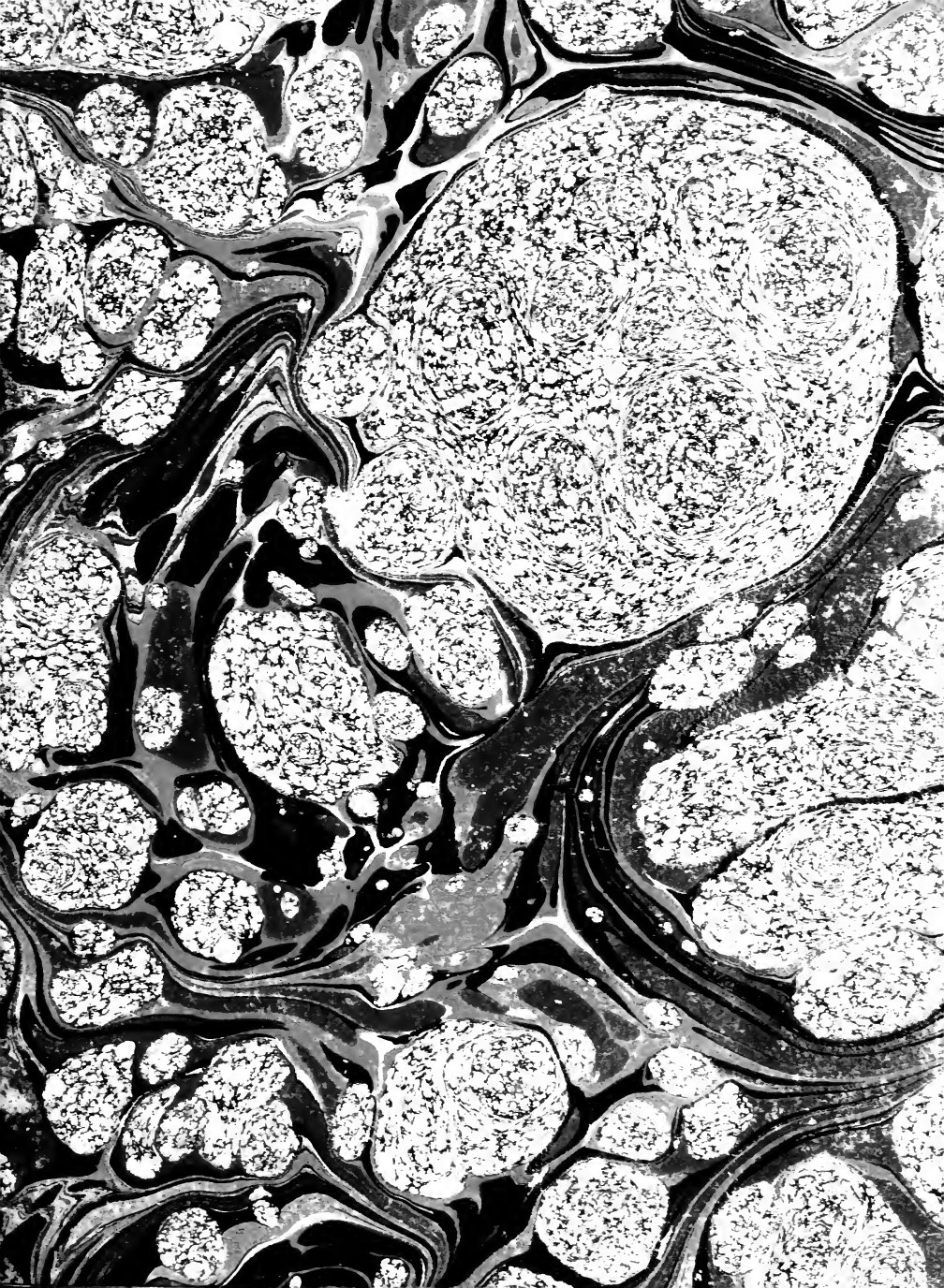
J. Barry Breaux.



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makes good Work

plates pp 13 + 15 are reversed (as usual?)

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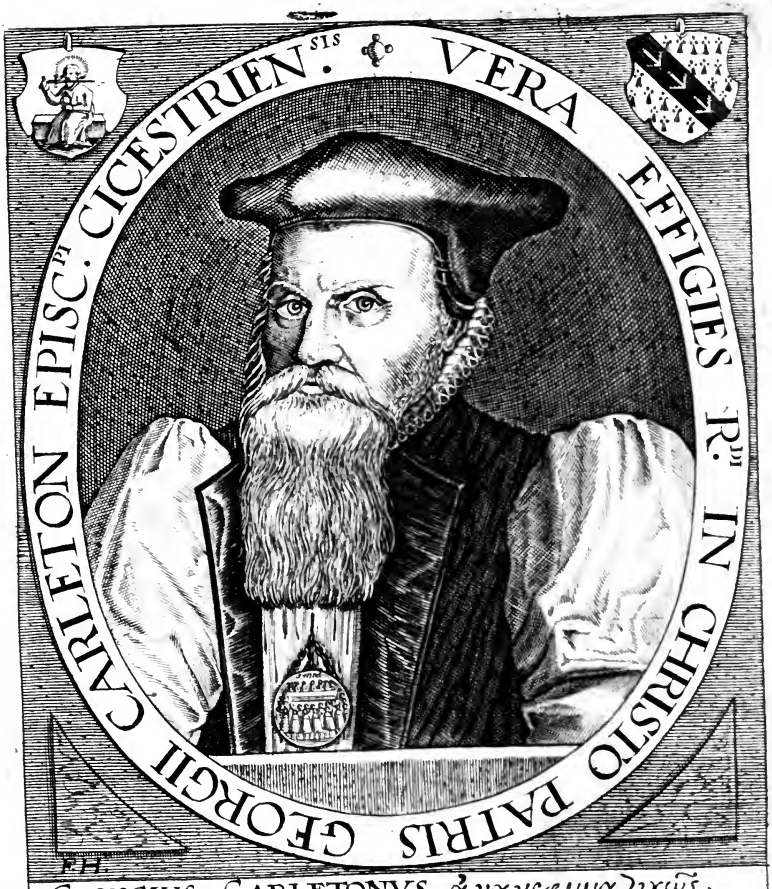


GEORGIUS CARLETONUS ἀναγραμματιζῶν.

Age, tu solus regni cor.

* Per duodecima regit numida Sol aureus astra. Virgil:

Orbis cor * Sol est, regni cor tu (Pater:) ut Sol
Orbe micat, regno sic tua scripta micant.

ALIVD

Si Cor principium Vitæ est, tota Anglia recte
Per tua jam dici Vivere scripta potest.

Vic. Pos. S.T.B.

London Printed for Robert Milbourne, and Humphry Robinson.

A THANKFVLL REMEMBRANCE OF GODS MERCIE.

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

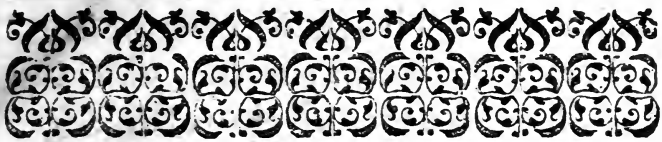
Collected by GEO: CARLETON, Doctor of Divinitie, and late Bishop of CHICHESTER.

The *fourth Edition* revised.

PSALM. III. 2.

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

LONDON,
Printed by *Aug. Math.* for *Robert Mylbourne*, and *Humphrey Robinson* at the signe of the *three Pigeons* in *Pauls* Church-yard.
1630.



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

the spirit of wisedome, with increase of Honour.

SIR:

AS the great Workes of God ought to be had in remembrance of *all men*, so this dutie is more required of *Princes*, then of other men. Because *their* charge is greater then the charge of *other* men: for they must answer both for the government of *themselues*, and of *others*

under them. Wherefore hauing obſerved the vworks of *God* in deliuering this *Church* and *State*, frō the cruell plots of the adverſaries, from the beginning of Queene *Elizabeth* to this time: I found my ſelfe moſt obliged to preſent this to your *Highneſſe*; both becauſe my ſervice, next to his *Maieſtie*, is moſt due to your *Highnes*, & becauſe the remembrance of the great Workes of God is a *Glaſſe* fit for a *Prince* to *looke* on. For your *Highneſs* may be aſſured, that the Aduerſaries will not change their diſpoſition, unleſſe either vvee vvere reduced to their *blindneſs*, or they drawne to imbrace the *truth* with us. I haue made this *Collection*, that by examples of *things paſt*, we may better iudge of *things to come*. My labour herein is nothing. For I *make* not the Story, but *take* it of others. And when I light upon the beſt Narration, as that of the *Gun-powder treaſon*, I haue ſet it downe as I finde it without alteration. Becauſe as that cannot be mended, ſo to ſet a worſe Narration in the place thereof, were no leſſe then to abuſe the Reader. I leaue the

honour

honour entire to them that have made the Storie, I take no part thereof to me. Onely my care hath been to *observe* upon those great Deliverances *the workes of God*, that God may be *glorified*, and the cause *iustified* vvhich God hath maintained from Heauen. SIR, I suppose it is hard to find a Narration containing more *miraculous* Protection of Gods *Church*, since that time wherein God shewed his *Miracles* in protecting the people of *Israel*. Which consideration may serve to fasten your *Highness* to the love and *service* of that great God, that doth so *strongly* maintaine his *servants*. That as hitherto you haue had a gracious experience of his grace and goodnesse tovvards you; so your noble Heart may grovv every day more and more in the love and obedience of the Truth. VVee are all charged by Gods Word to *pray for Kings and Princes*. That charge vvhich God hath layd vpon us all, no man can put off But when your *Highness* hath effectually made knowne your singular care and love to the common

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

Your Highnesse *ancient Chaplain,*

and most humble servant,

GEO. CICESTRIENSIS.

The Summarie.

A THANK-

CHAP. I.

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

The Entrance of Q. Elizabeth.

HAuing a purpose to observe GODS great and mercifull Deliverances of the Church of *England*, and Gods holy protection of the same, against the

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

Q. Eliz. entred *Anno* 1558.

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

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

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

Ships

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

few

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

1. Sam. 2. 30.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

respect

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

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

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

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

Anno Dom. 1560.

But

The rebellion of the Earles of Northumber. and Westmoreland * Fridt Hulsig. inv. et sculp.

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

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

that the *Pope* is not *Christs* Vicar in these ministeries, because hee is contrary to *Christ*, and *Christ* contrary to him. The *Pope* cursing, and *Christ* blessing; the *Pope* seeking thereby to destroy the Queene, *Christ* maintaining her, made her stronger after this curse, then ever she was before. Yet it is true that many troubles did rise thereby, but God turned them all unto her good, that men may understand the fruit of true Religion established, which bringeth the protection of God with it.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

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

The Popes bull against the Queene.

THe first poysoned *fruit* of this excommunication was *rotten* before it could *ripen*. There was an intention of a great and terrible Rebellion. The Duke of *Norfolke* was excited to stirre what Forces hee could, and to joyne with the Earles of *Westmerland* and *Northumberland:* at the same time an Ar-

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

Scots

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

" When *Pius* V. was inflamed with a zeale to re-
" store the *Roman* Religion in *England*, and to dis-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But

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

Apoc. 6. 10.

Psal.59.5. cut off this wicked Nation. *Be not merciſull O Lord to them that ſinne of malicious wickedneſſe.*

Thus then this rebellion that was ſo ſtrongly plotted, ſo ſecretly carried, was by the hand of God diſappoynted, and broken into pieces. We have cauſe to bleſſe the Name of God therefore:

Pſal.124.6. *Praiſed bee the Lord, that hath not given us as a prey to their teeth.* Thus can wee *comfort our ſelves in God.* But can our adverſaries comfort themſelves in their owne miſchiefes? The iſſue was, the *Pope* and the *Spanyard* were diſappoynted, the World wondered, how this State was ſo ſoone

*An.Dom.*1569 quieted. The Earles of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, ſeduced by a Prieſt that the Pope had ſent, one *Nicholas Morton*, came to *Durham* where they had the Maſſe ſet vp. From thence they marched to *Clifford*-Moore, not farre from *Wetherby*, where hearing that the *Scots* Queene, (for whoſe deliverance they tooke Armes) was carried from *Tutbury* to *Coventry*, under the cuſtodie of the Earles of *Shrewsbury* and *Huntingdon*, and that the Earle of *Suſſex* on the one ſide had gathered a ſtrong Armie againſt them, that Sir *George Bowes* was behind them, having fortified *Bernard* Caſtle, that the Lord *Scroop* and the Earle of *Cumberland* had fortified *Carliel*, and gathered an Armie there in readineſſe, that the Souldiers of *Berwicke* with the power of *Northumberland* were in *New-caſtle*, they turned backe againe, and beſieged *Bernard Caſtle.* Sir *George Bowes*, and his brother Mr. *Robert*, being driven by an hard ſiege, and wanting proviſion, yeelded the Caſtle, and they

and

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

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

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

no

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

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

An. Dom. 1569.

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

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

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

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

The treacherous practise of Don Iohn of Austria.

