iv., p. 130.

² *Ibid.*, p. 131.

dying, though it was evident to all around her that her days were numbered. That which gives colour to the assertion that Anne died a Protestant is the account of her last hours given by an eye-witness. On one occasion, when the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, wished to see the dying Queen, "she requested their presence; and they came in, and knelt by her bedside... Then the Archbishop said, 'Madam, we hope your Majesty doth not trust to your own merits, nor to the merits of saints, but only to the blood and merits of our Saviour.'—'I do,' answered she, 'I renounce the mediation of saints and my own merits, and only rely on my Saviour Christ, who has redeemed my soul by His blood.' Which declaration gave great satisfaction to the prelates, and to those who heard her."¹

The question here arises, was the Queen really sincere in what she said? One naturally wishes it were so, yet it is recorded by her biographer that, after this conversation, she told those about her bed that "she felt no symptoms of dissolution."² The fear of immediate death was not present to her, therefore, when she thus renounced the mediation of saints, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that she was only practising those equivocating doctrines commonly taught at that period by the English Jesuits. It was the Jesuit, Henry Garnett, who, not twenty years before, had written: "In case a man be urged *at the hour of his death*, it is lawful to equivocate, with such due circumstances as are required in his life."³ It will be noted that Queen Anne is represented as having only repudiated the "mediation of saints," and not any of the other peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome, which she had secretly professed for so many years. If she had repudiated the Pope and his claims to the spiritual allegiance of all baptised Christians, there would have been greater reason for supposing that she died

¹ Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*. vol. iv., p. 131.

² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

³ *Condition of Catholics*. Edited by John Morris, S.J., p. ccxi.

a Protestant. Not one word of dying regret is recorded as to her past life, nor any sorrow for the religious deception she had practised for so long a period. There is, therefore, only too much reason to believe that Father Drew, S.J., was fully justified in asserting that Anne of Denmark "died in the bosom of the [Roman] Catholic Church."¹

The whole story of the secret reception of Anne of Denmark is disgraceful to herself, and especially to the Jesuits who were so largely responsible for her life-long deception. In relating the story in the *Month*, Father Joseph Stevenson, S.J., manifests no abhorrence of her double-dealing. If anything he seems rather proud of it than otherwise. "That she was a Catholic," he remarks, "is, I think, beyond dispute. The facts rest upon her own assurance, upon the written evidence of the priest by whom she was admitted into the Church, and upon the statement of contemporary writers. . . . That a Queen of England, generally presumed to be a Protestant Queen, and certainly the wife of a Protestant King, should really have been a Catholic, was an unpleasant conclusion at which to arrive, and the effort has been made to get rid of it. Not by any attempt to prove its falsity, not by any strong assertion to the contrary, but by quietly permitting it to fall out of memory."²

¹ Quoted in Foley's *Records*, vol. vii., p. 2.

² The *Month*, vol. xvi., p. 266.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SECRET HISTORY OF CHARLES II

THAT a King of England, while outwardly professing the Protestant Faith, should be in heart and reality a member of the Church of Rome at the same time, may to many seem incredible and impossible. Yet Charles II. was such a disguised Romanist throughout the whole of his reign, and for at least four years before he ascended the throne of England. That he died a Roman Catholic is well known to every reader of English history, but that for so many years his outward religious profession was a mask only, is not so widely known as it should be. Charles II. was not a useless pervert of the Jesuits, for throughout his whole reign he rendered important services to the Church of Rome, though at times the inherent weakness and cowardliness of his character was seen in signing the death-warrants of Romish priests and laymen who, in the Royal estimation, were more worthy of honour than of execution.

The father of Charles II. was foolish enough to marry a Roman Catholic wife, the Princess Henrietta Maria of France. Before leaving her home for England she promised the King of France:—"I will make no selection of persons to bring up and serve the children who may be born, except from Catholics; I will only give the charge of choosing these officers to Catholics, obliging them to take none but those of the same religion." To the Pope she wrote promising:—"I will not choose any but Catholics to nurse or educate the children who shall be born, or do any other service to them."¹ The Pope, on his part, plainly told her that her

¹ *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, pp. 8, 9.

mission in England was to procure in that land the reign of Popery. By the articles of marriage it was provided that "The children which shall by reason of the said inter-marriage be born and live, shall be nursed and brought up near unto the said lady and Queen, from the time of their birth until they come to the age of fourteen years."¹ Father Cyprien De Gamache, who became Father Confessor to Queen Henrietta Maria in England, says that one of the most important articles of the marriage was that "the children born of it should be brought up and instructed in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion till the age of fourteen or fifteen years."²

Although Charles I. tried to evade his engagements as to the early religious education of his children as far as possible, his wife seems, on the whole, to have had things mainly in her own way. She was a devoted daughter of the Church of Rome, and laboured to her utmost to promote its interests. The wonder is that any of her children escaped, especially the Duke of Gloucester who, when he was in Paris during the Commonwealth period, was very much persecuted by his mother because he would not become a Roman Catholic. The evil results of mixed marriages between Protestants and Roman Catholics are clearly seen in the case of Charles I. Under such influences it is not to be wondered at that Charles II. in early life learned to love the Church of Rome, whose interests he served throughout his career.

Soon after his father's execution Charles II. began to negotiate with the Pope and several Roman Catholic Sovereigns, seeking their help to upset the power of Cromwell, and to place himself on the Throne of the United Kingdom. Evidence of this may be found in abundance in the *Clarendon State Papers*. For instance, Mr. Robert Meynell was sent to Rome in the autumn of 1649, with special instructions from Charles. He obtained an audience with the Pope, in

¹ *A Breviate of the Life of William Laud*. By William Prynne, p. 71.

² *The Court and Times of Charles the First*, vol. ii., p. 306.

which he promised in the name of Charles all favour to his Roman Catholic subjects, to receive affectionately the Pope's Nuncio in England, and even to make the Pope arbitrator between him and his Roman Catholic subjects, provided the Pope would, on his part, help to place him upon the Throne. The Pope was all civility to Mr. Meynell, whose mission was supported by several Roman Catholic priests then residing in Rome; but nothing practical came of it, owing to the jealousy and distrust of the Pope, who had heard, meanwhile, about Charles' negotiations with Scotland, and his willingness to support the Presbyterian religion in Scotland, provided the Scots made him actual King of their country. Lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde (afterwards Earl of Clarendon) were sent a few months later on a mission to Spain, with secret instructions signed by Charles himself. "You shall," he said to them, "assure his Catholic Majesty of our full resolution of grace and favour towards the Catholics of our several dominions; and that we are so far from an inclination to be severe against them, that we resolve to give them our utmost protection from the severity of those laws which have been made to their prejudice, but to endeavour effectually the repeal of those laws; which, if his Catholic Majesty shall at present eminently assist us, we have reason to believe we shall easily do." The Ambassadors were to ask from the King of Spain a loan of money, and he instructed them to be particularly polite to the Pope's representative at the Spanish Court, and to maintain the strictest secrecy as to their mission. "You shall," said Charles, "perform all such compliments and civilities, as you shall judge conducing to our service, with the Pope's Nuncio, or any other Minister of his, and hold such correspondence, and make such addresses to Rome, as may incline the Pope to give us his assistance in this our distress."¹

¹ *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii., p. 481.

Other efforts to secure the aid of the Pope were made by Charles. In *Somers' Tracts*, vol. xiii., pp. 401—414 (Edition 1752), there is reprinted a pamphlet which was first published in 1650, bearing the title of "The King of Scotland's Negotiations at Rome, for assistance against the Commonwealth of England, in certain Propositions there made, for, and on his behalf; in which Propositions his Affection and Dispositions to Popery is Asserted." The introductory preface to this pamphlet states that "an Irish priest, whose name is Dalie, who is Confessor to the Queen of Portugal, is now at Rome by the command of the King of Scotland [the title then given to Charles II.]; that he came by the way of France, and spake there with the Queen of Scotland's mother; and received her directions; that he is at Rome, and presseth and puts forward the said Propositions very hotly." It is also stated in the same preface, that "one Roe, an Irishman, and Provincial of the Discalced Carmelites of Ireland, was lately at Paris in his return from Rome, and did avow those Propositions were given in to the Pope, and they were referred to a Congregation of Cardinals." These statements as to Daly (which is the correct way to spell his name) and Roe, are proved to be true by the Clarendon State Papers, now preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Robert Meynell, writing from Rome, June 24, 1650, to Cottington and Hyde, remarks:—"Daniel O'Daly, an Irish Dominican, has come to Rome with a commission from the Queen [*i.e.*, the mother of Charles II.] to treat with the Pope; he was formerly at Lisbon, where he did many good offices for the late King; was with the present King [Charles II.] at Jersey, and came from him extremely satisfied.¹ Writing again from Rome to Cottington, on July 31st, Meynell announces that: "The reason of Father Rowe's sudden departure from Rome is believed to be the enclosed letter."² There can, therefore, be no doubt

¹ *Calendar of Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii., p. 66.

² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

that both these priests, O'Daly and Rowe (whose name is sometimes spelt Roe), were together at Rome in the early summer of 1650, seeking the assistance of the Pope on behalf of Charles. And what were the "Propositions" which they were empowered to present to the Pontiff, on behalf of Charles, and with the sanction of his mother, Queen Henrietta Maria? In the document presented in his name to Pope Innocent X., Charles boasts that he, even "while his father yet lived, was known to have good and true natural inclinations to the Catholic faith," and he enumerates several acts of his in favour of the English and Irish Romanists, in proof of his assertion. He then proceeds to denounce the conduct of the supporters of Oliver Cromwell, whom he terms "Regicides," and sneers at "the Covenant with God, as they call it." He, therefore, makes to the Pope the following "Propositions":—

"1. That your Holiness would make an annual supply out of your own Treasury unto the said Charles II., of considerable sums of money, suitable to the maintaining the war against those rebels [Cromwellians] against God, the Church, and Monarchy.

"2. That you would cause and compel the whole beneficed Clergy in the world, of whatsoever dignity, degree, state, or condition soever, to contribute the third or the fourth part of all their fruits, rents, revenues, or emoluments to the said war, as being universal and Catholic. And that the said contribution may be paid every three months or otherwise, as shall seem most expedient to your Holiness.

"3. That by your Apostolic Nuncios, your Holiness would most instantly endeavour with all Princes, Commonwealth, and Catholic States, that the said Princes, Commonwealths and States may be admonished in the bowels of Jesus Christ, and induced to enter into, and conclude an universal peace; and that they will unitedly supply the said King. And that they will by no means acknowledge the said regicides and tyrants for a Commonwealth, or State, nor enter into, or have any commerce with them.

"4. That by the said Nuncios, or any other way, all and every the Monarchs of all Europe may be timely admonished, and made sensible in this cause; wherein besides the detriment of the faith, their own proper interest is concerned. . . .

"5. That your Holiness would command, under pain of excommunication, *ipso facto*, all and singular Catholics, that neither they nor any of them, directly nor indirectly, by land or by sea, do serve them [Cromwellians] in arms, or assist them by any counsel

or help, to favour or supply them any way under whatsoever pretext."¹

The author of *The Secret History of the Reigns of Charles II. and James II.*, published in 1690, says that the document just quoted "was once printed in *Whitelock's Memoirs*; but upon the considerations of the danger that might ensue upon divulging it at that time to the world, [it] was torn out of the book."² These Propositions, fortunately for the peace of England, were not accepted by Innocent X. The negotiations with the Vatican were a failure. Meynell (who, as we have seen, was also an agent of Charles at Rome) wrote on July 31st to Cottington, that: "A flat answer has now been given to him more than once, as well as to Father Daniel O'Daly, from the Pope, that he cannot at all meddle in the business. The main motive is, that the Pope will not be drawn to part with money, but the fear of the King's being in the hands of the Presbyterians is pretended as the main *remora*, and all the assurances of his inclinations to favour Catholics are accounted mere shadows."³

While these negotiations were going on in Rome and Madrid, Charles was also, at the very moment, engaged in negotiations with the Presbyterians of Scotland. The Parliament of Scotland offered him the Crown of Scotland at once, provided he would swear to the Solemn League and Covenant, and thus in the most unmistakable manner repudiate both Popery and Prelacy. It was a bitter pill to swallow, but he was equal to the task. Father Cyprien De Gamache, who, from his position as Confessor to Charles' mother, was well acquainted with all that was going on in Royal circles at that time, says that, "The bad state of his affairs obliged him [Charles] to smother his just resentment, and to use towards these dissembling people [the Scotch] a very ingenious and necessary dissimulation. He complied, there-

¹ *Lord Somer's Tracts*, vol. xiii., p. 410.

² *Secret History of the Reigns of Charles II. and James II.*, p. 11.

³ *Calendar of Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii., p. 70.

fore, with their humour, relinquished that majestic haughtiness which accompanies Royalty, exhibiting to them nothing but an agreeable insinuating familiarity, which won them, and induced them to take up his defence, his cause, and his establishment, to begin with. They made him a great number of proposals, demanding several things which he granted with a good grace."¹

Having agreed to everything the sturdy but too credulous Scotch Protestants demanded, the Royal hypocrite, without waiting to learn the results of his negotiations with Rome, landed in Scotland on the 3rd of July, 1650. Before he stepped on shore he signed the Solemn League and Covenant. By this act he swore, with his "hands lifted up to the Most High God," that he would "endeavour the extirpation of Popery and Prelacy," although, as we have seen, at the same time he was engaged at Rome in an effort to re-establish both, in their worst forms, in his dominions! On New Year's Day, 1651, he was crowned King, and perjured himself again by taking the following Oath, which, it is not uncharitable to say, he never intended to keep:

"I, Charles, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, do assure and declare by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, my allowance and approbation of the National Covenant, and of the Solemn League and Covenant; and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling; and that I myself, and successors, shall consent and agree to all the Acts of Parliament enjoining the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant, and fully establish Presbyterian Government, the Directory of Worship, Confession of Faith, and Catechisms in the Kingdom of Scotland, as they are approved by the General Assembly of this Kirk, and Parliament of this Kingdom; and that I will give my Royal assent to all Acts of Parliament passed, or to be passed, enjoining the same in my other dominions; and that I shall observe these in my own practice and family, and shall never make opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof."²

After his escape from the Battle of Worcester, in 1651, Charles was hid for a time at Moseley Court, of which Father

¹ *The Court and Times of Charles the First*, vol. ii., p. 383.

² Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii., p. 402.

John Huddleston, O.S.B., was then Chaplain. The King little dreamt that he was then in the presence of the priest who was destined to administer to him on his death-bed the last Sacraments of the Church of Rome. Mr. Foley reprints, in his *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, an account relating the marvellous escapes of Charles, after the Battle of Worcester. While at Moseley "he was pleased," so we read, "to inquire how Roman Catholics lived under the present usurped Government. Mr. Huddleston told him they were persecuted on account both of their religion and loyalty, yet his Majesty should see they did not neglect the duties of their Church. Hereupon he carried him upstairs, and showed him the chapel, little, but neat and decent. The King, looking respectfully upon the altar, and regarding the Crucifix and candlesticks upon it, said: 'He had an altar, Crucifix, and candlesticks of his own, till my Lord of Holland brake them, which [added the King] he hath now paid for.' His Majesty likewise spent some time in perusing Mr. Huddleston's books, amongst which, attentively reading a short manuscript written by Mr. Richard Huddleston, a Benedictine Monk, entitled, 'A Short and Plain Way to the Faith and Church,' he expressed his sentiments of it in these positive words: 'I have not seen anything more plain and clear upon this subject. The arguments here drawn from succession are so conclusive, I do not conceive how they can be denied.' He also took a view of Mr. Tuberville's Catechism, and said it was a pretty book, and he would take it along with him."¹

After many stirring adventures Charles at length arrived safely in France. His earnest desires to become King of Great Britain and Ireland induced him to lose not a moment in seeking such aid as would enable him to secure the realisation of his ambitions. He knew full well that it was useless to apply to the Protestants of the Continent, who much

¹ Foley's *Records of English Province, S.J.*, vol. v., p. 445.

preferred a Cromwell at the head of English affairs. His only hope, therefore, was in the Roman Catholic powers. From this time until his return to England in 1660 Charles appears to have secretly employed agents at Rome, working in his interest. Lord Clarendon (then Sir Edward Hyde) had at this time a correspondent residing at Rome to whom he frequently wrote, but whose real name is not even yet known with certainty. He was simply known as "Mr. Clement." To him Hyde wrote on April 2nd, 1656, telling him that Charles, on his arrival in France, after the battle of Worcester, wrote a letter to the Pope, which was delivered by the General of the Augustinians, asking for assistance. "The Pope liked very well the expressions" conveyed in the letter, "but would have a certain time prefixed, when the King would declare himself a Catholic,"¹ and intimated that he could not give assistance to an heretic Prince. In 1652 Cardinal De Retz urged Charles to allow him to apply to the Pope on his behalf; and this would no doubt have been done, were it not that directly after the proposal had been made the Cardinal was arrested and sent to the Bastille. Early in 1655 Lord Jermyn, who is supposed to have been married to the widow of Charles I., wrote to Charles II., to tell him that his mother was about to send a special messenger to the Pope, and offering his services with the Pope in the interest of her son, as more likely to succeed than if he were to send a messenger of his own.

I have no doubt, that, even at this early period in his life, Charles's judgment approved the doctrines of the Church of Rome, though he had not yet been formally received into communion with that Church. It was not long after his arrival in France when it began to be rumoured that he had actually seceded to Rome. I do not think he had seceded at that time, for reasons to be explained further on. Bishop Burnet's account of Charles's alleged reception

¹ *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 291.

into the Church of Rome will be read with interest. He writes:—"Before King Charles left Paris he changed his religion, but by whose persuasion is not yet known: only Cardinal de Retz was in the secret, and Lord Aubigny had a great hand in it. It was kept a great secret. Chancellor Hyde had some suspicion of it, but would never suffer himself to believe it quite. Soon after the Restoration, that Cardinal came over in disguise, and had an audience with the King: what passed is not known. The first ground I had to believe it was this: the Marquis de Roucy, who was the man of the greatest family in France that continued Protestant to the last, was much pressed by that Cardinal to change his religion: he was his kinsman and his particular friend. Among other reasons one that he urged was that the Protestant religion must certainly be ruined, and that they could expect no protection from England, for to his certain knowledge both the Princes were already changed. Roucy told this in great confidence to his Minister, who after his death sent an advertisement of it to myself. Sir Allen Broderick, a great confidant of the Chancellor's, who, from being atheistical became in the last years of his life an eminent penitent, as he was a man of great parts, with whom I had lived long in great confidence, on his death-bed sent me likewise an account of this matter, which he believed was done in Fontainebleau, before King Charles was sent to Colen."¹

Towards the close of the year, 1655, the Jesuits were actively engaged in seeking help for Charles, to restore him to the Throne of England. The leader in these negotiations was the well-known Jesuit, Father Peter Talbot, subsequently titular "Archbishop of Dublin." He was particularly anxious for help, in money and men, from Spain. The Spanish King and Government were quite willing to grant the needed assistance, but were unwilling to do so unless Charles

¹ Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, vol. i., p. 126. Oxford, 1823.

became a Roman Catholic. The Jesuit Father, elated with the prospects of success, wrote a long letter to the King, dated Anvers, December 24th, 1655, urging him to become "*secretly*" a Roman Catholic, from which letter I take the following extracts:—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY.

"Mr. Harding hath assured me that he delivered my last letter unto your Majesty, wherein I advertised you of what I thought to be my duty; and though your Majesty seemeth to take no notice of that, nor of former letters, yet I will write this one more, the matter being of high concernment, and the opportunity once let slip, hardly ever recovered. It imports your Majesty most of any *to keep secret what followeth, and to consult none but God*; therefore I write in cypher, which will come to your Majesty's hands by another way. Saxby was desired by Count Fuensaldagna to tell what propositions he had to Father Talbot, that Father Talbot might deliver them in writing to Count Fuensaldagna; some things there were prejudicial to the King, though not named in particular; yet advantageous at the present for the King of Spain, as Don Alonzo and Count Fuensaldagna conceived. Father Talbot desired them both to reflect upon the evil consequences of Commonwealth and Parliament. They answered all was considered, and very good desires there were in the Council of Spain to help the King, but that at present one only way could enable them to help him; and that was, *that the King should renounce the French faction, and become a ROMAN CATHOLIC, YET SO SECRETLY, THAT NO LIVING CREATURE SHOULD KNOW OF IT*, but Count Fuensaldagna, Don Alonzo, the Archduke and Father Talbot, or any other whom the King would name; and in all things proceed as the Queen of Sweden did.

"*For all his life, if it be not his interest, not to declare, and if THE SECRET BE DURING THE KING'S LIFE DISCOVERED, THEY ARE CONTENT TO LOSE THEIR HEADS.* Father Talbot desired to know what might that avail the King? They answered that *the King of Spain and the Pope will engage themselves to get him all his own again*; and that very suddenly by the *Pope's collections of money* and other ways under divers pretexts. . . *if he [the King] resolve to be a Roman Catholic privately* as soon as he comes, let him in God's name come suddenly, but as *incognito* as if he were in England, for jealousies of Saxby and the States of Holland. One shall be despatched immediately to the King of Spain and Don Lewis, *another to the Pope*, and infallibly (by God's assistance) the King's business shall be done before it be six months. . . Father Talbot urged that the King might come to Brussels, without desiring him to be a Roman Catholic, privately; but Count Fuensaldagna is much against his coming upon any other score; yet he is most earnest for it upon this, because he knows how profitable this will be for the King of England, and the King of Spain. I desire your Majesty not to let slip this opportunity; though you live a hundred years there will never concur such circumstances to your advantage. Remember,

Sir, that three kingdoms is worth a journey; Father Talbot takes upon himself all the danger, there can be none in that particular, he says. . . The last words Count Fuensaldagna and Don Alonzo told Father Talbot were these:—"Tell the King of England that he shall find among us *secrecy*, honour and real dealing; and assure him that if he will do what we desire, we will live and die together; let him make no capitulations, for that will be suspicious; *the more he trusts the King of Spain and the Pope the better it is.* . . . But *secrecy is the life of all*,—it shall be kept on this side, let the King of England keep his own. "P. T." ¹

Three weeks later the Jesuit Talbot wrote again to the King, as to instruction to be given him in the Roman Catholic faith;—"It was never thought, and much less said, that your Majesty was of any other religion than of that which you profess; yet it was believed, and must be still as an article of our faith, that only want of information can alienate a person of your Majesty's great wit and judgment from our communion; and truly I did, and do always suppose, that a very short time is sufficient to inform one who hath so much knowledge beforehand as your Majesty. This confidence, or rather belief, can be no greater crime than the other articles of our faith; therefore I can as little crave pardon for it, as for professing myself a Catholic." ²

Probably a more disgraceful letter than Talbot's, of December 24th, was never penned by a professedly Christian Minister. Coldly, and deliberately, he proposes to the King that the whole of his future life should be an acted lie; that, outwardly, and to the whole world, he should profess himself to be a Protestant, while in reality he should be a traitor to the faith he publicly professed! Talbot wrote several times to the King on the subject. At last his efforts were rewarded with success; and he had the privilege of himself formally receiving the King into communion with the Church of Rome. The story of his reception is thus related by the Rev. Laurence Reneham, D.D., who from 1845 to 1857 was President of Maynooth College.

¹ *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii., pp. 280-283.

² *Ibid.*, p. 285.

"Charles II.," writes Dr. Renehan, "fled to Paris, whence he removed to Cologne in July, 1665, after the conclusion of the treaty between the French Court and Cromwell. His Majesty now turned his thoughts on engaging the Spanish Court to assist in his restoration. Talbot possessed a great deal of influence with many of the Spanish Ministers in Flanders, and particularly with the Count de Fonsaldagna, who at that time was the actual Governor of the country, though the Archduke Leopold enjoyed the title. His old and special intimacy with Father Daniel Daly, *alias* Dominick a Rosario, a native of Kerry, and then the Ambassador of the King of Portugal at the Court of France, *besides the vast power and influence of the Society to which he belonged* [*i.e.* the Jesuit Order] enabled Talbot to be of incalculable service to Charles in the days of his distress. He frequently visited his Majesty at Cologne, and was always honoured with the most gracious and friendly reception. Conversation, after some acquaintance, often turned on the respective merits of the Catholic and Protestant religion. If the King was willing to learn, Talbot was able and willing to teach; and so deep was the impression made on the conscience of His Majesty, that after a *secret conference* of some days, he at length shut himself up with our professor [Talbot] in his closet for several days till his conviction was fully completed, and every doubt removed from his mind. Charles, however, was not a man who would forfeit a Crown to follow his convictions. He knew how much the English mind was maddened by the spirit of bigotry against the Catholic Church, he knew the character of Ormond and the others that surrounded his person, he probably saw that these calculating Royalists might believe that this conversion would mar their projects for the settlement and partition of Ireland; and he therefore determined to be received into the bosom of the Catholic Church as secretly as possible, and afterwards, and then only, to absent himself from Protestant Communion, but to make no declaration of his religious opinions. Talbot had thus the pleasure to witness his solemn renunciation of the errors of Protestantism, and to receive him, after a formal profession of faith, into the Catholic Church, and no doubt to administer to him the holy sacraments.

"King Charles, soon after his conversion in 1655 or '56, despatched Father P. Talbot on an Embassy to the Court of Spain. The purport of this Embassy was studiously concealed from his Protestant Ministers, and hence some of them suspected that among other things, Talbot was authorised to communicate to Philip IV. the fact of Charles' reconciliation to the Catholic Church."¹

The date of Charles' secret reception into the Church of Rome, as given by Dr. Renehan, is "1655 or '56." I have no doubt that this story is reliable. There is an-

¹ Renehan's *Collections on Irish Church History*, pp. 202, 203.

other version of the same story to be read in Carte's *Life of Ormond*, which confirms the accuracy of what Dr. Renehan states. The Duke of Ormond was one of the most trusted counsellors of Charles II. during his stay on the Continent previous to his Restoration. The Duke, though thoroughly loyal to the King, was, unlike some other of his counsellors, also true to the Protestant faith. After stating that, in 1656, Charles II. of England was anxious to enter into a treaty with the Court of Spain, Carte relates that:—

“Either a slowness natural to that Court, and observed in all their counsels and proceedings, or some other reason, caused a great delay in the Treaty which his Majesty was desirous to conclude with the King of Spain. It was on this occasion suggested by Roman Catholics to the King, that the dilatoriness of that Court arose from their aversion to enter into any league with a Prince of a different religion; and that if he would suffer the Duke of Gloucester, or, if he could be persuaded himself, to make profession of their religion, it would be a vast advantage to his affairs. The mischiefs that would arise from the King's *open* profession were so very great, and so very evident, that Mr. Walsingham and the most zealous of that party could not but acknowledge the danger of such a step; and yet it being as certain that the Pope and Roman Catholic Princes of Europe would not assist his Majesty as long as he continued of a different Communion, it was proposed as an expedient that he should be *secretly reconciled to the Church of Rome*. This was supposed to be done about this time; for Father Peter Talbot was very often shut up with him in his closet at Cologne, where they had many private conferences together, and in consequence thereof he was despatched in the spring of this year to Madrid on a very secret affair, which not being communicated to the Council, was imagined to be to impart to his Catholic Majesty the King's assent to the Roman Catholic religion.¹

Carte adds that “The King had carefully concealed that change [of religion] from the Duke of Ormond, who yet discovered it by accident. The Duke had some suspicions of it from the time that they removed from Cologne to Flanders, for though he never observed that zeal and concern as to divine things which he often wished in the King, yet so much as appeared in him at any time looked that way. However, he thought it so very little that he hoped it would soon wear off upon returning to his Kingdoms, and was not fully convinced of his change till about the time the Treaty of the Pyrenees was going to be opened. The Duke was always a very early riser, and being then at Brussels, used to amuse

¹ Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. iii., pp. 652, 653. Edition 1851.

himself, at times that others were in bed, in walking about the town, and seeing the churches. Going one morning very early by a church, where a great number of people were at their devotions, he stepped in, and advancing near the altar, *he saw the King on his knees at Mass*. He readily imagined his Majesty would not be pleased that he should see him there, and therefore retired as cautiously as he could, went to a different part of the Church near another altar where nobody was, kneeled down and said his own prayers, till the King was gone. Some days afterwards Sir Henry Bennet came to him, and told his Grace that the King's obstinacy in not declaring himself a Roman Catholic put them to great difficulties; that the Kings of France and Spain pressed him mightily to it, and their Ambassadors solicited it daily, with assurances that if he would make that *public* declaration, they would both assist him jointly, with all their powers, to put him on the Throne of England like a King; that he and others had urged this, and endeavoured to persuade him to declare himself, but all in vain; that it would ruin his affairs if he did not do it, and begged of the Duke of Ormond to join in persuading him to declare himself. The Duke said he could never attempt to persuade his Majesty to act the hypocrite, and declare himself what he was not in reality. Sir Henry thereupon replied that the King had certainly professed himself a Roman Catholic, and was a real convert, only he stuck at the declaring himself so *openly*. The Duke of Ormond answered he was very sorry for it, but he could not meddle in the matter; for the King, having never made a confidence of it to him, would not be pleased with his knowledge of the change he had made; and for his own part he was resolved never to take any notice of it to his Majesty, till he himself first made him the discovery. Some time afterwards, George, Earl of Bristol, came to the Duke, complaining of the folly and madness of Bennet and others about the King, who were labouring to persuade him to what would absolutely ruin his affairs. The Duke asking what it was, the other replied that it was to get the King to declare himself a Roman Catholic, which, if once he did, they should be all undone, and therefore desired his Grace's assistance to prevent so fatal a step. The Duke of Ormond said it was very strange that anyone should have the assurance to persuade his Majesty to declare himself what he was not, especially in a point of so great consequence. Bristol answered, that was not the case, for the King was really a Roman Catholic, but the *declaring* himself so would ruin his affairs in England. 'And as for the mighty promises of assistance from France and Spain, you, my Lord, and I, know very well that there is no dependence or stress to be laid on them, and that they would give more to get one frontier garrison into their hands, than to get the Catholic religion established, not only in England, but over all Europe;' and then desired his Grace to join in diverting the King from any thoughts of declaring himself in a point which would certainly destroy his interest in England for ever, and yet not do him the least service abroad. The Duke allowed that the Earl of Bristol judged very rightly in the case; but excused himself from meddling in the matter, because the King had kept his conversion as a secret from

him, and it was by no means proper for him to show that he had made the discovery."¹

Clarendon must, I think, have known very well that the King had been received into the Church of Rome while on the Continent. His intimate acquaintance with his Majesty, and with all who were about his person for several years, was of such a character, that a secret which was known to the Protestant Duke of Ormonde, Sir Henry Bennet, and the Earl of Bristol, could scarcely have been withheld from him. On the 1st of May, 1656, Clarendon wrote to the King telling him about rumours which had been circulated, to the effect that he had become a Roman Catholic:—"If you understand Dutch," he wrote, "you will find a very worthy mention of you in the last *Diurnal* printed at the Hague, of your changing your religion, and some other particulars not crowded in by chance; it shall go hard but I will discover by what villainy those scandals are published."² And on the same day Clarendon wrote to the Duke of Ormonde on the same subject:—"The d— prints at the Hague of the King's being turned Papist shows how necessary it is that Dr. Earle be with him."³ Clarendon was an active party in several of the negotiations to obtain help for Charles from the Pope.

