HISTORY

OF

REMARKABLE

CONSPIRACIES.

BY

J. P. LAWSON, M.A.

2 VOLS.

VOL. I.

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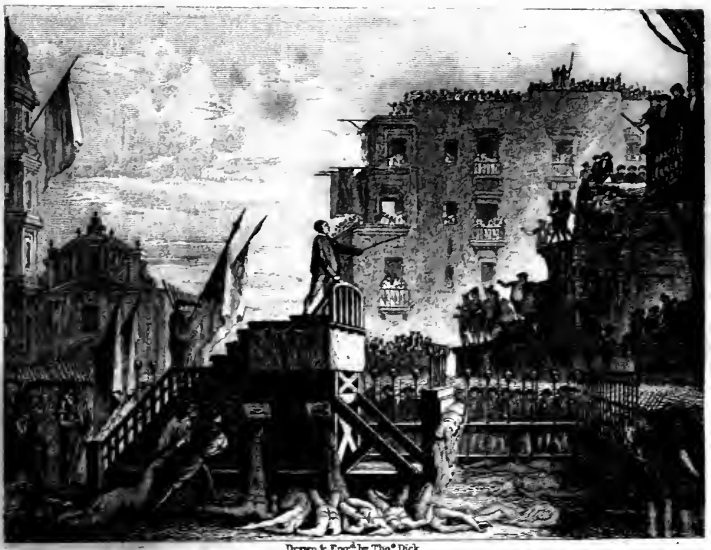

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JOHN PARKER LAWSON, M.A.

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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In reprinting these portions of this Volume, it was found necessary to make some alterations on the style of the two narratives, in order to render them more intelligible to the readers of the present day; but the spirit of both has been carefully preserved; and the facts, omitted by Howell, have been incorporated with his translation, taken from the account of Masaniello's insurrection by Francis Sidlon, 8vo, London, 1729.

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Museum. It is but justice to Dr Lingard, the Roman Catholic Historian, to say, that his account of it appears to me, notwithstanding some objectionable facts, to be the best I have seen on the subject.

As to the Popish Plot, under which I comprehend the *Meal-Tub Plot* and the Ryehouse Conspiracy, both having the same origin, I merely observe, that the narrative has been compiled from four folio volumes of tracts on the subject, which were printed at the time, and from other sources, to which it is unnecessary to refer. *Ab uno disce omnia*, saith the proverb; and as I maintain that the Ryehouse Conspiracy was a part of the others, under a different name, but carried on by the same agents, I have abstained from detailing it minutely, as it would be just to go over the same ground as that occupied with Oates's narrative, only changing the scene, and introducing one or two new actors. The reader will judge how far I am right in the manner it is treated; and I therefore conclude, by again hoping, that these unassuming narratives will not be deemed unacceptable to the Public.

J. P. L.

VI.

THE

GUNPOWDER PLOT,

A. D. 1605.

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"There are no conspiracies and insurrections more dangerous to states and governments, than those that the name of religion is made to patronize; for, when that doth head and manage the party, as it makes it look somewhat considerable in itself, so it doth inspire those that are concerned with a certain furious and intemperate zeal, and an ungovernable violence."—*History of the Gunpowder Treason, edit.* 1678.

As the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the English crown marked the commencement of a new era in the British history, the greatest expectations were formed at the time respecting the policy which that prince would likely pursue. His reign immediately succeeding the stormy period of the Reformation, religion was the great test of party, the subject on which, above all others, men's passions were excited, their animosities kindled, and their resentments inflamed. The parties which then agitated the nation, after the reformation of

the Church of England, were the Roman Catholics, who were numerous and powerful, especially in the northern counties of England; and the Puritans, a faction of precisians in religion, whose predecessors having been driven from England by the flames of persecution which Mary kindled, had betaken themselves to the Low Countries and Switzerland, whence they returned with a spirit of the most refined intolerance towards all those who did not coincide with the opinions of Geneva. The vigorous administration of Elizabeth had restrained the excesses both of Papists and Puritans, notwithstanding the many disturbances they excited, and the plots they attempted; but James was a prince from whom all parties expected much—the members of the Reformed Church, that he would be its faithful defender, and transmit its apostolical constitutions to posterity as entire as these had been left to him by his illustrious predecessor; the Papists, presuming on the fate of his mother, whom they reckoned a martyr for their cause, anticipated a relaxation of those laws which they pretended were a grievance; and the Puritans, that the Calvinism of the north, in which he had been educated under the tutorage of Buchanan, would induce him to view them with favour, and make a more thorough reformation of the Church than that which it had already experienced.

But the speech of James, in his first Parliament in England, opened the eyes of those parties to the visionary nature of their anticipations. He informed them, that it behoved him to maintain the church and the laws as he found them; not, by the hazarding of rash and untried experiments, to

encourage the novel and enthusiastic speculations of particular individuals. The consequence of this declaration was, that both the Papist and Puritan parties became exasperated against the government; the former, because no hope was left that a heretical kingdom would ever again tender its allegiance to the Roman Pontiff; the latter, because the hierarchy which they hated was not to be overthrown to gratify their particular views on ecclesiastical polity, and on certain theological tenets which they had received from the school of Geneva.

Thus, both parties arrayed themselves under their respective leaders; but as our business at present is only with one of them, we shall turn our attention to the history of a conspiracy which has become proverbial, being as daring in its nature as its intentions were infamous. James succeeded to the English throne in peace, but soon gave indications that he was any thing but disposed to yield to either of the parties. The Roman Catholics felt additionally exasperated at the conduct of a prince, who had in Scotland been openly charged with a secret leaning to their communion, on which account they had thought proper to indulge in favourable hopes; and accordingly, they soon returned to their accustomed practices, which they had too frequently carried on in the reign of Elizabeth. Some dark and daring spirits were among them,—men who had already signalized themselves by their intrigues with foreign states for a re-establishment of their religion. Henry Garnet, who was educated at Winchester School, and would have been sent to Oxford had his unprin-

cipled vices not impeded him, was Provincial of the Order of the Jesuits in England,—a man of furious passions, and the most malignant hatred towards the Protestant Church. His situation gave him a great and commanding influence among his brethren, and he had agents on the Continent who acted as faithful emissaries of his fallen church. William Baldwin, a confidential priest, resided in Flanders, and Arthur, or, as he called himself, Joseph Cresswell, resided at the Spanish Court as a kind of envoy from the English Catholics.* These three men, with one or two others, were the great agents for carrying on the plots against Elizabeth; and, it may perhaps be concluded, were the projectors of the Gunpowder Treason, if, indeed, it did not originate with Garnet himself. For it was in December 1601, at which time there was a war between England and Spain, that a person named Thomas Winter, a man of a good family, and an excellent soldier, was sent into Spain by Garnet, a Jesuit named Oswald Tesmond, Robert Catesby of Asby in Leicestershire, a gentleman of family and fortune, and Francis Tresham, also a gentleman, and the most considerable, in point of fortune, among all the conspirators. The object of this mission was to excite the Spanish King to embrace their cause, proffering to that monarch considerable offers of assistance should he aid their enterprise. The Jesuit Tesmond was also sent with the said Thomas Winter, who was intrusted with a communi-

* This Cresswell wrote a book to prove the lawfulness of conspiring against a heretical prince; which was often alluded to, and quoted by Sir Edward Coke, in the trial of the Gunpowder Conspirators.

cation to Cresswell at Madrid, through whom they anticipated a successful negotiation. The Spanish Court willingly entered into the proposal, and, after several interviews, the Count Miranda promised that 200,000 crowns would be awarded for the purpose; one half to be paid that year (1601) to the English Catholics, for the purpose of exciting a disturbance, and organizing themselves as a party; the other half to be paid the following year, when England would be invaded by a Spanish force; and it was also stipulated, that if the Queen of England should die, speedy notice should be sent to the court of Madrid. This negotiation was accompanied by two bulls from the Pope, sent to Garnet, and addressed, the one, "to our beloved sons the nobles and gentlemen of England who are Catholics, health and apostolical benediction;" the other, "to our beloved son the archpriest (*archipresbytero*) and the rest of the Catholic clergy in England." The substance of those two bulls or briefs simply was, that whosoever, after the death of Elizabeth, might lay claim to the English crown, no matter how nearly or remotely he or she was allied or entitled to it by royal descent, should not be received as king or queen of England, but should be opposed to the utmost, unless he or she not only tolerated Popery, but swore a solemn and sacred oath, to promote the interests of what they were pleased to call the only "Catholic and Apostolic Faith." *