TO proceed and to declare the pestilent *fruit* of the *Popes* Excommunication, which wrought still to the confusion of them that served it. At this time in *Ireland*, *Edmond* and *Peter Botlers*, brethren to the *An.Dom.1569*

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

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

The King of *Spaine* neuer rested to stirre up troubles to Queene *Elizabeth*, pretending the deliverance of the *Scots Queene*; but it appeareth that his intention was for himselfe, as the Duke *Dalva* understood it. This is evident by that which wee have mentioned out of *Catena*. For

Duke

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

Many conſpiracies brake out one after another, under pretence of delivering the Queene of *Scots*. To effect this thing, *Thomas Stanley*, and *Edward* his brother, the yonger ſons of the Earle of *Darby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Rolſton*, *Hall*, and other in *Darbyſhire* conſpired. But the ſonne of *Rolſton* which was Penſioner to the *Queene*, diſcloſed the conſpiracie. *An. Dom. 1570.*

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

Before the Duke of *Norfolk* was beheaded, there were that conspired to deliver him out of prison. *An. Dom.* 1571 The Bishop of *Ross*, at this time, a dangerous instrument against *England*, and as dangerous against the *Scots* Queene, for whom hee laboured, gaue desperate counsell to the Duke, that with a choyce company of Gentlemen, he should intercept the Queene of a sudden, and trouble the *Parliament*. To shew that this was easie, he gave some reasons. But the *Duke* abhorred to heare of that counsell as pernicious & dangerous. Sir *Henry Percie* at that time offered to the Bishop of *Ross* his helpe to free the *Scots Queene*, so that *Grange* and *Carr* of *Fernihurst* would receive her at the borders, and his brother the Earle of *Northumberland* might be delivered out of *Scotland*. But when hee was suspected for the inward familiarity which he had with *Burghly*, and deferred the matter a longer time, this counsell came to no effect. As did also that of *Powel* of *Samford*, one of the Gentlemen Pencionaries, and of *Owen*, one that belonged to the Earle of *Arundel*. These two undertooke the same businesse also for the *Scots Queenes* deliverance, but the Bishop of *Ross* stayd that, because he tooke them for men of a meaner ranke, then to be fit for that busines. After the Duke was the second

time

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

Barnes & *Mathers* joyned with *Herle* in a bloudy practice to deliver the Duke, and kill certaine of the Privy Councellers. But *Herle* being the chiefe in the villany, opened the project. When *Barnes* was brought before him, & found *Herle* to be the accuser, he smiling upon him, said, *Herle, thou hast prevented me; if thou hadst stayd but one houre longer, I should then haue stood in thy place the accuser, and thou in my place to bee hanged.* An. Dom. 1572.

When *Iohn Duke of Austria* came into the government of the *Low-Countries*, hee found the States strong. The crueltie that the Duke *D'Alva* and others had vsed, was so far from bringing them into a servile subjection, that it rather armed them with resolution to defend their liberties, their lawes, their religion, & their lives. Which may admonish great *Princes* to use moderation in government: for much hath beene lost by crueltie, nothing gotten by it; but nothing can serve to moderate restlesse spirits; such a spirit brought *Don Iohn* with him into the *Low-Countries*, who beholding the vnlucky ends of them that strove to deliver the Queene of *Scots*, hee notwithstanding sought to worke her deliverance, and to marry her, and so to enjoy both *England* and *Scotland*. But to hide his purpose the better, hee made shew of a perpetuall An. Dom. 1576.

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

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

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

An. Dom. 1577.

He died *Anno Dom. 1578.*

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

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

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

Stucley encouraged by Pope and King of Spayne rayseth rebellion.

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

Thomas Stucley an *English* man borne, when hee had spent his estate in ryot, prodigalitie, and base meanes, went into *Ireland*, *Ann.* 1570. And gaping for

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

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

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

They knowing, that the greatest strength of *England* stood in the Navie of the *Queenes* ships, and Merchants ships, which were also built and framed for the use of warre, thought that the best way to lessen the Navie, was to set on the Merchants of *Italie*, and *Netherlands*, to hyre many of the Merchants ships, seeking divers severall pretences, and having hired them, to send them unto the farthest Navigations, that whilst these are absent, the Queenes Navie might bee overthrowne with a greater Navy: and then at the same instant *Thomas Stucley* the *English* fugitive, might joyne his forces with the rebels of *Ireland. Stucley*, a bare worme deceiver, did no lesse cousen this next succeeding Pope, then he had done his predecessour, with admirable bragges. He promised the Kingdome of *Ireland* to the Popes bastard sonne, and got such favour with the old ambitious *Pope*, that hee honoured him with the Titles of *Marquesse of Lagen, Earle of Wexford, and Caterloghe, Vicount of Morough, and Baron of Ross.* These bee famous places in *Ireland.* And made him Generall of DCCC. *Italian* souldiers, the King of *Spaine* paying their stipends, and so sent him into the *Irish* warre. *Stucley* came with these to *Portugale*, to the mouth of *Tagus*, purposing to subdue *Ireland.* *Gregor. 13.*

But the purpose of God was otherwise. And that which the Pope and *Spanyard* had with such deliberation projected, was by the counsell of God dissipated and brought to nothing. For *Sebastian* King of *Portugall*, to whom the chiefe conduct of the forces against *England* was committed; (for this Prince, puffed vp with a heat of youth and ambition, had long before offered all his power to the *Pope*, to be imployed against *Mahumetanes* and *Protestants*) was then intised and drawne by many great promises of *Mahomet* sonne of *Abdalla* King of *Fess*, unto the *African* warre. *Sebastian* being thus drawen from the *English* Warres another way, dealt with *Stucley*, that first of all hee would carry his *Italian* Souldiers into *Mauritania*; *Stucley* finding the *Spanish* King not against this project, (for the *Spanyard* disdained that the Popes bastard
An. Dom. 1578 should bee King of *Ireland*) went with *Sebastian* into *Mauritania*, and was killed in that memorable battell, wherein three Kings, *Sebastian*, *Mahomet*, and *Abdal Melech* were all slaine. And so *Stucley* had too honourable an end of a dishonourable life.

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

Italy,

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

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

CHAP. V.

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

Iosephus, *with* 700 Italians *and* Spaniards *sent from the* Pope *and the King of* Spaine, *over into* Ireland *to helpe the rebels, yeeldeth the fort. The Earle* Desmond, *a great maintainer of this rebellion, killed by a common Souldier in his wandering.* Sanders, *the firebrand of the rebellion falleth mad, and dieth miserably of famine. Observations hereupon. The Explication of that place,* 2 Thes. 2.10. *applied to the* Papists *in respect both of their doctrines and doings.*

Desmonds treason, & bloody practise approved.

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

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

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to helpe him against the Rebells.

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

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fice before God. *Iames fitz Morice* blamed the maner of the ſlaughter, hee would haue had it rather in the way, then in their bed. The Earle, when he heard of it, utterly deteſted it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

At this time came *Arthur* Lord *Grey* Lord *Deputie* into *Ireland*, *An.* 1580. Soone after his comming, about seven hundred *Italians* and *Spanyards* sent from the Pope and King of *Spaine*, under the government of *San-Iosephus*, an *Italian*, came into *Ireland*, under the pretence of restoring the *Romane* religion, but the purpose was to divert the *Queenes* forces, & call her from other cares to *Ireland* only. They tooke land without any trouble at *Smerwick* in *Kirria*; for *Winter*, that had a good while stayed in that coast with shippes, wayting for them, was

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

The *Lord Deputy* ſent a Trumpetter to the Fort

to

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

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

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

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preſerved, the reſt ſhould be all ſlaine promiſcuouſly in terrour of others that might attempt ſo hereafter. The Iriſh ſhould bee hanged; which was preſently executed. The *Queene* was not pleaſed at the manner of this execution, and wiſhed it had been undone, hating cruelty, though neceſſary, againſt ſuch as have once yeelded, and was hardly after drawne to admit any excuſe of the ſlaughter committed. This was done *An.* 1580. Some three yeeres after the Earle of *Deſmond*, of a noble houſe but of a barbarous nature, who barbarouſly had ſworne, that *He would rather forſake God, then forſake his men*, wandring from place to place, was at laſt found of a common ſouldier in a poore Cottage. The Earle was in a poore eſtate unknowne, till the ſouldier had almoſt ſtrucke off his arme. Then he deſcried himſelfe, and was killed. *Nicholas Sanders* that had drawne the Earle into this rebellion, was at the ſame time ſpent with famine, and forſaken of all ſuccour: and being impatiently grieved at the evill ſucceſſe of this Rebellion, proceeding ſo much againſt his deſires, ſeeing neither the Popes bleſſing, nor the conſecrated Banner, nor the authoritie by the Pope committed to him could do him any helpe, he loſt himſelfe, and ranne ſtarke mad, wandring up and downe in the mountaines and woods, and finding no comfort dyed miſerably. When he was dead, there were found in his ſcrip ſome Orations and Epiſtles written to confirme the Rebels, filled with great promiſes of the *Pope* and *Spanyard*.

Thus Gods juſtice met with a reſtles & wretch-

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

2.Theſ.2.

there-

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

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

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

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

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

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

Rebellion the effect of Monasteries.

AT this time, *Ann.* 1580. the *Seminarie Priests* and *Iesuites* increasing in *England*, necessary lawes were provided against them. These in truth were maintained

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

plenitude

plenitude he might excommunicate Kings, and after Excommunication, depose them from their thrones, and absolve their subjects from all oathes of allegiance. Thus was the *Bul* of *Pius* 5. published *An.*1569. From whence rose the rebellion in the North of *England*, and those rebellions of *Ireland*, of which wee have spoken. *Hanse, Nelson, Main, Sherwood*, Priests, then taught that *Queene Elizabeth* was a schismatike and an heretike, and therefore worthily to be deposed; for which they suffered deservedly; but still others were sent into their places; and though they came in upon desperate points, as souldiers upon a breach, yet others followed as desperate as the first: And would not vnderstand that they ventured both soule and body in the cause of the *Pope* against *Christ*; for such is the cause of treason being commanded by the *Pope*, and forbidden by *Christ*.

The *Priests* and *Iesuites* at this time spent all their learning and skill to stirre up rebellion in *England*, giving out in corners, & in publike printing Bookes, to declare that the *Pope* and King of *Spaine* had conspired, that *England* should bee overthrowne and left as a prey. This was done of purpose to confirme their owne side, and to deterre others from their obedience to their Prince. Whereupon the *Queene* set out a Proclamation, *An.Dom.*1580 signifying that she had never made attempt upon any Prince, onely defended her owne, not invading the Provinces of other Princes, though shee had beene provoked with wrongs, and invited by opportunitie. If any Princes should oppugne her,

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

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

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

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

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

there

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

Edmund Campian, *Rafe Sherwin*, *Luke Kirby*, *Alexander Briant* were taken in the yeere 1581. and being brought to judgement, were accused of Treason against the *Queene* and *State*; that they were directed by the *Pope*, came into *England*, to stirre up sedition, and to make a strong partie; and heereupon they were condemned as offending against the Lawes. *Campian* was demanded whether hee tooke *Queene Elizabeth* to bee *Queene* of *England* by right and law? To that he refused to

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

preva-

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

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

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

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

This maner of punishing refractary men, that in matters touching the Church were troublesome and seditious, was taken from an ancient maner of punishing such men in the time of St *Augustine*; for he speaketh divers times of the *Pecuniary mulct* of the Emperors, which was inflicted upon the *Donatists*. And because the Seminary Priests and Iesuites,

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

Lib. 1. cap. 9. contr. Epiſt. Parmen.

" any respect is a Christian dare avouch this; for
" such men, proceeding like blinde men, see not
" that they who thus think, proceed so farre, as to
" proove that the very devils may thus challenge
" to themselves the glory of Martyrs, because they
" suffer this persecution by the *Christian Emperors*,
" forasmuch as their temples are destroied over all
" the world in a maner, their Idols are broken in
" pieces, their sacrifices are forbidden, they who
" honour them, are punished if they bee found.
" Which if it be madnes to maintaine, then it fol-
" loweth, that *righteousnesse* is not proved by *suf-*
" *fering*, but by *righteousnesse*, *suffering* is made glo-
" rious: therefore the Lord said not, *Blessed are they*
" *that suffer persecution*, but hee addeth that which
" maketh the difference between pietie and sacri-
" ledge, *Blessed are they which suffer persecution for*
" *righteousnesse, &c. And after hee saith:* If these
" men, being convicted of their wicked practices,
" shall acknowledge, that they who are thus puni-
" shed for their mad tricks may not be accounted
" Martyrs, but yet they will say, that these things
" ought not to belong to the Emperour to pu-
" nish: *(Iust as the Papists say, the punishment of their*
" *Clergie belongeth not to the Magistrate)* I demand
" then, saith *Augustine*, whether they thinke that
" the superiour Powers ought not to have care
" of Religion, and of punishing false religion?
" The Apostle saith, *The works of the flesh are mani-*
" *fest; which are adultery, fornication, uncleanesse,*
" *wantonnesse, Idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, debate, emu-*
" *lation, wrath, contentions, seditions, heresies, envy,*
mur-

Math.5.

Ibid.cap.10.

Galat.5.19.

"*murthers, drunkennesse, gluttonie, and such like.*
"What reason can these men render, why it
"should bee justice for the Emperours to punish
"Idolaters, murtherers, and such, and not by the
"same reason to be like justice in them to punish
"Heretikes? When as they are accounted in the
"same fruits of iniquitie by the Apostolicall au-
"thority. If the Magistrate be not bound in dutie
"to punish such sinners, why doth he beare the
"*Sword?* and why is he called the *Minister of God,*
"*for vengeance against them that doe evill?* Vnlesse
"haply some of them bee so ignorant as to inter-
"pret this honour given to the Magistrate of ho-
"nour Ecclesiasticall, that by the *Sword* may bee
"understood a spirituall censure, which worketh
"excommunication: But the Apostle most provi-
"dently doth plainly open in the processe of the
"same words, what he meaneth: for hee addeth,
"*for this cause you pay tribute:* and in another place,
"*Give to Cæsar those things that are Cæsars, and to* Math. 22.
"*God those things that are Gods.* But these men are
"disobedient in both; for they neither giue to
"*God* his true worship, nor to *Kings* humane
"feare and reverence. *Where further hee decla-* Cap. 11.
"*reth*, that against these *Donatists*, that held their
"Conventicles against the Lawes established, the
"Emperours mulct was exacted, and the place
"where such Conventicles were kept, was to be
"forfeited to the Emperours Exchequer. *Thus*
"*farre Augustine.*

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

times. The reverend judgement of St *Augustine* the same with the judgements of the *Bishops in England*. The unlawfull and ungracious practices of the *Donatists*, like the practices of the *Papists*, saving that the *Papists* have proceeded more deepely in wicked practices, and have gotten a greater head then the *Donatists* ever had. The Lawes of the civill Magistrate *then* and *now* much alike.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

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

Somervyles haste to Kill the Queene.