The first Marquis of Halifax, who held high office in the Government under Charles II. says that he had no doubt whatever as to the King's secret reception into the Church of Rome while abroad. He remarks that:

"The Government of France did not think it advisable to discover it openly, upon which such obvious reflections may be made that I will not mention them. Such a secret can never be put into a place which is so closely stopped that there shall be no chinks. Whispers went about; particular men had intimations; Cromwell had his advertisements in other things, and this was as well worth his

¹ Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. iv., pp. 109—111.

² *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 298.

³ *Calendar of Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 118.

paying for. There was enough said of it to startle a great many, though not universally diffused; so much, that if the Government here had not crumbled of itself, his right alone, with that and other clogs upon it, would hardly have thrown it down. I conclude that when he came into England he was as certainly a Roman Catholic as that he was a man of pleasure, both very consistent by visible experience. . . . His unwillingness to marry a Protestant was remarkable, though both the Catholic and the Christian Crown would have adopted her. Very early in his youth, when any German Princess was proposed, he put off the discourse with raillery. A thousand little circumstances were a kind of accumulative evidence, which in these cases may be admitted. Men that were earnest Protestants were under the sharpness of his displeasure, expressed by raillery as well as by other ways. Men near him have made discoveries from sudden breakings out in discourse, etc., which showed there was a root. It was not the least skilful part of his concealing himself to make the world think he leaned towards an indifference in religion.¹

The secret treaty between Charles II. and Philip IV., King of Spain, mentioned by Carte, was signed at Brussels on April 12th, 1656, by the Duke of Ormond, and Rochester, on the part of Charles; and by Fuensaldagna and De Cardenas, on the part of Spain. It provided that Spain should supply 4000 foot soldiers and 2000 cavalry, "with arms, ammunition, etc., for an expedition to England in the course of the present year;" and that Charles, "when he shall have recovered his Crown," should maintain "twelve ships of war—two of 60 guns, two of 50, four of 40, and four of 30, for five years for the service of Spain against Portugal, and for the allowance of levies among the English and Irish." There was a reserved and special article added to the Treaty, which was "not inserted in it on account of the need of entire

¹ *Life and Letters of the First Marquis of Halifax*, vol. ii., pp. 345-47.

secrecy," by which Charles undertook, "upon his restoration, to suspend all Penal Laws against the Roman Catholics, and endeavour to procure their total revocation; to grant the Roman Catholics full liberty in the free exercise of their religion, and to carry out fully the Treaty made by Ormond with the Irish in 1648."¹ The Treaty here referred to provided, amongst other things, that all impediments should be removed which hindered Roman Catholics from sitting in the Irish Parliament; that Irish Roman Catholics should be preferred to "places of command, honour, profit and trust in his Majesty's armies;" that positions "of command, honour, profit, and trust, in the Civil Government" of Ireland should be conferred on them, together with the "command of Forts, Castles, Garrison towns, and other places of importance;" and that "until full settlement in Parliament, 15,000 foot and 2500 horse, of the Roman Catholics of this Kingdom, shall be of the standing army of this Kingdom" of Ireland. Full religious liberty was also accorded to Irish Roman Catholics.²

During the two years immediately following Charles' reception into communion with the Church of Rome, by the Jesuit Talbot, in 1656, rumours of what had taken place got abroad. In 1658 they were so loudly heard that Charles thought it wise to deny them in the following letter, which he addressed to the Rev. Mr. Price, Presbyterian Minister of the English Congregation at Amsterdam. A similar letter was sent by him to the Rev. Mr. Cawston, Minister of the English Congregation at Rotterdam:—

"CHARLES REX.

"Trusty and well beloved. We greet you well. We have received so full a testimony, from persons to whom we give entire credit, of your good affection to our person and zeal to our service, that

¹ *Calendar of O'Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 110.

² The articles of this Irish Treaty, of 1648, are printed in Father Peter Walsh's *History of the Loyal Irish Formulary and Remonstrance*. Appendix of Instruments, pp 44-61.

are willing to recommend an affair to you in which we are very much concerned. We do not wonder that the malice of our enemies should continue to lay all manner of scandals upon us, which might take away our reputation; but that they should find credit with any, to make our affection to the Protestant Religion in any degree suspected, is very strange, since the world cannot but take notice of our constant and uninterrupted profession and exercise of it in those places where the contrary religion is only practised and allowed. And though we do not boast of doing that which we should be heartily ashamed if we did not do, we may reasonably believe that no man hath or can more manifest his affection to, and zeal for the Protestant Religion than we have done, or in some respects hath suffered more for it, and therefore we are more sensibly affected that those calumnies can make impression to our disadvantage in the minds of honest and pious men, as we are informed they have done. And we do the rather impart the sense we have of our suffering in this particular to you, because as you have the charge of the English congregation in Amsterdam, so you cannot but have much conversation and acquaintance with the Ministers of the Dutch Church, and others in that populous place, with whom we would not suffer under so unjust and scandalous an imputation. And we presume and expect from you, that you will use your utmost diligence and dexterity to root out those unworthy aspersions, so maliciously and groundlessly laid upon us by wicked men; and that you assure all who will give credit to you, that we value ourselves so much upon that part of our title, of being Defender of the Faith, that no worldly temptations can ever prevail with us to swerve from it and the Protestant Religion in which we have been bred, the propagation whereof we shall endeavour with our utmost power. And as we shall never fail in the performance of our duty herein, so we shall take the offices you shall do in vindicating us from these reproaches very well from you, in which we promise ourself you shall serve us effectually. And so we bid you farewell.

"Given at our Court at Brussels the 7th day of November, 1658, in the tenth year of our reign." ¹

Strong as these affirmations of love to Protestantism were they did not allay public suspicion. The rumours of his secession to Rome were so strong in London a year later that Lord Mordaunt found it necessary, on Nov. 10th, 1659, to write to the Marquis of Ormond on the subject, in evident anxiety.

"The occasion," he wrote, "of my writing to you is to let you know that there is a report so hot of your Master's being turned Papist, that unless it be suddenly contradicted, and the world disabused by something coming expressly from him, it is likely in this extra-

¹ *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii., pp. 419, 420.

ordinary conjuncture to do him very great injury amongst his friends both in city and country; in both which, his constancy all this while hath rendered him many proselytes. I beseech you, therefore, as soon as this arrives, use your earnest endeavours to cause the mistake to be rectified. I am told some do intend very shortly to publish how he has renounced his Religion, put away from him his Protestant Council, and only embraced Romanists. Favour me with the truth of these particulars, and it shall be my care to take order to stay this calumny till our Master can do it more authentically. Do not contemn my advice; but know that if it were not highly necessary I should not have adventured to give you this trouble. Your Master is utterly ruined (as to his interest here in whatever party) if this be true; though he never had a fairer game than at present; and 'tis his stability in that point that gains daily."¹

In the face of such serious and dangerous rumours, it was of the utmost importance that something should be done to allay the fears of Englishmen, who, if the real truth were known, would never permit Charles to ascend the Throne. Innocent and highly respectable dupes were found, ignorant of the true facts of the case, and willing to give their testimony to the reality of the King's love for Protestantism.

Several of the Protestant Ministers of Paris, including M. Raymond Gaches, M. Drelincourt, and M. Daillé, the well-known author of *The Right Use of the Fathers*, during the following March wrote letters, which were published at the time, emphatically denying the rumours that had gone abroad, as to Charles's secession to Rome. M. Daillé wrote: "I know 'tis reported that the King has changed his religion; but who can believe a thing so contrary to all probability? Nothing of this appears to us; on the contrary we well know, that when he has resided in places where the exercise of his religion is not permitted, he has always had his Chaplains with him, who have regularly performed Divine Service. Moreover, all Paris knows the anger the King expressed at the endeavours that were used to pervert [to Popery] the Duke of Gloucester. And though 'tis objected

¹ *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 602.

that he never came to our Church at Charenton, yet as we are better informed on this than any one, we can testify, that religion was not the cause of it, but that it was upon political and prudential considerations, which may be peculiar to our Church, for he has gone to sermon in Caen, and some other towns; and in Holland he heard some sermons from the famous Monsieur More, our present colleague. Thus, Sir, it is more clear than the day, that whatsoever has been reported till this time, of the change of this Prince's religion, is a meer calumny."

Monsieur Raymond Gaches, Pastor of the Reformed Church at Paris, wrote to the well-known Rev. Richard Baxter:—"I know what odium has been cast upon the King; some are dissatisfied in his constancy to the true religion. I will not answer what truly may be said, that it belongs not unto subjects to enquire into the Prince's religion; be he what he will, if the right of reigning belongs to him, obedience in civil matters is his due. But this Prince never departed from the public profession of the true religion; nor did he disdain to be present at our religious assemblies at Rouen and Rochelle, though he never graced our Church at Paris with his presence, which truly grieved us."

Pastor Drelincourt, one of the Protestant Ministers at Paris, wrote: "A report is here, that the thing which will hinder the King's restoration is the opinion, conceived by some, of his being turned Roman Catholic, and the fear that in time he will ruin the Protestant Religion. But I see no ground for the report, his Majesty making no profession of it, but, on the contrary, has rejected all the aids and advantages offered him upon that condition. Charity is not jealous, and if it forbids us to suspect on slight grounds private persons, how can it approve jealousies upon persons so sacred!"¹

These letters of the Protestant Pastors were reprinted

¹ Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii., pp. 535, 539.

and widely circulated in England in the interests of Charles. No doubt they helped him immensely, and at a time when help of the kind was particularly needed. But, after all, their real value was very little. Charles left Paris five years before they were written; and what did they know of what had happened since then? No doubt they wrote in good faith; yet, notwithstanding their testimony, the fact remains—Charles actually was a Roman Catholic when they wrote in his favour.

As the time approached when, in all probability, Charles would speedily be restored to the Throne, his lying professions of love for Protestantism were multiplied. The author of the *Secret History of the Reigns of Charles II. and James II.* tells us that: "While he [Charles] lay at Breda, daily expecting the English Navy for his transportation [to England], the Dissenting party, fearing the worst, thought it but reasonable to send a select number of their most eminent Divines to wait upon his Majesty in Holland, in order to get the most advantageous promises from him they could, for the liberty of their consciences. Of the number of these Divines, Mr. Case was one, who with the rest of his brethren coming where the King lay, and desiring to be admitted into the King's presence, were carried up into the chamber next or very near the King's closet, but told withal, that 'the King was very busy at his devotions, and till he had done they must be contented to stay.' Being thus left alone (by contrivance no doubt) and hearing a sound of groaning piety, such was the curiosity of Mr. Case, that he would needs go and lay his ear to the closet door. But, heavens! how was the good old man ravished to hear the pious ejaculations that fell from the King's lips!—'Lord, since Thou art pleased to restore me to the Throne of my ancestors, grant me a heart constant in the exercise and protection of Thy true Protestant religion. Never may I seek the oppression of those who, out of tenderness of their consciences, are not free to conform to outward and indifferent

ceremonies'—with a great deal more of the same cant. Which Mr. Case having overheard, full of joy and transport, returning to his brethren, with hands and eyes to heaven uplifted, fell a-congratulating the happiness of three nations over which the Lord had now placed a Saint of Paradise for their Prince! After which, the King coming out of his closet, the deluded Ministers were ready to prostrate themselves at his feet; and then it was that the King gave them those promises of his favour and indulgence, which how well he after performed, they felt to their sorrow."¹

In his letter from Breda to the Convention Parliament, Charles boasted of his services to the Protestant cause. "If you desire," he wrote, "the advancement and propagation of the Protestant religion; we have, by our constant profession and practice of it, given sufficient testimony to the world, that neither the unkindness of those of the same faith towards us, nor the civilities and obligations from those of a contrary profession (of both which we have had abundant evidence), could in the least degree startle us, or make us swerve from it; and nothing can be proposed to manifest our zeal and affection for it, to which we will not readily consent; and we hope, in due time, ourself to propose somewhat to you for the propagation of it, that will satisfy the world that we have *always* made it both our care and our study, and have enough observed what is most likely to bring disadvantage to it."²

Having, by means of oft-repeated professions of Protestantism, blinded the eyes of Englishmen as to his true objects, Charles II. for two years after his Restoration went on in security, doing his utmost for the promotion of arbitrary power and Popery in his Kingdom. "The project to make the King absolute," writes Rapin, "and equally to employ for that purpose the assistance of Catholics and Protestants, begun by James I., vigorously pursued by Charles I., inter-

¹ *Secret History*, pp. 20—22.

² Harris's *Life of Charles the Second*, vol. ii., p. 52. Edition 1814.

rupted by twenty years' troubles, was eagerly resumed under Charles II." Contrary to the wishes of a majority of his subjects, he insisted on selecting as his wife a Roman Catholic Princess, Catherine of Braganza, Infanta of Portugal, to whom he was married at Portsmouth on May 24th, 1662. King James II. tells us in his *Memoirs Writ of His Own Hand*, that she was first of all secretly married by Lord Aubigny, a Roman Catholic priest, and subsequently she was *publicly* married by the Protestant Bishop of London. "Their Majesties," wrote James II., "were married by my Lord Aubigny, Almoner to the Queen, *but so privately (not to offend the Protestants)* that none were present but some few Portuguese, as witnesses. Soon after this, the King and Queen coming forth into the great room, where all the company was, and being seated in two chairs, Doctor Sheldon, then Bishop of London, performed the outward ceremony in public, of declaring them to be man and wife."¹

Amongst those who went to Portsmouth to visit the new Queen, and congratulate her on her arrival, was the Provincial of the English Jesuits, who presented to her the respects of his Society.² Her Confessor, who came over with her from Portugal, a Father Mark Anthony Galli, was a Jesuit, who applied to the General of his Order to admit the Queen into a participation in "the merits of the Society," towards which she ever manifested a great friendliness.

Shortly after his marriage, Charles sent, in October, 1662, Sir Richard Bellings, an Irish Roman Catholic, on a secret mission to the Pope, to ask that a Cardinal's hat should be given to Lord Aubigny, Almoner to the Queen, and a descendant of the Duke of Lennox, whose Jesuitical conspiracies in Scotland during the reign of James VI. are related in a previous chapter. The wishes of Charles were supported by his mother and wife. Bellings took with him to Rome a Report of "The Favours and Benefits bestowed upon the

¹ Clarke's *Life of James the Second*, vol. i., p. 394.

² Foley's *Records of English Province, S.J.*, vol. iv., p. 278.

English Catholics by the Reigning Monarch," in the handwriting of Charles himself. In this document the King boasted of his services to the Papacy during the first two years of his reign, which he enumerated as follows:—

"1. He had relieved a large number of Catholics from the sentence of confiscation of property pronounced on them under Cromwell.

"2. He had suspended the execution of a portion of the Penal laws; so much, namely, as punished non-attendance at Protestant worship, in the case of rich Catholics, by the loss of two-thirds of their estate, and in the case of poor, by a fine of a shilling for every instance of recusancy.

"3. He had set at liberty priests and religious, who were in prison or under sentence of death, for exercising their ministry.

"4. He had abolished the pursuivants, the officials charged with the duty of searching out priests in the houses of Catholics, and had thus put an end to an intolerable oppression, inasmuch as a Catholic in whose house a priest was found was liable to confiscation of property and banishment for life.

"5. Notwithstanding other and much more advantageous proposals, he had married a Catholic Princess.

"6. He had permitted the erection of two public chapels in London for the Queen Mother and his own Consort; in the Queen's chapel the choral office was solemnly celebrated by the Benedictines, while in that of the Queen Mother the functions were carried out by the Capuchins. All this was the cause of great consolation to the Catholics, who had free access to the Divine Service in the Royal Chapels.

"7. He had, immediately on ascending the throne, caused liberal alms to be bestowed on the English Nuns living in Flanders, especially those domiciled at Ghent; and even during his exile in Holland he had sent to the latter sixteen hundred scudi, in earnest of his goodwill towards them.

"8. He had given the Ghent Nuns permission to build a Convent at Dunkirk, and to this he himself contributed twelve thousand scudi.

"9. He had repeatedly received in audience priests and religious, in particular two Provincials of the Jesuits, and had assured them of his protection.

"10. He had visited the Queen's Chapel, attended by his Court, had assisted at part of the High Mass, and knelt profoundly at the elevation.

"11. He had given the Catholic Lords a seat and voice in the Upper House of Parliament, a concession unheard of since the reign of Elizabeth.

"12. The oath of allegiance prescribed to Catholics on entering or leaving the Kingdom had been abolished.

"13. Thirty thousand Catholics belonging to the London trainbands, who had declared themselves unable to take the oath according to the customary form, had been permitted to subscribe

to a new formula, in which the name of the Pope was not mentioned.

"14. Several Catholics had been appointed to positions of trust."

"15. The endeavours of Parliament at the beginning of the current year, to provide for the enforcing of the Penal Laws, had been opposed by the King.

"16. He had deprived the Exchequer of a considerable sum by not permitting it to appropriate the forfeited two-thirds of the estates of Catholics.

"17. With regard to the accusations that the King had prescribed to Catholics a form of oath prejudicial to their loyalty to the Pope, it was to be observed that the real responsibility for the formula in question rested with one Peter Walsh, a Franciscan friar, who drew it up and had it printed, and subscribed to by a number of his religious brethren; whilst a Dominican bishop, and others, had presented it to the King, with the assurance that Catholics might lawfully take it."¹

Here was abundant evidence of the Royal goodwill towards the Papacy. But Sir Richard Bellings was entrusted, at the same time, with a further mission. The late Lord Acton, a learned Roman Catholic historian, wrote an article in the *Home and Foreign Review*, on "The Secret History of Charles II." For this article he was supplied with copies of original documents, relating to this period, by Father Boero, Librarian of the Jesuits' College in Rome. His lordship states that "Sir Richard Bellings carried to Rome proposals for the submission of the three Kingdoms to the Church [of Rome], and presented to Alexander VII. the King's Profession of Faith."² In this document, Bellesheim states, the King describes the "greatly longed for union of his three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland with the Apostolic Roman See." The King also professed his willingness to accept all the Decrees of the Council of Trent, and the decisions of recent Popes against the Jansenistic doctrines; and expressed his detestation of what he termed "the deplorable schism and heresy introduced by Luther, Zwingle, Calvin, and other wicked men," and the "Babylonish confusion" brought about by the Protestant Reforma-

¹ Bellesheim's *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, vol. iv., pp. 97-100.

² *Home and Foreign Review*, vol. i., p. 154.

tion.¹ The negotiations fell through, however, and Bellings had to return to England, with the refusal of a Cardinal's hat for Aubigny. The King had wished to retain certain privileges to himself, in the event of his Kingdoms becoming reconciled to the Papacy, and these the Pope was unwilling to concede. Rome must have all, or nothing.

All through his reign Charles II. helped forward the interests of the Church of Rome in his dominions to the utmost of his power, never hesitating to practise every possible deception in order that he might accomplish his evil purpose. While Sir Richard Bellings was at Rome Charles endeavoured to benefit the Papists indirectly. He issued a Royal Declaration, dated December 26th, 1662, in which he promised to do his utmost to persuade Parliament to grant him a dispensing power in favour of the Presbyterians and Nonconformists, which should give them leave to "modestly, and without scandal, perform their devotions in their own way." At the same time he hoped to give some indulgence to Roman Catholics, who had, he affirmed, deserved well from him for their services to his father and himself. "It is not," he said, "my intention to exclude them from all benefit from such an act of indulgence, but they are not to expect any open toleration." Rapin says that "This declaration was resolved and prepared at Somerset House, where the Queen Mother resided, and probably by a Catholic Junto, or by secret favourers of that religion. Those who knew the Chancellor's [Lord Clarendon's] principles, easily judged he had no hand in it. They had reason to be afterwards confirmed in that opinion, when every one evidently saw the King, in his pretended compassion for the Presbyterians, designed only to procure a toleration for Catholics."² That Charles was moved by a desire to benefit the Roman Catholics rather than the Protestants, is proved also by a statement of Father Peter Walsh, a learned

¹ Bellesheim's *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 101.

² Rapin's *History of England*, vol. xi., p. 246. 5th Edition.

and loyal priest who lived at the time. He tells us that about 1661, one Sunday morning very early, being sent for by one of the first lords of the Kingdom, among other things this great personage spoke to him as followeth: "Father Walsh, now is the time for you to reap the fruit of your long painful endeavours, your fidelity and patience, and the expectations you have had of us for many years. I can tell you that we are now going to do what you have laboured so much for—viz., we are going to abolish all the laws which have been made in this Kingdom against Catholics, and procure them the public exercise of their religion; admission into all offices, civil and military, and a dispensation for taking the oath of supremacy. We shall manage so that they shall have forty in London, where they may say Mass undisturbed for the future. We are going to choose some members of the House of Lords to demand the abolition of the laws against Roman Catholics, before the present Parliament rises. But, because the Presbyterian members will oppose such a measure, pretending that the safety of the State is incompatible with the toleration of a party that owns no other superior but the Pope:—Therefore, my good father, you must, without delay, in going from house to house, engage all the Catholics to promise to take the oath of allegiance, which will stop the mouths of the Presbyterian lords."¹ When Parliament met on February 18th the King delivered a speech to both Houses in favour of adopting his Declaration, and at the same time he made a loud profession of his zeal on behalf of the Protestant religion. "The truth is," he said, "I am in my nature an enemy to all severity for religion and conscience, how mistaken soever it be, when it extends to capital and sanguinary punishments, which, I am told, began in Popish times; therefore, when I say this, I hope I shall not need to warn any here not to infer from hence I mean to favour Popery. I must confess

¹ Quoted in Harris's *Life of Charles II.*, vol. ii., p. 71.

to you there are many of that profession who, having served my father and myself very well, may fairly hope for some part of that indulgence I would willingly afford to others who dissent from us. But let me explain myself, lest some mistake me herein, as I hear they did in my Declaration. I am far from meaning by this a toleration or qualifying them thereby to hold any offices or places in the Government; nay, further, I desire some laws to be made to hinder the growth and progress of their doctrines. I hope you have all so good an opinion of my zeal for the Protestant religion, as I need not tell you, I will not yield to any therein, not to the Bishops themselves, nor in my liking the uniformity of it, as it is now established, which being the standard of our religion, must be kept pure and uncorrupted, free from all other mixtures.”¹

Charles, however, failed in gaining his object. Instead of persuading the House of Commons to adopt his views, he alarmed its members considerably. The House forwarded to his Majesty an address declining to accept his views, and shortly afterwards sent him a further address, in which they declared: “That his Majesty’s lenity towards the Papists, had drawn into the Kingdom a great number of Romish priests and Jesuits,” and humbly begged him to issue a proclamation to command all English, Irish, and Scotch Papist priests, excepting those in attendance on the Queens or foreign ambassadors, to depart from the Kingdom. To this latter address the King replied that he was “highly offended” at the resort of Popist priests and Jesuits to his Kingdom, and that therefore he would issue the proclamation desired by the House of Commons. At the same time he again assured them of his “affection and zeal for the Protestant religion and the Church of England.” The proclamation was accordingly issued, but was not seriously enforced. Rapin remarks that:—“As it was not then known that the King

¹ Rapin’s *History of England*, vol. xi., p. 246.

was a Catholic, his assurances of zeal for the Protestant religion were taken for so many truths, which removed all suspicion of his having the least design to restore the Catholic religion in England." Yet, though concealed from public gaze, the design existed, and was known to a few trusted crypto-Romanists. These secret conspirators meant business, and for a time everything seemed to favour their plot.

Of these crypto-Catholics the author of *The Secret History of the Reigns of Charles II. and James II.*—who wrote in 1690, and was evidently a well-informed man in high position—tells us that:—"The King was not ignorant that he was furnished already with a stock of gentlemen who, being forced to share the misfortunes of his exile, and consequently no less embittered against those whom they looked upon as their oppressors, he had moulded them to his own Popish religion and interests, by corrupting them in their banishment with him to renounce the Protestant doctrine and worship, and secretly reconcile themselves to the Church of Rome; insomuch that Mr. R. offered to prove one day, in the pensionary House of Commons, that of all the persons, yet persons all of rank and quality, who sojourned with the King abroad, there were but three then alive—viz., P. Rupert, the Lord M. and Mr. H. Coventry, who had not been prevailed upon by his Majesty to go to Mass. Nor could their being restored to their estates at his return separate them from their Master's interests; for that, besides the future expectations with which the King continually fed them, and the obligations that the principles of the religion to which they had revolted laid them under, they had bound themselves by all the oaths and promises that could be exacted from them, to assist and co-operate with him in all his designs for the extirpation of the Protestant religion, and introducing of Popery; though they were dispensed with from appearing barefaced." ¹

¹ *The Secret History of the Reigns of Charles II. and James II.*, pp. 29, 30

During the summer of 1663 a remarkable attack was made upon the Earl of Clarendon by George, Earl of Bristol. The latter appears to have had deep personal feelings of hatred towards the former, whom he desired to injure in every possible manner. Bristol was a Roman Catholic, while Clarendon was a Protestant, though unhappily, a stern foe to religious liberty being given to Nonconformists. Both had rendered important services to Charles while on the Continent, and were, no doubt, aware of his secret reception into the Church of Rome. Clarendon was particularly anxious to prevent the King's affection for Popery becoming generally known, and with this object he plotted with the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Southampton to protect the King's character as a Protestant. Carte tells us that Ormond "had kept the discovery he had made of the King's change [of religion] a secret from his friend the Chancellor [Clarendon] all the time that they were abroad together; but now [in 1662] he thought it necessary to discover it to him and the Earl of Southampton, that they might agree on some measures to prevent as well the King's being prevailed upon to declare himself, or the Roman Catholic priests publish his secret embracing their religion. They apprehended very ill consequences from either of these, and agreed, that as soon as the new Parliament should meet, a clause should be inserted in some Act, making it a premunire for any person to say that the King was a Papist. This was done in the first Act which was passed in that Parliament, for the Security of His Majesty's Person and Government."¹ The Act referred to by Carte is that of 13 Charles II., Chapter i. It was passed in 1661, and not only inflicted a severe punishment on all who said the King was a Papist, but also on all who affirmed that he had a design to introduce Popery. This Act is no longer on the Statute Book. Apparently the Earl

¹ Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. iv., p. 112.

of Bristol thought he could inflict a deadly injury on his enemy the Earl of Clarendon, by proving him guilty of breaking the very law in the passing of which he had taken so prominent a part. When, in 1667, the Earl of Clarendon was for a second time charged with treason, he boasted: "I may without vanity say that I had more than a common part in the framing and promoting that Act of Parliament, that hath made those seditious discourses, of the King's being a Papist in his heart, or Popishly affected, so very penal as it is; and therefore there is need of an undoubted and uncontrollable evidence that I did so soon run into that crime myself."¹

The Earl of Bristol, on July 10th, went down to the House of Lords and there impeached the Earl of Clarendon of High Treason, for that (amongst other matters which he named) he had endeavoured "by words of his own, and by artificial insinuations of his creatures and dependants, that His Majesty was inclined to Popery, and had a design to alter the religion established in this Kingdom;" that to several members of the Privy Council he had asserted, "That his Majesty was dangerously corrupted in his religion, and inclined to Popery; that persons of that religion had such access and such credit with him, that unless there were a careful eye had unto it, the Protestant religion would be overthrown in this Kingdom," that "his Majesty had given £10,000 to remove a zealous Protestant that he might bring into that high place of trust [*i.e.*, as Principal Secretary of State] a concealed Papist"—Sir Henry Bennet.² Lord Clarendon denied the truth of the charges brought against him, and was acquitted by the House of Lords, upon which his accuser fled from the country to escape the wrath of the King, who was naturally very angry at having so much public attention directed to such a very delicate subject. "It could not," says Rapin, "but appear strange

¹ *Collection of State Trials*, vol. viii., p. 386. London, 1735.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 550, where the articles are printed in full.

that an open and declared Papist, as the Earl of Bristol was, should accuse the Chancellor of favouring the Romish religion, and, on the other hand, of insinuating that the King was a Papist, in order to alienate the affection of his subjects. But what was still more extraordinary in the impeachment is, that the insinuations the Chancellor was accused of, concerning the King, were true in themselves."¹

This was the first serious attack made upon the power of Clarendon, but it was not the last. His enemies were many, and as he was opposed to an increase of liberty being given to Presbyterians and Nonconformists, many of the latter would no doubt have rejoiced to have seen him removed from power. But his chief enemies were the crypto-Papists in the Court, who, after four years of incessant intriguing, succeeded in their efforts. Of course the charges brought against Clarendon were of a varied kind, and there can be no doubt that he was not altogether free from blame. The Earl of Southampton, who died about three months before Clarendon's fall from power, said of him:—"The Earl of Clarendon is a true Protestant, and an honest Englishman; and while he is in place we are secure of our laws, liberties, and religion; but whenever he shall be removed, England will feel the ill effects of it."