* State Trials, vol. ii. col. 226. Thus it is expressed in the Bull of his Holiness—"Quantumcunque propinquitate sanguinis interentur nisi ejusmodi essent qui fidem Catholicam non modo tolerarent, sed omni ope ac studio promoverent, et *more majorum* jurejurando se id prae-

Winter returned about the end of that year to his associates, leaving Tesmond, or, as he was sometimes called, Greenwell, or Greenaway, on the Continent. And now the utmost preparations were made for the insurrection, and the place for landing the Spanish army was debated,—whether the coasts of Essex and Kent, or Milford Haven in Wales, would be more convenient. But while Garnet, Catesby, and Tresham, were concocting the insurrection and invasion, and thus infamously placing their country under foreign influence, and, in conjunction with the Catholic nobles, literally selling its liberty, the Queen died in March 1602–3, an event which overturned all their projects. They saw James hailed as her successor by universal acclamation; they saw him receive the congratulations of every prince in Christendom; and, what was more galling, they saw him determined to preserve the Protestant constitution, and especially that Church which has ever been the glory of England, the bulwark and the strong tower of the Reformation. Thus dismayed and exasperated, a person named Christopher Wright was sent off to Spain, to give notice of Elizabeth's death, and to renew the negotiation with the Spanish Court through the agency of Cresswell. On the 22d of June 1603, the famous Guido or Guy Fawkes, who had been originally an officer in the Spanish service, was also sent to Spain on the same mission from Brussels, by Hugh Owen, Baldwin a Jesuit, and Sir William Stanley, who was then in that country ready to embark in the same enterprise, the latter of whom being an officer, soon afterwards deserted with his

stituros susciperent," &c. The bulls were, of course, levelled at King James.

regiment to the Catholic cause, and scrupled not, contrary to his oath, to deliver up to the Spaniards Deventer, a rich and important town in Overyssel, which had been taken from the Spaniards by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

But Philip of Spain, in the meantime, perceived the rashness of the enterprise. The fate of the Armada had taught him experience; he saw James seated quietly on the throne, and a second invasion of England, under the pretension of religion, would most likely draw down upon him the odium and execration of every prince in Christendom. The proceedings of cabinets must be guided by circumstances; and though Philip was ready enough to further the Catholic cause, he began to find that it would be his interest to negotiate a peace. James was as much disposed as Philip to put an end to hostilities, and accordingly a peace was concluded on the 18th day of August 1604, at London. Velasco, the Constable of Castile, came to England to ratify the treaty, and the Earl of Nottingham was sent to Spain for the same purpose, with a retinue so numerous and splendid, that it astonished the Spaniards, who were lost in admiration both at the magnificence of the embassy, and the graceful appearance of the English gentlemen; for the Jesuits and other emissaries had delineated the English people as so many monsters and demons, with countenances ugly as their representations of devils, as a punishment for their renouncing the allegiance of his Holiness. "So easy it is," observes Wilson most happily, "for those jugglers, when they have once bound up the conscience, to tie up the understanding also."

The emissaries were now informed that the

Spanish monarch could no longer listen to their negotiations, and they were soon after dismissed from the court of Madrid. It is to be observed, however, that when this treaty was concluded with Spain, James demanded that Baldwin the Jesuit, who resided in the Low Countries, should be delivered up to him; but Philip contrived to evade the request. Thus disappointed in the only quarter where they could hope for assistance, the emissaries and their employers in England had no other alternative than either to cease their treasonable enterprises and submit to the laws, or contrive some new expedient; nor was it long before an enterprise was planned, by which it was hoped not only to enjoy their revenge, but even to accomplish the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic Church.

It was an acknowledged doctrine of the Romish Church, and Catholics, as they call themselves, may deny it as they please, that it was lawful and praiseworthy to depose or slay heretical kings. I do not say that this is their acknowledged doctrine *now*, because it is very probable that the spirit of modern times may have compelled them to modify this, as well as some others of their tenets. But it is certain that it is the avowed doctrine of the Council of Trent, and that it has never yet been contradicted by the same authority which convened that Council; and it is equally certain that it was reckoned a most orthodox tenet during the reign of Elizabeth, of James, and Charles I., and no sophistry or far-fetched reasoning can prove the contrary. The reason is obvious: The dogma of exclusive salvation is held by them, that they are the only true church, and that all those who differ

from them, and presume to dispute the authority of their church, (which for once that it has been right, has been, to say the least, a thousand times wrong), and more especially the universal supremacy of his Holiness, are heretics, and in a state of damnable error. This pernicious maxim was acted upon in the enterprise of the Gunpowder treason to the utmost extent. Had it been merely a desperate attempt of a few laymen, whose zeal for their tenets was greater than their knowledge, the case would have been different; but when we find that it originated with priests, and was openly applauded by many of them; that it was first encouraged by the Catholic Church of Spain, and that the Court of Madrid, though by a measure of state policy, it terminated all negotiations with the English emissaries, secretly wished it success; that the Pontiff had published two bulls, calling upon the Catholics of England to resist and oppose any prince who should succeed to Elizabeth's crown, if he did not protect and maintain the Italian Church: when we find that the Catholic Church never published any authoritative denunciation against the treasons of those Jesuits, who, if they had been thought to have acted wrong, would have been called to account before their own ecclesiastical superiors, and that Cresswell was so enthusiastic in the enterprise, that he actually visited England to witness the result,—sceptical indeed must be the man, and, as Mr Hume observes, "beyond the reach of argument or reason," who either doubts its reality, or attempts to set forth, in defiance of the clearest evidence, that it was not secretly applauded by numbers in the Popish Church. But it is the most

conclusive evidence of all, that the very persons concerned in the enterprise, not only admitted it, but even gloried in their hazardous and daring treason.

The band of incendiaries, at the head of whom were Father Garnet and Catesby, being now left to their own resources, meditated a design, which, had it been successful, would have more than answered their expectations. In the year 1603, Garnet and Catesby had a conference together, when the latter took it upon him to say, that the King had broken faith with the English Catholics. There cannot be a doubt, as appears from the evidence of Bates, Catesby's domestic, but that Garnet and his associate had concocted between them their more extensive enterprise than the at that time ostensible one, which was simply to despatch the King. For, after this private conference of Catesby and Garnet, in the month of September that same year, the latter met Thomas Percy, a relative of the House of Northumberland, and one of those concerned in the former negotiations with Spain, when the usual topic was enlarged upon with more than ordinary vituperation. Percy, it is to be observed, had been a great favourite with the King, and was one of the gentlemen pensioners. His kinsman, the Earl of Northumberland, had been zealous for the succession of James, and had employed him to negotiate the business with the English Catholics. Percy, who seems to have been an enthusiast in all his undertakings, not unlikely exceeded his commission, by holding forth to his faction hopes and promises, which of course James did not realize and fulfil, inasmuch as he had never pledged himself at all; and consequent-

ly Percy was annoyed by his party, whose reproaches made him desperate, and ready to prove his zeal by killing the King. Catesby knew well how to manage him; for, after holding forth to him a cunning and hypocritical harangue, he so excited Percy by his inflammatory representations, that the latter said, the best way was to kill the King; and he offered to become the regicide himself. "No, Tom," said Catesby, "thou shalt not adventure thyself to so small a purpose; if thou wilt be a traitor, there is a plot to greater advantage, and such a one as can never be discovered." He then began to unfold to him part of the plot, which not only included the most summary vengeance, but also held out the prospect of restoring the Popish establishment in England. "In vain," said Catesby to Percy, "would you put an end to the King's life: He has children, who would succeed both to his crown and to his maxims of government. In vain would you extirpate the whole royal family: the nobility, the gentry, the *parliament*, are all infected with the same heresy, and could raise to the throne another prince and another family, who, besides their hatred to our religion, would be animated with revenge for the tragical death of their predecessors. To secure any good purpose, we must destroy at one blow the King, the Royal Family, the Lords, the Commons; and bury all our enemies in one general ruin. Happily they are all assembled on the first meeting of the parliament, and afford us the opportunity of a glorious and useful vengeance. Great preparations will not be requisite. A few of us combining, may run a mine below the hall in which they meet; and choosing

the very moment when the King harangues both houses, consign to everlasting destruction those determined enemies to all piety and religion. Meanwhile, we ourselves stand aloof; safe and unsuspected, we shall triumph in being the instruments of divine wrath, and shall behold with exultation those sacrilegious walls, in which those edicts were passed for proscribing our church and butchering her children, tossed into a thousand fragments; while their impious inmates, meditating, perhaps, still new persecutions against us, pass from flames above to flames below, there forever to endure the torments due to their offences." *