AFter this, in the yeare 1583. the *Priests* and *Iesuites* wrote very seditiously dangerous Bookes against *Queene Elizabeth*, & some other Princes excommunicated. These Bookes being written with great bitternes, did prevaile so farre with some that admired the *An. Dom. 1583.*

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

The next yeere after, (for seldome did any yeere passe without some treason) some English Gentlemen began to practice the deliverance of the *Queene* of *Scots*. *Francis Throgmorton* fell first into suspition, by certaine Letters intercepted written to the *Queene* of *Scots*. As soone as he was committed to prison, and began to confesse something, presently *Thomas Lord Paget*, and *Charles*

An. Dom. 1584.

Arundel

Arundel, a Courtier, ſecretly fled the land, and went into *France*. Theſe men meeting with other devoted to the *Romane* Religion, did much complaine, recounting their ſorrowes among themſelves, that the *Queene* was eſtranged from them without their fault by the cunning of *Leiceſter* and *Walſingham*; that themſelves were expoſed to unworthy contumelies and ignominies; that ſingular trickes were found out, and ſecret ſnares laid ſo cunningly, that improvident men, will they, nill they, muſt needs be intangled in ſuch ſnares; that to remaine at home there could be no ſafetie for them. It was thought at this time, that ſome cunning was practiſed to feele mens affections; and that counterfeit Letters were written under the name of the *Scots Queene*, and of ſome fugitives, knowne traytors to the State; which Letters might be left in the houſes of Recuſants, and that ſpies were ſent abroad to gather rumours, and to catch ſuſpitions. Divers were drawne into ſnares. Among others, *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*; and *Philip* Earle of *Arundel* was commanded to keepe his houſe; his wife was committed to Sir *Thomas Shirley* to bee kept; and *Henry Howard* the Dukes brother was often examined of Letters ſent from the *Scots Queene*, from *Charles Paget*, and from one *Mope*, then unknown. Some blamed the narrow ſearching of things, and the manner of drawing men into danger. Others thought that all the meanes that might be uſed to prevent the *Queenes* danger, and to ſave her life was but neceſſary. And indeed the outragious maliciouſneſſe of

the *Papists* against the *Queene* brake out daily; for by Bookes imprinted they exhorted the *Queenes maids* and *Ladies of honour* to doe the same against the *Queene* which *Iudith* did against *Holofernes*. The Authour of that Booke was not found, *Gregorie Martin* was suspected, a man learned in the Greek and Latin tongues, and chosen by the Duke to be the bringer up of his children. *Carter* the Stationer, that caused the Bookes to be printed, was punished for it.

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

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

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

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

The Spaniſh Embaſsad: thrust out of England.

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

morton

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

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

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

Throgmorton. An. Dom. 1584.

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

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

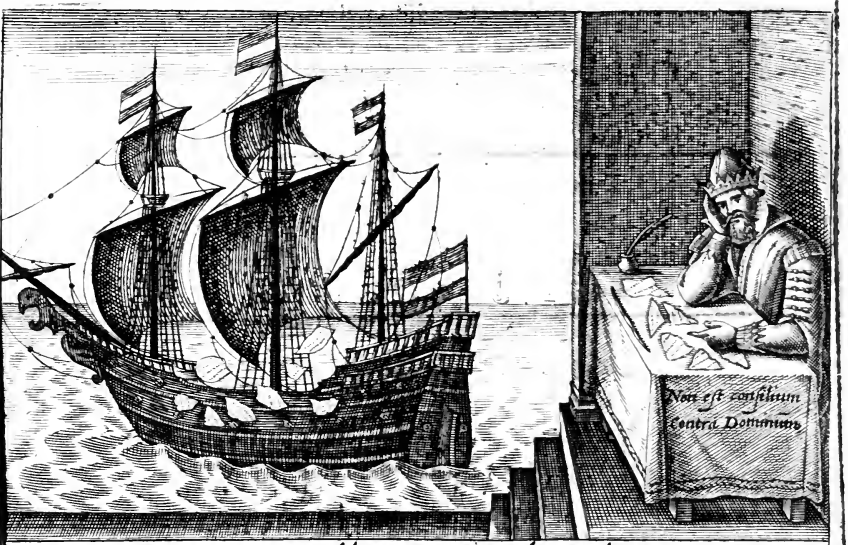
Yet when hee came to judgement in the *Guild Hall* at *London*, he denied all, and said that all these were fained devices to save him from the racke, and openly accused the *Queene* of *cruelte*, the *Examiners* of *falshood*; seeking a starting hole from the space of time which passed betweene the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

old

old law of treaſon made in the time of *Edward* 3. which admitteth no circumſcription of time or proofe. And from that law hee was condemned. Afterward being perſwaded and better thinking on the matter, he craved the Queenes mercie, and by writing confeſſed all at full againe, which hee had done before: and as a man unconſtant, began to deny againe at the gallowes.

CHAP. VIII.

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



Torne Papers blowne into the Ship. F.H. sc.

QVeene ELIZABETH at this time sought a faire opportunitie and meanes to set the *Queene* of *Scots* free: and for that purpose had sent Sir *William Wade*, that was now returned out of *Spaine*, to con-

conferre with her of the meanes, and was about to ſend Sr *Walter Mildmay* to bring that matter to a farther end. But ſome terrors and feares broke in between them which diſturbed that project. Eſpecially by a diſcovery of papers, which *Creighton* a *Scots* Ieſuite ſailing into *Scotland*, did teare then when hee was taken by *Dutch* Pyrats. *Creighton* tore the papers, and threw them into the Sea; but they were by the force of the wind blowne back againe into the ſhip, not without a miracle, as *Creighton* himſelfe ſaid; the papers being brought to Sir *William Wade*, with much labour and ſingular skill hee joyned them together againe; and found that they contained new practiſes of the *Pope*, the *Spanyard*, the *Guiſes* reſolution to invade *England*.

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

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

mony

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

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

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

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

Psal 58 11.

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

Parry not able to kill the Queene.

An. Dom. 1585

The next yeere, that is, *Ann.* 1585. there was a *Parliament* held, wherein there was in the lower Houſe a law propoſed againſt *Ieſuites:* Which was judged needfull & accepted of all without contradiction, ſaving onely *William Parry*, a Welſhman, obſcure, of meane fortunes, yet a Doctor of the Civill Law; He ſpake againſt that law which then was exhibited, and ſaid it was a cruell bloody law, and deſperate, and pernitious to the Engliſh Nation: Being required to ſhew his reaſons for that ſtrange opinion of his, he obſtinately refuſed ſo to doe,

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

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

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

there

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

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

"of the *Queene* we can obtaine nothing. And he "proposed some things of the delivery of the "*Scots Queene*. I did here interpose; O but I have "a greater matter in my head, & more profitable "for the *Catholike* Church. The next day he came, "& sware upon the Bible that he would keepe my "counsel, & constantly prosecute whatsoever was "usefull for the *Catholike Religion*. And I sware in "like sort. Our determination was to set upon the "*Queene* with ten horsemen as shee was riding in "the fields, and so to kill her. Which thing *Nevil* "concealed all this while. But when the newes "came, that the Earle of *Westmerland* was dead, "whose inheritance he hoped to haue presently, "not respecting his oath, hee opened these things "against me. These things *Parry* confessed in the presence of the Lord *Hunsdon*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Sr *Francis Walsingham*, Privie Councellers; and farther by his letters to the *Queene*, to *Burghley* Lord Treasurer, and to the Earle of *Leicester*, hee acknowledged his fault, and craved pardon.

Some few dayes after he was brought to *Westminster* Hall to judgement, where the heads of his accusation being read, he confessed himselfe guilty. Sr *Christopher Hatton*, to satisfie the multitude present, thought it fit that the crime should punctually be opened out of his owne confession. Which *Parry* himselfe acknowledged to be free, not extorted: and the Iudges intreated that hee would reade them. But the Clarke of the Crowne read them: and the Letters of the Cardinall of *Come*, and *Parry* his Letters to the *Queene*, to the Lord

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

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

" It was therfore enacted, that within forty daies
" they should all depart the Land. If any came in
" againe after that, and stayed heere, they should
" be guiltie of treason: that if any received them
" wittingly and willingly, or intertained them,
" nourished, or helped them, such should be guil-
" tie of fellony: that they who are brought up in
" the *Seminaries*, if they returne not within sixe
" moneths after warning given, and should not
submit

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

"loſe the Ship and all the goods in her, and be im-
"priſoned a whole yeere.

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

and

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

CHAP. IX.

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

Babington with his Complices in S. Giles fields.

AT that time was *Henrie Percie*, Earle of *Northumberland* in the Tower, suspected to bee of counsell with *Throgmorton* and the Lord *Paget*, and the *Guises*, to invade *England*, and to free the *Scots Queene*. Hee was

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

Charles

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

place

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

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

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

And it is not much to be marveiled, if theſe cunning ſtirrers have deceived ſome of our Nobles; for we ſee that they have couſened great kings and princes. For ſoone after this in the yere 1586. theſe pernitious medlers, theſe *Ieſuites* ſhewed themſelves in other colours. For when theſe bloody inſtruments that had ſo long laboured the ruine of *England*, and were out of hope to reſtore the *Romiſh Religion* to *England*, either by the *Scots Queene*, which was now more ſtrictly kept, or by the King then of *Scotland*, who had plainly profeſſed and eſtabliſhed the Goſpel in his kingdome: they fell now to a new and a ſtrange practice, which might make the world to wonder: they began out of their falſe and lying forgeries to ſet a foot an imaginary title of the King of *Spaine* to the right and Succeſſion of the *Engliſh* Crowne.

An. Dom. 1586

To

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

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

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

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

as

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

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

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

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

dred

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

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

young men: *Chidioc Tychburne* of *Hampshire*, *Edward Abington*, whose father was the *Queenes* Cofferer; *Robert Gage* of *Surrey*; *Iohn Trauerse*, and *Iohn Charnock* of *Lancashire*; *Iohn Iones*, whose father was Queene *Maries* Tailor; *Savage*, *Barnwell*, a Gentleman of *Ireland*, *Henry Dun*, Clarke of the first fruit Office. Into this societie *Polly* also insinuated himselfe, a man wel acquainted with the affaires of the *Scots Queene*, a man well skilled in the art of simulation and dissimulation. Who was thought daily to reveale all their counsells to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, and to thrust them headlong into mischiefe, who were forward enough of themselves to evill. Albeit *Navus*, the *Scots Queenes* Secretary, warned them to beware of him.

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

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

Hi mihi ſunt comites, quos ipſa pericula ducunt.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

they came to *Bellamies* houſe, neere to *Harrow* on the Hill, who was a great favourer of the *Romiſh Religion*: where they were hid in barnes, & fed and cloathed with ruſticall apparell. After ten dayes they were found and brought to *London*. Hereupon the Citie witneſſed their publike joy by ringing of bells, by bonefires in the ſtreets, by ſinging of Pſalmes, in ſo much that the Citizens had great thanks given them from the *Queene*.

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

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

ſhe

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

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

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

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

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

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

pests

posts have beaten upon it, and yet it standeth. And for this wee praise Gods Name, that it standeth still. And for this purpose is this small Worke undertaken, to give the watch-word to all them that *feare God*, and *love* the comming of our *Lord*, to give most *humble* and most *heartie* thankes unto God, for this inestimable favour of God, that after all these assaults which have beene greater in danger, more in number then any Nation in the world at this day can number, that after all, I say, our *Church* standeth and flourisheth: this is our reioycing in God, in his goodnesse and mercie. But now consider who oppugne us: *the Serpents seed*; for can any man with any reason deny these men to be the seed of the Serpent? I meane the *seminary Priests and Iesuites*. Are not these the seed of the Serpent? They plot and practise treasons, they raise rebellions, their heads and hands are full of blood and murther. And what can the serpent his seed doe more? They are men acquainted with the *deepenesse of Satan*, they lay snares and wicked plots for destruction of States, and lest men should descrie their mischiefe, they set a cleane contrary countenance upon their actions, giving out, that their weapons are *Preces & lachrymæ*, *Prayers and teares*, and that it is unlawfull for them to use any other weapons; even then when they are about their most bloody designes: and what can the Serpents seed doe more? Can the seed of the serpent proceed more maliciously, more cruelly, more deepely in blood then these have done? Then let them be knowne to be the

Comica facie meras agunt tragœdias

seed of the serpent. As for us, we reioyce to be the seed of the woman, the true Church of God: we suffer, we are reviled, slandered, called *Heretikes*: We learne of our Master to *indure the Crosse, to despise the shame: We run with patience the race which hee hath set before us.* And wee serve God not in vaine; for we see that there is a reward for them that serve him.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

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

Stafford clearing him-selfe.

THE next yeere following, which was the yeere 1587. the *Scots Queene* being before condemned, but yet reserved alive, discontented persons like evill spirits did continually haunt her; though shee her selfe would have been quiet, yet would not they let her rest, untill their busie and pernicious working brought her to her grave; for *l'Aubespinæus* the *French* Ambassador Leiger in *England*, a man wholly *An. Dom. 1587*

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

courses

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

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

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

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

of

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

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

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

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

Armes,

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

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

CHAP. XI.

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

English Embass: sent vnto the Duke of Parma for peace.

A.D. 1588.

Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus.

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

Spanyards

Spanyards layd up all their hopes vpon this yeeres *destinie.*

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

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

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

brought

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

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

wanting, ſent Cardinall *Alan* into *Flanders*, and renued the Bulls declaratory of *Pius* V. and *Greg.* XIII. He excommunicateth the *Queene*, depoſeth her, abſolveth her ſubjects from all allegiance, and as if it had been againſt the *Turkes* and *Infidels*, he ſet forth in print a *Cruciata*, wherein he beſtowed plenary Indulgences out of the treaſure of the Church upon all that would ioyne their helpe againſt *England*. By which meanes the Marqueſs *á Burgaw* of the houſe of *Auſtria*, the Duke of *Paſtrana*, *Amady* Duke of *Savoy*, *Veſpatian Gonzaga*, *Iohn Medices*, and divers other Noblemen were drawne into theſe warres.