¹ Rapin's *History of England*, vol. xi., p. 254.

CHAPTER IX

CHARLES II. AND THE JESUITS

If further proof be needed to show that Charles, while King of England, attending the services of the Church of England, and even taking the Sacrament in her communion, was in reality all the time a Roman Catholic, it will be found in the story of his first illegitimate son, as related for the first time in Italy in 1863, by a Jesuit priest, Father Boero, in the columns of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the official organ of the Jesuit Order at Rome. The articles contributed by Father Boero to that magazine were subsequently re-issued by the Jesuits as a pamphlet of 79 pages with the following title: "*Istoria Della Conversione Alla Chiesa Cattolica Di Carlo II. Re D'Inghilterra, Cavata Da Scritture Autentiche ed Originali, Per Giuseppe Boero, D.C.D.G.*" In 1866 a translation into English of some of the documents in this extraordinary pamphlet appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which has now become so scarce that I had to wait six years, after first hearing of what it contained, before I could even get a chance of purchasing a copy. London second-hand booksellers, dealing specially in magazines, have frequently offered me £3 3s. for the two volumes for 1866, to complete their sets. It looks as though they had been bought up to be suppressed as far as possible. An article on Father Boero's revelations appeared in the *Home and Foreign Review* for July, 1862, which was then edited by the late Lord Acton. The article bears his initials, and is entitled, "Secret History of Charles II." Lord Acton had been shown the documents by Father Boero, before they were published by him in Italy, and

gives his readers a most interesting account of the secret intrigues of Charles with the Pope and the General of the Jesuits. In 1890 the late Mr. W. Maziere Brady, a Roman Catholic residing in Rome, devoted a chapter of his book, entitled *Anglo-Roman Papers*, to the story of "The Eldest Natural Son of Charles II." Neither Lord Acton nor Mr. Brady express any doubt as to the truthfulness of Father Boero's extraordinary narrative.

From these documents we learn that, early in the year 1668, Charles's eldest illegitimate son, James Stuart, under the *alias* of James de la Cloche, was received into the Order of Jesuits at Rome, as a novice. When the news reached London the young man's Royal father expressed his satisfaction in a long and secret letter, which he addressed to the General of the Jesuits, on August 4th, 1668. In this document Charles tells the General that he had long prayed that God would send him someone to whom he "could confide the important matter of our spiritual welfare, *without giving Our Court the shadow of a suspicion that We were a Catholic.*" There were, he said, "a large number of priests" of the Church of Rome about the Court, but he could not with safety accept the services of any of them, for fear of detection. Under these circumstances it seemed to him a "Providence of God" that he had now a son of his own in the Jesuit College at Rome. This son would, he hoped, be sent by the General as quickly as possible to London, to be secretly ordained a Roman Catholic priest, in order, said the King, that he may "administer to Us, privately, the Sacraments of Confession and Communion, which We desire to receive without delay," and thus enable his father to "*practise the rites of the Roman Catholic religion* without exciting in Our Court the shadow of a doubt that We belong to that persuasion." He tells the General:—" *We often wrote secretly to His Holiness concerning Our own conversion to the Roman Catholic Church;*" thus proving that the Pope was not ignorant of the facts of the case; and he adds that he had no wish to withdraw

his son from the Jesuit Order; on the contrary, he assured the General:—"We hold it near to Our heart that he should pass his life with you." Apparently the King felt that although he had been formally received into the Church of Rome thirteen years previously, yet, for his attendance at Church of England services, and his hypocritical promises to support the Protestant religion, and his other innumerable wickednesses, he needed absolution, and therefore he expressed a hope that his son, when he arrived in London, would "absolve Us from heresy and reconcile Us to God and His Church." In conclusion, he assures the General of his Royal affection and goodwill to the Jesuit Order, and of his desire to assist it.

On the same day Charles wrote direct to his natural son, telling him about his plans for his future, and urging him not to write to his father, "in order that not the slightest suspicion of Our being a Catholic may arise," and assuring him of "the good feelings which We entertain for the Reverend Fathers, the Jesuits." On August 29th, 1668, the King again wrote to the General of the Jesuits on the same subject, and urged him to become a party to a deception which he was practising on the Queen of Sweden, evidently without a doubt that he would comply with his underhand wishes. He tells the General that he is in great fear lest the fact that he is a Roman Catholic should be discovered by his subjects, for "of all the evils that could surround us, the *certainty* that We were a Catholic would be the greatest, and the most likely to cause Our death."

The King wrote a second letter, on the same day, to the General of the Jesuits, giving further directions for his son's journey to England, and ordering that on his arrival he should call himself by the name of Henry de Rohan. The King informs the General that he takes note secretly and circum-spectly of all departures and arrivals of vessels at the various English ports, and of the arrival of all strangers:—"This," says Charles II., "we do on colour of zeal for the Kingdom

and on pretext of maintaining *the Protestant religion, to which we feign to be more than ever attached, although before God Who sees the heart we abhor it as most false and pernicious.* We now desire our son not to travel *via France.* We ask you, Father General, to spread a report that he is gone to Jersey or Hanton to see his pretended mother, who wishes to become a Catholic. . . . No doubt, when time and circumstances shall permit *our writing to acquaint His Holiness of the obedience which we owe to him as Vicar of Christ,* we hope that he will entertain for us such benevolence as not to refuse our son the Cardinal's hat. If it should be inconvenient for him to reside in England as a Cardinal, we can send him to reside in Rome, as we intend, with all the Royal magnificence due to his rank. If he wishes, nevertheless, to be a simple Jesuit, we shall not force the purple on him against his will."¹

This disreputable transaction of Charles II. with the General of the Jesuits is so important that I think it necessary to reprint below entire his two first letters to the General, and also his letter to his son:—

CHARLES II. TO THE GENERAL OF THE JESUITS.

"To the Very Reverend Father, the General of the Order of the Jesuits at Rome.

"VERY REV. FATHER,—We write to your Reverence as to a person whom We esteem to be of singular prudence and sound sense, inasmuch as the first great charge which your Reverence has of so celebrated an Order does not permit Us to think otherwise. We address you in the French tongue, used by every person of quality, with which we believe your Paternity to be familiar. We prefer writing in this tongue, to using an imperfect Latin, the use of which might cause us to be misunderstood; the more especially as our chief object in view is to avoid the necessity of any Englishman's seeing this as an interpreter, a circumstance which might greatly tend to the detriment of the motives which lead Us to desire that this letter may remain secret between yourself and Us.

"To begin: Your Very Reverend Paternity knows, that long since in the midst of the cares imposed upon Us by our Crown, We have prayed God that He would vouchsafe to bestow upon Us the occasion of finding in our Kingdom a person to whom We could

¹ *Anglo-Roman Papers*, page 103.

confide the important matter of our spiritual welfare, without giving Our Court the shadow of a suspicion that We were a Catholic; and, although there be here a large number of priests, some for the special service of the Queens, and who inhabit Our Palaces of St. James and Somerset, and others who live dispersed in London, nevertheless, We cannot accept the services of any of them, lest we should excite the suspicions of our Court by conversing with these persons who, whatever may be their external disguise, are quickly known and detected. Notwithstanding these great and serious difficulties, it is evident that the Providence of God had provided for and seconded this ardent desire on Our part, by raising to Us a son of the Catholic faith, in whom alone we can confide in so delicate a matter; and although there might be found, for our service in these circumstance, many persons more versed than he in the mysteries of the Catholic religion, We, nevertheless, can accept none other than himself, and, moreover, *he will ever suffice to administer to Us, privately, the Sacraments of Confession and Communion, which We desire to receive without delay.*

"This, our Son, is a young Cavalier, *whom We know you have received in your Order*, in Rome, under the name of De La Cloche, of Jersey, for whom We have always entertained a singular affection, partly because he was born to Us, when we were not more than sixteen or seventeen years of age, of a young lady belonging to the most distinguished in Our Kingdom, an event arising rather from the weakness of our early youth than from any great depravity; and partly because of the excellent understanding which We have always found in him, and of the eminent learning to which, by Our means, he has attained; and We the more esteem his entrance into the Roman Catholic Church because We know that he has done so with discretion and reason and the aid of learning. Great and various reasons connected with the peace of our Kingdom have hitherto withheld Us from publicly recognising him as Our son, but this will be but of short duration, as We are now resolved to recognise him in a few years, and have in the meantime granted him, in the year 1665, our Testimonials, in the event of our demise, in order that he may draw all necessary claims from them, in due time and place. And as he is in no way known here, except by the two Queens, this business has been treated under the greatest secrecy; We are, therefore, enabled to converse in all security with him, *and practise the rites of the Roman Catholic religion, without exciting in our Court the shadow of a doubt that We belong to that persuasion*; a matter which we could not carry out with any other Missionary, seeing with what entire confidence, We can open our heart to him only, in all sincerity and security, as though he formed a part of Ourselves; and it is evident that although he was born to Us in early youth and against the Divine Law, God nevertheless, who alone can evoke good from evil, has turned him to His holy purpose for the salvation of Our soul.

"We think that we have explained to your Very Reverend Paternity the want We have of him; and if your Paternity write to Us, you will confide your letters to our Son only, when he shall come to Us, and although We are aware that you could

easily find some other secure channel in this matter, nevertheless it would be to us a cause of displeasure if you confided your letters to other than him; and this for many reasons of weighty consideration of which your Paternity can guess part; and also, more especially, on account of the evils which might arise, as unfortunately occurred when We received from Rome a letter in answer to one from Ourselves to the late Pope, which was delivered to us with every precaution by a Roman Catholic; yet this was not done with a degree of prudence sufficient to prevent the clear-sighted of our Court from *inferring that We had a secret understanding with the Pope*; but, having found the means of suppressing this suspicion, which had begun to circulate, that We were a Roman Catholic, We were at the same time, obliged, from dread lest it should again spring up in the public mind, to bear, on several occasions, with many things which turned to the prejudice of many Roman Catholics in our Kingdom of Ireland; which is still the reason why Our being constrained to cease to communicate with the Holy See is in force; although *We often wrote secretly to His Holiness concerning Our own conversion to the Roman Catholic Church* at the period when We requested Him to raise our Well-beloved Cousin, my Lord d'Aubigny, to the rank of Cardinal, which for good reasons, was refused.

“ And although the Queen of Sweden is both prudent and wise, still that is not sufficient to remove Our fears that she may be a woman who could not keep this secret, and on that account, as she believes that she alone knows the particulars of the birth of Our beloved son, We have, of late, written to her, and have confirmed her in this belief, and, for those reasons, Your Very Reverend Paternity will likewise give her to understand, at the opportune moment, that you know nothing of his birth, should she question you on the subject; and, in the same manner, We entreat Your Very Reverend Paternity to state neither to her, nor to any other person whomsoever, the intention we entertain of becoming a Catholic, nor that to the end We desire Our dearly-beloved son to come to Us. If the Queen of Sweden is desirous of knowing where he is gone, Your Very Reverend Paternity will know where to find a pretext, and might say that he has been sent on a mission to the Isle of Jersey, or into some other part of Our Kingdom, or any other pretext, to the end that we may not again have to repeat to Your Very Reverend Paternity Our desire and wishes on this matter. We, therefore, pray you to send to Us our most dearly-beloved son as quickly as possible; that is, as soon as the most fitting time of this or of the ensuing season shall permit. We believe that Your Very Reverend Paternity is actuated by too ardent a zeal for the salvation of souls, and entertains too high a respect for crowned heads, not to acquiesce in so just a demand. We have had some idea of writing to His Holiness, and laying before Him that which We had on Our mind, and, at the same time, of requesting him to send Our son to Us, but have thought it sufficient, on this occasion, to lay Our views before Your Very Reverend Paternity, reserving to another season, of which We shall avail Ourselves as soon as may be, to write and state our intentions to the Pope, through the agency of a secret messenger, sent by us

on purpose, should our dearly-beloved son not then be in priest's orders, or should he not be able to be ordained without having publicly to make known his birth; or, in fact, through any other circumstances. We state all the particulars, because We are ignorant of your manner of proceeding in such matters, in such case as the present: he should on no account be ordained in Rome, in order that he may not have to declare to the Bishops or priests who he is; but let him go to Paris and present himself to our well-beloved Cousin, the King of France, or, if he prefer it, to our most honoured sister, the Duchess of Orleans, to both of whom he will make, in all security, our wishes known. They well understand what we have on our mind, and will recognise our dearly beloved son by the tokens we gave in 1665; and, learning that he is a Catholic, they either will find or possess the means of causing him to be ordained a priest, without its being known who he is, and with the greatest secrecy, as we are led to conclude; if, indeed, he should not prefer to come straight to us without being ordained a priest, which, perhaps, would be his better mode of proceeding, as we could carry out this same purpose by means of the Queen our most honoured mother, and of the Queen Consort, who both could have at their disposal Bishops, Missionaries, or others to perform this duty, *so that no person in the world could either know or suppose anything.* We say this, lest any difficulty should present itself in ordaining him in Rome.

"And although we order our dearly beloved son to come to us, *nevertheless it is not with any intention to withdraw him from your Order; on the other hand, We hold it near to our heart that he should pass his life with you,* if the Lord should inspire him with that desire to embrace that state: whilst we, having through his means, set in order all matters of conscience, shall not place any impediment to his return to Rome, there to live according to the vows which he has embraced; but shall, during his stay in our service, permit him, if such be his choice, to observe with those members of your Order, who are in our Kingdom, the rules of the religious life he has embraced, provided this be not done in London, but in some town or place not far distant from Our City of London, in order that he may come to Us with greater speed when We require his services. And the reason why We do not wish him to remain in London, among your members, is on account of the danger that a suspicion might arise that he was a Jesuit, if he were to enter places where your members reside, who are known to many; a circumstance which might turn to Our prejudice. Or, if the foregoing plans be not carried into effect, We are content, *after he shall have absolved Us from heresy, and reconciled Us to God and the Church,* that he return to Rome, to lead there the religious life he has embraced, and there await Our future orders, which manner of proceeding We consider the best; believing that your Very Reverend Paternity will be of Our opinion and way of thinking in this last proposal; and this carried out, We will send him back to Rome under the rule of your Very Reverend Paternity, *in order that he may by your teaching become better able to serve Us.* And during the short time he will be in London let him be most guarded in not saying for what purpose he is come, when speaking

to any of your members; he may, instead, say that he has important business at Our Court, to be known only to your Very Reverend Paternity and himself.

"And although I cannot openly express to all your Illustrious Society *the affection and good will We bear towards it*, this need be no impediment to your Very Reverend Paternity to *let Us know by Our dearly beloved son in what manner We may assist it*; the which we shall the more cheerfully do, because We are assured that any assistance on Our part will be devoted to the service of God, in expiation of Our sins, and in this good hope and expectation, We commend Ourselves to your prayers, and also our Kingdom, and are:

"CHARLES, KING OF ENGLAND.

"Whitehall 3rd August, 1668."

"CHARLES II. TO HIS SON.

"For Our most honoured Son, the Prince Stuart, residing at Rome with the Reverend Fathers, the Jesuits, under the name of Monsieur de La Cloche.

"SIR,—We have written at length to your Very Reverend Father the General of the Jesuits, who will explain our wishes to you. The Queen of Sweden has borrowed from Us the sum of money which We had remitted to her as a means of subsistence for yourself for some years. We have taken the necessary measures in the matter; do not, therefore, think any more about it; neither write nor speak further to her on the subject.

"If the autumn be too unpropitious for you to travel to Us, and you feel you cannot do so without incurring the risk of falling ill, wait until the ensuing spring; taking care above all things of your health, and giving yourself repose; and do not write to Us, in order that not the slightest suspicion of Our being a Catholic may arise.

"The Queens are most impatient to see you, as we have secretly communicated to them your conversion to the Roman Catholic religion. They have counselled Us to say that We shall certainly not prevent your living in the Institution [the Jesuit Order] you have made choice of, and in which it is most acceptable to Us that you continue to live for the rest of your life.

"With all this, measure well your strength and constitution, which appears to us to be somewhat weak and delicate. Bear in mind that one can be a good Catholic without being a Monk. Bear also in mind that We also entertain the desire to recognise you after a few years; but, up to the present time, neither the Parliament nor public affairs leaning thereto, We have been compelled to defer it. You shall, moreover, consider that from Us you might lay claims to honours and titles as great, if not greater, than those of the Duke of Monmouth, who is a young man like yourself. Should liberty of conscience and the Catholic religion be restored to this Kingdom, you might even perhaps entertain hopes of arriving at the Crown; because We may assure you that, should God so decree, that We and our honoured brother the Duke of York die without heirs, the Kingdom will be yours; nor

could the Parliament, according to the laws, oppose itself to this. But your being a Roman Catholic would be an impediment, or if, as is now the case, the impossibility of having other than Protestant Sovereigns were to continue.

"Such is the substance of what the Queens counsel us to write. If you are more inclined, every matter well weighed, to serve God in the Institution of the Jesuits, We are not disposed to oppose the Divine Will, which We have already but too much offended by Our faults. We shall not, therefore, oppose you if you are inspired of God; We desire only that you maturely consider this matter and think upon it deeply. We had wished to write to the Pope before speaking to you. We wrote to the late Pope requesting him to bestow the dignity of Cardinal on our beloved Cousin, my Lord d'Aubigny, a satisfaction, however, that was not conceded to Us; nevertheless, We do not entertain any unpleasantness of feeling towards his Holiness on this account, who laid before Us a great multitude of reasons why he could not create a Cardinal for Our Kingdom, seeing the state in which religious matters and other affairs are at the present time. Shortly after, We wrote to the Queen of Sweden, recommending her not to write to Us, and to receive you as a simple gentleman, and not to appear to know the condition of your birth; you will not, therefore, take it amiss if her Majesty should receive you as one. It is to Us no small grief to see you constrained to live unknown. But have patience for a short time; We shall, in a few years, take measures so to manage public affairs, and the Parliament more particularly, that the whole world shall know who you are. You shall then no longer live in privations and straits; and it will depend on yourself to live in liberty and the enjoyment of that splendour which is due to a person of your rank and birth; unless, indeed, being strongly inspired of God, you should positively determine to continue to lead the religious life you have already entered upon.

"Although We cannot and ought not *openly* to manifest the *good feelings which We entertain for the Reverend Fathers, the Jesuits*, who have received you, nevertheless, We shall await the opportunity of being *better able to assist them with Our Royal munificence* in a more manifest manner, should there be any place, site, building, or occasion in which they may require our assistance, and we have it in Our power to give them aid. We shall do so the more willingly, because We are aware that our gift would be devoted to the service of God and the remission of Our sins. Nor are We willing that a person of your birth should remain among them without some foundation in remembrance of your condition, should you persist to continue to live with them. We will speak to you touching this matter in London. In the meantime We wish you to believe that We have nourished a special regard for you, not only because you were born to Us in our early youth when We were little more than sixteen or seventeen years of age, but more particularly because of the excellent disposition We have observed in you, and also for the high scientific attainments you have acquired through assistance, and likewise, because you have ever obeyed Our commands, all of which, joined to the paternal love We bear you, largely stray Us towards wishing you every sort

of good; setting aside the regret We experience in seeing you living thus unknown and unappreciated; a state which will continue the shortest possible time for Us.

"We cannot very secretly send to Rome a sum of money sufficient for a person of your birth to enable you to assume the state and condition necessary to appear before Us, as We are not desirous to have it known in Rome that there is in Rome any person with whom We are in communication. It cannot be that you will not, in every sense, be prudent and circumspect when coming to Us; if not in the state of a person of your quality, at least in that of an ordinary gentleman when you set foot in England. Lastly, pray for us, for the Queens, and for our Kingdom.

"We are,

"Your affectionate father,

"CHARLES,

"KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND.

"WHITEHALL, 4th August, 1662."

"CHARLES II. TO THE GENERAL OF THE JESUITS.

"To the Reverend Father, the General of the Order of the Jesuits at Rome.

"SIR AND VERY REVEREND FATHER,—We send in great haste and secrecy an express messenger with two letters, one to Your Very Reverend Paternity requesting that our most dearly beloved son may come to us as soon as possible, and one to the Queen of Sweden; and have commanded Our messenger to await her Majesty in any Italian city she may have to pass through, as we are averse that he should in any manner make his appearance in your house, lest he should there be known by any members of your Order who may be English and worthy of belief, or remain more than one day in Rome, lest he should also be their recognised by Englishmen.

"We must inform your Very Reverend Paternity that, after We had written Our first letter, We received reliable news that the Queen of Sweden had gone to Rome against our expectations, and that this, to a certain degree, has placed in no small risk the matter of Our spiritual welfare. We have in consequence, and after having taken the advice of the Queens, determined at once to write to the Queen of Sweden; pretending, and giving her to believe, that Our dearly beloved son, having represented to Us his request that We would grant him some certain income during his life, in order that, should he be unable to continue to lead the religious life he has entered upon, now that he is a Catholic, he might have wherewith to shelter himself; and, admitting his being unable to continue in his calling, he, still in the same manner entreating Us to grant him funds which he might dispose of according to his own pious intentions, We have in this granted all his requests; but being unable to carry out these Our wishes in Rome, We have commanded him to repair to Paris to some of Our friends, and from thence to proceed to Jersey or Southampton,

where he will receive from Us forty or fifty thousand crowns wherewith to constitute a fund, or which he may place in some bank. We have also led her to believe that We have ordered him to say nothing concerning his birth to the Very Reverend Father, the General of his Order; but that he is merely to inform him that he is the son of a rich minister who has been dead some little time and that his mother, being desirous to become a Catholic and of giving up to him his inheritance, has written to him on the subject; and that your Very Reverend Paternity, desirous to further the spiritual welfare of this person, and to receive her as a Catholic, and wishing also that the son should obtain his inheritance, will permit this journey without any difficulty. Such are Our intentions and views. In this manner, the Queen concluding that she alone is entrusted with this secret, will have no motive to sacrifice any of the friendship she may entertain for your Very Reverend Paternity; and in this manner also We will guard against any suspicion she might entertain that We had ordered Our son to come to Us, or that we were a Catholic. And above all, it is necessary that he wait not for the Queen, but depart as soon as possible; because, as she is in want of means (her wants being such that she asked thirty-five thousand crowns of the Swedish Diet in advance), she might so entangle him that the affairs which we have to treat would only be treated unsatisfactorily. This is what We had to say on the subject of the Queen of Sweden. Your Very Reverend Paternity will not, therefore, experience too great a degree of astonishment; for, if the sentiment of fear is bestowed upon Us in order to protect us from the evils which surround us, it necessarily becomes greater and keener as the latter becomes graver, and more likely to produce disastrous results. At the present time, it is a truth fully agreed upon by persons of the soundest judgment that *of all the evils that could surround Us the certainty that we were a Catholic would be the greatest and the most likely to cause our death*, and, together with it, an infinity of tumult in Our Kingdom. Your Very Reverend Paternity will not, therefore, be too greatly astonished if We take so many precautions, and have judged proper to write this second letter, as well on account of what concerns the Queen, as to make good any omissions We have made in the first, and also to substitute some parts, such as, that our most dearly beloved son is not to present himself to Our Beloved Cousin, the King of France, nor to Our most Honoured Sister, the Duchess of Orleans, before he shall have spoken to Us; but that he is simply to come to Us through France, or Paris, or by any other way which your Very Reverend Paternity may be pleased to point out to him; and that he is to write to the Queen of Sweden when on his journey, lest she should perceive that Our measures of dissimulation, connected with the pretexts We have placed before her, had failed in their execution. Such is what we have resolved upon with the Queens; fearful lest any rumours of it should become noised abroad, or any misadventure arise.

“And, as We are desirous, with all the prudence requisite in a matter of such weighty importance to Us and to the peace of Our Kingdom, to facilitate for Our most dearly beloved son all the

necessary means for the prosecution of the matter of Our spiritual welfare; and to avoid all the difficulties which might arise on this score, We have decided, with the Queens, that on his arrival in London, in accordance with Our will and pleasure, he shall, without delay, suitably prepare and clothe himself should the fear of soiling his dress, either by reason of bad weather or of the muddy state of the roads, which are such as to break down a carriage and injure those in it, have prevented his doing so already, and shall then take the opportunity, being suitably prepared, to present himself to the Queen Consort, either when at Mass in Our Palace of St. James, or when she goes to visit Our most dear and honoured mother, to whom he will present a letter, sealed as a petition, in which he will briefly state who he is; and her Majesty has received Our orders to do what is necessary to introduce him before Us with all possible care; and We are certain that nothing unpleasant will arise, either in the shape of suspicion or trouble: there being little else for him to do but to allow himself to be led according to the advice given him to obey Our orders, and to follow most minutely what We have written, more especially under cover.

"In the meantime We renew the request We have already made to your Very Reverend Paternity in Our first letter, not to write to Us, nor to send Us any answer, unless by the hands of Our most dearly beloved son, whom We command to leave Rome as soon as possible, as We are unwilling for Our reasons aforesaid, that the Queen of Sweden should speak with him. On leaving Rome, he will travel straightway to Us, and We request your Very Reverend Paternity to move him to come quickly, representing Our need of him. We are aware that he does not like England, and We attribute this to his not having been brought up there, and to his having lived there as an unknown person. He lived in it about a year, and before its expiration, laid before Us such reasons, that we were feign to permit him to depart to Holland, where he conducted himself so as to merit much praise, and to Our entire satisfaction, both as regards polite letters and other studies, in which he has made the greatest proficiency.

"We believe him to possess so much discretion, that he will be far from disobeying Us in coming, which is what we desire of him; and, as soon as he shall come, We will so manage, with the co-operation of the Queens, that *we will have him secretly ordained a priest*; and if there should be anything which the Bishop in Ordinary cannot carry out without the permission of his Holiness, let him not fail to see to it, *in all secrecy* and in such a manner that it may not be known who he is; and this he will do, if possible, before he leaves Rome. And in the meanwhile, We entreat Your Very Reverend Paternity to pray God for the Queens, for Our Kingdom, and for Ourself, who are

"CHARLES, KING OF ENGLAND.

"WHITEHALL, August 29, 1668."

It is impossible for any honest-minded man to read these letters without indignation at the infamous conduct of the

King. We look in vain for any censure of his duplicity on the part of the Pope or the General of the Jesuits, who were evidently well acquainted with his underhand proceedings. The son referred to came to London as requested, with a certificate of his identity in his pocket from the General of the Jesuits; but his after-proceedings are, to a large extent, shrouded in mystery.

Charles continued to give evidence of his goodwill towards the Papacy throughout his reign; but in nothing was this more clearly manifested than in his relations with Louis XIV., King of France. "On the 25th of January, 1669," writes the author of the *Life of the First Earl of Shaftesbury*, "the King held a secret conference, in the Duke of York's house, with the Duke, who had lately embraced the Roman Catholic religion, Lord Arundel of Wardour, a Roman Catholic, and Arlington and Clifford, who were both, if not Roman Catholics, more or less disposed to that religion, and who both ended by adopting it; and on this occasion Charles declared himself a Roman Catholic, expressed his grief at not being able publicly to avow his religion, and, stating that he wished to encounter the difficulties while he was young and vigorous, asked advice as to the means of establishing the Roman Catholic religion in England."¹ This statement is confirmed by the testimony of the Duke of York himself, who further relates that he:

"Well knowing that the King was of the same mind [*i.e.*, to declare himself a Roman Catholic], and that his Majesty had opened himself upon it to Lord Arundel of Wardour, Lord Arlington, and Sir Thomas Clifford, took an occasion to discourse with him upon that subject at the same time, and found him resolved as to his being a Catholic, and very sensible of the uneasiness it was to him to live in so much danger and constraint; and that he intended to have a private meeting with those persons above named, at the Duke's closet, to advise with them about the ways and methods fit to be taken for advancing the Catholic religion in his dominions, being resolved not to live any longer in the constraint he was under. This meeting was on the 25th of January, the day on which the Church celebrates the Conversion of St. Paul.