This conversation took place in September 1603, and the Parliament was to meet on the 1st of July 1604, at which time it was prorogued till February and March the following year. Garnet, in the meantime, in January 1604–5, took the benefit of the general pardon under the Great Seal, which the King granted at his entrance into London, for all treasons which had been previously committed, and this pardon he received under the designation of Henry Garnet, gentleman, London, without mentioning any of his feigned names; for he sometimes called himself Walley, Farmer, and various other surnames. Percy was charmed with Catesby's project, and they both agreed to communicate the matter to a few more. † Thomas

* Hume, vol. vi. p. 34, 35.

† It is asserted by Dr Lingard, (History of England, 4to, vol. vi. p. 58, 34), who quotes Greenway's MS., that Catesby first opened his mind to Thomas Winter, who was "struck with horror at the communication," and "hesitated not to pronounce the project most wicked and inhuman;" but that he was afterwards drawn into it by

Winter was sent to Flanders, to bring over Guy Fawkes, who had on a former occasion accompanied him to Madrid, and who, as he was a soldier of fortune, and a man of desperate circumstances, was ready to engage in any conspiracy. During his absence, Catesby proceeded to enlist new associates in the enterprise; but the first thing they did was to propose a solemn oath of secrecy to all those who were to be admitted into it, calling upon them "by the Blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament they now purposed to receive, never to disclose, directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to them in secret; nor desert from the execution thereof, till the rest should give them leave." This oath was administered by one Gerard a Jesuit, after which the conspirators were to receive the holy sacrament; and when Winter arrived with Guy Fawkes from the Low Countries, in May 1604, the above oath was taken at the altar, and the sacrament thereafter received by Catesby, Percy, Wright, Winter, and Fawkes. The last named person had been specially sent for, as he was little known in London, and one who might assume any disguise without the risk of discovery; and, as they well knew his resolution and desperate character, they had already chalked out for him the business he was to perform. This oath was administered to them, and the sacrament received, in a house in a retired part of the suburbs of

Catesby's justification of it, who maintained "that there could be no doubt that it was lawful, since God had given to every man the right of repelling force by force." The circumstance, however, is of little moment.

London, on the north side of Clement's Inn, in the immediate vicinity of Chancery Lane.

The conspirators were now five in number, that is, five laymen, but there can be little doubt that Garnet and one or two other priests were perfectly acquainted with it, especially Father Gerard the Jesuit, who administered the oath. The share which Garnet had in it, (and the honour of contriving the whole affair is shared between him and Catesby), is evident from the logic which he employed relative to these proceedings. For Catesby either imagining, or perceiving in reality, a disposition in some of the conspirators to question the lawfulness of the enterprise, inasmuch as the fate they intended for the King and Parliament would necessarily destroy many Popish noblemen and gentlemen who would be present as spectators at the delivery of the King's speech, applied to Garnet for his opinion on the whole matter; and asking him whether, since their enterprise was intended for the destruction of the heretics, and enemies of the Catholic Church, it were lawful to involve a number of innocent persons in the same fate. Garnet was ready with his reply, which is a beautiful specimen of the Jesuitical maxim, that the end justifies the means. "Without all doubt," said he, "since the advantage will be greater to the cause by the destruction of some of our friends with all our enemies, it is lawful to kill and destroy them all. Situated as we are, we cannot avoid it, without having our purposes discovered and defeated. A town or city, for instance, is possessed by the enemy, but, supposing that the besiegers had a few friends therein, it would be absurd to refrain from besieging and taking that

town or city, because those persons happened to be in it. They must all undergo the fortune of war, in the general and common destruction of the enemy. The case is in point: if you give intimation to those innocent persons, their zeal is not so great as to prevent them giving some notice of the enterprise; nay, perhaps a certain principle or feeling might induce them to reveal it altogether, and thus certain destruction not only awaits yourselves, but also your children, and the sword of the heretics will be lifted up with greater fury than before, to persecute the Church even unto the death." And he applied a comfortable *salvo* in conclusion as to the souls of those "innocents," as he called them, that, while the heretics would be certain of passing from "flames above to flames below," the Church would ensure the salvation of her friends, and rank them among the illustrious band of the faithful departed. The sentiments of Garnet produced the intended effect, and every scruple was removed by these pernicious maxims of expediency.

The conspiracy being thus concocted, they began to debate on the manner of its execution. On inquiry, they discovered a house adjoining to the old palace of Westminster, with a garden which extended to the side of the river.* This house being found exactly adapted for their purpose, was

* According to some accounts, the house was empty; but in the History of the Gunpowder Treason, printed 1678, it is expressly stated, that it was inhabited by a person named Ferris, whom Percy persuaded to quit, not without considerable difficulty; and thus he became tenant to one Whineyard, Keeper of the Wardrobe, at whose disposal the house was left during the intervals of Parliament.

immediately taken by Percy, under the pretence that it was convenient, because, on account of his being a gentleman-pensioner, he was often about the Court. At that time there was a considerable speculation about a union between England and Scotland, which James was extremely anxious to accomplish; and as the Scottish Commissioners happened to occupy this very house, he was kept out of it for three months. In the autumn of 1604, however, it was vacated; and he then introduced his four associates, who again swore a solemn oath of fidelity and secrecy. Having thus obtained possession of the house, they soon perceived that they could easily run a mine of gunpowder under the Parliament House, and they began the necessary preparations. They met at the term of Michaelmas; and it being necessary that they should have a storehouse or depôt for the timber and other combustibles they would use in constructing the mine, from which they might carry it as they had occasion, they passed over the river to Lambeth, on the opposite side, and found an empty yard, which they immediately took. They began to work the mine on the 11th of December; but though they applied themselves to it with incredible activity, and were employed sixteen hours a day, taking all their victuals in the excavation, they found it a greater labour than they at first anticipated. There happened to be an old building against the wall of the Parliament-House, on one side of the garden, the walls and foundations of which were of tolerable strength; but obstinacy and passion overcame every obstacle; and though the wall was three yards in thickness, they almost pierced it, and found themselves below the Hall of the Parlia-

ment. During this operation only four of them were employed; for Fawkes kept watch without, under the assumed name of Johnson, pretending that he was Percy's servant, while his associates in the mine were armed with pistols and other weapons, ready to defend themselves to the last, if perchance they should be surprised. The rubbish of the mine they buried every night in the garden, carefully covering it with the soil. After they had wrought at the mine for about a fortnight with incredible perseverance, they were informed that the Parliament was prorogued from the 7th of February 1604–5, to the 5th of October following, upon which they desisted from their labour; and after again swearing secrecy, they retired to their own houses, to spend the Christmas holidays.

During the recess, the conspirators had time to mature their plans more completely. In the first place, they added a few more to their number. Thomas Bates, Catesby's confidential servant, whom he employed to carry arms and ammunition into Warwickshire; John Grant, who resided at Coventry; Robert Keys, or *Keies*, a man of desperate fortune, whose situation at the bar, as it was remarked at his trial, "was as good as any he had ever known before;" Ambrose Rockwood of Stanningfield, Suffolk, a man whose character, previous to this enterprise, had been unimpeached;* Robert Winter, whose brother, Thomas, was one of those who had been engaged in

* It is a curious circumstance, that a Roman Catholic of this name, a Suffolk man, and probably of the same family, was executed in King William's reign, being concerned in a plot to assassinate that prince.

working at the excavation, and who had been induced by him to enter into the conspiracy; John Wright, brother of Christopher Wright; Sir Everard Digby, of Drystoke, Rutlandshire, a young man of twenty-five years of age, who, after he joined the conspirators, undertook to contribute the sum of 1500*l.*, and to hold a pretended hunt at Dunmoor in Warwickshire about the opening of the Parliament; * and Francis Tresham, of Rushton, Northamptonshire, who offered 2000*l.* for the purchase of combustibles, and the defraying of the necessary expenses. All these had the oath of secrecy administered to them in the usual form.