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

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

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

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

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

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

both

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

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

Two yeeres before, the Duke of *Parma* conſidering how hard a matter it was to end the *Belgicke* warre, ſo long as it was continually nouriſhed and ſupported with ayd from the *Queene*, hee moved for a treatie of Peace by the meanes of Sir *Iames Croſt*, one of the privie Councel, a man deſirous of peace, and *Andrew Loe* a *Dutch-man*, and profeſſed that the *Spanyard* had delegated authoritie to him for this purpoſe. But the *Queene* fearing that there was ſome cunning in this ſeeking of peace, that the friendſhip betweene her and the confederate Provinces might bee diſſolved, and that ſo they might ſecretly be drawne to the *Spanyard*; ſhe de-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

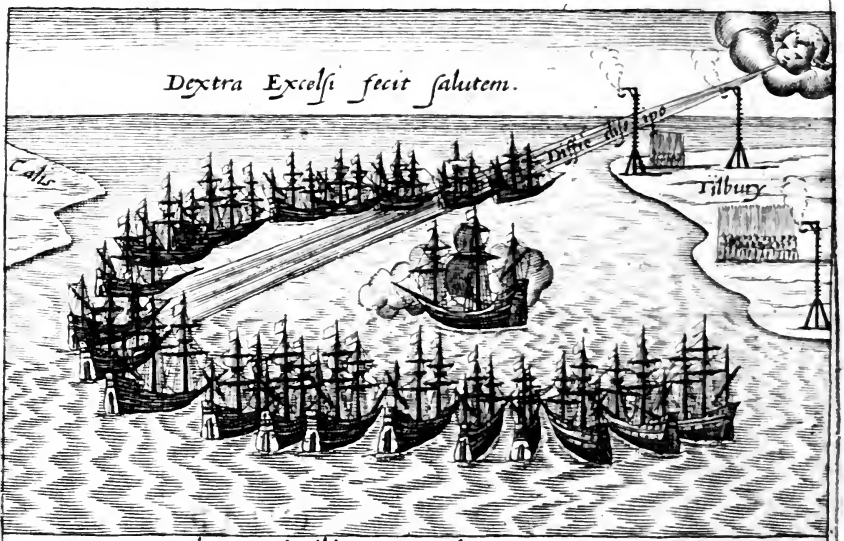
Queene,

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

V CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

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



The Invincible Armado in 88. F.H.

THe *Spanish Fleet*, the best furnished with Men, Munition, Engines, and all warlike Preparation, that was ever seene upon the *Ocean*, and by that *arrogant Title* called *Invincible*, did consist of 130 Ships, wherein there were 19290 Souldiers; Mariners 8350; chained rowers 2080; great Ordnance 2630. The chiefe commander was *Perezius*

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

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

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

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

The next day the *Engliſh Fleet* viewed the *Spaniſh fleet* comming along with towers like Caſtles in height, her front *crooked* like the faſhion of the *Moone*, the *hornes* of the front were extended one from the other about ſeven miles aſunder, ſayling with

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The next day the Lord Admirall knighted the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townesend*, *Iohn Hawkins*, and *Martin Frobiſher* for their valour well imployed in the laſt fight. After this they reſolved not to ſet upon the enemy vntill they came into the ſtraight of *Calis*, where *Henrie Seymour* and *William Winter* ſtayed for their

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

The 27 day at even, the *Spanyards* cast anchors neere to *Calis*, being admonished of their skilfull sea-men, that if they went any farther, they might be indangered by the force of the tyde to be driven into the *North Ocean*. Neere to them stood the English *Admirall* with his Fleet within a great Gunnes shot. To the Admirall *Seimour* and *Winter* now joyne their ships; so that now there were an hundred and forty ships in the *English* Fleet, able and well furnished for fight, for saile, and to turne which way was needfull: and yet there were but fifteene of these which bore the burden of the battell, and repulsed the enemy. The *Spanyard*, as often he had done before, so now with great earnestnesse sent to the Duke of *Parma* to send forty *Fly-boats*, without the which they could not fight with the *English*, because of the greatnesse and slownesse of their owne ships, and the agilitie of the *English* shippes. And intreating him by all meanes

meanes now to come to ſea with his Army, which Armie was now to bee protected as it were under the wings of the *Spaniſh Armado*, untill they tooke land in *England*. But the Duke was unprovided, and could not come out at an inſtant. The broad ſhippes with flat bottomes, being then full of chinkes muſt bee mended. Victualls wanted, and muſt be provided, the Mariners being long kept againſt their willes, began to ſhrinke away. The Ports of *Dunkerke* and *Newport*, by which hee muſt bring his Armie to the Sea, were now ſo beſet with the ſtrong ſhips of *Holland* and *Zealand*, which were furniſhed with great and ſmall Munition, that he was not able to come to Sea, unleſſe hee would come vpon his owne apparant deſtruction, and caſt himſelfe and his men wilfully into a headlong danger. Yet he omitted nothing that might bee done, being a man eager and induſtrious and inflamed with a deſire of over-comming *England*.

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

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

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

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

rall,

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

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

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

The day wherin the laſt fight was, the Duke of *Parma* after his vowes offred to the *Lady of Halla*, came ſomwhat too late to *Dunkerk*, & was received with ſome opprobrious words of the *Spanyards*, as if in favour of Queene *Elizabeth* he had ſlipd the faireſt opportunitie that could bee to doe the ſervice. Hee to make ſome ſatisfaction, puniſhed the Purveiours that had not made proviſion ready; ſecretly ſmiling at the inſolencie of the *Spanyards*, when he heard them glorying, that what way ſoever they came upon *England*, they would have an undoubted victory; that the *Engliſh* were not able to indure the ſight of them. *Bernardinus Mendoza* did indeed by Bookes in *France ſing a* fooliſh and lying *triumphant ſong before the victory*. The *Engliſh Admirall* appoynted *Seimour* and the *Hollanders* to watch upon the coaſts of *Flanders*, that the Duke of *Parma* ſhould not come out; himſelfe followed the *Spanyards* upon their backes, untill they were paſt *Edenborough frith*.

The *Spanyards* ſeeing all hopes faile, and finding no other helpe for themſelves but by flight, fled amaine, and never made ſtay. And ſo this great Navie being three yeeres preparing with great coſt, was within a moneth overthrowne, and, after many were killed, being chaſed away: (of *Engliſh* there was not one hundred loſt, nor one ſhip loſt, ſaving that of *Cocks*) was driven about all *Britaine*,

by

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

Queene *Elizabeth* came in publicke Thanksgiving to *Pauls* Church, her Nobles accompanying her, the Citizens were in their colours, the Banners that were taken from the enemies were spred: shee heard the Sermon, and publike thankes were rendred unto God with great joy. This publike

joy

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

Now these things be such, as whensoever we thinke upon them, we cannot choose but lift up our hearts to God; for hee hath put a *song* of joy and *thankesgiving in our mouthes*, and taught us to lift up our eyes to him *from whence commeth our helpe. Our helpe commeth from the Lord which hath made the Heaven and the Earth, hee will not suffer thy foot to slippe, for hee that keepeth thee will not slumber,* Psal. 121.

behold

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

Psal. 111.

Psal. 145. 4.

have the Word of God among us, sent unto us, planted among us by his owne hand, we were as farre from deserving this favour, as they that sit in darknesse, and in the shadow of death; for so wee *sate in darknesse, and in the shadow of death*, so long as wee sate in the *ignorance of Poperie*; but when it pleased God of his owne free mercie to send his light among us, the truth of his Gospell, and out of the same Fountaine of his goodnesse and mercie raysed beleeving Princes among us, which have established his true Religion in our Land, a *Queene* of such *Pietie*, a *King* of so great *Knowledge*, and *Learning*, and *Piety*, as *knoweth* the truth, and is so able to *maintaine* it: God I say having of his goodnesse raised such blessings to us, hath never ceased to maintaine his owne worke. Let us never cease to give him the glory. But can our adversaries take any comfort in their doings? The King of *Spaine* may once enter into the consideration of things, he may remember how he and his predecessours have been so many times beguiled by the *Pope*, how often hath the *Pope* and his *Iesuites* consecrated his Banners, promised him victorie against us, as against Heretikes forsaken of God and man; let them know that *there is a God that ruleth the world*, and not the Pope. If they would have their designes to prosper, they must follow the exãples of our godly Princes, who are blessed for the sinceritie of Religion which they imbrace. They must give over injustice and crueltie; for the crueltie of the *Spaniards* have lost them all that they lost in the *Netherlands*: Their *pride* and *cru-*

*elti*e

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

Psal. 74 19.

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

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

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

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

Lopez compounding to poyson the Queene

AFter this great tempest from *Spaine* was past, the Sunne did shine as pleasantly on *England*, as before. By all the *Spanish* preparations there was not a man called from his husbandry in *England*, nor any Artificer from

from his Trade; there was not so much as one cottage burned. Did ever the *English* make any iourney into *Spaine*, and returned without doing no more harme then the *Spanyards* did to us? The *English* made after this two journeyes into *Spaine*, and in both did that which they intended to doe, that is, ransacked Townes, and put to flight the armies which incountred them. But this is beyond the limits of my purpose, which is only to declare our deliverances, and to give thankes and honour to God for the same.

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

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

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

An. Dom. 1593

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

with

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

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

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

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

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

unto

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

From Secretary *Ibarra* to *Stephen Ferrera de Gama*.

"MANOEL TINOCO goeth toward your "Worship, and carieth a Letter of the Earle "*Fuentes*, to whom for many respects this Letter "shal referre you, and to that which more in par- "ticular your Worship shall understand of the "said *Tinoco*; who by reason of the conferences "and discourses past between us, goeth very well "instructed & acquainted of the good forward- "nesse and disposition that we have here both to "direct and conduct all these affaires, the which "in effect come to relie and to be resolved in the "will and determinate resolution; with the which "your Worship meaneth to imbrace that which "standeth with your liking. And doing on your "part your indevour, and that which by your let- "ters I am fully perswaded, you may assure your "selfe to obtaine all that you may expect of him "that can doe so much both to remaine a friend, "and to remunerate what good office soever is "performed in his service; and so much for the "benefit of the world. And you shall find them "here that shall assist you therin with all the truth "and sincerity that the confidence your Worship "hath had in us doth require. *Bruxells* this 14 of "*December*. 1593.

From the Count Fuentes.

"THe Bearer goeth instructed of that which "here is offered, to informe you thereof by "word of mouth. And for all that, I have thought "good to write these few lines which is all to one "effect.

"First, if you shall have commodity to goe into "*Portugall*, as they offered your Worship; let or-"der be taken there, that in comming into *Spaine*, "you advertise *Don Christophoro de Moro* where-"soever he be, and to communicate in secret with "him, and to follow the directions which shall be "sent, that you may the better accomplish the ser-"vice of his Majesty, for in so doing we will take "in hand to accomplish with your Worship ac-"cording to your desire.

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

for

"for the profit that is to come therof, and to your "Worship in your particular. And if in this meane "time it shall seeme good that *Bernardo Nunes* and "*Manoel Pays* go to keepe account of that which "hath past their hands, it cannot prejudice your "Worship any thing in your affaires. So much "the rather, if they shall goe in service of his Ma-"jestie, as is their dutie. In the particular of that "young Gentleman it seemeth not convenient to "move any thing till we see the resolution of your "Worship, whom God keepe. From *Bruxels* this "12. of *December*. 1593.

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

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

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

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

Pedro Ferrera being examined, among other things confessed, that *Stephen Ferrera* calling this examinate to him, said, *I hold you to bee an honest man, and intend to doe you good, and I doe meane to com-*

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

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

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

Hee gave also instructions to this examinate, to goe in all secresie to the *Low-Countries*, and gave him little tickets sent in his letters, which were little square pieces of paper an inch every way: In them was with his owne hand written in some [*I*] in others [*No*]. These were to be returned in the Letters from thence, in this sort. If the answere were come out of *Spaine* for the resolution of the

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

Stephen Ferrera de Gama.

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

He

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

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

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

Manoel Lowys. After this was *Manoel Lowys* re-examined, *Febr.* "22. 1593. and confeſſed, I *Manoel Lowys* confeſſe, "that Count *Fuentes*, and Secretary *Ibarra* cal-"led me to the Cabinet of the Court. And both "of them together either of them for his owne "part tooke my hands putting them within their "owne, and told mee that before they would de-

clare

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

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

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

Manoel Lowys. " I *Manoel Lowys*, a Gentleman of *Portugall*, doe " confesse that it is true, that being in *Bruxels*, in " the house of Count *Fuentes*, he caused me to be " called for, and demanded of me of what quali- " tie and Countrey *Andrada* was. And after that " I had told him all that I knew of him, hee com- " manded his Secretary to shew me all the Letters " that *Andrada* had written to him from *Calais*. " Hee shewed mee three Letters. In the first hee " signified that he was come from *England*, where " hee had been a prisoner a long time. And that " hee was sent by order from Doctor *Lopez* (who " was a man very zealous and friendly to the ser- " vice of the King of *Castile*:) Seeing the great " robberies, hurts, and losses which the Queene " of *England* caused to be committed by her sub- " jects, he was determined to doe the King such a " piece of service, as thereby he might with great " safetie satisfie himselfe of the *English* Nation. " But so as the King should recompence his ser- " vices with honours and favours according to " the qualitie thereof. For he was old and many " wayes indebted, and would now find rest for his " old age. And declaring the qualitie of the ser-

ice,

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

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

" him that he ſhould be of good courage: for ſee
" here the Letter: and if you will have money,
" here is *Manoel Lowys* that ſhall goe fetch it; And
" if you wil not have it from *Antwerp*, tell me your
" mind, & let me have anſwer. Which letter was
" only to incourage him, & not to any other effect;
" for *Andrada* had told them before, that the Do-
" ctor was determined upon diſpatch of the buſi-
" nes to go to *Antwerp*, and that he would have no
" money made over into *England*. So this Letter
" was only to incourage him. And I would to God
" the money could bee gotten by it, there ſhould
" want no diligence in mee. For I want neither
" good will to doe it, nor deſire to doe ſome ſuch
" ſervice from henceforward, as may make recom-
" penſe for the euil ſervice I have done: Which I
" confeſſe, and with moſt obedient ſubmiſſion doe
" humbly deſire pardon. Submitting my ſelfe to
" the *Queenes Highneſſe*, and to the noble mind and
" good inclination of *your Honour*, and of my Lord
" the *Earle of Eſſex*; Aſſuring *your Honour*, that all
" theſe things ſet down in this confeſſion are very
" true, and for ſuch I ſigne them with my hand in
" this priſon where I remaine.