¹ *Life of the first Earl of Shaftesbury*. By W. D. Christie, vol. ii., p. 16.

"When they were met according to the King's appointment, he declared his mind to them in the matter of religion, and repeated what he had newly before said to the Duke—*how uneasy it was to him not to profess the faith he believed*, and that he had called them together to have their advice about the ways and methods fittest to be taken for the settling of the Catholic religion in his Kingdoms, and to consider of the time most proper to declare himself; telling them withal, that no time ought to be lost; that he was to expect to meet with many and great difficulties in bringing it about, and that he chose rather to undertake it now, when he and his brother were in their full strength and able to undergo any fatigue, than to delay it until they were grown older, and less fit to go through with so great a design. This he spake with great earnestness, and even with tears in his eyes: and added, that they were to go about it as wise men and good Catholics ought to do.

"The consultation lasted long, and the result was that there was no better way for doing this great work, than to do it in conjunction with France and with the assistance of His Most Christian Majesty; the House of Austria not being in a condition to help in it; and, in pursuance of this resolution, Mons. de Croissy Colbert, the French Ambassador, was to be entrusted with the secret in order to inform his master of it, that he might receive a power to treat about it with our King."¹

Charles held several secret interviews with the French Ambassador on the subject, in which they plotted the destruction of the Protestant religion of England by force of arms. In a despatch to Louis XIV., dated November 13th, 1669, Colbert tells his Master that in a secret interview he had with Charles:

"He told me that he believed I must have thought that he and those to whom he had entrusted the conduct of this affair, were all fools to pretend to re-establish the Catholic religion in England; that, in effect, every versed person in the affairs of his Kingdom, and the humour of his people, ought to have the same thought; but that, after all, he hoped that with your Majesty's support, this great undertaking would have a happy success. That the Presbyterians and all the other sects, had a greater aversion to the English Church than to the Catholics. That all the sectaries desired only the free exercise of their religion, and provided they could obtain it, as it was his design they should, they would not oppose his intended change of religion. That besides, he has some good troops strongly attached to him, and if the deceased King his father had had as many, he would have stifled in their birth those troubles that caused his ruin. That he would still augment as much as possible his regiments and companies, *under the most*

¹ *Life of James the Second*; Collected out of Memoirs writ of his own hand. Edited by the Rev. J. S. Clarke, vol. i., pp. 441, 442,

specious pretexs he could devise; that all the magazines of arms are at his disposal, and all well filled. That he was sure of the principal places in England and Scotland: that the Governor of Hull was a Catholic; that those of Portsmouth, Plymouth and many other places he named, among the rest Windsor, would never depart from the duty they owed him; that as to the troops in Ireland, he hoped the Duke of Ormond, who had very great credit there, would be always faithful to him; and that though the Duke, not approving this change of religion, should fail in his duty, my Lord Orrery, who was a Catholic in his heart, and who had still a greater power in that army, would lead it wherever he should command him. That your Majesty's friendship, of which he had the most obliging proofs in the world by the answers given to his proposals, and with which he assured me he was entirely satisfied, would also be of great service to him; and in short, he told me that he was pressed both by his conscience, and by the confusion which he saw increasing from day to day in his Kingdom, to the diminution of his authority, to declare himself a Catholic."¹

It is noteworthy that, all the while this evil plot was being prepared, the country knew nothing at all about it, and, in a state of fancied security, was really sleeping on a volcano. At last the negotiations between Charles II. and Louis XIV. ended in the Treaty of Dover, of which James II. writes:—"The Treaty was not finally concluded and signed till about the beginning of 1670, the purport of which was, that the French King was to give £200,000 a year, by quarterly payments, the first of which to begin when the ratifications were exchanged, *to enable the King to begin the work in England; that when the Catholic religion was settled here*, our King was to join with France in making war upon Holland. . . ."² *All this was translated with the last secrecy*, and in preparation thereunto, Colonel Fitzgerald, lately come from Tangier, where he had been Governor, was to have a new regiment of foot prepared for him, and such officers chosen for it as might be confided in. . . . The rigorous Church of England men were let loose and *encouraged underhand* to prosecute according to the law the Noncon-

¹ *Memoirs of Great Britain*. By Sir John Dalrymple. Second Edition, 1783. Appendix, p. 39.

² Holland was a Protestant nation, and therefore it was necessary that it should be crushed.

formists, to the end that these might be the more sensible of the ease they should have when the Catholics prevailed."¹ The author of *The Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II.*, published in 1792, states that "Lord Arundel of Wardour, a declared Papist, was the person appointed to go to Paris, with full instructions; and none of the Ministry or Council were admitted into the secret, but Arlington, Clifford, and Sir Richard Bealing, who were all Roman Catholics."² The first article of this Secret Treaty of Dover was as follows:—

"Art. 1. The King of Great Britain being convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, and resolved to declare himself a Catholic, and to reconcile himself to the Church of Rome, thinks the assistance of His Most Christian Majesty may be necessary to facilitate the execution of his design. It is, therefore, agreed and concluded upon, that His Most Christian Majesty shall supply the King of England, before the said declaration, with the sum of £200,000 sterling, one-half to be paid in three months after the ratification of the present Treaty, and the other half in three months more: and further that His Most Christian Majesty shall assist the King of England with troops and money, as there may be occasion, in case the said King's subjects should not acquiesce in the said declaration and rebel against his said Britannic Majesty, which is not thought likely."³

The reading of this secret article of the Dover Treaty greatly moved the indignation of the late Lord John Russell. "It is impossible," he wrote, "to read this article without indignation at the unprincipled ambition, the shameless venality, and the cool hypocrisy of Charles. For the sake of public tranquillity an army of Frenchmen was to be introduced into England, to force the nation to embrace a religion they detested! The holy name of God is used for the purpose of sanctioning the subjugation of a free people by the assistance of a foreign power! Such was the return which a King of the House of Stuart thought fit to make to a country which had received him with unlimited confidence.

¹ *Life of James II.*, vol. i., pp. 442-443.

² *Secret History of the Court of Charles II.*, vol. ii., Supplement, p. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Neither the affection which the people had shown to his person, nor the general duty of a Sovereign to his subjects, nor the solemn obligation of an oath, were sufficient to restrain Charles from signing a treaty, which will ever remain a monument of ingratitude, perjury, and treason. And as his offence cannot be justified, so neither can it be palliated. He was not obliged, whatever he might allege, by the unreasonable demands or unquiet humours of his people, to fly to foreign protection: his perfidy was as spontaneous as it was unexampled.”¹

The chief instrument used in securing the signing of the Secret Treaty of Dover, was the sister of Charles, the Duchess of Orleans, a devout Roman Catholic. She came over to Dover for the purpose, and on her return to Paris she was specially entertained at an Opera, in which the author, a M. St. Ange, addressed her thus:—“It is from your heaven-like wisdom to manage your Royal brother’s tender soul, that we expect the happiest of consequences. It is from the torch of your love to our Catholic Apostolic Church, we hope to see his Britannic Majesty’s zeal to the ancient religion of his ancestors take flame, by the sympathy of a nearest relation. We long with somewhat of impatience for the happy result of your consultations; we doubt not to see that monster heresy lie grovelling at our invincible Monarch’s and your brother’s feet, *and her supporters expiring in chains.*”²

By the Treaty of Dover Charles engaged to join with Louis XIV. in a war against Holland, whose Protestantism was an object of hatred to both Kings. Under false pretences the English Parliament was induced to vote large sums of money to carry on this war, but this was supplemented by large grants of money from the King of France.

With the hope that the Roman Catholics, Presbyterians and Dissenters would rally round him, Charles, shortly before commencing this war, issued a Declaration of Indulgence,

¹ *The Life of William Lord Russell.* By Lord John Russell. 4th ed., p. 47.

² Oldmixon’s *Secret History of Europe*, Part I., p. 104. Second Edition.

by which he suspended the execution of the penal laws against Roman Catholics and Nonconformists, allowing the latter to publicly hold Divine services in licensed buildings, and the former to have services in private houses, and to be exempted from the penalties to which they were subjected by law. Bishop Burnet says the Presbyterians thanked the King for his Declaration, but, apparently, they afterwards changed their mind, for Rapin assures us that:—"The King and the Cabal were extremely mistaken in imagining that the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience would gain the Presbyterians, in return for so great a favour. The leaders of the Presbyterians were too wise to be taken in so palpable and dangerous a snare. It was easy for them to see, they were only designed for instruments to advance the interests of the Romish religion. When they reflected that this favour was received from the King, the Duke of York, and the members of the Cabal, they could not believe it flowed from a principle of religion or humanity. They saw, besides, so many extraordinary proceedings, so many invasions on the rights of the people; the Papists indulged in their religion; the King making exorbitant demands upon his Parliament; an army encamped at the very gates of London in the midst of winter; a war begun to destroy the only Protestant State capable of supporting religion, and Papists in the principal posts; all this sufficiently demonstrated that the suspension of the Penal laws was not for their sake."¹

With a portion of the money obtained from the King of France, and a grant obtained from his own Parliament by false pretences, Charles set to work to form an army likely to do his bidding, and carry out his plans. On this scheme a writer of the period, whom I have already cited, remarks:—"And now the King, having got the money in his hands, a new project was set on foot, to set up an army in England for the introduction of slavery and Popery,

¹ Rapin's *History of England*, vol. xi., pp. 385, 386.

under pretence of landing in Holland; which was raised with all the expedition imaginable; over which, a Colonel Fitzgerald, an Irish Papist, was made Major-General, so were the greatest number of the Captains and other officers of the same stamp." ¹

"Nor were they ignorant of the real design for which the King had raised his army, and what care the King and his brother took, that there should be no other officers in that army than what were fit for the work in hand, which was to introduce Popery and French government by main force; four parts of the five being downright Papists, or else such as resolved so to be upon the least intimation. The Duke [of York] recommending all such as he knew fit for the turn, and no less than a hundred commissions being signed by Secretary W. to Irish Papists to raise Forces, notwithstanding the late Act, by which means both the land and Naval Forces were in safe hands; and to complete the work, hardly a Judge, Justice of the Peace, or any officer in England but what was of the Duke's promotion. Nor were they ignorant of the private negotiations carried on by the Duke, with the King's connivance, with the Pope and Cardinal Norfolk, who had undertaken to raise money from the Church sufficient to supply the King's wants, till the work were done, in case Parliament should smother their design, and refuse to give any more. Nor was the Parliament ignorant what great rejoicing there was in Rome itself, to hear in what a posture his Majesty was, and how well provided of an army and money to begin the business." ²

There is an entry in *Evelyn's Diary*, under date, June 10, 1673, about this Army:—"We went after dinner to see the formal and formidable camp on Blackheath, raised to invade Holland, or, as others suspected, for another design."

The schemes of Charles II. for restoring Popery in England were greatly facilitated through the presence in his Court and in his Government of a number of men who were, like himself, secretly Roman Catholics. Professor Masson calls attention to some of these men, when writing about the events of this period.

"The condition of things in Charles's Court," writes Masson, "from August 1662 onwards had been peculiarly favourable for the resuscitation in his mind of the idea of

¹ *Secret History of Charles II. and James II.*, p. 70.

² *Ibid.*, p. 90.

exchanging his crypto-Catholicism for an open profession of the Roman Catholic faith. His new Queen had her chapel, her priests, and Confessors; his mother, Queen Henrietta Maria, who had come over again from France, to make the acquaintance of the new Queen, and to try how long she could stay in England, had also brought Roman Catholic priests and servants in her train; the number of avowed Roman Catholics at Court, and the conveniences for Roman Catholic worship there, had been largely increased."

"And so, though conversions among the Protestants of the Court were not yet much heard of, the state of mind which we have called crypto-Catholicism, consisting in a secret inclination to Roman Catholicism and a willingness to go over to it openly if there should ever be sufficient occasion, had come greatly into fashion. There were now many crypto-Catholics at Court besides Charles himself. Lady Castlemaine was one; Bennet [afterwards Lord Arlington] was another; Berkeley was another; indeed, the faction that gathered nightly in Lady Castlemaine's apartments, where Clarendon and Southampton disdained to be seen, may be described as the crypto-Catholic faction. There was a meaning, therefore, in the introduction of Bennet into the ministry as Secretary of State instead of Nicholas, and in the promotion of Berkeley in the Household in October 1662. They were signs that the King was strengthening the crypto-Catholic interest, and building it up about him."¹

The part which Charles took in the famous Popish Plot of 1678 brings lasting disgrace on his memory, for he signed the death-warrants of many Roman Catholics, executed for their alleged complicity in that Plot, while all the time he, at least, believed that they were innocent of the charges brought against them by Titus Oates and his fellows. The torrent of Protestant opinion was so strong that he yielded to it merely to save himself from public odium. I need not enter here at any length into particulars concerning this Popish Plot, for I believe those who were at the bottom of it were nothing better than a set of scoundrels, whose words were quite unworthy of credence. It is true there was a very real and dangerous Popish Plot going on at the

¹ Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. vi., p. 239.

time, under the guidance of the Jesuits; but this of Titus Oates was quite a different affair.

The testimony of Bishop Burnet, the author of the well known *History of the Reformation*, as to Oates' Plot is of great importance. His Protestantism cannot be doubted. The Bishop boasts that he was more capable to give an account of the Plot than any man he knew.¹ He gives a very black character indeed of Titus Oates; of whom he states that:—"He was proud and ill-natured, haughty, but ignorant. He conversed much with Socinians, and he had been complained of for some very indecent expressions concerning the mysteries of the Christian religion. He was once presented for perjury. But he got to be a Chaplain in one of the King's ships, from which he was dismissed upon complaint of some unnatural practices, not to be named."² "I could have no regard to anything he either said or swore after that."³ "Indeed Oates and Bedlow did, by their behaviour, detract more from their own credit than all their enemies could have done. The former talked of all persons with insufferable insolence; and the other was a scandalous libertine in his whole deportment."⁴

The testimony of Evelyn, whose love for the Protestant cause cannot be doubted, (and who was present at the trials of several of the alleged plotters) is worthy of consideration. On July 18, 1679, he wrote in his diary:—"For my part, I look on Oates as a vain insolent man, puffed up with the favour of the Commons for having discovered something really true, more especially as detecting the dangerous intrigue of Coleman, proved out of his own letters, and of a general design which the Jesuited party of the Papists ever had, and still have, to ruin the Church of England; but that he was trusted with those great secrets he pretended, or had any solid ground for what he accused divers noblemen of, I have many reasons to induce my contrary belief. That

¹ Burnet's *History of his Own Time*, vol. ii., p. 144. Ed. Oxford, 1823.

² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

among so many Commissions as he affirmed to have delivered to them from P. Oliva [General of the Jesuits] and the Pope, he who made no scruple of opening all other papers, letters, and secrets, should not only not open any of those pretended Commissions, but not so much as take any copy or witness of any one of them, is almost miraculous." Writing again in his diary, on June 18, 1683, Evelyn remarks:—"The Popish Plot also, which had hitherto made such a noise, began now sensibly to dwindle, through the folly, knavery, impudence, and giddiness of Oates."

The fact that there are still to be found amongst us some Protestants who believe that every word uttered by Titus Oates was true and reliable, makes it necessary to give here several extracts from the opinions of men of note, whose Protestantism is unquestioned. I have just cited Burnet and Evelyn. Now let us see what that great modern Historian, Ranke, has to say on this subject:—"About the plans that had been formed for the re-establishment of Catholicism in England upon the death of the King, Oates made statements which contradict the actual position of affairs; they are without doubt false. Oates had been from his youth up notorious for the most shameless untruthfulness. He had a passion for startling people, and giving himself importance by boastful and lying exaggerations, which he spiced with invective on every side, and confirmed with wild oaths: he was a small man with a short neck, and a mouth strikingly out of proportion; people were careful not to contradict him, as they were afraid of quarrelling with him. He mixed up what he knew with what he only guessed, or what seemed to him serviceable for his schemes, and he was believed by all. His successful shamelessness stirred up emulators, of whom Bedlow was one. But still it cannot be affirmed that all they alleged was mere invention. 'There was some truth in it,' as Dryden says, 'but mixed with lies.' Moreover, the fact that much of what they said as to matters which no one suspected proved true,

led people to accept also the monstrous things they gave out. Coleman's correspondence, which Oates first described and afterwards discovered, especially forwarded this impression."¹

"Rational men, we suppose," writes Lord Macaulay, in his *Essay on Mackintosh's History of the Revolution*, "are now fully agreed that by far the greater part, if not the whole, of Oates's story was a pure fabrication. It is indeed highly probable that, during his intercourse with the Jesuits, he may have heard much wild talk about the best means of re-establishing the Catholic religion in England, and that from some of the absurd day-dreams of the zealots with whom he was associated he may have taken hints for his narratives. But we do not believe that he was privy to anything which deserved the name of conspiracy. And it is quite certain that, if there be any small portion of truth in his evidence, that portion is so deeply buried in falsehood that no human skill can now effect a separation."²

The opinion of one more eminent historian I must quote, before I pass on. Hallam terms the Papal Plot "the great national delusion;" but he is careful to add:—"It is first to be remembered that there was really and truly a Popish Plot in being, though not that which Titus Oates and his associates pretended to reveal—not merely in the sense of Hume, who, arguing from the general spirit of proselytism in that religion, says there is a perpetual conspiracy against all governments, Protestant, Mahometan, and Pagan, but one alert, enterprising, effective, in direct operation against the established Protestant religion in England. In this Plot the King, the Duke of York, and the King of France were chief conspirators; the Romish priests, and especially the Jesuits, were eager co-operators. Their machinations and their hopes, long suspected, and in a general sense known,

¹ Ranke's *History of England*, vol. iv., p. 60.

² *Lord Macaulay's Works*, vol. vi., p. 106. Edinburgh Edition, 1897.

were divulged by the seizure and publication of Coleman's letters."¹

This real Popish Plot, which centred round the name of Edward Coleman, it is now our duty to notice briefly. Coleman was private Secretary to the Duchess of York, who was a Roman Catholic, and while acting in that capacity, he carried on a treasonable correspondence with French Jesuits, a Papal Nuncio, the Cardinal of Norfolk, and other English Roman Catholics residing on the Continent. He was arrested on the evidence of Titus Oates, who, at his trial, swore that Coleman had formed a plot to murder the King. Now the Jesuits must have known very well that Charles was himself a Roman Catholic, and it certainly was not to their interest to destroy him. As we have seen, the evidence of Titus Oates is not to be trusted. When Coleman was arrested there was found in his house his treasonable letters, by means of which this very real plot of his and the Jesuits came out. The letters seized on his premises were shortly after published by authority, in two parts. As a rule they were very obscure, purposely so, no doubt, but this at least may be gathered from their contents. The aid of the French King was sought by the Duke of York, through the instrumentality of Coleman, in order that by destroying the power of the English Parliament, the Duke might be placed in a position of supreme power in England, the King being but a cypher in his hands. It was thought by the conspirators that if the French King would grant to the Duke a sum of £300,000, he, with that money, would be able to induce Charles to do whatever the King of France and the Jesuits wished; or, as Coleman put it to the Nuncio, in a letter dated October 2, 1674:—"But if the Duke, or any other, could show of a sudden some other way what would effectually help him [Charles II.] to money, he would let himself be governed entirely by him, and in this case the

¹ Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, vol. ii., p. 423. Eighth Edition.

Duke would have all power over him;"¹ for, as Coleman wrote to the same correspondent on October 23, 1674:—"You agree with me that money is the only means of bringing the King [Charles] into the Duke's interest, and of disengaging him from the Parliament, and you must also agree with me that nothing can more promote the interest of the Catholic party, which is the principal object of the Duke's care and affection. . . . I am certain money could not fail of persuading him [Charles] to it, for there is nothing it cannot make him do."² If Louis XIV would only help the Duke, the Duke promised to be for ever devoted to the French interests. What the Duke aimed at he had made known, a few years previously, to Colbert, the French Ambassador at the English Court, in a private interview in which (so Colbert wrote to Louis XIV.) he said that "affairs are at present here in such a situation as to make him believe that a King and a Parliament can exist no longer together. That nothing should be any longer thought of than to make war upon [Protestant] Holland, as the only means left without having recourse to Parliament, to which they ought no longer to have recourse till the war and the Catholic faith had come to an happy issue, and when they should be in a condition to obtain by force, what they could not obtain by mildness."³ Of all the letters found in Coleman's house none caused greater excitement and indignation, than one addressed by him to Father Le Chase, the French King's Jesuit Confessor. "We have here," wrote Coleman, "a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three Kingdoms, and by that, perhaps, the subdoing of a pestilent heresy, which has domineered over great part of this northern world a long time. There were never such hopes of success since the death of Queen Mary, as now in our days; when God has given us a Prince who is become (may I say, a

¹ *Collection of Letters Relating to the Horrid Popish Plot*, Part II., p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, Part I., pp. 12, 13.

³ Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain*. Appendix 80.

miracle) zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work. But the opposition we are come to meet with, is also like to be great; so that it imports us to get all the aid and assistance we can, for 'the Harvest is great, and the Labourers but few.'"¹

Coleman was put upon his trial for High Treason, for having conspired the death of the King, and holding a treasonable correspondence having for its object the destruction of the Protestant religion by political weapons. Coleman admitted the correspondence, but denied that he had ever plotted the murder of the King. The evidence against him for plotting the King's death was that of Oates and Bedlow only, which ought never to have been accepted. He was condemned to death, and suffered the last penalty, proclaiming his innocence of the chief crime. But that he was guilty of High Treason for holding the correspondence there can be no doubt whatever, and the punishment of that crime was then, and still is, that of death. It cannot be truthfully pleaded that he was a martyr to the Roman Catholic faith, since although he was accused of an attempt to destroy the Protestant religion in England, yet it was to be done by foreign money and by brute force. Were any one now charged with this offence, he would be severely punished, not for trying to overthrow Protestantism, but for trying to do it *by unlawful means*. Coleman and his fellow-conspirators were really laying dangerous plans for making war on Parliament and the liberties of the people, and for this he deserved to die. Of course the Jesuits ever since have held him in high esteem; and it is remarkable that Leo XIII. has raised him to the ranks of the "Venerable," as a preliminary to his eventual canonization! This modern glorification of a traitor by the Papacy, shows that it still retains its old position, honouring most those whose lack of loyalty to a Protestant government is most conspicuous.

¹ *Collection of Letters Relating to the Horrid Popish Plot, Part I., p. 118*

Charles's miserable life of deception continued to the end of his days on earth. He even practised this abominable deception on his death-bed, for he then willingly received the religious ministrations of Bishops of the Church of England, refusing only to receive the sacrament at their hands, and that on the false excuse that there was "time enough,"¹ and therefore he would think about it. No sooner had the Bishops left the dying-chamber than a Roman Catholic priest was sent for, who heard his confession, and absolved him, and afterwards gave him the last sacraments of the Church of Rome.

¹ *Calendar of Stuart Papers*, vol. i., p. 4.

CHAPTER X

THE FORMATION OF THE JESUIT ORDER

SPAIN considers it a great honour that she gave birth to the founder of the Society of Jesus. To a great extent it must be admitted that the honour has proved a barren one. There are those who suppose that departed Saints of an eminent character, have it in their power to assist the country of their birth through their intercessions. If this be so, there is reason to fear that the founder of the Jesuit Order has neglected his duty since leaving this world, for it is a remarkable fact that ever since his death Spain has been on the decline both spiritually and temporally, until at present she is one of the most sorely afflicted nations of Europe.

Neither the month, nor the day of the month in which Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, was born, is known, but the year was 1491, eight years after the birth of Luther. Ignatius was not his Christian name, *that* he gave up when he entered on his religious career. He was born in the Castle of Loyola, near the small town of Azpeytia, in the Province of Guipuscoa, and was baptised in the name of Eneco. He was of noble birth. There is but very little known of his early life. It is, however, recorded that he became a page in the Court of Ferdinand the Catholic, where he fell desperately in love with a young lady of high station, whose identity has not been established, and gave himself up to worldly vanities and enjoyments. In his love-sick condition he wrote poetry, which he sent to her, and seems to have done his best to secure her love in

return, no doubt with the hope of eventually marrying her. By a remarkable coincidence, in the very year that Luther began his war against the Pope, in 1517, by nailing up his celebrated Thesis on the church door of Wittenberg, Loyola first took up the profession of a soldier. Four years later he took part in the defence of Pampeluna, against the French, during which he showed more than the average amount of courage, but unfortunately for himself, he was seriously wounded during the siege, and made a prisoner by the French. This memorable event took place on May 20, 1521, and led to his enforced retirement from public life for a considerable period. Again it is interesting to note another coincidence. Only a month previously Luther also had to retire for a period from public life (after his brave protest at the Diet of Worms) to the Castle at Wartburg. But how different the occupations of the two men during their retirement! Luther was occupied in translating the Bible into German, a grand and noble work; while unhappy Loyola was spending his time in constantly thinking about his lady love, and, subsequently, in reading the *Lives of the Saints!* There is no reason to doubt that Loyola's decision, formed while recovering from the severe illness brought on by his wounds, to devote himself to a Monastic life, was caused by despair of ever gaining the hand of the lady on whom he had bestowed his affections. Monasteries and Convents are very much indebted to the same cause for an increase in the number of their inmates. It is stated by several of the biographers of Loyola, that after he had decided to give up his worldly life, the Virgin Mary "appeared to him one night with the Child Jesus in her arms," but we may well doubt this, if it were only on the ground that our Saviour had ceased to be a "child" many long centuries before. Possibly it was a dream, the result of the fever from which he was then recovering. However that may be, it is certain that his illness formed a turning-point in his career, which affected the whole of

his subsequent life. He decided that he would go barefoot on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and on his return he would enter a house of the Carthusians at Seville.

Early in 1522 Loyola left his home on his journey towards Jerusalem. He was too weak to walk, and was therefore obliged to travel at first on a mule. After visiting some of his relatives on the way, he at length arrived at the monastery of Montserrat, where he passed the night at a famous shrine of the Virgin, after having first of all divested himself of the rich attire suited to his rank, and put on instead the rough coarse dress of a poor pilgrim. We next find him at the town of Manresa, where he stayed for about four months, wearing a hair shirt all the time, and an iron-spiked chain as a girdle next his skin. Three times a day he scourged himself until the blood came, and after that he lay down at night on the bare ground, with a block of stone or wood as his pillow, vainly thinking that in this way he could do something towards atoning for his sins. He removed from Manresa to a cave a short distance from the town, where he took up his abode, lying at night on the damp floor, and adding to his other mortifications the lunatic occupation of beating his breast with a stone! The result of such a course of proceeding naturally affected his health, and brought on what we in modern times term "a fit of the blues." He saw devils and all sorts of horrible things, and was tormented so much in his mind that he seems to have nearly gone mad. While here he seems to have conceived his first idea of forming the Jesuit Order, and before leaving he wrote a considerable portion of those *Spiritual Exercises* which are still in use in all the Colleges of the Order throughout the world. Amongst other wonderful things said to have happened to him at this time, it is recorded that a statue of the Virgin spoke to him, though what she said is not reported.¹

¹ *Life of St. Ignatius Loyola*. By Stewart Rose, p. 64. Edition 1891.

After a stay of ten months at Manresa, Loyola started again on his travels in January, 1523. He knew neither Latin nor Italian, and as he purposed passing through Italy this no doubt added greatly to the difficulties of the journey. At Barcelona a lady asked him where he was going, to which he replied that he was going to Rome. "To Rome," she exclaimed. "Those who go to Rome seldom come back the better for their visit"—a clear indication of the opinion then formed of the wickedness of the city which was the head centre of the Papacy. His stay at Rome was very brief, and after obtaining a pilgrim's licence from the Pope, together with his benediction, Loyola started once more on his travels, and at length arrived at Jaffa, on August 31. From there, with other pilgrims, he made the journey to Jerusalem, riding on an ass. He had intended to take up his permanent abode in the city, and to devote himself to the work of converting the Turks to Christianity. It seems a pity now that he did not get his way, for this would probably have saved the world a vast amount of trouble subsequently produced by the Society he founded. But the fact was the Franciscan Monks were in possession of the work of the Church of Rome in Jerusalem at the time, with power to decide who should stay there and who should not, and they did not take a fancy to young Loyola. In fact they treated him in a most unbrotherly fashion, and ordered him to leave the city as quickly as possible. It was a sad trial, no doubt, to his enthusiastic nature. He had brought letters of recommendation with him to the Franciscans, but they were all in vain. So, after a stay of six weeks, he started on his way back to Europe. Having arrived in safety, it came into his head that it was high time for him to become educated. He was thirty-three years old when he decided to throw off his ignorance as far as possible, by going through a course of study. He began his self-imposed task at Barcelona, but found it hard work to keep his mind on his books, though he had the assistance of a tutor

provided for him at the expense of a wealthy lady. She provided him also with a decent suit of clothes to wear, but the shoes he found altogether too luxurious. He could not throw them away without being found out and offending the giver, but he got out of the difficulty by cutting off the soles! With his studies he continued his penitential mortifications, and one good woman afterwards averred that one night, looking into his room through a chink, she saw the future saint while at prayer surrounded with a dazzling splendour, and lifted two feet high in the air, where he stood upon nothing! Outside the town of Barcelona was a Dominican Nunnery, called the Convent of Angels. The ladies inside its walls were by no means saints or angels. Indeed they had earned for themselves a very bad name in the town, for young men of very bad repute were welcome and frequent guests at the Convent, and scandal was the very natural result. The Jesuit Bonhours says that the Nuns "were perfect courtesans."¹ People tell us that such things could not possibly happen in a Convent, but Jesuit writers record the facts, and there is, in this case, no reason to doubt the truth of their statements.² Ignatius gave the wicked Nuns good wholesome advice, with the result that they reformed their manners from that time forth.