The conspirators now looked upon their success as certain, and they began to discuss their proceedings after the execution of the plot. The King, Prince Henry, and the Parliament were of course to be involved in one common ruin; the Duke of York, afterwards Charles I, being then only a few years old, was not to be present, but Percy undertook to dispatch him; the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards married to the Elector Palatine, was then at Combe Abbey, Warwickshire, a seat belonging to Lord Harrington. It was agreed that the pretended hunting-match should take place near Lord Harrington's on the very day of the explosion, and that they should carry off the Princess by force.† For the expenses of these and other enterprises, Sir Everard Digby's 1500*l.*, and Tres-

* He was the father of the famous Sir Kenelm Digby.

† John Grant actually attempted this. The hunting did not take place; but thinking the explosion had happened on the 5th of November, he and some other Catholic zealots broke open a stable at Coventry, and carried off some horses for the purpose.

ham's 2000*l.* were allotted; and Percy held out to them that he would be able to raise 4000*l.* more.* Yet they were by no means unanimous in their opinions. One proposed that they should apply for foreign aid before they attempted the enterprise, but this proposal was rejected, and it was only agreed that they should ask the aid of France and Spain after the explosion. It was finally concluded that the life of the Princess Elizabeth should be preserved, and that, having her in their own hands, they should proclaim her Queen. For this purpose, a proclamation was drawn out, to be published immediately after the explosion, carefully refraining from any allusion to religious topics, lest they should alarm the people; and it was resolved that the whole enterprise should be fathered on the Puritans. †

The unexpected prorogation of Parliament was thus of the most essential service to the conspirators, though there can be little doubt that their plot eventually failed on account of these successive postponements. Without these, however, they would have been hardly able to have accomplished their excavation in due time. They met

* He intended "to scrape together whatever he could from the revenues of the Earl of Northumberland."—History of the Powder Plot, 4to, London, 1674, p. 8.

† Rapin, 8vo. edit. vol. ix. p. 288, 289. This may explain a remarkable passage in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, respecting the plot, (lib. xii. p. 23.) as containing the opinions of the well-known Dr Weston. "Among the rest," says Mr Arthur Wilson, "I desired him (Dr Weston) to tell me whether there were any kind or relish of truth (*which some Jesuits doe write*) that the Puritans in England did machinate the gunpowder treason. He told mee plainly that it was *but to take off the first edge of the scandall*, for *he knew of it*, both in the *contriving* and *acting*."

in their house at Westminster after the festival of Christmas, on the 30th of January 1604–5, and again proceeded to the construction of the mine, with a considerable accession to their number. Yet their labour was one of the greatest difficulty, more especially to men unaccustomed to manual operations, notwithstanding their indefatigable ardour. They were threatened to be annoyed by water below a certain depth; and besides, it was hardly possible to excavate a wall three yards thick, and built chiefly of large stones. Nevertheless they proceeded, when a fortunate discovery enabled them to desist. They were one day digging with their usual ardour, and attempting to pierce the wall, when they were startled by a noise as if proceeding from the other side, or immediately above their heads. Thinking they were discovered, they grasped their weapons, and prepared to defend themselves or perish on the spot. The noise, however, subsiding, they summoned Fawkes from his reconnoitring position, and sent him to learn the cause of alarm. He soon returned, and informed them that it proceeded from a vault or cellar immediately under the House of Lords, in which coals had been kept and sold; that the possessors of the vault were then disposing of their coals, and that the vault would be afterwards let to the highest bidder. On receiving this joyful intelligence, they abandoned their excavation. Fawkes was commissioned to hire it in the name of his pretended master; which he immediately did. In a few days they obtained possession of it. On the 25th of March, they removed their combustibles by night from their yard at Lambeth; they deposited in it twenty barrels of gunpowder, with a

proportionable quantity of faggots and other combustibles; and, as it was not their interest to excite any suspicion, they had recourse to an expedient as cunning as it was bold and hazardous. They covered the combustibles with iron, coals, stones, articles of household furniture, and other lumber; the door was frequently left open, in a seemingly careless manner, as if it had been a coal-cellar as before, and every person was allowed to enter who pleased without challenge. They then separated, purposing to meet a few days before the opening of parliament in September.

In the interval, although it had been resolved not to apply for any foreign aid, the conspirators were by no means inattentive to their affairs on the Continent. In Flanders, in particular, they had a number of friends, such as Sir William Stanley, Hugh Owen, and Baldwin the Jesuit. Thither they sent Fawkes, about the beginning of summer, as his services were not immediately wanted, with a letter from Father Garnet to Baldwin, and with instructions that he should endeavour to procure a supply of military stores, and intrigue with some of the English officers then engaged in foreign service. Garnet was also anxious that the Pope's consent should be obtained, and he prevailed with Sir Edmund Bynam to go to Rome, and procure a bull, not only commending the enterprise, but also prohibiting any insurrectionary tumults of the Catholics in England before the execution of the plot; in the meantime, he took the Pope's consent as already granted in the two bulls he had received in the year 1601. Fawkes admitted Owen into the secret in Flanders, after administering to him their oath, who pro-

mised to further it to the utmost of his power, and to dispose Stanley towards it, whom he did not think could be trusted at the present, as he was then attempting to negotiate his pardon with the English Government for having given up Deventer to the Spaniards. It is said, that though Fawkes endeavoured to manage his business with caution, yet, from his being known as a man of desperate fortune and suspicious character, he was not allowed to pass without notice; and that Cecil was repeatedly warned about his movements and seditious appearance; but as no certain opinion could be formed as to his intentions more than mere conjectures, which were very far from the truth, the minister paid little attention to these friendly hints. During Fawkes' absence, in the month of July, the conspirators deposited in the vault an additional number of barrels of gunpowder, making in all thirty-six, which they covered with a thousand billets of wood, and five hundred faggots. Fawkes returned to England in September, where he found his associates all assembled, in immediate expectation of the opening of the Parliament. But they were again disappointed; the Parliament was prorogued till the fifth of November. Astonished and mortified at this intelligence, they immediately concluded that the plot had been discovered. Trembling and fearful, they mingled with the crowd in the House of Lords, to hear the commission for the prorogation read; and watched, with tremulous anxiety, the countenances of the commissioners during the ceremony. But no inferences could be drawn that any suspicions existed; and the commissioners were observed "to walk and converse on the very surface of the

volcano prepared for their destruction." * The conspirators then separated, with the intention of meeting ten days before the opening of Parliament.