Manoel Lowys Tinoco.

After this *Steph. Ferrera* inlarged his confeſſion, which was to the ſame purpoſe, declaring that Doctor *Ruy Lopez* was zealouſly bent to do the King of *Spaine* that great ſervice to poyſon the Queene of *England*.

Hereupon Doctor *Lopez* was examined againe.

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

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

Lord *Admirall*, and Sr *Robert Cecil* to repaire to the Tower, and if he were not altogether graceleſſe to perſwade him to bethinke himſelfe.

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

Febru-

February 25. 1593.

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

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

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

Roger Lopez.

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

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

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

xxvj. Februarij. 1593.

This Letter which I wrote to *Stephen Ferrera* by *Gomes D' Avila*, concerning the poynt which ſpeaketh of *Pearles and the price* of them, was to give him to underſtand, that the Newes which hee had ſent, (how that the *Doctor would kill the Queene*) was very gladly accepted, and much eſteemed of the Count *Fuentes* and of *Ibarra*. And touching the poynt which concerneth the *Muske* and *Amber*, the Count *Fuentes* told mee that hee did looke for a *Reſolution* from the King of great *importance*, and when it came, there ſhould bee a great matter. Which I did underſtand, that hee did determine to ſend or procure to burne the *Queenes Shippes*, and to kill *Antonio Perez*, of whom they have great feare. For they feare that hee ſhould diſcover all the ſecrets which hee knoweth,

knoweth, which are many. Seeing no man knew more ſecrets of the King then he.

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

with that secresie, that this voyage might not bee knowne.

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

was

was to bee wrought, that is, by *poysoning* of *Queene Elizabeth*, the most *vnkingly*, the most *vnmanly* resolution that could enter into the heart of a King, or of another man. And yet the King of *Spaine* may seeme in some sort to be excused. For what can a *Popish* Prince doe, but follow the common examples and practises of them, to whose counsell and advice hee hath given himselfe over wholly to bee governed? This practice of poysoning is one of those sinnes which the *Popes* have brought into their Church. For it hath beene most commonly most ungraciously practised by *Popes*. Especially after *Sylvester* was made Pope. After that time the *Papacie* was long oppressed with such as commonly practised *Sorceries* and *Poysoning*. For this is a thing generally observed both in the writings of the holy Scripture, and in humane Authors, that *Poysoning*, *Witchcraft*, and *Sorcerie* are commonly reckoned sinnes of one kind. And therefore φαρμακὸς and φαρμακεύς, which properly signifieth a *Poysoner*, *Venificus*, is commonly taken for a *Sorcerer*. And is numbred up among those sinnes, *Deut.* 18. for which sinnes *Moses* saith, *The Lord did cast out those Nations before Israel*. That which in the *Hebrewe* in that place, is מכשף the *Septuagint* hath φαρμακὸς, the common *Latine* Translation hath *Maleficus*, others *Veneficus*. In *English* it is commonly translated a *Sorcerer*. But this Sorcery is understood *Poysoning*. This then was one of those sinnes for which the Lord did cast out the *Canaanites* out of that land. And therefore they, who with an ungracious

Deut. 18. 10. *Mecchasheph*

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

Now as this was one of the ſinnes which threw out the Nations before *Iſrael*, ſo it is in the New Teſtament reckoned among the ſinnes of the Church of *Antichriſt*. Saint *Iohn* recounteth the principall ſinnes of that Synagogue, *Idolatry, murther, ſorcerie, fornication*, and *theft*. And he declareth then when the Iudgements of God had ſcourged them for their ſinnes, yet they repented not. His words; *They repented not of the workes of their hands, that they ſhould not worſhip devills, and idols of gold, and of ſilver, and of braſſe, and of ſtone, and of wood, which neither can ſee, neither heare, nor goe. Alſo they repented not of their murthers, and of their ſorcerie, neither of their fornication, nor of their theft.*

Apoc. 9. 20, 21.

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

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

ture onely: That such a sinne should be practised with boldnes, is not this a matter to bee wondred at? The *Spanyards*, that are found more bold in the practise of this sinne then others, learned this devillish lesson of their Masters of *Rome*. For what other things can they learne of them, but such things as they see them commonly practise? Nay, the Masters of that *Synagogue* stay not in the *practise* therof, they *professe* it, they *teach* it for *doctrines*. For they are run so farre in these depths of *Sathan*, that some of them are not ashamed to *teach*, that a *Prince* which they call an *Heretike, may bee taken away by poyson*.

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

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

CHAP. XIV.

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

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

Squires practise to poyson the Queene.

IN the yeere 1596, the *English* Fleet went to *Cales*. About this time another ungracious plot was discovered in a strange manner. The relation therof came to my hands lately, written by an English Gentleman, to another English Gentleman his friend remaining then at *Padua*. And printed by *Christopher* 1596.

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

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

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

abridged

"abridged of ſome circumſtances, then any waies
"amplified or inlarged.
" This *Squire* dwelt in *Greenwich* divers yeeres,
"and tooke upon him the practiſe of a Scrivener,
" yet rather as a helpe to maintaine himſelfe for a
" time, then that he bare a minde to ſettle in that
" trade. He obtained alſo before his going to Sea,
" for ſome two yeeres ſpace, an imploiment about
" the *Queenes* Stable, by way of deputation to one
" *Kaies* a Purveiour of thoſe proviſions. But being
" of a wit above his vocation, diſliked with that
" condition of life, and put himſelfe into action by
" Sea, in the laſt voyage St *Francis Drake* made in-
" to the *Indies*; in which voiage it was his hap, that
" the *Francis* (a ſmall Barke wherein he went) was
" ſcattered from the Fleet about *Guadalupe*, and ta-
" ken by five Spaniſh Frigots. And ſo was *Squire*
" brought priſoner into *Spaine*, where ſoone after
" he was ſet at libertie.
" Not long after his enlargement, hee became
" knowne to *Richard Walpoole* an Engliſh fugitive,
" and by Order a *Ieſuite*, a man of principall cre-
" dit there, and a kinde of Vicar generall to *Par-*
" *ſons* in his abſence. This *Walpoole* carying a wa
" king and wayting eye, upon thoſe of our Na-
" tion, to diſcover and ſingle out fit inſtruments
" for the greateſt treaſons, obſerved this *Squire*,
" found him a man of more then ordinarie ſenſe
" and capacitie, for his qualitie and education;
" found him a man that had paſſed his middle age,
" well adviſed and yet reſolved enough, and not
" apprehenſive at all of dangers; (for I doe af-

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

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

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

lenitie

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

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

find

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

" Then doth he give him full instructions for the
" disposing of this poyson; shewing him that hee
" should receive it in a double bladder, and when
" it should bee used, hee was to pricke the blad-
" der full of holes upon the upper part, and so to
carie

" cary it within the palme of his hand with a thick
" glove for the ſafeguard of his hand: and in the
" inſtant when it was to bee applyed, hee ſhould
" turne it in his hand the upſide down, & ſo preſſe
" it hard vpon the pommell of the ſaddle: telling
" him further of the nature of it, That it would
" lye and tarry long where it was laid; and that it
" would not bee checked by the ayre. And laſtly
" upon his comming away delivered him the con-
" fection it ſelfe, in ſuch a bladder as was before
" deſcribed.

" This was the true manner of the ſubornation
" of *Edward Squire*, by *Richard Walpoole*, as it was
" confeſſed by the ſame *Squire* almoſt in the ſame
" words, as well for the perſwaſions as for the in-
" ſtructions. Which confeſſion I doe affirme unto
" you upon knowledge, was delivered without
" torture or ſhew of torture: and was roundly and
" ſenſibly uttered with all circumſtances of a cre-
" dible narration, for that part which concerneth
" the manner of the empoyſonment: and for that
" part which concerneth the manner of the per-
" ſwaſion, was ſet down by an adviſed declaration
" under his own hand, and the ſame as farre as hi-
" therto wee have gone, was maintained and con-
" firmed, and in no point retracted or diſavowed,
" either at his triall, or at his death.

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

" there could be no one thing more acceptable in
" the second degree.
" Now after that *Squire* had received both poy-
" sons, as well the spirituall poyson of wicked re-
" solution, as the materiall within the bladders;
" and that *Walpoole* had interlaced some promise
" to him of rewards and comforts, besides those
" of the other world, and had schooled him for se-
" cresie, which he made to be parcell of his vowe,
" there rested onely his dispatch for *England*.
" Whereunto to give an apt colour, it was devised
" that there should bee a permutation treated by
" the meanes of a Chanon in *Civil* of two *Spanish*
" prisoners here, taken at *Cales*, friends of the said
" Chanon, for *Squire* and *Rowles* now prisoners in
" the Tower, who came over with him, whereby
" it might be carried farre off from suspition, that
" *Squire* did not returne as a man imployed, but
" upon that private occasion. According to which
" project he was sent away conveniently money-
" ed, that hee might be the better in heart, and yet
" not so abundantly as might make him love his
" life too well, and to goe away with his fare qui-
" etly, though indeed there were more money
" stirring, but not in that hand.
" And being arrived heere in *England* about a
" fortnight before the *Earles* setting forth toward
" the Ilands, hee did addresse himselfe to a Coun-
" celler of estate heere, both to shew himselfe to
" the end to avoid suspition, and with pretence al-
" so of some advertisements, to the end to win the
" better opinion and trust; and finding his com-

" ming wel cõceived of according to his desire, he
" did craftily & subtilly devise with himselfe, that
" if he could finde any opportunity to execute his
" purpose before the *Earle* went, (supposing that
" the poyson could not work but in space of time)
" it would be more security for him to be absent,
" & in the voyage, lest percase some suspitious to-
" kens of poyson appearing, somewhat might fall
" out (upon such diligent Inquisition as in such a
" case were like to bee made) to be discovered a-
" gainst him; and therefore made his meanes to go
" with the *Earle* in his ship, and obtained his sute.
" So as now making his reckoning to have the pe-
" rill upon his backe, he did but watch his time.

" And it pleased God for the manifestation of
" his glory, that the Munday sevennight next after
" *Squires* comming home out of *Spaine*, he under-
" stood that the horses were making ready for her
" Majesties riding abroad. Wherupon, full of those
" evill spirits wherewith so many exorcismes had
" possessed him, he came into the stableyard where
" her Majesties horse stood ready sadled, and in a
" familiar and cheerefull maner, in the hearing of
" divers that stood therby, having all things ready
" according to his instructions, hee layed his hand
" upon the pummell of the Saddle, & said, *God saue*
" *the Queene*, (Wherein it pleased God to take his
" words and not his meaning) and bruised the poi-
" son as he was directed.

" Thus was her Majesties sacred and precious
" life by the *All-haile* of a second *Iudas* betrayed,
" the attempt put in act, & all the conspirators part
played

" plaied to the uttermoſt line & title; there reſted
" only Gods part: for ſo it was, that her Maieſties
" going abroad held; and as the Viper was upon
" S. *Pauls* hand, and ſhaked off without hurt; ſo this
" done, was in *Iuly* in the heat of the yeere, when
" the pores and veines were openeſt to receive a-
" ny maligne vapor or tincture, if her Majeſtie by
" any accident had laid her hand upon the place.
" And as the heatheniſh people at that time did ar-
" gue and conclude thereupon that S^t. *Paul* was a
" God, ſo we may Chriſtianly inferre that it was
" Gods doing and power who hath defended his
" handmaid & ſervant by his ſecret and more then
" naturall influence and preſervative from ſo actu-
" all and mortal a danger, ſpeaking by theſe ſignes
" to all her diſloyall ſubjects and ambitious ene-
" mies, That as he hath done great things by her,
" paſt ordinary diſcourſe of reaſon, ſo hee hath
" done, and will do as great things for her, beyond
" the courſe of his ordinary providence.

" For ſurely, if a man conſider how many times
" her life hath bin ſought & aſſailed, ſince the be-
" ginning of her reigne, by violence, by poiſoning,
" by ſuperſtitious votaries, by ambitious vnderta-
" kers, by ſingular Conſpirators, by Conſpirators
" combined, (ſpeaking of thoſe that have been re-
" vealed; beſides a number (no doubt) of the like
" which have groveled in darknes, & never came to
" light) he will not find the like reflexion of Gods
" favor in any ſoveraign Prince that hath raigned.

" But in the meane time you ſee the ſtrange my-
" ſteries of the *Ieſuites* doctrine that have mingled

" heaven and hell, and lift up the hands of subjects
" against the anoynted of God; arming them with
" the invisible armour of Scriptures, Sacraments,
" Vowes, Prayers, and Blessings against their na-
" turall Soveraignes. Wherein there is great dif-
" ference between the Spirit that wrought in *Da-*
" *vid*, and this that worketh in them. For *David*
" when relation was made to him (by one that
" thought hee had done *Saul* the last good office)
" how *Saul* had fallen upon his own sword in bat-
" tell, and being in the anguish of death, and care-
" full not to fall alive in the hands of the *Philistims*,
" a people uncircumcised, desired this souldier to
" make an end of him, who did so, and was there-
" fore by *David* adjudged to die, because he dared
" to lay his hands vpon the anointed of the Lord:
" and yet was *Saul* a king forsaken and abandoned
" of God; he had taken his mortall wound before,
" so as this souldier tooke from him his paine, and
" not his life; and it was to a good end, lest a hea-
" thenish people should reproch the name of God
" by insulting upon the person of *Saul*.