After two years spent in preparatory studies at Barcelona, Ignatius, in August 1526, arrived at Alcala, where he became a student of the University. While there he got into trouble with the Inquisition, and was actually imprisoned for forty-two days, when he was declared by the Inquisitors not guilty of the charges of heresy brought against him. They feared that he was a Lutheran, but were not long in discovering their great mistake. It would indeed have been strange had Rome's future leading champion against Protestantism been found guilty of such an offence, and put to

¹ Bonhours' *Life of St. Ignatius*, p. 70. London. 1856.

² *Life of St. Ignatius of Loyola*. By Father Genelli, S.J., p. 55.—Rose's *Life of Loyola*, p. 101.

death for it. One result of his imprisonment was that it led to his leaving the University of Alcala, for Salamanca, after a stay in the former place of a little more than a year. But trouble awaited him at Salamanca also. He had gone out amongst the people there with a companion, speaking to them of religious things, but as they were both laymen this at once aroused the suspicions of the priesthood, with the result that only twelve days after his arrival poor Ignatius once more found himself within the walls of a prison, on a charge of heresy. For twenty-one days the unfortunate Ignatius remained in the dungeons of the Inquisition, chained to a fellow-prisoner; when he was again fortunate enough to be declared innocent. After another such an experience it became evident to Ignatius that he could no longer remain with comfort in Salamanca. He determined to go to Paris and study there. His friends tried hard to dissuade him from such a step, but in vain, and consequently early in 1528 he arrived in Paris. He had not been long in that city before he again incurred the suspicion of the Chief Inquisitor, Matthew Ori, who sent for Ignatius to explain his position. This time the future General of the Jesuits was able to satisfy the Inquisitor without being sent to prison. At Paris he supported himself by begging, but this failing to secure sufficient for his purposes, for three successive years he visited Flanders, during the vacation, for the purpose of begging from his countrymen there resident. He even paid a short visit to England, as to which little is known. Ignatius studied in the University of Paris for seven years, and took the degrees of Master in Arts and Doctor. At times he suffered great privations, but with that indomitable perseverance which was one of his chief characteristics, he brought his studies to a successful close. During those seven years the thought of forming a new religious Order in the Church of Rome never forsook him, and he was constantly on the look-out for suitable disciples to join with him in founding it. He selected six

for this purpose—namely, Peter Favre, or Lefevre, a peasant from the mountains of Savoy; Francis Xavier, a member of an ancient and noble family of Navarre, and afterwards widely known as a Missionary in India; James Laynez, a Spaniard, who subsequently became General of the Jesuit Order, in succession to Loyola; Alphonsus Salmeron, from Toledo; Simon Rodriguez, a Portuguese; and Nicholas Bobadilla, a Spaniard. These six were men of exceptional natural abilities, and his choice is a clear proof of the wisdom of Ignatius in selecting men for the work he had on hand. It was a saying of his that those who were best fitted to succeed in the world, were likely to make the best and most useful servants of Christ. He preferred to have a few trustworthy men at hand to a crowd of inefficient instruments. On the 15th of August, 1534, Ignatius with his six companions met together in a small chapel on the hill of Montmartre, Paris. There Favre—the only one of the party who was a priest at the time—said Mass, after which the seven of them made vows of poverty and chastity, and bound themselves to go to Palestine, there to labour for the salvation of the infidels. It was agreed, however, that if anything should happen which would make this an impossibility, then they should go to Rome, throw themselves at the feet of the Pope, and place themselves at his disposal. It was a very important event which took place that day, from whatever point of view we may look upon it. It was in reality the birthday of the Society of Jesus, which was at once placed by its founders under the special protection of the Virgin. At the same time it was decided that the whole of the party should meet at Venice on January 25, 1537, for the purpose of embarking for the Holy Land.

The year 1534, in which the Jesuit Order was born—though as yet without Papal sanction—was memorable in English Church History. In that year Acts of Parliament were passed forbidding appeals to Rome, the receiving of Papal dispensations, and the payment of Peter's Pence. It

also witnessed the abjuration of Papal Supremacy by the Convocations of Canterbury and York. In Germany it witnessed also the completion and publication of Luther's translation of the whole Bible in the German language. In the very year in which Papal Supremacy was abolished in England, and the Bible given in their own language to the people of Germany, was born the Order whose aim has ever since been to restore that Papal Supremacy wherever it has fallen, and to destroy the Supremacy of the Bible over the Church of Christ. In Paris, where Ignatius Loyola resided, there was at the time a considerable number of Protestants, whose presence was a sore trouble to the Romish priests. Early in that year it was decided by the Romanists that the burning pile was the best answer to heresy. "It is not enough," said the priests, "to put Lutheran evangelists in prison. We must go a step further and burn them." As a result of this decision, no fewer than 300 Protestants were incarcerated in one prison alone. Officers were sent out in all directions through the city, hunting for Lutherans and hailing them to prison. We are not told that Loyola assisted in the work, but one of his Jesuit biographers significantly tells us that: "The principal employment of Ignatius at that time was to confirm Catholics in their ancient belief, and to make heretics sensible of their errors. He caused many to return, who had abjured the faith, and he brought them to the Inquisitor to be reconciled to the Church."¹ One of those imprisoned at this time was Alexander Canus, a converted Dominican monk, of great eloquence, whose whole soul was on fire with love to the Saviour, and longing for the salvation of sinners. He was cruelly tortured while in prison. When the priests had crushed in his left leg, he groaned aloud: "O God! there is neither pity nor mercy in men!" He was condemned to death at the stake. He died preaching to those around the mercy of the Saviour he

¹ Bonhours' *Life of Ignatius*, p. 118.

loved. His last words were "My Redeemer! O my Redeemer!" On November 18th a poor Protestant bricklayer named Poille was led out before the Church of St. Catherine's, Paris, to die for his faith. As he stood by the stake, ready to be bound to it, with a face beaming with peace and joy, he exclaimed:—"My Lord Jesus Christ reigns in heaven, and I am ready to fight for Him on earth unto the last drop of my blood." They were brave and glorious words. May God grant us all grace to lay them to heart in this twentieth century, and infuse into us the brave witness-spirit for Jesus which he then possessed. But his cruel persecutors were not pleased with his noble words. "Wait a bit," they said to him, "we will soon stop your prating." They caught hold of his tongue, slit a hole through it; and then made a slit in his cheek, pulled his tongue through it, and fastened it there with an iron pin. He was then burnt alive.¹

On the anniversaries of the day on which Ignatius and his companions first took their vows, in 1535 and 1536, his companions met together in the same chapel and renewed them; Ignatius himself being away in Spain at the time. During this period three others joined the new Society, namely, Claude le Jay, John Codure, and Paschase Brouët. The Society now numbered ten members, bound together by their vows, and by the rules prescribed by Ignatius, in his well-known book of *Spiritual Exercises*, by the practice of which exercises the author maintained that a man may so overcome himself and order his life, as to free himself from all hurtful affections. I very much doubt whether the book has fully succeeded in its object in any case, and judging by the conduct of many of his followers it has been in their cases a decided failure in eradicating from their minds all hurtful affections. But it is none the less a work of considerable ability. Ranke calls it a "very

¹ Daubigne's *Reformation in the Time of Calvin*, vol. iii., p. 143.

remarkable" book, and adds that, "In its general tenour, its several propositions and their mutual connection, there is a certain cogency that excites the thoughts indeed to inward activity, but confines them within a narrow circle. It is most happily adjusted to the author's aim, the fostering of a spirit of meditation under the government of the imagination."¹

Father William Watson, a secular Roman Catholic priest residing in England towards the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, knew the Jesuits very well indeed, and frequently exposed their misdeeds. In his *Decacordon of Ten Quodlibetical Questions*, printed in 1602, he shows how the Jesuit priests of that time used the *Spiritual Exercises* to get money out of their rich penitents, as well as to secure likely candidates for admission into the Jesuit Order. Father Watson writes:—

"Another young gentleman not long since entering into this *Exercise* under a young Jesuit here in England, was found by his meditations to have lands yet unsold, amounting in value to 2100 marks a year; which, because it hindered his journey to heaven, he offering the same to the said young Jesuit, the good young Father allowing well the offer, said that if he should receive the land her Majesty would take it from him. 'But,' quoth he, 'sell it, and then I am capable of the money.' By which ghostly counsel the gentleman set his land to sale, and was offered £900 for it; but the holy Father insisting upon £1000, the gentleman died ere ever a chapman could be gotten, and so the good Father lost all.

"I could here recite many cousening parts played by sundry of them, through the abuse of giving this holy *Exercise*; but I will only enlarge myself with a few golden threads of Father John Gerard's webb, work, and weaving.... I will here set down part of the cousening gains he had made of this *Exercise*. First, he was the man that caused Henry Drury to enter into this *Exercise*, and thereby got him to sell the Manor of Loxell in Suffolk, and other lands to the value of £3500, and got all the money himself, the said Drury having chosen to be a Lay Brother. Afterwards he sent him to Antwerp to have his Noviciate by the Provincial there....

"Two others had the *Exercise* given them at that time by Father Gerard, viz., Master Anthony Rouse, of whom he got about £1000; and Master Thomas Everard, of whom he had many good books and other things. Also he gave the *Exercise* to Edward Walpole, whom he caused to sell the Manor of Tuddenham, and had of him about 1000 marks.

¹ Ranke's *History of the Popes*, Part I., Book II.

"He dealt so in like manner with Master James Linacre, his fellow-prisoner in the Clink, from whom he drew there £400; and afterwards got a promise of him of all his lands, but was prevented thereof by the said Linacre's death.

"Furthermore, under the pretence of the said *Exercise*, he cousened Sir Edward Huddleston's son and heir, by sundry sleights, of above £1000. And so he dealt with Master Thomas Wiseman; and by giving him the *Exercise* he got his land, and sent him to Antwerp where he died. He also gave the *Exercise* to the eldest son of Master Walter Hastings. And he hath drawn Master William Wiseman into the said *Exercise* so oft, as he hath left him now very bare to live.

"He hath so wrought with Master Nicholas King, lately of Gray's Inn, as he hath gotten most of his living, and sent him to Rome. Master Roger Lee, of Buckinghamshire, hath been in this *Exercise* likewise, and is also by him sent to Rome.

"In like manner he dealt with such gentlewomen as he thinketh fit for his turn, and draweth them to his *Exercise*; as the Lady Lovell, Mistress Heywood, and Mistress Wiseman, now prisoners; of whom he got so much as now she feeleth the want of it. By drawing Mistress Fortescue, the widow of Master Edmund Fortescue, into his *Exercise*, he got of her a farm worth £50 a year, and paid her no rent.

"Another drift he hath by his *Exercise* of cousenage; which is to persuade such gentlewomen as have large portions to their marriage, to give the same to him and his Company, and to become Nuns.

"So he prevailed with two of Mr. William Wiseman's daughters, of Brodock; with Elizabeth Shirley, born in Leicestershire; with Dorothy Rookwood, Mr. Richard Rookwood's daughter, of Suffolk, who had a great portion given unto her by the Lady Elizabeth Drury, her grandmother; with Mistress Mary Tremaine, Master Tremaine's daughter, of Cornwall, she having a large portion; with Mistress Mary Tremaine, of Dorsetshire, of whom he had about £200; with Mistress Anne Arundel, of whom he got a great portion; with the Lady Mary Percy, who is now a Nun at Brussels.

"Thus you see by these devices how mightily the Jesuits have increased their riches, and enriched their coffers, expecting a time no doubt, when to draw forth their treasure to their most advantage."¹

If one Jesuit priest, by the use of the *Spiritual Exercises* of Loyola, could gain such a rich harvest, what may not a whole army of Jesuit priests gain? It is evident from Father Watson's statement (supported by facts, names, and figures) that the Jesuit Order has at least a strong mercenary reason for still pushing the use of the *Spiritual Exercises* to the utmost. It seems as though here we discover the secret of the great wealth of the Society of Jesus.

¹ Watson's *Decacordon*, pp. 89—91.

Early in 1535 Ignatius had gone to Spain and had visited his birthplace, where his brother and family still resided. Naturally enough the return of Ignatius, in the humble garb he had adopted, created a great sensation in the neighbourhood. Crowds went out anxious to see him. Though he was but a layman at the time, he was allowed to preach in the churches, but it was soon found that no building was large enough to hold the multitudes who came to hear him. So he had to preach in the open air. During his visit he is said to have worked several miracles, but he only stayed about three months, and then he started off for Venice, having no doubt his vow to go to Jerusalem in mind. He arrived in Venice on the last day of 1535, remaining there until his nine companions, whom he had left in Paris, joined him, on January 6, 1537. It seems that they made the journey on foot, suffering at times very severely from the cold of winter. They passed through Lorraine and Germany, here and there holding discussions with Lutherans on the way. At Venice the whole party remained for a time, until they could go to Rome, there to ask the permission of Pope Paul III. to visit Jerusalem. Ignatius at this time decided that he would not go to Rome with his companions, but remain for a while at Venice. The nine young Jesuits were most favourably received by the Pope, who gave them his blessing and permission to go to Jerusalem. They then returned to Venice where, on June 24, 1537, Ignatius, and those of his companions who had not before been ordained, were promoted to the priesthood. Soon after it was ascertained that, owing to a war then going on between Venice and the Turks, it was impossible for the party to go to the Holy Land as they had intended. This necessarily led Ignatius to change the plans which he had laid out for his future course of life. He now decided that he would go to Rome and beg the Pope to erect his youthful Society into a regular Religious Order. He took with him on this journey Favre and Laynez, and they were received by the Pope with every

testimony of affection and approval. The Pontiff directed that the three companions should remain in Rome, where Faber and Laynez were to give public lectures on Theology, and Ignatius to preach and conduct the *Spiritual Exercises*. But even here in Rome trouble awaited the founder of the Jesuits and his two friends. A year later Ignatius wrote to a friend that they had while there "gone through the most violent persecution and opposition" which they had endured in their lives. One of the charges which their enemies brought against them was that they "wanted to found a Congregation or an Order without authority from the Holy See." There was a measure of truth in the accusation, for they had actually formed such an Order without such leave; but, on the other hand, it is certain that they were most anxious to secure that authority as soon as possible. In due course the Jesuits were acquitted of the accusations brought against them by their foes. There were, however, special difficulties in the way of establishing a new Order at that time, arising from the corrupt state of the clergy and convents in the city of Rome. A modern Roman Catholic biographer of Ignatius says:—"It ought never to be forgotten, that in the times when Loyola entered on his religious life, a woeful depravity of morals had spread far and wide; many clergy were among its most deplorable examples; the Convents were infected with the vices of the outer world." A commission was issued by Paul III., in 1538, for the purpose of correcting such abuses, and the commissioners, says the writer just cited, reported that "great scandals existed among the clergy and in the Convents. To remove this last grievance, they proposed that the several Communities should be (without exception, as far as appears) forbidden to receive novices; so that the old set of Monks and Nuns having died out, a new generation might be trained in the spirit of their primitive rule."¹ Of Cardinal Bartolomeo Guidiccioni, to

¹ *Life of St. Ignatius Loyola*. By Stewart Rose, pp. 258, 259.

whom the question of forming the Jesuit Society was referred by the Pope, it is recorded that "His horror at the disorders into which many of the Monks and Nuns had fallen, made him desire, not reform, but suppression; he wished all Orders to be abolished but four, which he would remodel and place under strict governance. To allow a new Order was, to his mind, an idea not deserving even to be discussed."¹ With the Monasteries and Convents in Rome in such a deplorable condition, it was a somewhat daring thing to propose that another Order should be added to those already existing. A plan of the proposed Order was, however, submitted to the Pope, and after careful consideration received his approval. On September 27, 1540, Paul III. issued his celebrated Bull approving of and establishing the Society of Jesus. In this Bull the Pope quoted, with his expressed approval, the statement which had been submitted to him by the members of this new Society, in which they declared that it was formed, amongst other reasons, "for the instruction of boys and ignorant people in Christianity, and above all for the spiritual consolation of the faithful in Christ, by hearing Confessions;" that the appointment and distribution of the duties of its members should be in the hands of a General chosen by the Pope, "which Chief, with the advice of his associates, shall have authority to draw up Constitutions" for the new Society; and they promised that "this entire Society and all the members (shall) become God's soldiers under faithful obedience of the most sacred Lord the Pope;" and that "each one of us be bound by a special vow, beyond a general obligation, so that whatsoever the present and other Roman Pontiffs, for the time being, shall ordain, pertaining to the advancement of souls, and the propagation of the faith, and to whatsoever provinces he shall resolve to send us, we are straightway bound to obey, as far as in us lies, without any tergiversation or

¹ *Life of St. Ignatius Loyola.* By Stewart F

excuse; whether he send us among the Turks, or to any other unbelievers, even in those parts called India; or to any heretics or schismatics." They also promised to take vows of perpetual chastity and poverty. The Pope in thus giving his approbation to the new Order, was careful to limit the number of its members to sixty only; but three years later, the same Pope, on March 14, 1543, issued another Bull, by which, to the great joy of Ignatius, he removed the restriction as to numbers, and permitted the unlimited extension of the Society throughout the world.

The day on which the Papal approbation was given to the Society of Jesus was a memorable one indeed, and to be remembered ever after by Ignatius with joy and gratitude. Down to this point there is, I think, no reason to doubt his sincerity. He had shown it in many ways, and for a period covering many years. He was superstitious of course; he desired with all his heart to support that Papal system which we, as Protestants, believe to be not only unscriptural but in many ways highly injurious. Had he walked under the light of the Gospel, as revealed in the written Word of God, he would have been a different man, and as great a friend to Protestantism as he afterwards turned out to be its enemy. He was of an intensely enthusiastic nature, emotional to a degree, and just the kind of man likely to suffer from spectral illusions. Many cases of such illusions are recorded by Dr. Abercrombie, in his valuable book entitled *Inquiries Concerning the Intellectual Powers*, which are quite as surprising as those recorded of Ignatius and other Roman Catholic saints, but which are shown by him to be due to natural causes, and often arise without any reference to religious affairs.

CHAPTER XI

THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE JESUITS—THEIR SECRET AGENTS

THE formal approbation of the Pope having been obtained for the new Order, the next step to be taken was the election of its first General. Ignatius for this purpose called a meeting of his companions at Rome, and invited those unable to be present to send their votes in writing. On April 7, 1541, the meeting was held, at which, however, only five Jesuits were present. The result was that Ignatius was unanimously elected as first General. Bonhours asserts that Loyola was "afflicted, and even surprised to see himself elected General," and assured his brethren that he was unwilling to act. But in this Loyola could not have been sincere. How could he have been "surprised" at his election, when he was the founder of the new Order? He knew that some one must be appointed, and it is evident that he did not think either of his companions suitable, or he would have voted for him. When his own voting-paper was opened it was found that he had not voted for anybody. His attitude under the circumstances was one of pretence, for I doubt not that he would have been bitterly disappointed if anybody else had been selected.

The new General at once set to work to draw up the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. He wrote them in Spanish, but they were at once translated into Latin by his Secretary. These Constitutions are drawn up with extraordinary skill, and manifest worldly wisdom of a high order. The founder of the Order here laid down plans which show that he expected it to cover eventually the whole of the

globe. "It is indeed," says Mr. Cartwright, "impossible to consider the series of 'Regulations' and 'Constitutions,'—of minute injunctions and astute exemptions,—which make up the code of the Society, without becoming greatly impressed with the forethought and sagacity which could devise provisions so intricate and so nicely dovetailed. The law-makers of the Society have framed a set of ordinances and of privileges with skill that is perfectly marvellous."¹

The object of the Society of Jesus is said to be "the greater glory of God" (*Ad majorem Dei Gloriam*), the initials of the words, "A. M. D. G.," being frequently used by the Jesuits in announcing their public services, and on the title pages of their books. By the Constitutions it is required of those admitted into the Society that they shall be of "a comely presence," and that when commencing their probation they shall have exceeded their fourteenth year. If they have "external gifts of nobility, wealth, reputation and the like," these, though not of themselves sufficient, will make them "more fit for admission" (Part I. Chap. ii., Secs. 3, 12, 13). Other things being equal, it is evident that a rich young man has a better chance of admission than a poor one. When a candidate is thought suitable for probation, he is sent to a Home of Probation as a guest, for from twelve to twenty days. On the day after he arrives he is told how to conduct himself while there, "and expressly, that he hold no intercourse (unless for some cause of no slight moment it seems otherwise to the Superior), either by word or writing, with those within or those without, except with such as are for that purpose designated by the Superior" (Chap. iv., Sec. 4). While a guest he must open his conscience to the Superior, and make a General Confession, which, however, may not be to any Confessor *he* may choose, but "to the Confessor who shall be designated by the Superior to receive it." (Sec. 6). There are several

¹ *The Jesuits*. By W. C. Cartwright, M.P., p. 13.

things which may lead to the dismissal of the novice at this stage, amongst them, if he "cannot settle himself to a life of Obedience, to be regulated according to the Society's manner of proceeding; if he cannot, or will not, subject his own opinions and judgment; or for other impediments, whether natural or habitual" (Part II. Chap. ii., Sec 4). It will thus be seen that there is no room in the Society of Jesus for any man with private opinions of his own.

"For liberty of mind and will,—for bold unfettered thought,—
They must think as they are bidden, and believe what they are
taught:
They must shut their eyes and ope their ears, fast bound by
slavish laws,
Rome's hook within their nostrils, and her bridle on their jaws." ¹

If the candidate be found likely to become a useful member of the Society, he next enters as a scholar upon a formal course of probation in one of its Houses or Colleges.

I may here be permitted to mention that in the *Rules of the Society of Jesus*, printed for the private use of its members only, at the Jesuits' private printing press, Roehampton, in 1863, the following is printed as the 14th of what are termed the "Common Rules":—

"None of those who are admitted for the work of the House, must learn either to read or write, or if he have any knowledge of letters acquire more; nor shall any one teach him, without leave of the General; but it shall be sufficient for him to serve Christ our Lord in holy simplicity and humility." (p. 27.)

While there he must "at least once a week go to the Sacraments of Confession and Communion; except for some reason the Superior determine otherwise;" and one Confessor is appointed in each House or College to hear the Confessions of all the probationers. Even at this early stage, before the probationer has actually joined the Society, and though he may be only fourteen years old, provision is made in the Constitutions to enable him to give up at once all

¹ *Moultrie's Poems*,

his property to the Society, and he is even advised that it is better for him to make no conditions in so doing, "but let him leave its ["his property"] disposal to him who has the care of the whole Society, whether it should be applied to one place rather than another within the same province; since he must know better than any other what is most needful, and what most urgent" (Part III., Chap. i., Sec. 9). The novice must spend two years in this probationary state, and during this period—a modern Roman Catholic historian of the Order tells us—"In order to exercise their memory the Jesuit novices are obliged to learn daily a short lesson by heart; but, with this exception, *St. Ignatius decrees that all study shall be rigorously banished.*"¹

At the end of two years the novice takes the simple vows of a "Spiritual Coadjutor" in the following terms:—

"Almighty, Everlasting God, I, N. N., though altogether most unworthy of Thy Divine sight, yet trusting in Thy goodness and Infinite mercy, and moved with a desire of serving Thee, vow before the most sacred Virgin Mary, and the whole Court of Heaven, to Thy Divine Majesty, perpetual Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, in the Society of Jesus, and promise that I will enter into the said Society, for ever to lead my life therein, undertaking all things according to the Constitutions of the same Society. Therefore I most humbly beseech Thee, by Thy Infinite goodness and mercy, by the Blood of Jesus Christ, that Thou wilt vouchsafe to admit this holocaust in an odour of sweetness, and that as Thou hast already given me grace to desire and offer it, so Thou wilt also bestow plentiful grace on me to fulfil it. Amen."

Of these three vows, those of Poverty and Chastity are easily understood, and require no explanation here. But some space is necessary to explain the Jesuit's Vow of Obedience, for, as the author last quoted, tells us:—"The great law of Obedience is the secret of the perfect discipline that pervades this vast organization." In his famous Letter on Obedience, dated March 26th, 1553, Loyola wrote to his subjects in the Order:—"More easily may we suffer our-

¹ *The Jesuits: Their Foundation and History.* By B. N., vol. i., p. 34. (London, Burns and Oates, 1879).

selves to be surpassed by other Religious Orders in fasting, watching, and other severities, in diet and apparel, which according to their Institute and Rule every one does piously practise; but in true and perfect Obedience and the abnegation of our will and judgment, I greatly desire, most dear brethren, that those who serve God in this Society should be conspicuous, and that the true and genuine progeny of the same should as it were be distinguished by this mark." And again in the same letter, he remarks (the italics are mine):

"And if there be any who for some time obey, induced by that common apprehension, *that obey they must though commanded amiss*; yet doubtless this cannot be firm and constant, and so perseverance fails, or at least the perfection of Obedience, which consists in obeying promptly and with alacrity, *for there can be no alacrity and diligence, where there is discord of minds and opinions. There perishes that zeal and speed in performing, when we doubt whether it will be expedient or no to do what we are commanded: there perishes that renowned simplicity of Blind Obedience, when we call in question the justice of the command.*"¹

What the obedience of a Jesuit especially should be to the Church of Rome, may apply also to his obedience to the Superiors of his Order. In the *Spiritual Exercises*, Loyola lays down the proposition: "That we may be entirely of the same mind with the Church; if she have defined anything to be black which may appear to our minds to be white, we ought to believe it to be as she has pronounced it." Under these circumstances it would manifestly be impossible to see anything sinful or wrong in what is commanded, no matter what the command might be. It is laid down in the Constitutions: "That Holy Obedience may be perfect in us in every point, in execution, in will, in intellect; doing whatever is enjoined us with all celerity, with spiritual joy and perseverance; persuading ourselves that everything is just; suppressing every repugnant thought and judgment of our own in a certain obedience, and that, moreover, in all things which are determined by the Superior, *wherein it*

¹ *Rules of the Society of Jesus*, p. 72. Roehampton, 1865.

cannot be defined (as is said) that any kind of sin appears. And let every one persuade himself that they who live under Obedience should permit themselves to be moved and directed under Divine Providence by their Superiors just as if they were a corpse, which allows itself to be moved and handled in any way; or as the staff of an old man, which serves him wherever and in whatever thing he who holds it in his hand pleases to use it" (Part 6, Chap. I.).

The Jesuits frequently refer to this rule in proof of their being some limit to the Obedience of a Jesuit. He must not obey when he clearly sees "sin" in the command. The Jesuit must obey, says Loyola, in his Letter on Obedience, "in all things where manifestly there appears no sin." But here we may reasonably ask, how is it possible for a man to see who is first of all made "blind"? What power has a "corpse," or a "staff," without life or judgment, to see anything wrong in what is done with it?

"The famous simplicity of Blind Obedience," said Loyola, "no longer exists when we begin inwardly to question whether it is rightly or wrongly that we are given a command."¹ A Jesuit, he affirms, ought to have "a will inclined only to obey, *without examining anything*, without seeing anything, to perform all that the Superior has told you to do."² "Obedience to the Superior whom God gives us, *be he what he may*, is the sure and only means of regaining peace of soul."³ But what if the Superior be a wicked man? Is it not probable, in this case, that he will, from time to time, relying on the Blind Obedience of his subject, order him to commit that which is sinful? In this case how can his subject see anything wrong in the command, when he is required to obey it "without examining anything, without seeing anything"? The fact is that the Jesuit's Blind Obedience would justify, and even make a merit of, doing any crime which a Superior may command.

¹ *The Spirit of St. Ignatius*, p. 70. London: Burns and Oates, 1892.

² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

This Blind Obedience should never be given to any man, or body of men. And even apart from crime, it serves to make men in authority in the Order tyrants over their subjects, and gives them the power to inflict untold misery without a shadow of excuse.