As the eventful day approached, by a singular contradiction, they were more elated, and more sanguine of success. Catesby had been informed by Winter, that Prince Henry was not to be present at the Parliament, and there was another enterprise planned against him, should it so happen. On the 14th day of October, they finally arranged their plans. Guy Fawkes undertook to fire the mine; immediately after which, he was to get on board a ship, stationed for that purpose in the Thames at the expense of Tresham, and betake himself to Flanders, where he was to order measures for publishing a defence of the act, to despatch letters to all the Catholic princes, and to send over, if possible, a supply of arms and ammunition. Percy, from his official situation in the Court, was to enter the palace, and seize the person of the Duke of York, under the pretence of conveying him to a place of safety. Tresham, Digby, and Grant, with some others, were to surprise Lord Harrington's house, and secure the Princess Elizabeth. Catesby was to proclaim the new sovereign at Charing-Cross; and a Protector of the kingdom was to be appointed during the minority of the infant Elizabeth. A list of all the noblemen and commoners whom it was intended to save was drawn out; and it was resolved to give each of them an urgent notice, on the morning of the con-

* Lingard, vol. vi. p. 43.

spiracy, if in London, not to go near the House, or, if he should be in the country, measures should be taken to prevent his sudden arrival. And, finally, an eminence at Hampstead was appointed as the place where the priests, who, on account of their profession, had excused themselves from having any personal share in the plot, and others, would witness the explosion, which eminence is to this day most appropriately designated *Traitors' Hill.*

There were various meetings of one or other of the conspirators, previous to the eventful day of the intended explosion; and Father Garnet was particularly active in his epistolary correspondence. At White Webbs, near Enfield Chase, Catesby, Fawkes, and Winter, had a meeting about the middle of October. At this meeting, according to Dr Lingard, Tresham suddenly appeared, confused and thoughtful, pleading most earnestly that William Parker, Lord Monteagle, a Catholic nobleman, who had married his sister, should receive intimation of the danger. He also, asserts that historian, recommended farther delay, declaring that he could not then furnish money, but that, in a short time, he would be in possession of 16,000*l.*, by accomplishing certain sales which he intended to make; that the explosion might take place as well at the close as at the opening of Parliament; and that, in the meantime, they might make use of his ship in the Thames, and retreat for a while to Flanders. It is also said that Catesby, who had previously suspected him, was now confirmed in his suspicions, but that he deemed it prudent to acquiesce. Whether or not the interview, and the suspicions of Catesby, be well founded, it is need-

less to inquire. They do not prove any thing beyond the truth of the story. One thing is clear, that not one of the twenty persons to whom the secret had been intrusted before the dreadful day, violated his oath of secrecy, * although they knew that the enterprise had been planned a year and a half. Bold, resolute, and undaunted, they appear to have been influenced neither by the fear of punishment, the hope of reward, nor the emotions of pity. "The holy fury," observes the historian of England, "had extinguished in their breast every other motive; and it was an indiscretion at last, proceeding from those very bigotted prejudices and partialities, which saved the nation."

It has been maintained by some writers, particularly Osborne in his Traditional Memoirs, that James received notice of the whole conspiracy from Henry IV. of France, who, having lately restored the Jesuits in France, received much important intelligence from them. But had this been the case, we would, beyond a doubt, have found some intimation to that effect in the letters of the Count de Beaumont, who left London in October for Paris. Monsieur de la Broderie succeeded

* It would appear, that there was also a woman privy in some degree to the conspiracy, Mrs Anne Vaux, or Fawkes, probably related to Guy, for whom Father Garnet entertained something more than a platonic affection. "At his death," observes Sir Walter Scott, "Garnet seemed anxious to clear her from a report, that she should be married to him or worse, and protested, that she was a virtuous gentlewoman, and, for him, a pure virgin." Fowlis, however, in his History of Popish Treasons, affirms, that she went by the name of Anne Garnet; and Robert Winter confessed, that they cohabited publicly together at Henlip in Worcestershire.—Lord Somers' Tracts, vol. ii. p. 108.

Beaumont as ambassador; and in the first audience which he had, after the discovery of the treason, James merely thanked Henry for apprehending one of the conspirators at Paris, and delivering him to the English ambassador; so that it may be safely conjectured that, had Henry really revealed the plot to James, the thanks of the latter would have been on a different subject. It is another thing, however, as it respects Cecil, who, although there is not the slightest evidence to prove that he knew any thing of the matter, although he and his master have been atrociously branded with its contrivance, and although the eventful 5th of November was afterwards jocularly termed *Cecil's Holiday*, might probably have received some obscure and doubtful hints from some of the secular clergy whom he favoured, and between whom and the Jesuits there had always existed a mortal hatred and jealous feud, and who, moreover, had been sometimes serviceable to Cecil during Elizabeth's reign, in discovering some of the practices of the latter; for it is a very remarkable circumstance, that we should never have known any thing of the tricks and feuds of the Catholic priests at all, had they not always fallen out among themselves, and invariably endeavoured to spoil each other's trade. The same remarks apply to the hints which are given in the Duke of Sully's Memoirs, about some *sudden blow* which was intended in England; and, from the known practices and daring turbulence of the times, it is easily explained how James was advised to take warning from the fate of Henry III. James was not the man to thrust himself into danger; and his constitutional timidity is a weighty argument in his favour. It is

no doubt true, that in the harangue which was pronounced at Rome in praise of Ravilliac, the assassin of Henry III., which is a conclusive proof that the Jesuits approved of that murder, it is stated that "Henry IV. was not only an inveterate enemy to the Catholic religion, but had obstructed the glorious enterprises of those that would have restored it in England, *and occasioned them to be crowned with martyrdom;*"—"and it is well known," observes Bishop Kennett, "that Garnet and the rest that were executed for the Gunpowder Plot, were reputed martyrs for the Catholic cause by the College of Jesuits at Rome, where that harangue was pronounced." But as the Jesuits entertained always a deadly hatred towards the secular clergy, (which indeed was reciprocal), and as there happened to be none of the secular clergy engaged in the Plot, but priests of their own Order, it was natural for them to father the discovery of it on their old enemies. It is certainly clear, notwithstanding the reasoning of Bishop Kennett and other writers, that if Henry IV. knew of the plot, he did not communicate it to James.

Let us, however, turn our attention to the conspirators. On the 26th day of October, Lord Monteagle, while he was at dinner, received a letter from one of his pages, who said that it was given him by a tall man, whose features he did not recognise. Lord Monteagle opened it, and, perceiving that it was without date or signature, ordered to be read aloud by a domestic. It was written to the following effect, as it is printed by Dr Lingard from the Archaeologia.

"My lord out of the love i heave to some of youere frends i have a caer of youer preservaceon therefor i would advyse yowe as yowe tender youer lyf to devyse some exscuse to shift of youer attendance at this parleament for god and man hath concurred to punishe the wickednes of this tyme and thinke not slightlye of this advertesment but retyere youre self into youre contri wheare yowe maye expect the event in safti for thowghe theare be no apparance of anni stir yet i saye thaye shall receyve a terribel blowe this parleament and yet thay shall not see who hurts them this cowncel is not to be contemned because it may do yowe goode and can do yowe no harme for the danger is passed as soon as yowe have burnt the letter and i hop god will give yowe the grace to mak good use of it to whose holy protection i commend yowe."

Different opinions have existed as to the writer of this letter, which was in a hand any thing but legible. While some sceptics have been so extravagant as to affirm it "a neat device of the Secretary" (Cecil)* and others, that it was written or sent by Monteagle's sister, Mary, the wife of Thomas Habington,† a gentleman of Worcestershire; it seems now to be the general opinion, that it was sent by Tresham himself, though he denied it, as he wished to save his brother-in-law. This was the general opinion of the conspirators themselves, as appears from Thomas Winter's confession; it was the opinion of a good number of the Catholics,‡ and "Bishop Good-

* Osborne's Traditionary Memoirs, *apud* Ballantyne's Collection, vol. i. p. 180.

† Father of William Habington, the poet, author of "Castara"

‡ "Father Juvençi (*Hist. Societatis Jesu*, lib. xiii. § 45.)

man, in his Answer to Weldon's Court of King James, says, that Tresham sent it,"* though Monteagle himself strongly suspected Percy, who, he thought, might have a natural wish to save him, because his father Lord Morley had been a considerable sufferer for the Catholic cause in the reign of Elizabeth. But be this as it may, though there seems to be no doubt, that Tresham wrote the letter, ‡ Monteagle, though he could not understand it, and suspected it to be some trick of his enemies, thought it best to lay it before Cecil. In the meantime, on the following day, the individual, who had read the letter at Lord Monteagle's table, called upon Winter, and informed him, that his Lordship, suspecting that there was some plot, had laid it before the Secretary of State, and besought him, if he were concerned in any enterprise, to consult his safety by flight. Winter, however, pretended that the letter must have been a mere hoax; but as soon as the person left him, he set out in quest of his associates, to whom he communicated the tidings at White Webb, near Enfield Chase. They charged it upon Tresham, but still they hoped that it would be disregarded.