" And surely for my part I doe wonder that
" Princes do not concurre in loosing these bands,
" and suppressing this Sect, which maketh a traf-
" fique of their sacred lives, concluding and con-
" tracting for them with these blinded Votaries in
" the secresie of confessions and shrifts. For I doe
" not see that Pirates (whom the *Civilians* account
" to be *Publici hostes societatis humanæ*, and therfore
" Princes bound as they affirme, though they bee
" otherwise in no league one with another, yea
and

" and though they be enemies, to joyne in the sup-
" pressing and extirpation of them) are any such
" disturbers of humane societie as these are. Nei-
" ther doe I thinke, that the order of the *Templers*
" (that was put downe throughout *Christendome* in
" a few weekes) were ever offenders in so high a
" degree. And I finde somewhat strange that the
" Bishop of *Rome*(if it were but to avoid the asper-
" sion of so great a slander and imputation to that
" Religion) should not purge out this leaven so
" strange and odious.

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

" Now let mee acquaint you a little with the
" manner of detecting of this matter, which God
" did likewise strangely bring about. *Squire* slept
" now in securitie: for although he failed of suc-
" cesse, yet he tooke himselfe to be out of danger:
" thinking because it was carried betweene his
" Confessor and him, it could never be revealed.
" But his Confessour, whom it concerned not so
" much to keepe it secret as it did *Squire*, tickled
" belike with the joy, that he had such an yron in
" the fire, imparted it (for his owne glory) to some

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

per-

" perſwaſion, and Gods good working, diſcloſed
" all without any rigour in the world.
" But upon a ſecond adviſe being a man of a ve-
" ry good reach, finding that it had beene his wi-
" ſeſt way to haue confeſſed the whole plot and
" ſubornation which was knowne to *Walpoole*, and
" there to have ſtopt, & not to have told of the put
" ting of it in execution, which was only knowne
" to himſelfe, and which indeed was wonne from
" him by good following, he indevored at his ar-
" raignment to have diſtinguiſhed, and avouching
" the firſt part, to have retracted the ſecond; pre-
" tending that although he undertooke it, yet hee
" had not any purpoſe to performe it.
" Whereupon one of the Commiſſioners being
" well acquainted with all the particular circum-
" ſtances, did ſet before him the abſurdity of his
" deniall againſt his former confeſſion which was
" voluntary, particular, and needleſſe (otherwiſe
" then in conſcience of truth) upon which ſpeech
" he being ſtricken with remorſe, and convicted in
" himſelfe, acknowledged and juſtified the truth
" of his former confeſſion in the hearing of all the
" ſtanders by.
" Thus Sir, I have entertained you with a Diſ-
" courſe, which I think in reading will affect you
" diverſly, as it did me in writing; But in the end I
" thinke we ſhall joyne in congratulating for our
" good deliverance, and deſiring of God the con-
" tinuance of her Majeſtie, in whom our good
" good dayes doe conſiſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

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

Tyrone desired a parley with the Lord Licutenant.

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

in danger (once for a murther, and then for usurping the title of *O-neale*) was pardoned for both. *Hugh*, Baron of *Dunganno*, now Earle of *Tyrone*, being set on by the *Spanyard* to worke some mischiefe, *Ann. Dom.* 1597. suddenly assailed the Fort of *Blackwater*. Which done, he wrote to *Kildare* to side with him, and at the same instant to Sir *Iohn Norrice*, (who was then sent out Lord Generall into *Ireland*, with thirteen hundred of the *Netherlands* old Souldiers newly retired from the Warres in *Britaine*,) to him *Tyrone* wrote, that hee might be mildly dealt withall, and not be driven headlong upon the dangerous rockes of disloyaltie; in the meane time he was alwayes guarded with a thousand Horse, and 6280 Foot of *Vlster*, besides 2300 of *Connaugh*; hereupon hee and all his partakers were proclaimed traytours. Thus was the rebellion raised, which was hardly quenched with much blood. Sir *Iohn Norrice* was a Generall as well experienced in warre as any that then lived: yet in the *Irish* warres hee was not so acquainted. The advantage of the enemy was such, that time was rather spent in taking of *booties*, and frivolous *Parlies*, then in any memorable *exployt*. The one looking still for fitter opportunities, and the other expecting daily his promised succours from *Spaine*.

An. Dom. 1597

To spare the shedding of blood, the *Queene* commaunded her Commissioners, the *Treasurer* and *Chiefe Iustice*, to conferre with *Tyrone*; who complained of wrongs offered to him by Sir *Henrie Bagnal*, Marshall: and thereupon exhibited a

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

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

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

The Countrey thus wasted, and no victualls to bee had, *Norrice* set a Garrison in the Church of *Armagh*, strengthened *Monahan*, and proclaimed *Tyrone* traytour in his owne Territories. *Tyrone* to gaine time presented to him a faigned Petition signed with his owne hand, cast himselfe downe at the Queenes Pictures feet, ungirt his sword, and craved pardon upon his knees; And in the meane time dealt for aydes out of *Spaine*; wherein hee prevailed so farre, that King *Philip* sent messengers with Capitulations, that at a prefixed time hee would send him a competent Armie to joyne with the *Irish*, that all conditions of peace with the *English* should bee rejected, and that the Rebells should bee furnished with Munition from *Spaine*.

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

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

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

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

foot,

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

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

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Vpon the comming of the Earle of Essex *into* England *from* Ireland, Tyrone *contrary to his promise stirreth and rebelleth afresh, and is encouraged by the* Pope, *and ayded by the King of* Spaine. *These forces are vanquished by the Lord* Deputie. *Heereupon* Don Iohn de Aquila, *a* Spanish *Captaine, who was sent to ayd the Rebells, and kept* Kinsale, *capitulates for Peace.* Tyrone *forsaken of his followers, submits himselfe to the Lord* Deputie, *and is pardoned. Plotting a new Rebellion, when hee was called by Processe to answere a suite of the Bishop of* Derry, *thinking the treason to bee discovered by* O Cane, *who informed the Bishop in his suite, fled out of* Ireland. *In these troubles and treasons, see the Machinations of* Sathans seed *against the* seed of the Woman, *that is, the* Church, *and the miraculous deliverances and victories of the Church, according to that,* The Womans seed shall breake the Serpents head, *spoken of* Christ, *appliable to the* Church, *and particularly to the* Church *of* England, *which that* Balaam *of* Rome *seekes now by all meanes to draw from God, because hee knowes he cannot prevaile against vs till we forsake God.*

The

Tyrones false Submission afterwards rebelling.

A.D.1599

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

ber, and ſoone after was committed to the cuſtody of the Lord *Keeper*.

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

Tyrone under pretence of devotion in mid-winter went to the Monaſtery of *Tipperary* to worſhip the Croſſe: from thence he ſent out *Mac Guir* with a nnmber of rifling robbers to ſpoyle and prey upon the peaceable ſubjects, with whom Sir *Warram Saint Leger* met, and at the firſt encounter ran *Mac Guir* through the body with a Lance, and was likewiſe runne through with *his* Lance. Whereupon *Tyrone* made ready to returne from *Moun-*

ster sooner then was expected or himselfe meant.

n Dom. 1600 At this time, *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy* was sent Lord Lieutenant Generall into *Ireland*. At his first comming, hearing that *Tyrone* was to depart out of *Mounster*, he hastened to stop his passage in *Feriall*, and there to give him battell, which the Earle prevented by taking another way, having intelligence of the Lord Generall his designes. The Spring drawing on, the *Deputy* put himselfe in his March toward *Vlster*, with purpose to drive the Earle to a stand. In the meane time, Sir *Henry Docwray* at *Loughfoil*, and Sir *Mathew Morgan* at *Belishanon* planted the Garrisons, which they effected with small resistance, and repressed the rebells in divers overthrowes.

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

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

joyned

joyned together, & ſtones in the midſt, with turfes of earth laid betweene hills, woods, and bogges, and manned the place with a number of ſouldiers. But the *Engliſh* brake through their Palliſadoes, and beat backe the enemie. The Lord *Deputie*, placed a Gariſon eight miles from *Armagh*, where in memorie of Sir *Iohn Norrice*, hee named the Fort MOVNT NORRICE. In his returne hee had many skirmiſhes. At *Carlingford* the enemies were aſſembled to ſtop his way, but were all diſcomfited and put to flight. In the midſt of Winter hee entred the *Glinnes*, that is, the valleyes of *Leinſter*, a ſecure receptacle of the Rebels. There he brought into ſubjection *Donel Spanioh*, *Phelim Mac Pheogh*, and the *O Tooles*; of whom he tooke hoſtages. Then went he to *Fereal* and drave *Tirel*, the moſt approoved Warriour of all the Rebells, from his Faſtneſſe, (that is, his bogges and buſhes) unto *Vlſter*, and after ſome other good ſervices done here, the Spring approaching, hee marched into *Vlſter*, fortified *Armagh*, and removed *Tyrone* from the Fort of *Blackwater*, where he had fortified himſelfe.

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

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

The Lord *Deputy* gathering his Companies hasted to *Kinsale*, & incamped neere unto the towne on the land side. In the meane time, Sir *Richard Levison* with two of the *Queenes* ships inclosed the haven, to forbid all accesse to the *Spanyard*. Then on both sides the Canon played upon the towne.

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

making

making six thousand foot and five hundred horse. All confident of victorie, being fresh, strong, and more in number then the *English*, who were outwearied with a winter siege, with scarcity of victuals, their horse weake with sore travell.

In this hope *Tyrone* upon an hill not a mile from the *English* campe made a *bravado* two daies together, intending to have put these new supplies of *Spanyards*, with eight hundred *Irish* by night into *Kinsale*, as did appeare by letters intercepted from *Don Aquila*. To prevent this, the Lord *Deputy* appoynted eight Ensignes to keepe watch, and himselfe with the *President* of *Mounster*, and the *Marshall* at the foot of the hill chose out a convenient plot to give the *Earle* battell; who the next morning seeing the *English* so forward, by his bagpipers sounded the retreat; whom the Lord *Generall* followed, and forced them to a stand in the brinke of a bogge, where their horsmen were disordered and routed by the Earle of *Clan-Ricard*. The maine battell was charged by the Lord *Deputy* himselfe, who discharged the parts of a *provident* Captaine, and of a *valiant* Souldier. The Rebels not able to withstand him, brake their arrayes, and fled confusedly in disorder. In the pursuit, many were slaine. *Tyrone*, *O-donel* and the rest flung away their weapons, and shifted for themselves by flight. *Alfonso O-Campo* and sixe Ensigne-bearers were taken prisoners, nine of their Ensignes were borne away by the *English*, and twelve hundred *Spanyards* slaine. This victory obtained dismayed both the *Spanyards* in *Kinsale*, and the rebels. *Tyrone* was forced

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

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

An.Dom.1601 The matter thus propoſed, the *Engliſh* being weake, and wearied with a Winter-ſiege, the

Lord

Lord *Deputie* consented to an agreement upon these Articles.

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

2. That *Don d' Aquila* and his *Spanyards* should depart with Armes, Money, Munition, and Banners displaied. The Souldiers notwithstanding to beare no Armes against the *Queene* of *England*, till such time as they were unshipped in some part of *Spaine*.

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

4. That, if contrary windes inforced them into any other part of *Ireland* or *England*, they might bee entertained as friends with safetie of Harbour and Provisions necessarie for their money.

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

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

Cap.

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

Deputy

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

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

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

Mr. *Moungomerie* was made Lord Bishop of *Derry*, (who was after Lord Bishop of *Meath*) and because the reveuues of that of *Derry*, and some other Bishopricks neere adjoyning, were so much

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

O Cane

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

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

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

This Storie of *Tyrone*, being compared with that of *Stucley* and other Irish Commotions, may proove the implacable mind of the *Pope*, and the favour of God in delivering us. *Stucley*, by the providence of God was turned another way, and came not into *Ireland*, as hee purposed: they who came, were ever destroyed. But no enemie did ever more hurt there then *Tyrone*. But when the accompt is cast up, what have all the adversaries of *England* got in the end? They have like secret *Serpents nibled at the heele*. And indeed this hath been the practise of the *olde Serpent* in troubling the Church. And wee have both warning of his malice, and a promise of deliverance, and in the ende to *tread on his Head*, that now *biteth at our Heeles. The Womans Seed shall breake the Serpents Head, but the Serpent shall bruise his Heele.* The promise is fulfilled in *Christ Iesus* our Head, and yet by the *Apostle* extended to the *Church*, Rom. 16. 20. *The God of Peace shall tread Sathan vnder your feet shortly.* It is true, that this is done in a *spirituall battell*, wherein *Sathan* and *Sinne* shall bee overthrowne:

Gene. 3. 15.

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

Rom. 3. 2.

Rom. 9. 4.

that God would alwayes bee knowne to bee the God of his people of his *Church*, that is, a *miraculous protection* of his *Church* and ſtrange deliverance out of dangers.

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

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

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

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

Num. 25. 17.

with

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

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

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

A great mischiefe intended to King IAMES *at his first entrance into the Kingdome of* England, *before his Coronation;* Watson *and* Clarke *Priests administring oathes of secresie, and applauding the project. It came to nothing by Gods mercy. The* Kings Majesties *clemencie toward the Conspirators after judgement past upon them. No treason in* England *attempted but had a* Romish *Priest in the practise.*

Watson Seducing Noblemen.