Blind Obedience facilitates not only crime and tyranny, but also folly, sometimes of the most ridiculous kind. It would be easy to multiply instances, supplied by the Jesuits themselves, in proof of this. The case of Alonzo Rodriguez, S.J., may suffice. He is now a Canonized Saint. It is recorded of him that he was so perfect in Blind Obedience that he used "to obey without reasoning," and that "one of the Fathers had even said he obeyed like an ass"!¹ Here is another instance which shows into what folly such obedience may lead:—

"A still stranger instance of Blind Obedience," says the biographer of Rodriguez, "occurred at a little earlier date. Brother Roca, who was the infirmarian, was one day waiting on our Saint, who was ill at the time. He had brought to him in the Refectory some tasty and thick soup, in an earthenware dish or porringer—*escudella*. He noticed that the sick man would not touch it, out of love of mortification and dislike of special fare, and as Roca thought it would do him good, he got the Rector to send word that he must eat the whole dish—*escudella*. Alonzo at once began with his knife to scrape the rough earthenware, endeavouring thus to fulfil the order to the letter. The noise naturally attracted the attention of the Brothers at his side, and Roca then asked him why he was spoiling the knife and scratching the dish. 'Because,' answered Alonzo, 'they told me to eat it.' 'No,' explained Brother Roca, 'the Superior only wished you to finish the soup; that is what we mean here by the dish.' So the holy Brother laid down his knife, and did as he was bid."²

The modern Jesuit biographer of Rodriguez evidently admires this act of folly very much, for he actually adds to the story this marvellous comment: "It is clear that the Rector might have enjoined in earnest what his words literally conveyed, as a test of the Saint's obedience; so Alonzo was justified in taking them in their strictest sense."

¹ *Life of St. Alonzo Rodriguez*. By Francis Goldie, S.J., p. 272.

² *Ibid.*, p. 277.

After a prolonged course of probation and study, the novice, if found likely to prove serviceable to the Order, is admitted into the rank of a "Spiritual Coadjutor." As such he reads his vow in church, after which he partakes of the Sacrament. The vow is in the following terms:—

"I, N., promise Almighty God, before His Virgin Mother, and before all the heavenly host, and to you, Reverend Father, General of the Society of Jesus, holding the place of God, and your successors; or to you, Reverend Father, in the place of the General of the Society of Jesus and his successors, holding the place of God, perpetual Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, and therein peculiar care in the education of boys, according to the manner expressed in the Apostolical Letters and in the Constitutions of the said Society."

The Spiritual Coadjutors, though priests and real Jesuits, are not the inner circle of the Society of Jesus. They may have important posts assigned to them, but they have no control over the Society. The "Professed Fathers" alone "constitute the Society of Jesus in its most technical sense."¹ They alone, with a few exceptions, can take part in the General Congregations of the Order, or vote for the election of a General. The secrets of the Order are not imparted to the Spiritual Coadjutors, who may remain ignorant of them all their lives. From these latter are selected, as a rule, those men of high aims in the spiritual life, prepared to endure in foreign Missions great privations for the good of the people and the honour of the Order. The Professed Fathers are but a small per-centage of the whole body, yet they alone possess real power. They take a special vow of obedience to the Pope, promising to go wherever he may send them into the Mission field, and no one is admitted into the rank of the Professed Fathers until he is forty-five years of age. Mr. Cartwright asserts that not more than two per cent of the members of the Order are received into the supreme grade, but a writer in the organ

¹ *The Jesuits: Their Foundation and History.* By B. N., vol. i., p. 36.

of the English Jesuits, *The Month*, assures us that from 20 to 30 per cent "would be nearer the truth."¹

In addition to the Spiritual Coadjutors and Professed Fathers, there are in the Order Temporal Coadjutors, laymen, who service the Society in various capacities, from the humblest offices in the kitchens of their houses, to the higher office of authors of books, such as the late Henry Foley, S.J., who was selected to write the *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, in eight large volumes. The lay brother is as much a Jesuit as the priests of the Society, but he does not, like them, take a vow to teach boys. The other three vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, he takes in the same terms as those of the Spiritual Coadjutors. The "Rules of the Temporal Coadjutors," as privately printed in English, at the Roehampton House of the Order, direct them to "perform the household services of their calling of whatsoever kind, however mean and humble they are, being ready to spend all their life-time in them."² In their daily recreations they must "not converse among themselves only, or retire apart from the common place of recreation." One important work which they are frequently required to undertake, is to accompany the priests of the Order when paying visits to private individuals, and they are expected to act as spies on those priests, reporting to the Superior anything they may have done amiss. The fifth of these rules deals with these visits, and is worth reprinting here. It is as follows:—

"In accompanying Ours, especially in visits to women, they must not only observe what is prescribed to priests in their Rules, that when they are sent to hear the Confessions of women, or upon other occasions to visit them, the companion assigned by the Superior, as long as the priest converses with the women, is to be in a place where he may see him (so far as the room will permit), and not hear what ought to be secret; but also when they shall visit men, of what quality or degree soever they be, they must endeavour not to leave him alone at any time, both in regard of religious decency and of common edification, unless it happens

¹ *The Jesuits*. By W. C. Cartwright, p. 23.

² *Rules of the Society of Jesus*, p. 84.

that they to whom the visit is made are of such authority, that neither the business itself, nor civility will allow the priest or any of Ours to introduce a companion while the business is going on. They must, moreover, know that when they come home, they are of their own accord to go to the Superior and (though he do not ask) tell him if anything has been done contrary to this Rule."

A very strict watch is kept over the books which the lay brethren read. The tenth of their Rules enacts that: "They must not keep nor read any book, of what kind soever, without leave of the Superior, to whom it belongs to assign them those which may be most proper for their spiritual profit." In addition to the Rules for Temporal Coadjutors, there are several "Common Rules"—as they are termed—applicable to Jesuits of every rank. Every one "must," not merely when he feels that his spiritual needs require it, but "upon the day assigned," confess to an appointed Confessor, "and to no other without the Superior's leave" (Rule 3). "No one must have money in his own keeping; or, in another's keeping, either money or anything else" (Rule 7).

"No one must shut his chamber door so that it cannot be opened on the outside; or have any chest or other thing locked, without the Superior's leave" (Rule 11).

"No one must take any medicine, or choose a Physician, or take advice of him, unless with the Superior's approval" (Rule 17).

It is a very serious offence indeed for a Jesuit to be too inquisitive as to the internal affairs of the Society, possibly because such inquisitiveness might lead to those in the lower grades learning more than it would be safe for them to be acquainted with. And therefore it is provided:—

"No one must curiously enquire of others, the intentions of Superiors in things appertaining to government, or by forming conjectures enter into conversation upon them" (Rule 21).

"No one but those who are appointed by the Superior, must speak with such as are in their first Probation; ordinary salutations, however, are excepted, which, when one meets another, religious charity requires" (Rule 27).

There is a great dread lest the outside public should know what goes on in Jesuit Houses and Colleges, while

the books used in those establishments are, as far as possible, to be kept from the knowledge of externs. Secrecy is the prominent feature of the Jesuit Society, as may be gathered from the following Rules:—

“When at home, no one must talk with externs, or call any to talk with them, without general or particular leave of the Superior” (Rule 36).

“No one must deliver the messages or letters of any extern to one of the House, or of one of the House to an extern, without the Superior’s knowledge” (Rule 37).

“No one must relate to externs what things are done, or to be done in the House, unless he knows the Superior approves of it; and he must not lend them the Constitutions, or other such books or writings, in which the Institute or the privileges of the Society are contained, without the express consent of the Superior” (Rule 38).

While subordinates in the Society must not enquire too curiously about the plans of their Superiors, the latter are expected to have an unbounded curiosity as to the doings of those under them, not only while in the Home, but while on visits outside, especially if those visits are paid to persons of importance:—

“No one must go out of the House, but when, and with what companion, the Superior shall think good” (Rule 43).

“When any one asks leave of the Superior to go anywhere he must, at the same time, tell him whither and for what cause he desires to go; especially if he would go to speak with a Prelate, or other person of quality; and he must the same day relate unto him what he has done, as he shall understand him to wish it, and the matter shall require” (Rule 44).

These “Common Rules” are considered by the Jesuit Order of such importance that it is ordered that each member shall possess a copy, and “renew the memory of them every month, by reading or hearing them” (Rule 49).

In addition there is a series of “General Admonitions, which regard the religious direction of Ours, and are to be observed by all.” Every Jesuit has permission to write direct to the General of the Order, and it is provided that:—
“Those who write to the General or mediate Superiors, or receive letters from them, shall not shew them to the

immediate Superiors." Secrecy is again enjoined by these Admonitions:—"None in future shall impart or communicate to any extern, on any occasion, the Annual Letters of the Society." The eighteenth of these Admonitions is very noteworthy. It is often referred to by Jesuits, as a proof that the Order takes no part in political and State affairs. It orders that:—

"To take away all appearance of evil, and, as far as possible, to prevent the complaints which arise from false suspicions, all of Ours are commanded in Virtue of Holy Obedience, and under pain of inability to any post, dignity, or superiority, and of privation of active and passive voice, in no way to meddle in public or secular affairs of Princes, which appertain, as they term it, to matters of State; neither may they presume or take upon them to treat of such political affairs, however much and by whomsoever they may be urged or importuned."

At first sight this positive command seems decisive. But, on the other hand, we have to consider the fact that the General has a dispensing power over the Constitutions of the Society. It is expressly provided that: "As it belongs to the General to see that the Constitutions of the Society be everywhere observed; *so shall it belong to him to grant dispensation in all cases where dispensation is necessary.*" (*Constitutions*, Part 9, Chap. iii., Sect. 8). In the instructions given by the General to the first two Jesuit Missionaries sent to England (Edmund Campian and Robert Parsons) it was ordered that: "They must not mix themselves up with affairs of State, nor write to Rome about political matters, nor allow others to speak in their presence against the Queen,—*except, perhaps, in the company of those whose fidelity has been long and steadfast*, and even then not without strong reasons."¹ Here then was a clear dispensation given to two Jesuits to enter upon political and State affairs, though only with those who could be trusted. How Parsons acted on this dispensation is a well-known fact of history.

¹ Simpson's *Edmund Campian*, p. 100. 1st Edition.

Of course it would never do for the Jesuit Order to allow its members to enter indiscriminately on political questions. Many of them would certainly lack the necessary discretion on such subjects, and therefore there was great worldly wisdom in thus forbidding them to enter on dangerous and delicate work, *without a dispensation*, which, of course, would be granted only to those whose tact and discretion had been tried and tested. But as to the rule itself to which modern Jesuits so vainly appeal, the best comment on it is the world-wide *practice* of the Order. In every land they have, sooner or later, interfered with State affairs, with a view to subduing every power and authority to their imperious rule. The history of the Jesuit Missions in Paraguay is in itself one of the most remarkable proofs of this guiding principle of the Order.

The Order evidently attaches considerable importance to "A Selection of Decrees of General Congregations" of the Society of Jesus, which, by the command of the General, are "to be read publicly every year, together with the General Admonitions." Of these the following have, to the general reader, a special interest:—

"As soon as Ours have left the Novitiate, they must divest themselves of all administration of property whatsoever; nor is any one to be allowed the administration or free use of it, even while he still retains the dominion. Moreover, Ours are bound to divest themselves of the dominion of all property whatsoever, whether real or personal, and whether held in perpetuity or for life, and of all right of succession, as soon as their age and the laws of the country allow of it, whenever our Rev. Father General shall require it."

This Rule as to the possession of property is similar to that of most of the Monastic Orders, and of course it serves to bind the Jesuit very closely to the Order, to which he must henceforth look for bodily sustenance. In this section the responsibility of the Society as a whole for whatever its members may write or publish, whether it be a book or a mere tract, is clearly seen. A very strict censorship is set up, to which every Jesuit must submit without exception. It is ordered that:—

"Whoever, without the permission of Superiors, publish books, pamphlets, or flying sheets as they are called, under their own name or that of another, or even anonymously, shall be severely punished, as, for example, with privation of office, of active and passive voice, inability also to receive dignities and superiority in the Society, and finally with corporal penances, according as the Superior shall judge and the gravity of the case require. . . . Finally, they will be presumed to be guilty of fraud, who shall give to externs writings which they shall publish."

"It is decreed that nothing whatever is to be published (not even Theses or loose sheets) unless approved by Revisors appointed for this."

"Writers of books cannot make any contract with publishers, without the express permission of the Provincial."

Notwithstanding these stringent rules it is a fact that Jesuit writers have from time to time, flatly contradicted each other in their public writings, and occasionally, though but very rarely, it has been necessary for the Heads of the Order to repudiate a book written by one of the brethren. In this cross-writing against each other by Jesuits—though it is seldom seen—there has occasionally been a great deal of what we in plain English term trickery. This comes out in a remarkable manner in connection with a well-known book written by Father Robert Parsons, S.J., at the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and entitled *A Conference About the next Succession to the Throne of England*. He wrote it under the *nom de plume* of "R. Doleman," which was actually the name of a secular Roman Catholic priest at that time working in England, and strongly opposed to Parsons' traitorous practices. It certainly looks as though Parsons adopted the name of Dolman for the purpose of getting the latter into trouble with the Government. Father Christopher Bagshaw was very angry with Parsons, and told Father Henry Garnett "how vilely he, the said Master Dolman, had been dealt with, by such as he, the said Master Garnett, had interest in; in that Father Parsons had set out the *Book of Titles* [i.e. *A Conference About the Next Succession*] in Master Dolman's name, which (notwithstanding that he detested the contents of it) might have brought him into great danger."¹

¹ *Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Elizabeth*. By I. G. Law, p. 64.

The object of Parsons' book was to prove that the Infanta of Spain was entitled to succeed Elizabeth as Queen of England, and that consequently the King of Scotland was not the legal heir to the Throne. Though the Constitutions command that all the Jesuits shall "speak, as far as possible, the same thing," and that therefore "no contradictory doctrines shall be allowed either by word of mouth, or public sermons, or in written books" (Part iii., Chap. i., Sect. 18), a friend of Parsons and also a brother Jesuit, wrote a reply to the *Conference About the Next Succession*, in which he advocated the claims of the King of Scotland as heir to the English Throne. Nearly one hundred years later Father La Chase, the Jesuit Confessor of Louis XIV., wrote a letter about this incident in the history of his Order, to Father Petre, the Jesuit Confessor of the King of England. It affords a curious revelation of Jesuit tactics. Father La Chase wrote:—

"Examples instruct much. One of our assisting Fathers of that Kingdom [England], which was Father Parsons, having written a book against the succession of the King of Scots to the Realm of England, Father Creighton, who was also of our Society, and upheld by many of our party, defended the cause of that King, in a book entitled *The Reasons of the King of Scots, against the Book of Father Parsons*.¹ And though they seemed divided, yet they understood one another very well; this being practised by order of our General, to the end that if the House of Scotland were excluded, they might show him who had the Government, the book of Father Parsons; and on the other hand, if the King happened to be restored to the Throne, they might obtain his goodwill by showing him the works of Father Creighton. So that which way soever the medal turned, it still proved to the advantage of our Society."²

A nice little arrangement—for the Jesuits! But what about truth and straightforward conduct? There is some

¹ The real title of the book by Creighton was *An Apology and Defence of the King of Scotland*. It is reprinted in the first volume of *Miscellanies of the Scottish History Society*, pp. 41—64.

² *Third Collection of Papers Relating to the Present Juncture of Affairs in England*. Printed in the year 1688. No iii., p. 27.

confirmatory evidence as to Father La Chase's statement, in a letter written by Father William Warford, a Jesuit priest, dated from Rome, September 4th, 1599, to a secular priest named Dr. John Cecil. News had arrived in Rome that Father Cecil intended to take up his pen against Father Creighton's book, whereupon Parsons took alarm at once, rushed to the aid of his nominal opponent Creighton, and ordered Father Warford to write the Letter just referred to, which commences as follows:—"So it is, that since my return to abide in the English College, I understood by Father Parsons our Rector, that Master Doctor Kellison hath written hither, concerning a certain intention of yours to write a book against Father Creighton, touching certain differences between you and him. Whereupon Father Parsons willed me, both in his name, and in mine own, as one you know of old, to write some few lines to dehorte you from such a perilous and impertinent action.¹ The application, however, was in vain. Cecil printed his reply to Creighton, with the title of *A Discovery of the Errors Committed*.

Of course from time to time the Jesuit Order thinks it desirable to dismiss unsuitable novices, and even to grant to Spiritual Coadjutors permission to withdraw from its ranks. As to the one who is dismissed, it is provided by the Constitutions, that "the Superior take care, as far as possible, that he be sent away with mutual kindness, and a feeling of good-will towards the House"; and great care must be taken "that no irritation be allowed to remain in any one's mind on account of the dismissal" (Part II., Chap. iii., Sects. 6, 8). This counsel reminds us of the advice of the Jesuit Balthasar Gracian, Rector of the Jesuit College at Tarragon: "Always have your mouth full of sugar to sweeten your words, so that even your ill-wisher enjoys them."² It may indeed be often and truly said of a

¹ Winwood's *Memorials of Affairs of State*, vol. i., p. 109. Foley's *Records of English Province, S.J.*, vol. iv., p. 578.

² Gracian's *Art of Worldly Wisdom*, p. 161. London, 1892.

Jesuit that "The words of his mouth were smother than butter, but war was in his heart; his words were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords" (Psalms lv. 21). Sometimes a Jesuit petitions for his dismissal from the Order. In 1594, one who had taken the three vows, but had not been Professed, and who had spent many years in the Order as a priest, petitioned his Superior for his dismissal from the Society, with a release from his vow of obedience. He obtained his request by means of a document which, as such documents are but rarely seen, I here reprint:—

"Clement Puteanus, Provost of the Company of Jesus in the Province of France, to all persons to whom it may appertain, and to whom these presents shall come, greeting in our Lord Jesus Christ. I give you to understand that although the bearer hereof has lived a certain time in our Company, yet he was not Professed, but upon some good considerations moving him to request it, we have frankly and freely dismissed, and set him at liberty from anything that might tie him to our Society. Furthermore we certify that he hath with us been promoted to all Holy Orders, and that we know no impediment why he may not exercise his function. In witness whereof we have made him this passport under our own handwriting, and sealed it with the seal of our Society. Given at Paris, the 24 and 25 of August, 1594."¹

In consequence of two articles in the *Quarterly Review*, for October 1874, and January 1875, respectively, re-issued as a volume in 1876, by their author, Mr. W. C. Cartwright, M.P., under the title of *The Jesuits*, a keen and important controversy arose between the author and the English Jesuits, as to whether the Society has within its ranks any members besides Professed Fathers, Spiritual Coadjutors, and Lay Brethren, whose adhesion to the Order is open and unconcealed; or whether, on the other hand, persons are at times secretly received into its ranks. The Jesuits replied to Mr. Cartwright through the columns of *The Month*, their official organ, and subsequently re-issued their defence in pamphlet form, with the title of *Remarks*

¹ *The Jesuits' Catechisme*, p. 1099, Printed Anno Domini 1602.

on a *Late Assailant of the Society of Jesus*. Later on, the Jesuits continued the controversy in the columns of *The Month* for July and August 1877. Mr. Cartwright asserted that persons were secretly received as members of the Order, to which the Jesuit reply was an emphatic though rather astonishing assertion that the Society of Jesus "has always lived in the light of day;"¹ but this is followed by the inconsistent admission, a few pages later on, that:—

"It is true that St. Francis Borgia was secretly admitted to the solemn vows of the Society, and in virtue of such admission was enrolled in the Catalogue of Professed Fathers; but this would in no way entitle him to the distinction of a crypto-Jesuit. For the case was clearly exceptional, even when the Society was in its infancy, and the Rules and Constitutions not fairly in shape; so much so, indeed, that the Pope himself gave a dispensation from the regular mode of procedure, allowing St. Francis to remain in the world for the period of four years, for the purpose of putting his affairs, public and private, on a thoroughly satisfactory footing before his final retirement. This sufficiently proves that the case was singular, and not falling under the ordinary rules of the Society. A few other similar examples may perhaps be found, two or three at the most. For instance, the case of Cardinal Orsini is well known."²

The argument of Mr. Cartwright, however, was not that these "Crypto-Jesuits" were as thick in the Order as blackberries on the hedges in autumn, but that such beings—whose numbers must necessarily remain unknown to the public—have actually existed. This assertion is amply proved by the extract from *The Month* just cited. It is frankly admitted by this Jesuit writer that Francis Borgia—afterwards General of the Jesuits—Cardinal Orsini, and "a few other similar examples" were all *secretly* received into the Society, and consequently for a time they must have been "Crypto-Jesuits, notwithstanding the very feeble denial of *The Month*. Since this controversy with Mr. Cartwright took place the English Jesuits have published *The Life of St. Francis Borgia*, written by A. M. Clarke. This Borgia was the great grandson of Pope Alexander VI., a man whose

¹ *Remarks on A Late Assailant*, p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

crimes were of the most awfully abominable character, yet his English biographer has the audacity to assert that "there is no proof of any immorality in him after he ascended the Papal throne."¹ As Duke of Gandia, Francis Borgia was possessed of enormous wealth. He married, and brought up a large family of children. After the death of his wife, Borgia's thoughts turned to a strictly religious life, and this led him to consult his Confessor as to his future. One morning this priest came to the Duke, and addressing him, said: "My Lord Duke, both God and His Most Holy Mother desire that you should enter the Society of Jesus." The Duke very naturally asked why he spoke in such positive terms, to which the Confessor replied: "After making my usual meditation I prostrated myself upon the ground, and with copious tears implored the Queen of Heaven, the Morning Star, to enlighten my mind. Shortly afterwards I heard a sound which caused me to look up, and I saw Mary herself standing before me. With ineffable sweetness she smiled upon me and said: 'Tell the Duke to enter the Society of my Son, for this is my wish, and will be most pleasing also to Him. Tell the Duke also, that he is to extend and glorify in the eyes of all men this Order, now so poor and despised, and that he is to be the means of rendering great services to the whole Church.'"² Borgia at once retired to his oratory, and we are gravely assured that an image of the Virgin before which he prostrated himself, actually spoke to him and said:—"Francis, hesitate no longer, enter into the Society of my Son."

Thereupon Borgia at once wrote to Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Order, telling him of his desire to enter its ranks, and at the same time giving a full account of his affairs, including the amount of his yearly income. It is needless to add that Ignatius was delighted on receiving such an application from one in such a distinguished position in

¹ *The Life of St. Francis Borgia.* By A. M. Clarke, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 118.

society, and possessor of such abundant wealth. He lost no time in writing an answer. "In the name of the Lord," he wrote to the Duke, "I receive you at once as our brother, and shall henceforward regard you as such." And then, with that hatred of publicity for which the Jesuits have, from time to time, been so noted, before concluding his letter Ignatius twice exhorted him to secrecy:—"You had better keep the affair a secret at present so far at least as it is possible to do so;" and:—"I cannot conclude without once more inculcating upon you to take every precaution in order to prevent this astonishing piece of news from being prematurely divulged."¹ As we have seen "this astonishing news" was kept secret for four years, during which the Duke appeared outwardly as a man of the world, while in reality he was something else. He received a Papal Brief giving him permission, after making his profession as a Jesuit, to remain in the world for the purpose of arranging his affairs. Borgia took the three vows early in 1548. "The ceremony," says his English biographer, "took place before a very small number of witnesses, in order that the secrecy recommended by St. Ignatius might be more easily preserved." The wording of the vows was altered to suit his special case, for the document which he read is different from the formula provided in the *Constitutions*. It was as follows:—

"I, Francis Borgia, Duke of Gaudia, a miserable sinner, unworthy of the vocation of God and of this my profession, yet trusting in the mercy of the Lord and hoping He will be propitious to me, do make a solemn vow to observe Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience in conformity with the Constitutions of the Society, through the favour which has been granted me by Father Ignatius, General of the same. I implore the angels and saints who are in heaven to be my protectors, and the witnesses of my act. I ask a similar favour of the Fathers and Brothers now present here."²

From the concluding words it seems as though only priests and Brothers of the Society of Jesus were present

¹ *The Life of St. Francis Borgia*. By A. M. Clarke, pp. 122, 123.

² *Ibid.*, p. 127.

to witness the Duke's vows. His biographer asserts that "besides the instance of St. Francis Borgia, who although a professed Jesuit, remained for a considerable period in the world and led a secular life, no other is recorded in the annals of the Society." But if they are not "recorded" in those annals, they have certainly taken place. As we have seen the Jesuit writer in *The Month* admits that there were other instances. Anyhow it is now quite clear, Jesuits themselves being our witnesses, that secret receptions have taken place, and they cannot therefore be surprised if Protestants suspect that such instances occur at the present time, and have been in the past more numerous than are "recorded in the annals of the Society" revealed to the public. It is quite possible for members of Royal families, and members of the aristocracy, to be at the present moment real though Crypto-Jesuits, while publicly attending to their duties in the world, no one around them suspecting the real truth. In the seventeenth century the English secular Roman Catholic priests believed in the existence of Crypto-Jesuits. This we know on the authority of Panzani, the Pope's secret Envoy to England, who asserted that:—"The [Roman Catholic] clergy, to prevent being imposed on by false brethren, caused an oath to be privately administered to all new missionaries of their body, whereby they were to disown themselves to be Jesuits in masquerade."¹ We may be perfectly certain that such an oath would never have been administered without good reasons.

As to the question, are there any other classes of persons united to the Society of Jesus in addition to the Professed Fathers, Spiritual Coadjutors, and Lay Brethren, the *Month* denies that any such classes exist within the Order, yet at the same time it makes an admission in the following terms: "But it will be asked, are there not, after all, persons affiliated to the Society of Jesus? Yes, but they are in no true sense members of the Society, and in no sense at all

¹ Berington's *Memoirs of Panzani*, p. 249.

subject to its obedience or its rules. They are virtuous persons, to whom in acknowledgment of special services the Society grants a share in its prayers and satisfactions, and nothing more."¹ A considerable number of influential friends of the Society have, no doubt, been affiliated in this way, some of them by no means remarkable for sanctity. One of the number was the Duke of Tyrconnel, whom Macaulay describes as "the fiercest and most uncompromising of all those who hated the liberties and religion of England." "In his youth," says the same historian, "he had been one of the most noted sharpers and bullies of London," and though no longer young, "whenever he opened his mouth, ranted, cursed, and swore with such frantic violence that superficial observers set him down for the wildest of libertines."² Women are affiliated to the Jesuit Order in the same way that "Lying Dick Talbot"—as Tyrconnel used to be called—was. These men and women form no doubt powerful auxiliaries to the Jesuit Order throughout the world. If they receive from the Society certain spiritual blessings by affiliation, they are no doubt expected to labour for the Society in return, even though not under formal vows of obedience. In some respects they will, no doubt, be more useful to the Company than if formally enrolled in the ranks of its members.

But are Societies as well as private individuals affiliated to the Society of Jesus? One such world-wide Society certainly exists, ruled and governed in all things by the Jesuits for the time being. It is known as the *Prima Primaria*, and has affiliated to it a number of "Sodalities" throughout the world. I have before me as I write the official *Manual for the Use of the Sodalities of Our Lady Affiliated to the Prima Primaria*, privately printed, in 1885, at the Jesuits' Press, Roehampton. From the preface, written by the Rev. M. Gavin, S.J., I learn that the *Prima Primaria* traces its

¹ *The Month*, August 1877, p. 465.

² Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. i., pp. 559, 590. Edition 1896.

origin to the year 1563, at Rome, where it was founded by Father G. Leonio, S.J., but it was not established "Canonically" until 1584, by a Bull issued by Gregory XIII. on the 5th of December in that year. Although it is entirely controlled by the Jesuits, yet Sodalties are affiliated to it which "are under the direction of the *secular* clergy" (p. 1).

"Whatever success," says Mr. Gavin, "may have attended the Society of Jesus in the education of youth both in schools and universities, is due, after God, to His Virgin Mother, and devotion to her has been mainly propagated and kept alive by the Sodality. Connection with the Sodality is not in any sense meant to cease when schooldays are over. Sodalties, duly affiliated to the *Prima Primaria*, exist in nearly all the chief towns of England, Ireland, Scotland, and America, where the Society of Jesus owns a Church."¹

This mysterious organization has evidently played an important part in the past history of the Jesuit Order, for it boasts of having had amongst its members such distinguished personages as Popes Urban VIII., Alexander VII., Clement IX., Clement X., Innocent X., Innocent XI., and Clement XI., together with a whole host of Cardinals; also Sigismund II., King of Poland and Sweden; Ladislaus IV., King of Poland; John Casimir, King of Poland, and the Emperor Ferdinand II. The *Catholic Dictionary* informs us that the members of this *Prima Primaria* have been everywhere "looked upon as the champions of orthodoxy against heretics and infidels;" and that it has been "thrown open to women and young girls." To give some idea of the extent of this Jesuit-controlled organization, it may be mentioned that Mr. Gavin states that:

"So great was the renown of this famous Congregation that, in the first 240 years of its existence, 2,476 Sodalties were affiliated to it. In the 40 years that followed, from 1824 to 1864, the same honour was conferred on 7,040 Confraternities; in all, up to 1864, no less than 9,516 had been affiliated to the *Prima Primaria*. Since 1876 to the present date [1885] 750 affiliations have been registered, but probably three or four times that number have been affiliated though not registered."²

¹ *Manual*, p. 15. ² *Ibid* p. 7.