On the 31st of October, Catesby, Winter, and Tresham, had another meeting in Enfield Chase, after which they sent Fawkes to examine the vault. Their associate, however, found every thing in it as usual, nor did it appear that the slightest search

expressly says, that "Tresham, one of the conspirators, sent to Lord Monteagle, his friend, the letter revealing the conspiracy." Note *apud* Butler's Historical Memoirs of the English Catholics, vol. i. p. 264.

* Lord Somers' Tracts, edited by Sir Walter Scott, vol. ii. p. 104.

‡ This is clearly proved by Dr Lingard, vol. vi. p. 50.

had been made. From this it was concluded that no suspicions existed, and they were again lulled into security.

Cecil, though he ridiculed the letter, nevertheless determined to lay it before the King. James was then at Royston on a hunting expedition, but he returned to Westminster on the 1st of November. This intelligence was soon conveyed to Winter, who immediately, on a Saturday night, had a long interview with Tresham in Lincoln's Inn Walks, and returned to Catesby with the answer, that the plot had been discovered by the ministers. While they were vacillating in their purposes what to do, they determined first to see Percy before they came to any final resolution. They saw that individual on the 4th of November, when his influence and his rhetoric prevailed with them to persevere. The only result was a change in their arrangements. Fawkes undertook still to guard the cellar, and to set fire to the train; Percy and Winter resolved to stay in London; and Catesby and John Wright departed for Warwickshire.

It must be observed, that the only cause for the suspicions which the conspirators entertained that their enterprise was discovered, arose from their knowledge of the fact, that the letter before mentioned had been sent to Monteagle. Such is the result of conscious crime; for, as the poet has well observed, "suspicion always haunts the guilty mind." Then it is that the slightest occurrence excites alarm; the most trival incident rouses the feelings, and brings the whole career of crime to the recollection. If they had been really conscious that the mine was discovered, or that Cecil knew it, as is pretended, would they not have been

madmen to have followed the advice of Percy, and persevered in an enterprise which must of necessity have involved them in certain destruction? Would Percy, if he had been so convinced, have given that advice, or would he and Winter have remained in London? Or would Fawkes, desperado as he was, have nevertheless remained in a place, and undertaken to perform a part, which with equal certainty would have brought destruction upon him? Or would Father Garnet, on the first of November, the very day on which the King returned to London, and he knew well all their proceedings, have publicly prayed for the blessing of Heaven on the enterprise? * Or would Catesby and John Wright have departed for their rendezvous in Warwickshire, to animate their friends in an enterprise, which, if they were not madmen, they must have known was now hopeless? It is clearly obvious, that though they were harassed by their suspicions, they still trusted that Monteagle's letter would be treated as a mere trick.

It was, however, otherwise; and however much it may be ridiculed by many, it was to the caution of Monteagle, the policy of Cecil, and the sagacity of James, and fear, as it has been well observed, "is a considerable sharpener of the apprehension," that the nation was saved from witnessing a catastrophe unparalleled in history. When

* It was alleged against Garnet on his trial, that upon All Souls' Day, he caused his congregation to sing the following ancient hymn:

"Gentem auferte perfidam
Credentium de finibus;
Ut Christo laudes debitas
Persolvamus alacriter."

the King arrived, the letter was laid before him; he repeatedly read it, and spent two hours in consulting with his ministers. Cecil, notwithstanding his policy in thinking it his duty to lay the letter before the King, thought it the production of a fool; but James thought otherwise. The ominous phrase a "*terribel blowe*;" the word *parleament*; the expression, "*they shall not see who hurts them*;" sunk deep into the King's mind; and probably he recollected at the moment the melancholy catastrophe of his father Lord Darnley.* The courtiers and sycophants might have magnified this sagacity as they pleased into a *divine illumination*, for flattery was the besetting sin of the times, and James may have taken to himself the exclusive merit of discovering the whole, which, by the way, he did, though Cecil maintained that he himself, and the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, had alone interpreted the mysterious letter; † still he cannot be denied the praise of shrewdness and sagacity, whether or not these arose, in this instance, from his constitutional timidity. The result of the deliberation was, that gunpowder was suspected, and an order was given that the vaults of the Parliament-House should be searched.

This office devolved on Suffolk, as Lord Chamberlain. The resolution, it is to be observed, was adopted on the 1st of November, but Suffolk purposely delayed his search till the 4th. On the

* On this subject Sir Walter Scott has well remarked, "It is very probable that the idea of using gunpowder was suggested by the fate of James's father, blown up in the Kirk-of-Field, at Edinburgh. It is singular how nearly the son escaped a fate similar, though very uncommon." *Lord Somers' Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 100.

† Contrast Cecil's account of it, in his letter to Sir

evening of that day, which was on Monday, Suffolk and Monteagle, with some others, proceeded to the Parliament House, where, after inspecting Percy's house, and inquiring to whom it belonged, he entered the vault. He asked Whineyard, the Master of the Wardrobe, what use he had made of the lower rooms and cellars, who answered, that Thomas Percy had hired both the house and the cellar in which they now were; and that the wood and furniture belonged to him. Fawkes happened to be present, in his pretended character as Percy's servant, and casting his eyes on him, he remarked to him, that his master had laid in a great store of fuel. Pretending to take merely a casual and indifferent glance of what he saw, Suffolk left the vault, and proceeded to the King, to whom he made his report.

The desperate conspirator might have made his escape, had he pleased; but still thinking, from Suffolk's manner, that there would be no farther search, after informing Percy of the circumstance, he resolved to remain, and fire the mine at the first appearance of danger, or perish. Suffolk, however, had resolved that a thorough search should be made. The name of Percy excited strong suspicions, as he was known to be a rigid Papist, and it was not likely that he could want so much wood and combustibles for his own use, as he lived so little in London. An order was accordingly given to Sir Thomas Knyvet, Steward of Westminster, to search the vault during the night, under the pretence of attempting to

Charles Cornwall, his own private friend, November 9th 1605, with the King's own account of it, in Bishop Montague's edition of his Works, edit. folio, 1616.

find some stolen tapestry hangings; to remove the wood, and to see what was concealed under it. About two in the morning of the 5th of November, Knyvet proceeded thither with a party of soldiers. Fawkes had been all night in the vault, and had just concluded his final preparations. He at the very moment opened the door, when he was seized by Knyvet and the soldiers. He was booted and spurred, as if ready for a journey. In his pockets were found three matches and a tinder-box; and a dark lantern, with a light in it, was found concealed behind the door. "Ah!" said the villain, when the soldiers were binding him, "God would have concealed, but the devil discovered the conspiracy." He did not attempt to deny the design: he said it was to have been executed that very day; and he only regretted that he had not been able to set fire to the train, whereby he would have sweetened his own death with that of his enemies, and involved them all in one general volcano of destruction.

The search immediately commenced; the wood and lumber were removed; the barrels of gunpowder were discovered; and the mine which was to cause the tremendous explosion. At four o'clock that morning, the King and his ministers interrogated the conspirator. Before them he appeared with the same hardened intrepidity. He said his name was Johnson, and he was the servant of Thomas Percy. His answers were vague, and afforded no explanation of the matter, or the names of his associates. He was repeatedly examined before he was committed to the Tower, and sometimes he indulged in bitter sarcasm. When a Scottish nobleman asked him what he intended to

do with so many barrels of gunpowder, he replied, "To blow the Scotch beggars back to their native mountains." * On another occasion, he said, "I am ready to die, and will rather suffer ten thousand deaths, than accuse my master, or any other."