QVeene *Elizabeth*, after so many bloody and dangerous practises attempted against her, being mightily protected by God, ended her dayes in peace and safetie. The enemie was not permitted to hurt

her with all their *bloody* and *barbarous* practises. After her, succeeded our peaceable *Solomon*, King *Iames*, who laboured to establish peace, if it might be: But when hee *spake of peace, they prepared themselves for warre.*

An. Dom. 1603 Hee was first encountred with such a practise, whereof because I know not the truth and bottome, I must follow such relations as I find. King *Iames*, our gracious Soveraigne, being called into the right of his owne iuheritance, by the great and admirable applause and affections of all good men from the *highest* to the *lowest of England*, and declaring his constant resolution for the maintenance of Religion; deferred his Coronation till Saint *Iames* day. In the meane time some unquiet spirits entred into a conspiracy, (their vaine hopes, for advancing of their Religion, failing) their designe, as is said, was to surprize the *King* and Prince *Henry*. Of forces they presumed, meaning to retain them prisoners in the *Tower*, and with treasures therein to maintaine their intent, or to carry them to *Dover* Castle, and there by violence either to obtaine their owne pardons, a toleration of Religion, and a removall of some Counsellers of State; or else to put some other project in execution. To conceale this treason, *Watson* the *Priest* devised oathes for secresie, and himselfe with *Clarke* another *Priest*, taught, *that the act was lawfull, being done before the Coronation*: for that the *King* was *no King* before he was *anointed*, and the Crowne solemnly set upon his head.

The other persons involved in this practise were

Henry

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

George Brooke answered, that he had *Commission* from the King to do that he did, only to try faithfull subiects; but being required to shew his Commission, he could produce none. Sir *Griffin Markham*, excepting onely the imputation of blood, confessed his offence penitently; alledging it was through a discontented minde, and desired the Lords to be a meane to the *King* for mercy. *Watson* and *Clarke*, (the former of which confessed that he had drawne all those Gentlemen into those plots)

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

The like Iudgement a few dayes after, passed upon the Lord *Cobham* and *Gray* arraigned on two severall dayes. The former was indited for combining with Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and *George Brooke*, to procure Forces from the King of *Spaine*, and the Arch-Duke for Invasion: the other for joyning

ning with the foresaid Priests, Knights and Gentlemen in their conspiracies. Sir *Edward Parham* was onely acquitted by the Iury. Of the rest, only three dyed, *Watson*, *Clarke* and *George Brooke*. *Watson* had before in Print laid open at large the treasonable practises of the *Iesuites*, and at his death left this suspition on them, that they in revenge had cunningly drawne him into this action which brought him to his end. After this the Lords *Cobham* and *Gray*, and Sir *Griffin Markham* were by a warrant to be executed the *Friday* next. But the *King* inclined to mercy, sent at the day appoynted a Pardon for them; the manner whereof was such, as gave unexpected joy to them that looked for nothing but death. The Pardon was brought to the place where they were to bee executed by Master *Gibb* a Gentleman, so secretly, that none present understood any thing therof. Sir *Griffin Markham* was first brought to the Scaffold (erected in the Castle Greene,) and made himselfe ready for the stroke of the Axe. When secretly Master *Gibb* delivered to the *High Sheriffe* the *Kings* Warrant to the contrary, who understanding his Majesties intent, tooke backe the prisoner (as if he were first to confront the two Lords, upon some service of the *King*) and brought him unto the Castle Hall. Then was the Lord *Gray* brought foorth, who having powred out his prayers unto GOD, at length kneeling downe for the stroke of death, the *Sheriffe* bad stay, telling the Lord that some further service was expected of him; and thereupon led him likewise

into

into the Castle Hall. The Lord *Cobham* was last brought forth: who being in preparation & prayers, the Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Griffin* were brought backe againe. All the three prisoners appearing together on the Scaffold, the *Sheriffe* notified his Majesties Warrant for the stay of the execution. At which example of *clemency* unexpected both of he prisoners and spectators, there arose great shouts of the people, crying, *God saue the King*. The condemned wished that they might sacrifice their lives to redeeme their faults, and to repurchase so mercifull a Prince his love.

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

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

A horrible treason was a hatching and breeding in the last yeere of Queene Elizabeth. *By* Garnets *meanes and others, the King of* Spaine *is dealt withall for an Invasion; he entertaines the motion, but upon the entrance of King* IAMES, *did not proceed to any forcible enterprise The* Gunne-powder Treason *takes ground and life from the doctrine of* Parsons *and the* Iesuites. *It was first propounded by* Catesby *to* Winter. *The Oath of secresie taken by the Conspiratours. Provision of Powder and Wood for the Mine. Their consultation what to doe after the blow was given. The Letter sent to the Lord* Mounteagle, *scanned by the Earle of* Salisburie, *and other Priuie Councellers, but truly interpreted by the King*, in whose mouth there was a divine Sentence at that time, so that he did not erre in judgement. *The examination of* Fawkes. *The apprehension and confusion of the* Powder-traytors. *God from heaven both by his Word and protection hath manifestly showne our Church to bee the* true Church, *and the Popish Church to bee the* malignant Church, *and degenerate from the* ancient Romane Church *both in manners and doctrines.*

The Powder Plot

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

of

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

Odivi ecclesiā malignantium Psal. 25.5. *in edit. vulgata.*

This Treason was first thought on in the last yeere of Queene *Elizabeth*, when *Henrie Garnet* the Superiour of the *malignants* here, *Catesby*, and *others* sent *Thomas Winter* into *Spaine* to negotiate with the *Spanish* King in the name of the *English* Catholikes: First, to send an Army to them, who were now in readinesse to joyne their forces with his: secondly, to grant some pensions to sundrie persons devoted to his service in *England*: And thirdly, *Winter* was to give advertisement of the discontents that the young Gentlemen and Souldiers had conceived upon the death of *Essex*, whereby a fit occasion was offered to forward the *Popish* cause. To prosecute this businesse, hee made for his meanes Father *Cresswel* the Leiger *Iesuite* in *Spaine*, *Don Pedro Francesa*, second Secretary to the State, and the Duke of *Lerma*: All which assured *Winter*, that the office of his imployment would bee very gratefull to his Master. The place of landing concluded upon by them, was *Kent* or *Essex*, if the Kings Army were great; if otherwise, then *Milford Haven* in *Wales* was held fittest. With these and other like projects *Winter* all this Summer followed the King in his Progresse: And lastly, had answer by the Count *Miranda*, that the King would bestow an hundred thousand Crownes towards the Expedition, halfe

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

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

In the meane while, the *Ieſuites* had been tampering to diſſwade the acceptance of King *Iames* into *England*,urging it that *death* was rather to bee indured,

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

In his Booke *Philopater. Sect. 2.*

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

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

Returning to *Dunkirk* with Master *Owen*, they had speech whether the *Constable* would faithfully helpe them, or no: *Owen* said, hee beleeved nothing lesse, and that they sought onely their owne ends, holding small account of *Catholikes*. *Winter* told him, that there were many Gentlemen in *England*, who would not forsake their Countrey untill they had tryed the uttermost. And to adde one more to their company, as a fit man both for Counsell and Execution of whatsoever they should resolve, wished for Master *Fawkes*, who as hee had heard, was a man of good commendation. *Owen* told him the Gentleman deserved no lesse, but was at *Brussells*, and that if he came not, as happily he might before *Winters* departure, hee would send him shortly after into *England*. *Winter* went shortly after to *Ostend*; where Sir *William Stanley* as then was not, but came two dayes after. *Winter* remained with him three or foure dayes. In which time hee asked him, if the Catholikes in *England* should do any thing to helpe themselves, whether he thought the *Arch-*

Duke

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

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

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

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

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

tion;

tion; and not to provide untill the businesse were acted; the same letter that carried the newes of the thing done, might as well intreat their helpe and furtherance. *Spaine* is too slowe in their preparations, to hope any good from the first extremities, and *France* too neere and too dangerous, who with the Shipping of *Holland* wee feared of all the world might make away with us. While they were in the middle of these discourses, they heard that the *Parliament* would bee anew adjourned untill after *Michaelmas*, upon which tidings they brake off both discourse and working. About *Candlemas* they brought over in a Boat the Powder which they had provided at *Lambeth*, and laid it in Master *Percy* his house; because they would have all their danger in one place. Then falling to their worke in the Mine, they came against the stone wall, which was very hard to beat through. At which time they called *Kit Wright* to their company; but as they were working upon the wall, they heard a rushing in a Cellar of removing of coales. Whereupon they feared that they had been discovered, and they sent *Fawkes* to go to the Cellar; who finding that the coales were a selling, and that the Cellar was to be let, viewing the opportunity thereof for their purpose, *Percy* went and hired the same for yearely rent. They had before this provided twenty Barrells of Powder, which they removed into the Cellar, and covered them with billets and faggots which they had provided for that purpose.

After this they thought fit to send *Fawkes* to

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

About this time Master *Percy* and *Catesby* met at the *Bathe*. Where they agreed, that the company being yet but few, *Catesby* should have the others authoritie to call in whom hee thought best. Whereupon hee called in Sir *Everard Digby*, and after that, Master *Tresham*. The first promised fifteene hundreth pounds, the second two thousand pounds. Master *Percy* promised all that hee could get of the Earle of *Northumberlands* rents, which was about foure thousand pounds, and to provide many gallopping Horses, to the number of ten.

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

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

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

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

Kings

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Novemb. 5. An. Dom. 1605

The

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ſing,

ſing, the terror which ſhould have ſtrucken him by comming into the preſence of ſo grave a *Councell*, and the reſtleſſe and confuſed queſtions that every man all that day did vexe him with; yet was his countenance ſo far from being dejected, as he often ſmiled in ſcornfull manner, nor only avowing the fact, but repenting onely with the ſaid *Scævola* his failing in the execution thereof; whereof, he ſaid, The *Devill* and not *God*, was the *diſcoverer*; anſwering quickly to everymans objections, ſcoffing at any idle queſtions which were propounded to him, and jeſting with ſuch as he thought had no authoritie to examine him. All that day could the *Councell* get nothing out of him touching his complices, refuſing to anſwer to any ſuch queſtions which he thought might diſcover his plot, and laying all the blame upon himſelfe. Whereunto he ſaid, he was moved onely for *Religion* and conſcience ſake, denying the *King* to be his *lawfull Soveraigne*, or the anoynted of God, in reſpect hee was an *Heretike*, and giving himſelfe no other name then *Iohn Iohnſon*, ſervant to *Thomas Percie*. But the next morning being carryed to the Tower, he did not there remaine aboue two or three dayes, being twice or thrice in that ſpace re-examined, and the Racke onely offered and ſhewed unto him, whem the *maske* of his *Romiſh fortitude* did viſibly begin to weare and ſlide off his face. And then did hee beginne to confeſſe part of the truth, and thereafter to open the whole matter. Out of his confeſſion, and eſpecially out of the confeſſion of *Thomas Winter*, have we drawne the

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

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

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

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

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

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

but

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

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

have brought to passe the sudden surprise of her person.

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

But

But before twelve or ſixeteene houres paſt, *Catesby*, *Percie*, the *Winters*, *Wrights*, *Rookwood* and the reſt bringing then the aſſurance that their maine plot was fayled and bewrayed, whereupon they had builded the golden mountaines of their glorious hopes: they then tooke their laſt deſperate reſolution, to flocke together in a troupe, and wander as they did, for the reaſons aforetold. But as upon the one part, the zealous dutie to their GOD and their Soveraigne was ſo deepely imprinted in the hearts of all the meaneſt and pooreſt ſort of the people, (although then knowing of no farther myſterie, then ſuch publike misbehaviours; as their owne eyes taught them) as, notwithſtanding their fayre ſhewes and pretence of their *Catholique* Cauſe, no creature, man or woman through all the Countrey would once ſo much as give them willingly a cup of drinke, or any ſort of comfort or ſupport, but with execrations deteſted them. So on the other part, the *Sheriffes* of the Shires where-through they wandered, convening their people with all ſpeed poſſible, hunted as hotely after them, as the evilneſſe of the way, and the unprovidedneſſe of their people upon that ſudden could permit them. And ſo at laſt after Sir *Richard Verney*, Sheriffe of *Warwickeſhire* had carefully and ſtraightly beene in chaſe of them to the confines of his Countie, part of the meaner ſort beeing alſo apprehended by him: Sir *Richard Walſh*, Sheriffe of *Worceſterſhire*, did likewiſe dutifully and hotely purſue them through his Shire.

And

Holbeach in *Staffordshire*, the house of *Stephen Littleton.*

And having gotten sure triall of their taking harbour at the house above-named, hee sent Trumpetters and Messengers unto them, commanding them in the *Kings* Name, to render to him his Majesties Minister; and knowing no more at that time of their guilt, then was publikely visible, did promise, upon their dutifull and obedient rendring to him, to intercede at the *Kings* hands for the sparing of their lives; who received onely from them this scornefull answere (they being better witnesses to themselves of their inward evill consciences) that hee had need of better assistance, then of those few numbers that were with him, before hee could be able to *command* or controll them.

But here fell the wondrous worke of Gods Iustice, that while this message passed betweene the *Sheriffe* and *them*: the *Sheriffe* and his peoples zeale being justly kindled and augmented by their arrogant answer, and so they preparing themselves to give a furious assault: and the other partie making themselves readie within the house to performe their promise by a defence as resolute; it pleased God, that in the mending of the fire in their Chamber, one small sparke should flye out and light among lesse than two pound weight of *Powder*, which was drying a little from the Chimney: which being thereby *blowne* up, so maimed the faces of some of the principall Rebells, and the hands and sides of other of them, (blowing up with it also a great bag full of Powder, which notwithstanding never tooke fire) as they were not onely

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

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

deadly wounded, ſtripped of their cloathes, left lying miſerably naked, and ſo dying rather of cold, then of the danger of their wounds; and the reſt that either were whole, or but lightly hurt, taken and led priſoners by the Sheriffe, the *ordinary Miniſter* of Iuſtice, to the Gaole, the *ordinary place* even of the baſeſt malefactors; where they remained till their ſending up to *London*, being met with a huge confluence of people of all ſorts, deſirous to ſee them as the rareſt ſort of *Monsters*; fooles to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiſer ſort to ſatisfie their curioſitie in ſeeing the outward caſes of ſo unheard of a villany; and generally all ſorts of people to ſatiate and fill their eyes with the ſight of them, whom in their hearts they ſo farre admired and deteſted, ſerving ſo for a fearefull and publike ſpectacle of Gods fierce wrath and juſt indignation. They *lived* blindly, they *practiſed* divelliſhly, they *dyed* deſperately; Their memory is *curſed* throughout all generations.