Statistics as to the number of members in each Sodality are not given; but it is evident from the facts supplied by Mr. Gavin, that in almost, if not quite, every place where the Jesuits are at work they have a regiment of men and women at hand, mainly educated in Jesuit Schools and Colleges, ready to carry out the wishes of the Society. It looks as though those in the humblest ranks of life are not eligible for admission, since one of the Rules is that:—"Only those are to be admitted into the Congregation who are in a respectable position in life, and with some pretensions to a literary education," though what is to be the test of education is not stated. At least one Sodality affiliated to the *Prima Primaria* is confined to gentlemen only. Its headquarters are at the chief London church of the Jesuits in Farm Street, W., where it possesses a private chapel. The special and privately printed *Manual* of this organization, issued in 1883, lies before me as I write. It is entitled, *Manual for the Use of the Sodality of the Immaculate Conception. With Appendix for the Farm Street Sodality.* From it we learn that this Sodality was established in Farm Street, by Father Gallwey, S.J., on December 8th, 1857. "Many Catholic gentlemen," writes Mr. Gavin, who in 1883, was Director of the Sodality, "became members, and we now number about 100 [I believe the number is now about 300]. Of these some joined in Farm Street, while others had been received in boyhood at some of the [Jesuit] Society's Colleges in England or elsewhere, and renewed their previous connection with the Sodality. Like all things undertaken for God, the Sodality has had many difficulties to contend against, but it has done good, and will, through our Lady's aid, do better work still amid the Catholic gentlemen of London. The Sodality is a spiritual association of laymen, who pledge themselves to be *servi perpetui* of the Blessed Virgin."

According to the official *Manual*, provision is still made for the admission into the *Prima Primaria* of persons of very exalted station. While at Farm Street none beneath

the rank of "gentlemen" are admitted, yet higher personages are expected. In a list of "Privileges and Concessions," dated 1776, and still in force, it is provided that:—

"All Kings, Princes, Dukes, and Counts, invested with supreme authority, and those related to them by blood, within the first and second degree, who desire to be enrolled in the Congregation erected in any place, or hereafter to be enrolled, can, although absent, by performing the works of piety already mentioned, and by visiting some Church which may be most convenient to themselves, gain all the indulgences, remissions, mitigations, etc., which have been granted and communicated."¹

All the members of this particular Sodality, and of the *Prima Primaria* to which they are affiliated, however exalted may be their station, even though Princes and Kings, are bound to obey the "commands" of their Directors, who, in turn, have vowed "Blind Obedience" to the General of the Jesuits, who is the head of this vast network of organizations scattered throughout the world. We read in the *Manual* that:—

"Upon Sodalists, moreover, it is enjoined that they should *always obey*, with a prompt and ready will, the counsels and *commands* of their own Directors" (p. 160).

"The Father Director represents the person of the General [of the Jesuits] in the direction of the Sodality, to the Director consequently everything and everybody ought to be subject, as if to the General himself" (p. 19.)

"The immediate Superior of the Congregation of the *Prima Primaria*, by virtue of the Apostolic Constitution, is the Father General of the Society of Jesus. To him consequently belongs the government of the Congregation; it is in his power to make laws, revoke, or modify them, since everything depends on his authority" (p. 17.)

We thus learn of what vast importance to the interests and prosperity of the Society of Jesus are the Sodalities thus affiliated to the *Prima Primaria*, which is subject to the sole authority of the General of the Order. It seems strange that the work of these affiliated has not hitherto received anything like adequate attention from Protestant writers. To me it seems that in all probability most of the secret work of the Jesuits,

¹ *Manual*, p. 162.

both political and religious, is carried on by its members, who need not be formally Jesuits, though they certainly are the obedient servants of the Society. The members, being generally in good social positions, can easily be utilised by the wily Fathers as spies on those who hold important offices in the State, and, in some cases, being friends of Statesmen, they are no doubt expected to use their influence on behalf of the objects of the Jesuit Order. They will probably be also found extremely useful in introducing wealthy Protestants to the Jesuit priests, with a view to proselytising. If this Congregation were for spiritual purposes only, what need could there be, it may well be asked, for the following rule?—"Those are excluded from the Congregation who suffer from epileptic fits, or are physically or accidentally deformed."¹

The Roman Catholic priest who, in 1603, wrote *A Replie Unto A Certaine Libell*, was evidently well acquainted with the work of these Jesuit Sodalities in his own day, and realised also their vast importance in the work of the Jesuit Order.

"It is," he writes, "but an ordinary course with the Jesuits, to bind both noble men and women, and others also unto them by vow, and yet leaving them in the world to be their instruments, of which kind in both sexes I could name some in our own country. And therefore it is no strange thing to charge the Jesuits to have men in the world abroad who are their's, and bound to them in vow, and therefore may be termed Jesuits. For what doth incorporate into a religious body, but the vows thereof, amongst which obedience is the chiefest?"²

"For you must know that the Jesuits are wise and cunning politicians, and can tell how to manage matters by secondary, or third means, lying aloof off themselves, and being least seen or suspected. Such as have been acquainted with their dealings, know this, which I say, not to be void of truth."³

¹ *Manual for the Use of the Sodalities of Our Lady Affiliated to the Prims Primaria*. Privately printed at the Mauresa Press, Rochampton, 1885, p. 91. This is not the same *Manual* as that used in the Farm Street Sodality, though it contains much to be found in the latter book.

² *A Replie Unto A Certaine Libell*, f. 47.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 62.

Father Robert Parsons mentions these Sodalities in an exceedingly scarce book, written in 1602. He writes:

"In all Catholic countries throughout the world where Jesuits live, it is very ordinary among other means which they use, for assisting men in spiritual affairs, to institute several Congregations and Confraternities of all sorts of persons, themselves being Prefects and Directors thereof, for exercise of all pious works and godliness. And this was in Paris and other cities of France, while they remained there, and is at this day in Rome, Naples, Seville, Toledo, Valencia, Salamanca, and other towns of Italy and Spain, and other places. And the fruit of these Congregations is infinite for all kinds of piety, and in Rome itself it cannot be denied but that great Prelates, Noblemen, and Cardinals themselves are of these Congregations, wherein private Religious men of this Order [of Jesus] be ever the Heads and Prefects for direction and execution of the rules."¹

Members are always admitted into these various Sodalities throughout the world in the name of the General of the Jesuits, and each person on admission is required to make the following "Act of Consecration" to the Virgin Mary:—

"Holy Mary, Mother of God, and Virgin, I, N.N., do this day choose thee as Sovereign Protectress, and Advocate; and I firmly purpose and resolve never to forsake thee, never to say or do anything against thee, and never to permit those subject to me to do anything against thy honour. I beseech thee, therefore, receive me as thy servant, stand by me in all my actions, and do not abandon me in the hour of death. Amen."

Sodalities "for men" were, in 1885—how many have been formed since I cannot say—established in England at Farm Street, London; St. Francis Xavier, Liverpool; St. Wilfrid's, Preston; St. Walburge's, Preston; St. Michael and John, Clitheroe; St. Aloysius', Oxford; St. Mary's, St. Helens; and The Holy Name, Manchester. In Ireland, at St. Francis Xavier's, Dublin; Church of the Sacred Heart, Limerick; and St. Ignatius', Galway. In Scotland, at the Church of the Sacred Heart, Edinburgh; and St. Joseph's, Glasgow

¹ *A Manifestation of the Great Folly and Bad Spirits of Certayne in England calling themselves Secular Priestes.* By Priestes Lyving in Obedience, [i.e., by Robert Parsons, S.J.] f. 4.

Sodalities "for boys" were, in that year, in existence, at Beaumont College, Old Windsor; Stonyhurst College; Mount St. Mary's College, Chesterfield; Belvedere College, Dublin; Tullabeg College, Tullamore; Clongowes College, Naas; and St. Aloysius', Glasgow.¹

Every Sodality connected with the *Prima Primaria* has an official called "The Archivist," who has to take charge of all the manuscripts and other confidential documents of the Sodality. The greatest care is taken to keep the contents of the archives from the knowledge, not merely of outsiders, but as far as possible from ordinary members. One of the rules bearing on this important subject is as follows:—

"To no one except the Father Director, Prefect, and Secretary, who have the right to visit the Archivium, will the Archivist open it, or communicate the documents kept there without the express orders of the Father Director or the Prefect. Every time permission is obtained from the Father Director or from the Prefect to show copies of documents or anything else kept in the Archivium, the Archivist, in addition to his own signature, shall have that of the Secretary placed on the document, who will stamp it with the seal of the Congregation. When documents, records, or papers of any description whatever are taken from the Archivium with the leave of the Father Director, who alone can give it, let the Archivist write down exactly the day, the paper, or the papers taken out, and the person to whom they were lent, even if he be the Father Director or the Archivist himself. To this rule no exception shall ever be made; to prevent the records of the Congregation from being lost."²

The various Sodalities established by the Jesuits for different classes have frequently been utilised by them for furthering their political schemes and mischievous plans. The members have ever proved most useful tools in their hands. As we have already seen,³ one of these organizations was formed in England amongst the more wealthy Roman Catholic gentry, as early as 1580, and from its ranks came most of the men afterwards implicated in attempts to assassinate Queen

¹ *Manual for the Use of the Sodalities of Our Lady Affiliated to the Prima Primaria*. Privately Printed at the Manresa Press. Rochampton, 1885, p. 91.

² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

³ *Supra*. pp. 20—22.

Elizabeth. Towards the conclusion of the reign of Elizabeth a considerable body of Roman Catholic priests were in prison at Wisbech, and while there a Jesuit priest named Weston founded a Sodality which was the cause of many bitter quarrels between the Jesuits and secular priests.

But even before these organizations were founded in England, and before they were officially blessed by the Pope, they had found their way into France, where they took an active and prominent part in the organization and work of that most disloyal and traitorous body, known as "The Holy League," whose main object was the extermination of Protestantism from France by the sword. The well-known Italian historian, Davilla (who was a Roman Catholic), reveals the secret work of the Jesuits in this connection. He tells us, under date 1576, that the conspirators' "way of meeting together, and holding intelligence with one another, was opened to them by the King's own institution, who, either moved by his inclination to piety, by the admonitions and writings of Father Bernard Castor, a Jesuit, and many other religious men of that and other Orders; or else to cover and palliate those hidden intentions which he had resolved on for the course of his future government, had brought in the use of many Fraternities, who, under divers habits and different names, met together upon days of devotion, to spend their time in processions, prayers, disciplines, and other spiritual exercises, under the pious pretence of appeasing God's wrath, of imploring a remedy for their present divisions and calamities, and of procuring unity, peace, and concord amongst all the people of the Kingdom; by which means the Catholics did not only meet freely together in all places, but also found matter and opportunity to discourse of present affairs, and to bewail the miserable condition to which the Crown was reduced by division, and by the increase of heresy; from which lamentations coming to talk of businesses of the Government, and the affairs of State, it was not hard both for those Brethren themselves, and

perchance for others more crafty, and better acquainted with the designs of the principal contrivers, to sow the seeds, and ingraft the beginnings of that League, which had a near connection with that devout pretence for which the Catholics assembled themselves in so many several places."¹

Pasquier, in his *Jesuits' Catechisme*, states that he read in the Annual Letters of the French Jesuits that about the year 1589 they instituted at Lyons "the Brotherhood of our Lady"; and at Bruges "the Brotherhood of the Penitents," "not to appease the wrath of God, but to provoke it against the late King"² of France, Henry III. He also quotes the statement of Father Alexander Hayes, a Jesuit, who wrote:—

"I must confess to you that, upon the first breaking out of the troubles, we presently instituted within our College of Paris, a Brotherhood, which we named a Congregation in honour of our Lady, being for this cause called 'The Congregation of the Chaplet', because the Brethren of that company were bound to carry a Chaplet, or prayer of beads, and to say it over once a day. Into this Congregation did all the zealous and devout personages of our Holy League cause themselves to be enrolled, the Lord Mendozs, Ambassador for the Catholic King of Spain, the sixteen Governors of Paris, with their whole families, whereof I have kept no register, neither was it any part of my charge.

"Our Congregation was kept every Sunday in a certain High Chapel, where all the Brotherhood were bound to be present, if there was no necessary cause of let or impediment. There we were all severally confessed on the Saturdays, and on Sunday we received the Sacrament. When the Mass was done one of our Fathers went into the pulpit, and there exhorted all the audience to continue steadfast in that holy devotion, which at this day is in France called Rebellion. This done, all the common sort departed, and those of greatest place and authority stayed behind, to consult about the affairs of the Holy League. Our good Father, Odon Pigenat, was long time President of that Council."³

A century later, the Duke of Saint Simon seems to have been well acquainted with the work of the Jesuits, and their influence over Louis XIV. After recording, in his *Mémoires*, the death of that monarch, he proceeds thus:—

¹ Davilla's *History of the Civil Wars of France*. London, 1648, p. 447.

² *The Jesuits' Catechisme*, f. 197.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 198.

“The Jesuits constantly admit the laity, even married, into their Company. This fact is certain. There is no doubt that Des Noyers, Secretary of State under Louis XIII., was of this number, or that many others have been so too. These licentiates make the same vow as the Jesuits, as far as their condition admits: that is, unrestricted obedience to the General, and to the Superior of the Company. They are obliged to supply the place of the vows of poverty and chastity, by promising to give all the service and all the protection in their power to the Company, above all to be entirely submissive to the Superiors and to their Confessor. They are obliged to perform with exactitude such light exercises of piety as their Confessor may think adapted to the circumstances of their lives, and that he simplifies as much as he likes. It answers the purpose of the Company to ensure to itself *those hidden auxiliaries* whom it lets off cheaply. But nothing must pass through their minds, *nothing must come to their knowledge that they do not reveal to their Confessor*; and that which is not a secret of the conscience, to the Superiors, if the Confessor thinks fit. In everything, too, they must obey, without comment, the Superior and the Confessors.”¹

Writing early in the nineteenth century, the Abbé De La Roche Arnauld, who had once been an inmate of a Jesuit College, gave several particulars of the work of the Congregations and Sodalties affiliated to the Jesuit Order. He states that, under the guidance of Father Ronsin, the head of the Paris Jesuits: “Distinct Congregations began to be formed of Nobles, of men of moderate fortune, of military men, of women and of children. Father Varin was ordered to take charge of the city people (*bourgeoisie*), Father Roger, of the artizans, the men of the Fauxbourg St. Marceau, and the military; while other Jesuits participated the subordinate divisions. Father Ronsin monopolised the care of

¹ *Memoirs of the Duke of Saint Simon*, vol. iii., p. 268. Edition 1902.

all men of the State. In his Congregation they were to be seen of every grade, from the Duke Mathieu down to the Apostolic Nuncio; multitudes of very Christian Barons, Dukes, Princes, Marquises, Counts, Cardinals, Bishops, Deputies, Prefects, and a host of men distinguished for celebrity, wealth, influence, and especially for fanaticism. The young persons who belonged to the class of citizens, and who had acquired notice for their extravagant zeal, obtained, as a very extraordinary favour, admittance to the grand Congregation; places of profit and dignity were obtained for them."¹

These Congregations and Sodalities have proved very serviceable to the Jesuits in promoting their political schemes. A valuable description of their operations in France during the first half of the nineteenth century is given by Dr. E. H. Michelsen, in his *Modern Jesuitism*, published in 1855. The extract from his book which I am now about to give is lengthy, but the importance of the subject must be my excuse for giving it here to my readers. He writes:—

"These missionary doings, however pernicious in themselves, were far from being the greatest evils brought upon France by the Jesuits. It was the Congregation by which the Jesuits became a real plague to the land, and at the same time objects of popular hatred and persecution. We look upon the Congregation, that remarkable system of association in its most flourishing and extensive development, in which the Jesuits have always been great masters—ay, much greater even than in their system of education—as the true organ, THE GRAND SECRET of the immense influence which they have for centuries exercised upon European society. By means of that peculiar system, the Order of Loyola joined to the standing army of its spiritual or real members, who were bound to live according to the rules of their order, also an army of secular volunteers, Jesuits in short coats or skirts (*à robe courte*), who were not in the least disturbed in their ordinary calling and trade, and of whom nothing was required but that they should wear certain sacred appendages as a sign of recognition, say daily a short prayer, now and then participate in the more heavy exercises of the Church, and engage themselves by a simple vow for a certain time (in France, for instance, for the term of five years), to render all possible services to the Order, and obey its instructions. In return, they were promised a ready promotion of

¹ *The Modern Jesuits*. By L'Abbé De La Roche Arnaud. London, 1827, p. 153.

their worldly views and interests, and absolution and indulgence of all sins and transgressions. Neither were these promises empty words incapable of realisation. The mighty and widely ramified Order of St. Ignatius was powerful enough to procure by its interest far greater advantages to individuals, than could any other Corporation, Fraternity, or even secular power. Hence the great facility with which they acted upon all classes of society, by holding out the seductive prospects of ambition or pecuniary gain, according to the views and the position of the individuals whom they wished to enlist in their service. In recent times, in particular, the success of the Order rested chiefly on the co-operation with its standing army (the real tonsured members) of the innumerable hosts of volunteers, the Jesuits in short coats, who had been enlisted from all classes of the population. This was not only the case in France alone, but also in all countries where the disciples of Ignatius have been permitted to settle and acquire power and wealth. We shall dwell at some length upon this peculiar branch of Jesuitical operations, because, having obtained in France its utmost development, it affords the best historical clue for sketching its historical outline.

"Already, under the Consulate, the work of the Association had after a long interruption, been resumed by the Jesuits. One of the 'Fathers of the Faith,' Pater Bourdier Delpuits (of Auvergne) had, in 1801, founded in Paris the 'Congregation of the Holy Virgin,' under which name a similar Fraternity had been established in France by the Jesuits in 1563, under the sanction of the then Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal de Belloy. The Congregation founded at the beginning of the present century counted members indiscriminately from all classes of society, and chiefly served as a sort of receptacle of all elements of discontent. It consisted of all persons who were displeased with the prevailing systems in 'religion' or politics....

"With the restoration of the Bourbons the activity of the 'Congregation' became much more extended. The distinguished favour shown to the Society by the brother of Louis XVIII., Count Artois, and his bigoted daughter-in-law the Duchess of Angoulême, even in the first week after their return to Paris, soon stamped the 'Congregation' as a union of the highest distinction in the fashionable world. But the zeal which the union displayed in opposing the National Charter and Constitutional Monarchy, soon constituted it the central point of all ultra-Royal and Ultramontane agitations. Again, the very comprehensive plan which the Congregation had in view—the reconstruction of the sovereign and absolute power of the Church—required a previous reorganisation of its own society on a much broader basis. It was indeed, to this latter work that the Loyolites applied all their energies. The one large 'Congregation,' which had been composed indiscriminately of all classes of society, was divided by Pater Ronsin, their Superior, into several sections for the different classes of the population respectively.... All these Congregations had been Christened by several names in connection with the Catholic Church. There were Congregations for the 'Diffusion of Belief,' and for the 'Defence of the Catholic Religion,' Congregations of the 'Sacred Mysteries,' of the 'Holy

Sacrament,' of that of the 'Virgin,' of the 'Sacred Rosary,' the 'Holy Sepulchre,' of 'Saint Louis of Gonzaga,' of 'Saint Joseph,' and many others of a similar character. They were divided in tens and hundreds, and possessed leaders or Superiors of both sexes, women also being members of the Congregation. These leaders collected the weekly or monthly subscriptions (labourers and servants paid one sou weekly), which they handed over to the Jesuits, their chiefs. In addition to these subscriptions, the members on entering the Congregation were obliged to engage themselves by a solemn oath to 'promote the great cause of God and the Holy Virgin by all possible means in their power.'

"When we consider that the first division ultimately numbered over a thousand members of the highest aristocratic families, of whom the greater part were either fanatics or blockheads, or probably both together, and that many of them had allotted the greatest part of their annual income, amounting to from sixty thousand to one hundred thousand francs, to the service of the Society, it will easily be conceived what vast sums of money the Jesuits must have had at their command in the metropolis, as also in the large and middle towns of France. We are assured by a very credible author (Roche Arnauld) that in the first years of the reign of Charles X. upwards of 6,000,000 of individuals had belonged to the Congregation, who, as a matter of course, stood at the entire disposal of the Order.

"It was natural that the 'Congregation,' with such means in hand, should ultimately exercise influence also on the government of the country. Indeed, it formed the soul of that Privy Council of Louis XVIII., which possessed already, in 1820, power enough to carry through the House or *Chambre*, the famous or infamous three laws against the press, individual liberty, and reform of the elective system. The new order of things, to which these laws had paved the way, received its best support in the succeeding year (15th December, 1821) by the nomination of a Ministry whose members belonged to the 'Congregation,' and who were consequently Jesuits in the proper sense of the term. Villèle, Minister of Finance, and Corbière, Minister of the Interior, were known to be amongst the most zealous and truest members of the 'Congregation,' while the Duke of Montmorency, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was even one of the chiefs of the society. As members of the Congregation, they were in duty bound to fill all the subordinate places of the administration with the creatures of the society, or rather with Jesuits. And so they did. M. Renneville, who had shortly before left the Jesuit school at St. Acheul, became Chief of the Cabinet Bureau; Franchet, a Congregationist, became Director of the Police of the Kingdom; and another, a certain Delavan, Prefect of the Police at Paris. The Prefectures and Sub-Prefectures, the posts in the States' Council and Embassies, and, as a matter of course, the Episcopal Chairs, were generally given to persons recommended by the 'Congregation.' The ante-chambers of the Jesuit Presidents, Ronsin and Jennesseaux (the latter being Attorney General of the Province of France), were usually filled with courtiers and supplicants for places, while the Ministerial offices swarmed with clerks taken from the Congregation.

“Great was, moreover, the supervision and vigilance of the Congregation over private and family life, by other and different means. By the vast number of offices established by it for the placing of clerks, valets, tutors, nurses, chambermaids, grooms, cooks, etc., and at the head of which generally stood some ladies of high rank, the Congregation had the best means of making sure of the services of the needy classes. The families, moreover, who applied to such offices for servants, etc., became thereby known to the society as belonging to their friends to whom application might be made in necessary cases. But the principal object gained by these offices was the confession and confidential information given by the individuals who had obtained places, reports by which the members were enabled to become familiar with all the secrets of family life, with all its wants and foibles, with all its wishes and defects.”¹

Is it, I may here venture to ask, unreasonable to assume that the Jesuits of the present day, work their Sodalities and Congregations, for both sexes in Great Britain, on similar lines to those so forcibly described by Dr. Michelsen? If so, their existence in our midst constitutes a very grave danger indeed. But the secret history of these later doings yet remains to be written. Here, however, we discover who are the men and women in every rank of life who are doing work for the Jesuits, while they discreetly keep in the background as much as possible. The few hundreds of Jesuit priests residing in Great Britain and Ireland do not constitute the whole of the Order's servants. They are only the officers of a very large army, all subject to the orders of a foreigner owning no allegiance to Edward VII.—the General of the Jesuits in Rome. And this army, should the commands of the General ever conflict with the laws of our King Edward VII., will obey the General in preference, and let the King look after himself. A more unsatisfactory body of nominal subjects does not reside in His Majesty's dominions than the Jesuit Army described in these pages. Their officers have, again and again, been driven out of every Roman Catholic country. Ought they not, as a matter of strict justice, to be expelled also from the British dominions—not only from

¹ *Modern Jesuitism*. By Dr. E. H. Michelsen. London, 1863, pp. 163—170

the mother country, but from all our Colonies and Dependencies also?

The Sodalities affiliated to the *Prima Primaria* are not, however, it will have been observed, confined to men. Women also have their Sodalities equally under the sole control of the General of the Jesuits. Mr. Edmund Waterton, a Roman Catholic writer, gives us the following particulars as to these female Sodalities, the members of which are known as "Children of Mary":—

"In many Convents there are Congregations or Confraternities of our Blessed Ladye, the members of which are called *Enfants de Marie*, or Children of Mary;—in Italian, *Figlie di Maria*. Those which are erected by a diploma of the General of the Society of Jesus are branches of the great *Prima Primaria* Sodality, and enjoy all the privileges and indulgences attached to it, in common with all other Sodalists. A distinction, therefore, must be made between the *Enfants de Marie*, or Lady Sodalists, who are affiliated to the *Prima Primaria*, and those *Enfants de Marie* who are members of some local or conventual Confraternity which had no connection with the *Prima Primaria*.

"On the 7th of January, 1837, the Congregation or Association of the *Figlie di Maria*, erected in the Convent of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Trinità de' Monti at Rome, was affiliated to the *Prima Primaria* in the Roman College. The Sodality of Girls erected at St. Mary's, Hampstead, was affiliated to the *Prima Primaria* by Letters of Aggregation of the General of the Society of Jesus, dated Rome, December 5th, 1874."¹

I have been unable to learn how many female Sodalities are affiliated to the Jesuit *Prima Primaria*, though there can be no reason to doubt that wherever the Jesuits are at work every effort is made to increase the number. And as all the members are expected to obey the commands of their Directors, who are guided by the General of the Jesuits, they must prove very serviceable auxiliaries to the Order. Girls are induced to join at a very early age, while at Ladies' Schools under Jesuit influence, and their membership of the Sodality which they join may be continued throughout their lives. When of high rank in society their influence must tell effectually towards the furtherance of any schemes the Jesuits may have on hand from time to time.

¹ *Pietas Mariana Britannica*. By Edmund Waterton, p. 105.

In a memoir written about the year 1678, by one whom the Canadian historian Parkman says, was probably the Abbé Renaudot, "a learned Churchman," the way in which one of the female Sodalities erected by the Jesuits in Quebec, was used by them, is clearly stated. In this document, says Parkman, "It is added that there exists in Quebec, under the auspices of the Jesuits, an association called the Sainte Famille, of which Madam Bourdon is Superior. They meet in the Cathedral every Thursday, with closed doors, where they relate to each other—as they are bound by a vow to do—all they have learned, whether good or evil, concerning other people, during the week. It is a sort of female Inquisition, for the benefit of the Jesuits, the secrets of whose friends, it is said, are kept, while no such discretion is observed with regard to persons not of their party."¹

And here it may be useful to pay some attention to the great influence which the Jesuits have exercised over several Conventual Orders of women in the Church of Rome. The first instance of this kind is related to the history of the Institute, founded in the seventeenth century by Mary Ward, commonly known as the Female Jesuits. The life of this lady has been edited by a Jesuit priest in two thick volumes.² It seems that all through her life she was under Jesuit influence, and that three of her uncles were Gunpowder Plot conspirators. Early in life she had, at times, very strange ideas of duty. We are told, for instance, by one of her intimate friends that:—"She being of herself in the highest degree neat and dainty, thought necessary to curb it, which she did by lying in bed with one of the maids that had the itch, and got it."³ When Mary Ward was only twenty-three years of age the English Jesuits described her as "entirely under the direction of Ours."⁴ After spending a short time

¹ *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*. By Francis Parkman, pp. 110, 111. Edition 1899.

² *The Life of Mary Ward*. By Mary C. E. Chambers. Edited by Henry James Coleridge, S.J.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 45.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

as a novice in a French convent of Poor Clares at St. Omer's "she formed," writes the Hon. Edward Petrie, "a project of another establishment of religious women, who should be bound by certain vows, but without enclosure; and whose principal occupation should be to educate young ladies. This she attempted by the advice of Father Roger Lee, and other Jesuits. She began with several young ladies, in a house at St. Omer's, about the year 1603. The Jesuits mainly supported their cause, and endeavoured to procure their establishment. Hence they were called Jesuitesses, but sometimes also Wardists."¹ The date, it appears, should have been given as 1607, not 1603. Three years later the Jesuits of St. Omer, in their Annual Letters mentioned that the new Order of Nuns "are assisted spiritually by our Fathers." In 1614 they numbered between forty and fifty persons. In 1615 Mary Ward sent a Memorial to the Pope asking for his approval of the new Order she had founded, and requesting that, like the Jesuit Order, they might not be subject to the rule of any Bishop. "We humbly beg," she said, "that neither the Bishop, nor any one appointed to make the annual visitation, shall have over us any other authority than that of informing himself of the exact observance of the rules and the Institute, but that he may neither change nor add anything thereto, either with regard to our end or to the means by which it is to be attained."² The answer was most favourable (though the new "Institute," as it was termed in the Papal reply, was not formally confirmed at that time) and consequently Mary Ward went on her way rejoicing. The General of the Jesuits also showed his approval at about the same time. Soon after she came to England, with the object of starting branches of her new Institute, and gaining new novices at the same time.

¹ *Notices of the English Colleges and Convents Established on the Continent.* By the Hon. Edward Petrie. Edited by the Rev. E. Husebeth, p. 98. (Norwich, 1849.)

² *Life of Mary Ward*, vol. i., p. 383.

While in England her influence seems to have been most injurious to Protestantism, if we may rely on the statement said to have been made by the then Archbishop of Canterbury: "That woman had done more harm than many priests, and he would exchange six or seven Jesuits for her."

In 1622 Mary Ward petitioned Pope Gregory to formally confirm her Institute, to whom she stated that she wished its members to take upon them in the future, as they had during the previous twelve years, "the same holy Institute and order of life already approved by divers Popes of happy memory to the religious Fathers of the Society of Jesus." "We," she continued, "humbly beseech that by the authority of the See Apostolic, the aforesaid Institute (holily observed by the said Fathers of the Society of Jesus, with so great fruit to the Universal Church) together with their Constitutions, manner of life, and approved practice (altogether independent, nevertheless, of the said Fathers) may likewise be approved and confirmed, in and^l to us, to be entirely practised by us . . . beseeching it will please your Holiness to receive this our whole company into your and their especial care and protection, not suffering Bishops in their particular Dioceses or others whomsoever, to have any ordinary authority or jurisdiction over us."¹

The biographer of Mary Ward says that "This memorial certainly could never be accused of want of plainness of speech. It asked for the establishment of an Order exactly like the Society of Jesus." At this time Mary Ward wished for the help of the General of the Jesuits, but though willing to help her in private, he was afraid to give public approval to her Institute. There were secular Roman Catholic priests in England at that time who were very much opposed to Pontifical confirmation being given to the Institute. These gentlemen, including their chief, the Archpriest of England, had had some unpleasant experiences of the work and character of Mary Ward's Female Jesuits in England, and therefore they sent

¹ *Life of Mary Ward*, vol. ii., pp. 9, 10.

a memorial to the Pope full of charges against them, signed by ten of their number. "These women," they declared, "are commonly called Jesuitresses, because they live according to the Rule and Institute of the Jesuit Fathers, and under their government and discipline."