Percy had dined on Monday the 4th at Sion House, a few miles from London, on the banks of the Thames, with the Earl of Northumberland. Fawkes, after the visit of Suffolk, met Percy on the road returning to London, and informed him of the circumstance. The conspirator instantly fled to the general rendezvous, to inform Catesby of the discovery. About five o'clock on Tuesday morning (the 5th), Winter was visited by Wright, another of the conspirators, who, after observing to him something about Lord Monteagle, said, "Arm, and come along to Essex House, for I am going to call up my Lord of Northumberland;" adding, "The matter is discovered." "Go back," replied Winter, "and learn what you can about Essex Gate." He departed, but soon returned, saying, "All is lost; Lepton [an officer of justice] is on horseback at Essex door, and as he departed, he asked their Lordships [the Council] if they would have any more with him; they said, No; and he galloped through Fleet Street as fast as he could." "Go, then," replied Winter, "and inform Percy; it is him they seek, and bid him flee; I will stay and see the uttermost." Winter, not knowing that Percy had fled, then went to the Parliament House, to ascertain the

* Lingard, vol. vi. p. 54.

truth of the discovery. He found the gates of the court or palace vigilantly guarded, and no one allowed to enter; he then went to the Parliament House, but in his progress he was interrupted by a line of soldiers in King Street, who refused to let him pass. He heard one say near him, "There is treason discovered; in which the King and the Lords were to be blown up." Hearing this, he made off quietly, and, getting on horseback, he fled into Warwickshire. *

The news of the conspiracy spread like lightning over the country. The conspirators were chiefly in Warwickshire, at the pretended hunting match of Sir Everard Digby, with the intention of seizing the Princess Elizabeth, who providentially escaped by being taken to Coventry. They traversed in haste Warwick and Worcestershires, pursued by the sheriffs of those counties, and found themselves miserably deceived as to the number of their friends; for, though there had been some disturbances in Wales, excited by the Catholics that very year, they could not collect more than eighty men, exclusive of their own few followers and servants. With this force, however, they resolved to turn and defend themselves at Holbeach House, on the borders of Staffordshire, the residence of Stephen Littleton, one of their recent associates. This was on the fourth morning after the discovery of the conspiracy. While they were preparing for battle, a spark accidentally fell among their gunpowder; an explosion took place; Catesby, Percy, Rockwood, and others, were dreadfully scorched, and almost experienced the fate they in-

* Confessions of Thomas Winter, State Trials.

tended for their sovereign. During this confusion, the greater part of their followers took the opportunity to escape, and it was well they did so; for within an hour afterwards the house was surrounded by Sir Richard Walsh, the sheriff of Worcestershire. To his summons of surrender they returned an answer of haughty defiance. Knowing well the fate which awaited them if taken, they were desperate. They confessed themselves, received absolution; and then resolved to sell their lives at the dearest rate. Catesby, Percy, and the two Wrights sallied out into the courtyard, where they exposed themselves to the fire of the assailants. In this extremity the populace also attacked them. Catesby was shot dead on the spot; Percy was mortally wounded, and survived only two days.* The two Wrights fell dead beneath the fire of the assailants. Thomas Winter, Rockwood, Grant, and Keys, were taken prisoners in the house. Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, and Littleton, endeavoured to make their escape, but they were soon after apprehended, and brought to London.

It was some time before the trial of the conspirators took place, previously to which they were repeatedly examined by the council, and even tor-

* Catesby and Percy were killed by one John Street, a citizen of Worcester, who loaded his piece with two balls, and aiming it over a wall, one killed Catesby as he rushed out, and the other mortally wounded Percy. He received a pension of two shillings a-day during life from the King. It appears that James had promised 1000*l.* for Percy's apprehension.—Petition of John Street, to Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, in November 1605, apud Lodge's Illustrations of British History, &c. 4to, London, 1791, vol. iii. p. 300, 301.

tured in the Tower. Fawkes, the moment he heard that his associates had appeared in arms, made a kind of disclosure of the whole. But the conspiracy was first developed by Thomas Winter, who made a confession, in which was the first full discovery of the conspiracy. Immediately thereafter, a warrant was issued to apprehend Tresham, who was found lurking about London. He was committed to the Tower, but he died there shortly afterwards of a strangury. The connection which the priests had with the enterprise was soon discovered, from the confessions of the conspirators in custody. Warrants were issued to apprehend Garnet, Greenway, Gerrard, and Hall, alias Oldcorne. The former was taken, but the three latter, after a variety of adventures, escaped to the Continent.

After being confined in the Tower for nearly two months, the prisoners, Fawkes, Grant, Rockwood, Keys, Robert and Thomas Winter, and Thomas Bates, were brought to trial on the 27th of January 1605–6. Sir Everard Digby was also arraigned on another indictment at the same time. The commissioners were the Earls of Nottingham, Suffolk, Worcester, Devonshire, Northampton, and Salisbury, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief-Baron Fleming, and Sir Peter Warburton. Sir Edward Philips, the King's sergeant-at-law, and Sir Edward Coke, the attorney-general, conducted the prosecution. After hearing their confessions and voluntary declarations, they were found guilty, and not one of them, except Rockwood, attempted to set up any kind of defence. They all in general acknowledged the fact. Thomas Winter desired to be hanged for his brother; Fawkes had the hardihood to plead not guilty, though he afterwards

qualified it; Keys said, that his affairs were desperate, and "as good now as at any other time;" Bates and Robert Winter craved mercy; Grant was silent for some time, and then admitted that he was guilty of a conspiracy intended, but never effected; Rockwood submitted himself to the royal mercy. Sir Everard Digby acknowledged the crime, and after a speech, in which he attempted to offer some explanations, the unfortunate gentleman craved that his estate might be settled on his relations, and his debts paid. He submissively begged pardon of the King and the Lords, and entreated to be beheaded. This last request, however, was not complied with; they were all condemned to the same punishment. At the conclusion of the trial, the unfortunate Sir Everard bowed to the Peers, and said, "If I might but hear any of your Lordships say, that you forgive me, I shall go the more cheerfully to the scaffold." The Lords immediately said, "May God forgive you, as we do." *

On the 30th of January, the execution of four of them took place, namely, Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates. They were drawn in hurdles from the Tower through the city of London to St Paul's Churchyard, where the scaffold was erected at the west end of the old cathedral, and there they were hanged and quartered.

* This unfortunate gentleman is a melancholy instance of the effects of listening to rash counsel. So completely had his mind been perverted by the sophistry of his unprincipled associates, that he is said to have written to his lady after his condemnation, that it never occurred to him there was any sin in the enterprise.

Digby appeared first on the scaffold. He made a short speech; and, after practising his devotions according to the rites of the Catholic church, submitted to the executioner. Winter appeared second; Grant third; the last was Bates, who blamed his master Catesby for his melancholy fate. It is said, that when the executioner tore the heart from Sir Everard's body, and exclaimed, "This is the heart of a traitor;" he had still life to exclaim, "Thou liest."

On the following day, Thomas Winter, Rockwood, Keys, and Fawkes, were drawn in the same manner from the Tower to the Old Palace Yard, Westminster, where they were executed according to their sentence. Fawkes, desperado as he was, behaved with great submissiveness. One or two executions followed at Worcester. Some of the conspirators escaped to the Continent, where they unceasingly lamented that the plot had not taken effect. A bill was passed for the attainder and forfeiture of those who who had been killed at Holbeach.

As for Garnet, the grand machinator of the treason, or at least one of the first contrivers, he was apprehended on the 28th of January, after lurking about in concealment for some time at Henlip, near Worcester, in the House of Thomas Habington, who had married Lord Monteagle's sister. With him were apprehended his servant, and two others. They were all sent to London, and committed to the Tower. After various examinations, the trial of this wretched Jesuit took place on the 28th of March. He defended himself with great ability; but he was found guilty. When sentence was passed, he was asked by the Earl of Salisbury if he had any thing to say. "No, my Lord," he replied,

"but I humbly desire your Lordship to recommend my life to the King's Majesty." On the 3d of May, he was brought to execution. He was attended by the Dean of St Paul's and Westminster; but their services he of course declined. He made a short speech on the scaffold, simply in vindication of himself from certain reports concerning him which he said were false. He conducted himself with great courage and devotion. Just when he was on the point of being turned off the ladder, he commended himself to all good Catholics; and he died invoking the favour of the Holy Virgin. After his death, the fanatic Papists regarded him with the most enthusiastic reverence. In Spain he was held as a holy martyr; and the enthusiasts latterly believed that miracles were performed by his blood. Straws on which his blood had fallen when on the scaffold were plentifully multiplied; and the devotees were actually taught to believe, that by looking at these straws, preserved in glass-cases, Garnet's face was seen, with a star and cross on his forehead, a cherubim hovering over his chin, and a ray of glory surrounding the pretended and imaginary resemblance.