Now what have our adverſaries to ſay to theſe, or what can wee ſay to theſe things, but that *there is a God in heaven*, that deſtroyeth all the purpoſes of the *Pope on e arth?* Whatſoever have beene attempted againſt us, the *Pope* is firme on their ſide; God hath manifeſted himſelfe many wayes to be on our ſide. What cauſe have we then, and how many wayes are we pr ovoked to truſt in God, to love him, to worſhip him, that ſo miraculouſly hath

hath defended us? to cleave with all singlenesse of heart to that cause that hath been so mightily maintained by Gods hand and power? And what cause have our adversaries to examine themselves, and more narrowly to examine the cause which God by so many Iudgements hath condemned? The people of *Israel* were mightily protected by the hand of *God*, and so long as they truely served God, all their adversaries could never prevaile against them, they were defended by power from aboue, God did watch over them; but when *they fell from God*, God did suffer them *to fall into the hands of their enemies*. There will hardly be found any president even among the people of God, that for so many yeeres together they have been continually delivered from so many, so cruelly intended, so dangerous assaults. The deepest devises of malice, reaching even from hell unto hellish men upon earth, have beene practised against us, as this last which came from the *deepnesse of Satan*: wherein without sword or speare, without any shew of warlike preparations, their *hellish device* was at one blowe to root out *Religion*, to destroy the *State*, the Head with the Body, the *King* with the *State*, the *Father* of our Countrey, the *Mother* of our Countrey, the *Olive branches* the hopefull succession of our *King*, the Reverend *Clergie*, the Honourable *Nobilitie*, the Faithfull *Councellors*, the grave *Iudges*, the greatest part of our *Knights* and *Gentrie*, the choycest *Burgesses*, the Officers of the *Crowne*, *Councell*, *Signet*, *Seales*, and of other *Seates of Iudgement*, the learned *Lawyers*, with an infinite

number of *Common people*, the *Hall* of Iustice, the *Houses* of the Parliament, the *Church* used for the Coronation of our *Kings*, the *Monuments* of our former Princes, all *Records* of Parliament, and of every particular mans right, with a great number of *Charters*, and other things of this nature; all these things had the Devill by his agents devised at one secret blow to destroy. *If the Lord had not beene on our side, may Israel now say, if the Lord had not beene on our side when men rose up against us, they had then swallowed us up quicke, when their wrath was kindled against vs: praised bee the Lord, which hath not given us up a prey to their teeth, our soule is escaped, as a Bird out of the snare of the Fowles; the snare is broken, and wee are delivered: our helpe is in the name of the Lord which hath made heaven and earth.*

Psal.124.1.

Wee labour against the *Papists* to proove our *Church* a true Church of God: They on the other side labour to proove themselves the onely *Catholike* Church, and our Assemblies to bee, as they call them, Assemblies of *Heretikes*. God hath determined this Controversie most *evidently* by his *Word*, and most *powerfully* from Heaven, by his continuall *protection* of us, and destruction of all the wicked practises which they have attempted against us. Was there ever *any cause* in the world so strongly maintained on the one side, as *our cause* hath beene? Was there ever *any* execrable *practises* in the world so powerfully condemned from heaven, *as their practises* have beene? God open their *eyes*, that they may *see* and

and understand that they *fight against GOD*. The *Church* of *Rome*, so long as it stood the *Church* of God, did never practise either by open warres, or by secret Conspiracies, to destroy *Kings*, and subvert *Kingdomes*; but by the *preaching* of Gods Word, by *examples* of pietie and sanctimonie, laboured to draw the ignorant unto the *knowledge* and *obedience* of the truth. That course is now utterly forsaken of them; for how can they teach the *truth* to others, that are themselves in ignorance, and *in the shadow of death?* Or how can they give *Examples* of an holy life, whose whole practice and conversation is in bloud, in malice, in wicked and wretched actions? And wil they never understand, that they who practise such things, *cannot inherite the Kingdome of God?* cannot bee the *Church* of God? cannot pray to God, nor expect any blessing from him upon their execrable practises? There is a manifest change of their *Church*, and they will not see it. They aske us, when was this change, under what *King*, under what *Emperor*, under what *Pope?* But if they were wise, they would first inquire whether there bee a change or no? and then inquire further of the time and manner of it. Wee say that which no man can denie, that there is a notorious change: this is evident; for the *Church* of old never allowed the crueltie, the impietie, the execrable wickednesse which is daily practised by the great Masters of the Church of *Rome*, and allowed and approved by the *Pope*. Then *there is a change*, and it is evident to all. But this is a change of *manners*

of the *Church*, not of the *Doctrines*. If therefore they demand of us, how a change of the *doctrines* may bee prooved? Wee are able to poynt out from time to time, that the *Doctrines*, which they have invented, were never heard of in the *Church* before such times as we are able to poynt at. Master *Iewel* the reverend Bishop of *Salisbury*, for pietie and learning the *mirrour* of his time, hath made full and faire proofe, that of those Articles, wherein hee challenged all the learned of the Church of *Rome*, not one of them was ever taught in the *Church* before *the yeere* of *Christ* 600. his Proofes stand unanswered to this day. Though Master *Harding* hath done his best to examine them, who wanted neither *Learning* nor *Eloquence*, but onely *Trueth* wanting on his side, the challenge is still made good. Wee are also able to poynt to another time, before the yeare of *Christ* 1000, many of the greatest and grossest errours in *Popery* were never taught or heard in the *Church*; as the Doctrines of *Transubstantiation*, of the *Reall presence*, as it is understood in the Church of *Rome*, of the *Popes power* to depose Kings, and absolve their subjects from their allegiance, or to warrant their Subjects to rebell against them, of the Doctrines of *Grace* and *Justification*, as now they are taught in the Church of *Rome*, of the doctrine of *Merits*, whether *ex congruo* or *condigno*, of the *Seven Sacraments*, and *many other* of this nature, of which wee are assured, that not one of them can bee proved ever to have beene taught or heard of in the Church before the yeere of Christ *One thousand.*

sand. Wee are further able to poynt to another time, before which the *Rule* of *Faith* was never changed in the *Church*, this was their last attempt in the poynts of Doctrine, a desperate attempt against the trueth. For from the *Apostles* time till the Councell of *Trent*, the Rule of *Faith* was ever held in the Church one and the same, that is, *the Doctrine contained in the sacred Canonicall Scriptures.* That this onely Rule of Faith was held in the Church till the Councell of *Trent*, it is evidently proved by the full consent of the ancient *Fathers*, and moreover by the confession of all *VVriters* in the Church of *Rome* before the Councell of *Trent*: such as were [a] *Bernard*, [b] *Peter Lumbard*, [c] *Thomas Aquinas*, [d] *Iohannes Scotus*, [e] *Durandus*, [f] *Clemens* 1. *Pope*, [g] *Cardinalis Cameracensis*, [i] *Iohn Gerson*, [k] *Conradus Clingius*, [l] *Ios: Acosta*, [m] *Alfonsus de Castro*, and many *others*. To repeat the Testimonies of all, would bee tedious. Let it suffice to repeate one Testimonie of *Aquinas*, wherein all the rest agree. *Aquinas* in the first place cited, saith: *Prophetarum & Apostolorum doctrina, dicitur Canonica, quia est regula intellectus nostri, & ideo nullus aliter debet docere*; that is, *The Doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles is called Canonicall, because it is the Rule of our understanding, and therefore no man ought to teach otherwise.* And in the second place cited, hee saith, *Innititur Fides nostra revelationi Apostolis & Prophetis factæ*; that is, *Our Faith resteth upon the revelation made to the Apostles and Prophets.* Then, *Traditions* was never accounted the Rule of our under-

a *In Cant. Cant. serm.* 30.
b *Lib.* 1 *sent. dist.* 1.
c *In* 1. *ad Tim. cap.* 6. *& Sum. par.* 1. *q* 1. *ar.* 8.
d *In prolog. Sen q.* 2.
e *Præf. in Sent.*
f *Distinct.* 37 *c.* 14.
g *Sent. q.* 1 *art.* 3. 1. *coroll. lit. H*
i *De com. sub utraq; specie.*
k *Locor. lib.* 3. *cap.* 29.
l *De revel. Antichr. apud Possevin. Biblioth. select. lib.* 2. *cap* 25.
m *Lib.* 13. *verbo, Scriptura.*

understanding, or that whereupon our Faith must rest, though the same be more fully proved out of the *Scriptures* themselves, and from a full consent of the ancient *Fathers*, as is * otherwhere manifested: yet this I thought heere might suffice to declare the opinions of them that lived in the *Church* of *Rome* next before the Councell of *Trent*, as many of these did, which I have before named. So that this is evident, the rule of faith was never altered in the Church of *Rome* before the Councell of *Trent*. Then did they alter this Rule, by putting *Traditions* of their *Church* into the *rule* of *Faith*, and *Lucifer*-like matching, equalizing and mating the *Wisedome* of God with their owne *follies*. Then all is changed, when the *manners* of the Church, the *doctrines* of the Church, and the very *rule* of *faith* is changed. What greater change may be looked for hereafter in the *Church* of *Antichrist*, I know not; but this is sufficient to move us to forsake them as the congregation of the impious, the *Church* of the *malignant*. And because they have forsaken God and his truth, therefore by the just judgement of God are they permitted to runne into so many *foule errours*, and such wicked and *execrable practises*, that neither *Christians* nor *Heathen*, guided onely by the light of nature, could ever approve. If they say, that we also have our faults and sinnes: I answere, that when wee turne our selves to consider our sinnes against GOD, wee all finde our selves guiltie, and *not able to answere one of a thousand*, that hee may justly charge us withall. Our unthankfulnesse to him

* *Consensu Catholicæ Ecclesiæ contra Tridentinos.*

is

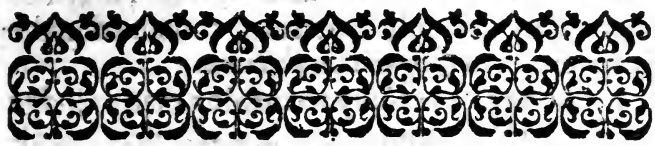
is so great for his manifold blessings, and wonderfull protection; our sinnes we conceale not from him, wee acknowledge unto God, that if he lay his rodde upon us, as wee have deserved, if hee should cast our Land backe againe into that former blindenesse, vvherein it lay in *Poperie*, GOD is just, wee have deserved great punishments. But if wee turne our selves unto another consideration, comparing *our* Religion with *theirs*, *our* practises with *theirs*, then I say, though wee cannot justifie our selves *before God*, yet are wee able to justifie our selves in *respect of them*. Let our enemies bee our *Iudges*. When evill is committed among us, it is punished, and therein wee rejoyce, that evill is punished. It was never found that execrable practises were approooved by us; for that were to forsake Religion: but the most wicked practises that have beene heard of, are not onely committed by them, but approooved, yea and commended: as the killing of *Henrie* the third of *France* was *practised* by a *Fryer*, and *commended* by the *Pope*. These be the sinnes that doe ripen them for Gods judgements. For the time will come *when great Babylon shall come in remembrance before the Lord, to give unto her the cup of Wine of the fiercenesse of his wrath:* And againe, *Therefore shall her plagues come at one day, death, and sorrow, and famine, and shee shall bee burnt with fire; for strong is the Lord God which will condemne her.* In the meane time wee wayt upon God, and wee doe in all humblenesse of heart offer up to God the *sacrifice* of *praise* and

Apoc. 16. 19.

Apoc. 18. 8.

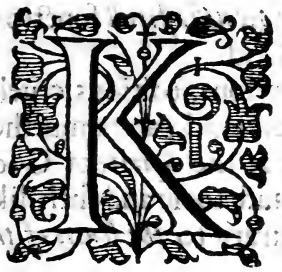
Thankesgiving, that it pleased him of his goodnesse, and unsearchable mercies towards us to call us out of *Babylon*, to give us hearts to obey his calling, to make choyce of this *Church*, which himselfe hath planted in GREAT BRITAINE, to inable it to stand against all the furious rage and wicked practises of the *Pope* and his adherents.

The



The Conclusion.

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

1 

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

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

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

* See my *Directions to know the true Church.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

10 Withall they may bee pleased to consider the *Workes* of God, his protection and *miraculous* defence of his *Church*; which miraculous defence hath

hath appeared heere over the *Church* of *England* as also elsewhere, but more conspicuous heere; more illustrious examples of Gods mercie will hardly be found any where: God hath for many yeres delivered this *Church*, preserved us in peace, when all the Nations about us have been in bloody warres.

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

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

13 They that *make falsehood their refuge*, and hide themselves under vanitie, have no cause to boast themselves to bee the *Catholike Church*. If wee should rehearse the strange *lyes* which they have invented against *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, against divers reverend *Bishops*, whereof some are *departed*, some yet *living*, against the *Church* and *State* of *England*, it would fill a Booke to speake of their particular lyes. They understand well enough whom they serve heerein, their practise is to lye, their hope is that every lye cannot be examined by the common people, they care not though it be found out to be a lye by some, so it bee not found by the multitude, whom to deceive is their chiefe care; not respecting God, nor Truth, nor Gods Church, which is the *Pillar of truth*, and may not be maintained with *lyes*.

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

Whose blessed and joyfull comming the true *Church* doth love and wayt for in *Faith* and *Patience*.

FINIS.