"These Jesuitresses," they continue, "have a habit of frequently going about cities and provinces of the Kingdom [of England], insinuating themselves into houses of noble Catholics, changing their habit often, sometimes travelling like some ladies of first consequence, in coaches or carriages with a respectable suite, sometimes, on the contrary, like common servants or women of lower rank, alone and private. But any one will easily see how dangerous it is, and occasionary of many scandals, that women should go about houses in this fashion, wander hither and thither at will..."

"They are a great shame and disgrace to the Catholic religion, so much so that not only heretics (for whom these women occasion many jokes in public declamations) calumniate the Catholic faith on this account, as if it could not be supported or propagated otherwise than by idle and garrulous women, but they have a very bad reputation even amongst the most influential Catholics (by whom their disciples, in familiar speech, are called sometimes *Galloping Girls*, because they ride hither and thither, sometimes *Apostolicæ Viragines*). Besides, they are found to manifest such garrulity and loquacity in words, and to display such boldness and rashness in common intercourse, that they are for the most part not only a scorn but a great scandal too to many pious people, when they see that many things are done and said by them both unbecoming to their sex, and untimely and inconvenient to the Catholic religion, labouring in the midst of heresies. So to them the Apostolic taunt seems exactly to apply: 'Idle women learn to run about houses, not only idle, but wordy and curious, speaking what they ought not.'

"Some of these Jesuitresses, behaving publicly in this way, are observed to have a very bad character, and are very much talked about for petulance and indecorum, with very great scandal and disgrace to the Catholic religion. All these things duly considered, we have reason to wonder what the Fathers of the Society mean, when they assert themselves to be moderators, patrons, and defenders of these women, whilst all other regulars, priests, and the laity themselves protest, and condemn an Institute of this kind as liable to very many dangers and scandals. For it is clear enough that the Jesuit Fathers are expressly forbidden by the precepts of their own rule to involve themselves or meddle with the government of any women whatsoever; and yet the Jesuitresses so make use of them alone in the administration of their whole life and of their affairs, both in and out of England, that it seems to them a penance to admit any other priest but a Jesuit even to receive the secrets of their conscience in the Sacrament of Penance."¹

¹ *Life of Mary Ward*, vol. ii., pp. 185, 186.

These were very serious charges to make, yet coming as they did from prominent Roman Catholic priests of known personal respectability, it cannot be supposed that they were the products of mere malice or envy, or that they were made thus formally in a memorial to the Pope, without some careful previous enquiry as to their accuracy. Of course modern Jesuits deny the accuracy of these charges, but against their unsupported denials we must place the testimony of ten of the leading Roman Catholic priests of the period, whose falsehoods would—had they really been falsehoods—no doubt have been exposed and refuted at the time. They seem, in any case, to have influenced the Pope very powerfully. Mary Ward's biographer candidly acknowledges that the charges of the Memorial, when laid before the Pope, constituted a stroke which "told with good effect."¹ The Pope refused the petition for confirmation of the Institute, though he allowed its members to go on working without it even in Rome itself.

The efforts of her opponents having failed to induce the Pope to suppress the Institute, Mary Ward pushed forward its work with great zeal, and in the course of the next few years she was able to open several new Houses connected with the Institute in different parts of the Continent, in which the education of young ladies was the principal work. But though the opposition was checked for a time, it was not removed altogether. Amid all the troubles of these Female Jesuits the Society of Jesus was their best friend. Its priests supported them against all their foes. At length the opposition became so powerful as to lead to Mary Ward's being actually denounced to the Inquisition, by whose orders she was, in 1631, imprisoned in a Convent on suspicion of being a heretic. After about two months' close confinement in this prison she was, by the Pope's orders, released, as innocent of the charges laid against her. But, unfortunately for herself and her Institute, her release was quickly followed

¹ *Life of Mary Ward*, vol. ii., p. 62.

by a Bull of Pope Urban VIII. suppressing her Institute altogether. This Bull stated that the ladies who formed the Institute had "carried out works by no means suiting the weakness of their sex, womanly modesty, above all, virginal purity, and which men most experienced in the knowledge of the Sacred Scripture, and the conduct of affairs, undertake with difficulty, and not without great caution;" and that they "still, with arrogant contumacy, have attempted like things daily, and uttered many things contrary to sound doctrine."¹

The Bull of Suppression would have extinguished all hope and energy in an ordinary woman. But, it must be confessed, Mary Ward was no ordinary woman, for she possessed more than a woman's average share of courage and perseverance. But these alone would not have sufficed to induce her to go on with her work after such a crushing blow. Fortunately for her she had at hand the crafty advice of the ablest heads of the Jesuit Order, who very speedily devised a plan by which she was enabled to go on with her work almost as though nothing had happened. She actually went to the Pope and obtained his permission to gather certain of her late members to work together with her at Rome. With this permission she at once set to work to build up again the organisation which the Pope's Bull had destroyed.

On the ruins of the suppressed Society of "Jesuitresses," as they were termed in the Bull of Pope Urban, Mary Ward at once built up "The Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary," in reality the same thing under another name. In a work issued by the English Jesuits in 1887, we are informed that: "Mary Ward, with the sanction, and under the protection of the Pope who had decreed the suppression, gathered around her the scattered remnant of her flock, and at the express desire of the Holy Father, established a house in the Papal city, where she and her children could follow their method of life within the range of supreme ecclesiastical

¹ *Life of Mary Ward*, vol. ii., pp. 386-387.

supervision. Thus, under the eye of the Sovereign Pontiff the *new* Institute was formed and fashioned." ¹ The same writer further remarks that:—"She truly was the inaugurator or pioneer of that now widely-spread system of uncloistered Religious Congregations of women, formed to meet the exigences of modern times, whose position and work in the Church enjoy at the present day the full recognition and approbation of the Holy See; while in regard to the Institute of Mary, although it is legally inadmissible to apply to her [Mary Ward] the formal title of 'Foundress,' for reasons specified in the Introduction to the second volume of her *Life*, it is clearly shown by the same authority, that she was the agent which Divine Providence employed in its formation, and that its members are free, and ever have been free, to regard her at least as the 'Mother' under God, to whom their existence was in the first instance owing." ²

The new Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary continues to the present day its close connection with the Society of Jesus. It is not formally affiliated to it, and in *theory* may be said to be independent of it; but in *reality* it is guided by the priests of that Order, since wherever it works, and wherever possible, members of the Jesuit Order are the Father Confessors and Spiritual Directors of the Sisters. Besides this, the Constitutions of the Institute are taken from those of the Society of Jesus, with the result that the members of this Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary are as much entitled to be termed Jesuitesses, as those who in the seventeenth century were known by that name to Roman Catholics and Protestants alike. The Institute possessed in 1887 no fewer than 149 Houses in various parts of the world. Of these 66 were in Bavaria, 6 in Darmstadt, 5 in Prussia, 3 in Austria, 6 in Tyrol, 5 in Hungary, 4 in Italy, 2 in Spain, 2 in Turkey, 5 in England (now 6), 19 in Ireland, 11 in India, 8 in Canada, 1 in the United States, 3 in Australia,

¹ *St. Mary's Convent, York*. Edited by Henry James Coleridge, S.J., pp. 4, 5.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 3.

1 in Africa, and 2 in Mauritius. The English Houses of the Institute are at London, Cambridge, Ascot, York, and Leek.

With these facts before us we cannot doubt that the Institute of the Blessed Virgin is a powerful auxiliary of the Jesuit Order, though it may not be *formally* subject to its control. The influence of the Jesuit priests who act as Spiritual Directors and Confessors of the various Houses of the Institute must necessarily be great. As all these Houses are devoted to the education of young girls, mainly if not exclusively of the well-to-do class, the influence of the Jesuits on the religious character of the pupils cannot but prove most helpful to the Order. At any rate, those Protestants who are anxious to ascertain by what instruments the Jesuits carry out their policy and work, must necessarily take into account their intimate relationship with the Institute of the Blessed Virgin, *alias* the female Jesuits, throughout the world.

We must not, however, suppose that the influence of the Society of Jesus is felt only in the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary. From a book recently published, written by a Miss Steele, from information supplied by the Convent authorities, and issued with a preface by Father Thurston, S.J.¹ we learn for the first time how wide-spread this influence is in the Convents of this country. It will, no doubt, be a surprise to many of my readers to read that in no fewer than 71 Convents in *England alone*, the Rules and Constitutions of the Jesuit Order have been adopted, so far as they are suited to women! As this includes, probably in every instance, the Blind Obedience to Superiors which is such a very objectionable feature in the Jesuit Order, it is reasonable to suppose that its evil results will be even more severely felt by women than by men. Blind Obedience to a tyrannical Mother Superior must frequently lead to bitter suffering by those subject to her rule. These 71 Convents are united to 17 Conventual Orders or Congregations, viz.:-

¹ *The Convents of Great Britain.* By Francesca M. Steele. With Preface by Father Thurston, S.J. (London: Sands and Co., 1902.)

"*Sisters of the Temple*," with 1 Convent, at Clifton Wood, near Bristol.

"*The Company of St. Ursula*," with 1 Convent, at Oxford.

"*Sœurs De La Croix*," with 1 Convent, at Boscombe, Bournemouth.

"*Society of Mary*," with 3 Convents, at Clapham Park, S.W., Burnham, and Weston-super-Mare. This Congregation, says Miss Steele, was founded "under the direction of the Rev. Father Huby, of the Society of Jesus."¹

"*Sacred Heart Nuns*," with 5 Convents, at Roehampton, Brighton, Wandsworth, Hammersmith, and Carlisle. Miss Steele states that "they receive ladies for Retreats given by the Jesuit Fathers in their Convents."² "This Order," she further states, "was founded by the Venerable Madeleine Sophie Barat and Père Varin, S.J."

"*Dames De L'Instruction Chrétienne*," with 1 Convent, at Sherborne.

"*Sisters of Notre Dame*," with 17 Convents, at Clapham, Blackburn, Liverpool (3), Manchester, Northampton, Wigan, Sheffield, Southwark, St. Helens, Plymouth, Norwich, Birkdale, Battersea, Brixton, and Leeds. These Sisters have charge at Liverpool of a Training College for young women desirous of becoming teachers in Elementary Schools under Government inspection.

"*Irish Sisters of Charity*," with 3 Convents in England, at Rock Ferry, Birkenhead, and Hackney.

"*Sisters of Christian Education*," with 1 Convent, at Farnborough.

"*Institute of the Sisters of St. Mary*," with 2 Convents, at Bishop's Stortford and Rhyl.

"*Faithful Companions of Jesus*," with 13 Convents, at Isleworth, Somers Town, Poplar, Chester, Birkenhead (2), Salford, Manchester, Middlesbrough, Liverpool, Preston, Skipton, and West Hartlepool. Of this Order Miss Steele informs us that "The principal Rules of the Institute were supplied by the Society of Jesus, *under whose direction it was founded*."³

"*Daughters of the Cross*," with 7 Convents, at Chelsea, Brook Green, Totteridge, Margate, Bury, Manchester, and Carshalton.

"*Institute of Perpetual Adoration*," with 1 Convent, at Balham. This Institute "was founded about fifty years ago, with the assistance of a Belgian priest, Father Jean Baptiste Boone, S.J."⁴

"*Institute of Marie Réparatrice*," with 1 Convent, at Chiswick.

"*Helpers of the Holy Souls*," with 1 Convent, at Gloucester Road, Regent's Park, London.

"*Poor Servants of the Mother of God*," with 7 Convents, at St. Helens, Liverpool, Rhyl, Roehampton, Streatham, Brentford, and Soho Square, W.C.

These, with the 6 Convents previously named as connected with the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, make up the 71 Convents in England modelled after the pattern set by Ignatius Loyola. The spirit of that notorious Order is

¹ *The Convents of Great Britain*. By Francesca M. Steele. With Preface by Father Thurston, S.J., p. 133.

² *Ibid.*, p. 169.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

therefore working largely in England, as well as in Scotland and Ireland, in our Colonies, and throughout the world, by means of Sisterhoods and Convents which in many cases have been actually founded by priests of that Society. Almost all of these Convents undertake the education of girls on Jesuitical principles, and everywhere they make special efforts to obtain as pupils the daughters of Protestant parents who may be foolish enough to entrust them to their care.

But in addition to the help rendered to the Jesuits by those who are admitted to share in its supposed spiritual merits, by Sodalities of men and women affiliated to the Order, and by Convents following its Constitution, there has been in the past—and for all I know may still be in the present—a class of Roman Catholic priests of whose existence no Protestant writer appears hitherto to have heard. Curiously enough it is the Jesuits themselves who first make known the existence of this class. In the official *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, by Henry Foley, a lay Brother of the Order, there is found a brief biography of a Rev. Dr. George Oliver, a learned Roman Catholic priest of the early half of the nineteenth century. He was the author of several important works, amongst them being his *Collections Towards Illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English, and Irish Members, S.J.* In the Dedication of this book Dr. Oliver speaks of himself as outside of the Society of Jesus. "Without," he writes, "possessing the merit and honour of being a member of the Society, yet to none can I yield in sentiments of regard and veneration for this pious Institute, as the Council of Trent styles it. To witness its hereditary spirit of zeal and charity throughout the English Province, is, to me, a source of the highest gratification." This was telling the truth, but not the whole truth. Had Dr. Oliver told his readers the whole truth it would have greatly lessened the value of his enthusiastic praise of the Society. This is what Brother Foley, S.J., writes about him in his brief and official biography:—

"OLIVER GEORGE, Rev., D.D., was born in Newington, Surrey, February 9, 1781; educated at Sedgley Park and Stonyhurst Colleges; taught humanities for five years, and was ordained priest at Durham by Bishop Gibson, at Pentecost, 1806. *He was nearly the last survivor of a number of Catholic clergymen, scholars of the English Jesuits, who, though never entering the Society, always remained in the service of the English Province, AND SUBJECT TO ITS SUPERIORS.* Soon after his ordination he was sent to the ancient Mission of the Society, St. Nicholas, Exeter, in January 1807, as successor to Father William Poole, or Pole. He served the Mission for forty-four years, retired from active duty in 1851, and died at Exeter a few years later at an advanced age."¹

Should we, I may here ask, be far wrong in terming the class of Roman Catholic priests thus described by Brother Foley, as Crypto-Jesuits? It is true they were not strictly entitled to the name Jesuits, but they evidently were in a position to secretly render more important service to the Order than many of its avowed members. It seems that Dr. Oliver was "nearly the last" of this mysterious body. Who were the others? Nobody knows, outside of the Society. Outwardly and to the world these gentlemen pretended to be independent of the Order, in reality they were all "subject to its Superiors"! Is there such a body of Roman Catholic priests in existence to-day? If they were in being one hundred years ago, what is to prevent a body of successors being in the service of the Jesuits at the beginning of the twentieth century? How can we now tell when we hear some secular Roman priest praising the Society, as an outsider, that he is not really paid to do it by his Superiors, the Jesuits themselves?

It is certain, then, that a body of *priests* have been in the service of the Jesuits, who "though never entering the Society, always remained in the service of the English Province, and subject to its Superiors." But here arises the question, is there a body of Roman Catholic *laymen* holding the same position? Are not the lay members of the Sodalities affiliated to the Jesuit Order really in this

¹ *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, vol. vii., p. 559.

position? They are certainly subject to their Directors, and pledged to obey their commands; while those Directors are subject to the General of the Jesuits. These Sodalities are not confined to the upper ranks of society. Special Sodalities exist for different classes of society. "The regulations of the Sodalities," says Father Gavin, S.J., "in each case can be adopted to the particular circumstances of the members."¹ And he relates that:—

"At Naples the Sodality owed its origin to the piety of the Apostolic Nuncio, and included all classes, from the highest to the humblest; for in the year 1610 four hundred fishermen in Naples were enrolled on the list of members, and by the exact observance of all the duties of religion, won the admiration of the city. At the end of the seventeenth century we find St. Francis Jerome presiding at Naples over a Sodality of poor artisans."²

But in addition to these very useful lay subjects of the Jesuits, the Order possessed in Canada during the last half of the seventeenth, and the early portion of the eighteenth century, a class of lay servants bound to them by vows for life. Some interesting facts concerning these vowed servants of the Jesuits appear in one of the volumes of an important work published for subscribers only, in 73 volumes, by the Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, United States of America, entitled *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*. From a "Memoir" therein published, from the pen of a Father Lallemant, S.J., in 1642, we learn that he, in 1638, before leaving France for Canada, had an interview with the Father Provincial of the French Jesuits, to whom the Canadian Jesuits were subject, and received in writing his consent to the formation in Canada of a body of Domestics for the service of the Society, who should not be Lay Brothers, but yet be required to take a solemn vow to serve the Jesuits *all their lives*, the vow, says Father Lallemant, being "worded according to one which had formerly been

¹ *Manual for the Use of the Sodalities*, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

granted to the Province of Champagne, and accepted by Our Reverend Father General."¹ These servants of the Order were termed "Donnés." "As for the matter of the vow," says the same Jesuit, "all external ceremonies have been discontinued, such as pronouncing the form aloud on the day of reception; also, the public renewal of it which they made. All is now done *privately* by each one, under the direction of his Confessor."² It was, therefore, evidently a secret transaction. Two years after Father Lallemand wrote this statement the General of the Jesuits ordered the dissolution of this organization for carrying on a portion of the Jesuits' work, but after explanations he revoked the decree of suppression, and allowed the work to be continued. Whether it still exists is more than I can say. According to the form of the vow taken by the Donnés, as printed in *The Jesuit Relations* for the first time, the members promise to go into "whatever part of the world" they may be sent. The vow itself was as follows:—

"I, the Undersigned, declare that of my individual freewill I have given myself to the Society of Jesus, to serve and assist with all my power and diligence the Fathers of the said Society, who work for the salvation and conversion of souls, and particularly those who are employed in the conversion of the poor savages and barbarians of New France among the Hurons, and this in such method and dress as shall be required, and as shall be judged most suitable for the greater glory of God, without claiming anything else whatever except to live and die with the said Fathers in whatever part of the world I am required to be with them; leaving to their free disposition all that concerns me and may belong to me (except what shall be declared in a special memorandum drawn up for this purpose), without desiring that any inventory besides should be made of it—wishing to give up all for God without any reserve, or any resource except Himself. In attestation of which I have signed the present declaration which I pray God to bless and forever find acceptable. Done at the residence of Ste. Marie of the Hurons, this 23rd of December, 1639."³

Three years later those who took the vow as Donnés received from the Superior a document accepting their services in the following terms:—

¹ *The Jesuit Relations*, vol. xii., p. 293.

² *Ibid.*, p. 299.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

"I, the Undersigned, Superior of the Missions of the Society of Jesus among the Hurons, certify by these presents that Jean Guérin having earnestly represented to us his desire to consecrate himself to the service of God and our Society, by vowing himself for the rest of his life to the service of our Fathers who are among the Hurons, and in other places of New France, as shall be decided to be for the greater glory of God,—the same having given us sufficient proof of his piety and fidelity, We, by these presents, accept him as *Donné* in the capacity of Domestic Servant during his lifetime, to continue in the same services as in the past, or in such others as we shall deem advisable, among the said Hurons, or elsewhere; promising, on our part, to maintain him according to his condition with food and clothing, without other wages or claims on his part, and to care for him kindly in case of sickness, even to the end of his life, without being able to dismiss him in such case, except with his own consent; provided that, on his part, he continue to live in uprightness, diligence, and fidelity to our service, even as by these presents he promises and binds himself to do."¹

It will be observed that the unfortunate *Donné*, by his vow made himself, practically, the freewill slave of the Jesuits for life, while the Jesuits could turn him off at any time, whenever he ceased, in their opinion, to serve them with "diligence and fidelity." It was a very profitable bargain for the Jesuits, who thus secured the services of a body of men for life, without having to pay them a penny in wages. Father Lallemant was evidently wide awake to the advantages to be gained by his Order from the services of the *Donnés*, for, in his "Memoir" he writes:—"Now these private vows [of the *Donnés*] are more advantageous and necessary to us in this country, than one would at first suppose, since we have here no means of restraining people except by way of conscience. It is well to take into consideration Domestic servants who have the management of temporal matters, and other transient Domestic servants who are in the house,—with whom, as well as with the savages, many things could take place contrary to the good of the house, without much scruple on the part of our *Donnés*, if they were not retained by some extraordinary bond of conscience. One can easily perceive other advantages, which it would take me too long to enumerate."

¹ *The Jesuit Relations*, vol. *xxi.*, p. 303.

In *The Jesuit Relations* evidence is supplied, proving that these Donnés, or Domestic, were not all in the class of life which the latter term would seem to imply to English ears, though no doubt many of them served in the humblest capacities. Thus Simon Baron and René Goupil are mentioned as Surgeons; Gaspard Gonant was an Apothecary; Guillaume Couture was not only an interpreter, but an important political agent working from time to time amongst the Indian tribes. Other Donnés were also employed on political errands, either by the Jesuits or the Government. As late as 1701, nine Donnés were in the service of the Quebec Jesuits.

One of the most extensive auxiliaries of the Society of Jesus, is an organization known as "The Holy League of the Sacred Heart of Jesus," called also "The Apostleship of Prayer." A League for the purpose of offering prayer seems, at first sight, a very innocent thing; but it is well to remember that first impressions are often mistaken. The *Roman Catholic Dictionary* says that this Association was "founded in 1844 by the Jesuits at Vals, in the Diocese of Puy." Ostensibly its chief object is that of devotion to the "Sacred Heart" of Jesus; but it has other objects of a more practical character. From the English edition of the official *Handbook of the Holy League* we discover that "The work of the Apostleship of Prayer" includes not only petitions for "the triumph of the Church (and) of the Holy See"—we know what the Jesuits mean by that "triumph"—but also practical operations. The members are required "to take an active part in the welfare of the Church, to second the efforts of God's Ministers, to promote the designs of God's providence and the rescue of souls. *It presses them to devote themselves, and with more fruit than is gained by any politician, to the regeneration of modern society, which seems to be falling to pieces.*"¹ We thus learn that

¹ *Handbook of the Holy League of the Heart of Jesus*. 2nd Ed., pp. 27, 28.

the members are "pressed" to take an active part in the work usually undertaken by a "politician" in the "regeneration of modern society;" which, in the case of the Jesuits may be expected to be on the lines laid down by Father Robert Parsons, in his notorious work on *The Reformation of England*, which, as we have seen, has been blessed by the Modern English Jesuits.¹ A large number of easily obtained Indulgences have been granted to the members of this "Holy League" by Pius IX. and Leo XIII.; but one of the conditions of receiving them is that the members shall offer "Prayers for the Pope's intentions"—whatever they may be—and for "the extinction of heresies."²

In Ireland those who hold office in this organization, as "Promoters," are expected to make a solemn promise to have nothing to do with Freemasonry, or secret societies, but to oppose them to the utmost of their power. The promise is made in the following terms:

"Freemasonry, and all other secret societies having been condemned by the Infallible voice and authority of the Vicar of Christ, I, N. N., obedient to that authority, solemnly resolve and engage never to belong to any such secret association, under whatsoever name it may be called; but, on the contrary, to oppose to the utmost of my power their influence, their teaching, and their acts. Amen."³

This solemn promise is not printed in the *English Handbook* of the League, but it is, notwithstanding, expected to be taken by every man and woman throughout the world, and in the case of "Promoters," as "a necessary condition" of being admitted to office in the League, of which "the Director General is the General of the Society of Jesus."⁴ In the *Irish Handbook* of the League appears the following official notice on this point. "Our Reverend Directors, our Promoters and Associates, will understand the motives which have prompted the Director General of the Holy League to

¹ *Supra*, pp. 152—159.

² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

³ *The Irish Handbook of the Holy League*. 2nd Ed., p. 21. Dublin, 1897.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

issue the following instructions: In order the more thoroughly to enter into the intention of the Holy Father, expressed in the teaching of the late Encyclical Letter, *Humanum Genus*, we earnestly beg of all our Directors, both Diocesan and Local, to require, in all new receptions of Associates of either sex to the Holy League, and in the case of our Promoters, as a necessary condition, the promise never to enter into any secret society, and not to give encouragement or help to any of them."¹

This Holy League, or "Apostleship of Prayer," is not confined to congregations under the direct spiritual supervision of Jesuit priests. No fewer than 22 Orders and Religious Institutions have given to its members a "participation in all their merits, prayers, and good works."² It seeks to push itself into all "Religious Communities" and Ecclesiastical Seminaries for the education of priests, and into ordinary secular Colleges and Schools. In this last connection the *English Handbook* mentions the existence of a mysterious organization called "The Militia of the Pope in Colleges and Schools," as to which it would be desirable for the Protestant public to have further information than they at present possess. It seems that even persons *outside* the Church of Rome may be members of the League, for, in the "Instructions for Local Directors," we read:—"It may sound strange, but it is true that even those who are not keeping the laws of the Church can often be sincerely affected by this truth, and practically accept it—never without being made the better—and many even when out of the Church have been, if inconsistent, at least sincere members of the League, and have owed to their daily offering the grace which has at last brought them back to the practice of a Catholic life."³

If this "Holy League" were but a small affair it would

¹ *The Irish Handbook of the Holy League*. 2nd Ed., p. 22. Dublin, 1897.

² *Handbook of the Holy League of the Heart of Jesus*, p. 37.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

scarcely be worthy of notice; but it is not small. It is in reality the largest organisation ever formed within the fold of any professedly Christian Church. It is stated in its *Irish Handbook* that, in 1897, it numbered nearly 25,000,000 of Associates,¹ scattered throughout the whole world. How many of them live in Great Britain is more than I can tell. The figures are simply amazing! Just think of it for a moment. Twenty-five millions of men and women under the direct influence of the Jesuit Order, the greatest enemy of our Protestant liberties to be found in the whole world! And yet there are still people amongst us who affect to treat the Order as unimportant, and of no consequence in these realms. Such persons are under a dangerous delusion. Whenever the Jesuit Order may need to stir up civil commotions and dissensions in the interests of the Papacy, and to the injury of Protestant Sovereigns and Governments, from the ranks of this "Holy League" it can at any time select suitable instruments. By the means of this League they easily know who their instruments are, and where to find them when wanted. The "Holy League" of France in the sixteenth century, began as a religious work, and ended in the cruel and blood-thirsty wars of religion, having for their object the extermination of the Huguenots. In this new "Holy League" may eventually be found the army the Jesuits will some day require to restore the Temporal Power of the Pope, which is one of the dearest objects they have at heart in the present time. "I have," wrote the Rev. E. J. O'Reilly, S.J. Professor of Theology in Maynooth, in a posthumous work published in 1892, "no hesitation in saying that a war directed to the re-establishment of the Pontiff's temporal sovereignty, would be just, so far as the cause is concerned."² From a privately printed Catalogue of Books by the English Jesuits I learn that "the entire Collection of the Rescripts, Decrees, and Apostolic Letters, in which are the utterances of

¹ *Irish Handbook of the Holy League*, p. 7.

² *The Relations of the Church to Society*. By Edmund J. O'Reilly, S.J., p. 334.

the Holy See regarding the Holy League" has been printed, but that it is, "For the use of our Directors only." What are they afraid of, I wonder, which prevents them offering this book to the public? With the history of the Jesuits before us it is impossible to suppose that they will not, from time to time, use this "Holy League" for political purposes. The English Jesuits have emphatically declared, through their magazine, *Catholic Progress*:—"We cannot separate politics from religion, from Catholicity."¹

In concluding this record of Jesuit deception, trickery, sedition, treason, and crime in Great Britain, it is important to point out that the Order has never repented of its past offences. What it has done in the past it would do to-day, were circumstances favourable. Knowing its past history, not only in the dominions over which King Edward VII. reigns, but in every country in the world, we realise that, with its secret agencies spread abroad everywhere, with its multitude of unknown and pledged adherents in every class of society, it is a standing danger to the Empire. What it has done for France it will do for the British Empire if only time is allowed it, and Protestants can be lulled to sleep in a delusive security. It would treat us as Delilah treated Samson of old, and with similar disastrous results. It is useless to expect the so-called "Society of Jesus" to reform. A well-known English Jesuit, the Rev. Bernard Vaughan, is reported by the *Catholic Times* to have said in a lecture he recently delivered in Dublin, on "The Jesuit in Fact and in Fiction," that:—"One thing was certain, and that was the [Jesuit] Society never had been, and never would be, reformed. It was its one proud boast that if it failed in anything it was in its individual members, not in its organization, in its constitution, or in its corporate life." In other words, it is hopelessly incurable.

¹ *Catholic Progress*, vol. viii., p. 247.

THE END.



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