Such was the conclusion of the Gunpowder Treason, the anniversary of which, as a memorial of a most signal deliverance, has been kept to the present day. By an interposition of Providence alone was this atrocious treason defeated. It was followed by some severe enforcements of the penal laws. Some Popish noblemen, who were absent from the Parliament on the 5th of November, were fined in the Star-Chamber, it being alleged against them that they had notice

of the conspiracy, though they protested their innocence. The Earl of Northumberland, on Percy's account, was fined 30,000*l.*, deprived of all his offices, and confined in the Tower for several years. Yet, though these proceedings were perhaps severe, the King's conduct in general ought not to be forgotten. When he met his Parliament, he informed them, with a magnanimity and moderation which reflect on him the greatest honour, though by no means relished by the Puritans and sectarians, that it would be unjust to involve all the Catholics in the desperate treasons of a few; that there were thousands of them who were entirely innocent, and who detested it. "I shall never," said James, "permit my plans of government to be altered, notwithstanding any conspiracy, however atrocious: while with one hand I shall punish crime, with the other I shall never cease to protect and support innocence and virtue."

VII.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CONSPIRACY OF THE SPANIARDS

AGAINST THE

REPUBLIC OF VENICE,

A. D. 1618.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF THE ABBE DE ST REAL.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

CÆSAR Vichard de Saint-Real was born at Chamberri, a large and populous town in the duchy of Savoy, in the 17th century; but the year of his birth is not mentioned. His father was counsellor to the Senate. He went to Paris when he was very young, where he greatly distinguished himself, and became the friend and companion of the celebrated historian Varillas; by whom he was afterwards accused of having purloined some of his papers; but this charge does not appear to have interrupted their friendship. In 1682, he returned to his native town, and, becoming acquainted with the Duchess of Mazarine, he accompanied her to England. After remaining in this country for a short time, he returned to Paris, where he resided for many years as a literary man, and assumed the title of Abbé, though he had no benefice. He was frequently engaged in disputes, on account of his extreme sensitiveness to criticism; and one of his antagonists was the celebrated Ar-

nauld, who had accused him of Socinianism. He returned to Chamberri in 1692, and died there the same year, at an advanced age.

The Abbé was the author of various pieces; but the one best known is his "Conjuration des Espagnols contre la République de Venice en 1618," which he published, in 12mo, at Paris in 1674. Voltaire compares the style of this work to that of Sallust, and he gained by it considerable reputation. This History is the ground-work of Otway's well known tragedy of "Venice Preserv'd, or a Plot Discovered," which first made its appearance at London, 4to, 1696. The Abbé also wrote another piece, entitled the "History of Don Carlos, son of Philip II. of Spain," which Otway also made the groundwork of a tragedy. The best edition of his works is that of the Abbé Pereau, Paris, 8 vols. 12mo, 1757.

It is hardly necessary to add, that, from the following narrative having given rise to one of the finest and most popular tragedies in our language, it will be found to possess more than ordinary interest. The poet has doubtless departed considerably from the narrative, which it was necessary to do, in order to connect his plot with Priuli, Jaffier, and Belvidera, the last of whom, as well as some others, being an imaginary character.

THE

CONSPIRACY

OF THE

SPANIARDS AGAINST VENICE.

A. D. 1618.

THE differences which existed between Paul V.* and the Republic of Venice having been terminated by the mediation of France, who had declared in favour of the Pope, and had offered to compel the Venetians to submit by force of arms, the Spaniards were enraged that he had made a treaty

* This Pontiff was elevated to the chair of St Peter in 1605. He excommunicated the Venetians, at that time an independent state, and laid all their territories under an interdict, for trying an ecclesiastic before a lay tribunal, and for enacting some laws prohibiting the laity to leave their estates to the Church. The Venetians, on the other hand, setting the interdict of his Holiness at defiance, expelled the Jesuits, monks, and ecclesiastics of every order, from their dominions, who refused to celebrate divine service. The Pontiff was at length compelled, on account of his affairs, to remove the interdict, and agree to an accommodation.

without their participation. But having penetrated into the secret of the agreement, they soon found that they had no cause to be offended with the Pope; for the contempt which was put upon them in this affair proceeded from the senate of Venice, which had excluded them upon pretence that, after having shown so much partiality, they could not be admitted as arbitrators. Meanwhile, although their resentment was great for this injury, they did not express it during the life of Henry IV, whose obligations to the Venetians, and the care he had taken of their interest in this dispute with the court of Rome, were too well known. But his death having set the Spaniards at liberty, they now wanted nothing but a fair pretext to put things in motion.

A company of pirates, called the Uscoques, had settled in the Austrian territories on the Adriatic Sea, which are contiguous to Venice. These robbers having committed infinite depredations on the subjects of the Republic, were protected by the Archduke Ferdinand de Gretz, then sovereign of that country, and afterwards Emperor. He was a very religious prince; but his ministers sharing the booty with the Uscoques, and being devoted to the court of Spain, embraced this opportunity to be revenged on the Venetians. The Emperor Matthias, moved with the just complaints of the Republic, effected a reconciliation at Vienna in February 1612; but this accommodation was so ill observed on the part of the Archduke, that there was a necessity of coming to an open war, in which he did not gain all the advantages which the Spaniards expected. The Venetians, by their wise conduct, easily repaired the losses they had sustained in

some slight engagements; and having nothing to fear from the Turks, they were better able to support the war than the Archduke; who was pressed by the Emperor to make a peace, because the Grand Seignior threatened Hungary, and he had occasion to lay up considerable sums in order to facilitate his election to the kingdom of Bohemia, which soon after took place. The Spaniards were willing to supply him with means to continue the war; but Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, with whom they were embroiled at the time, did not suffer them to divide their forces; and as that Duke received large succours in money from the Republic, they could never disunite him from its interests.

The council of Spain were greatly incensed to find they had to do with the Venetians on all occasions. The easy disposition of King Philip III., and of the Duke of Lerma his favourite, gave them no prospect of extricating themselves from this embarrassment; but a minister whom they had in Italy, and who was not so cool, undertook to relieve them. This was Don Alphonso de la Cueva, Marquis of Bedmar, ambassador in ordinary at Venice, and one of the ablest though most dangerous men that Spain ever produced. It appears by the writings which this man left behind him, that he was master of every thing in ancient and modern history: that he was accustomed to compare things past with those which were in agitation in his own time; marking the results which were produced according as they agreed with, or differed from each other. He usually formed his opinion of an enterprise as soon as he knew its plan and foundation. If he found

by the event that he was mistaken, he traced back his error to its source, and endeavoured to discover what had deceived him. By application and study he had comprehended what are the chief circumstances which presage success in great designs, and had raised himself to so high a pitch of sagacity, that his conjectures on the future generally passed in the council of Spain for prophecies. This profound knowledge was accompanied with very singular talents for speaking and writing; a wonderful insight into the characters of men; an air always gay and open, which had more fire than gravity, and was so remote from dissimulation, as to be mistaken for simplicity and nature; and so impenetrable withal, that every one thought he penetrated into it. His deportment, in short, was tender, insinuating, and flattering, which sifted the most cautious men; and he had all the appearance of an entire freedom from thought in the midst of the most anxious agitations.

The Marquis of Bedmar had now been upwards of six years at Venice, and his long continuance there had given him time to study the principles of that government, and to discover its strength and its weakness, its advantages and defects. As he saw that the Archduke would be obliged to make a peace, which must needs be shameful to Spain, he resolved to prevent it; and even considered that in the condition in which Venice was then placed, it was not impossible to become master of it, by the help of the emissaries which he had there, and of the forces which he could procure. Venice had not only been drained of arms, but of men capable of bearing them; and as the fleet had seldom made so fine an appearance, the

senate never thought itself so formidable, nor was ever less apprehensive. This invincible fleet, however, could not venture to quit the coast of Istria, which was the seat of the war; the land army was at as great a distance, so that there was nothing at Venice to oppose a descent from the Spanish fleet.

To render this descent the more certain, the Marquis de Bedmar proposed to possess himself of the principal posts, such as the Place of St Mark and the Arsenal; and because it would be difficult to do this while the town was in perfect tranquillity, he intended to set fire at the same time to all those places of the town which would kindle the quickest, and were of the greatest importance to succour. He did not immediately write into Spain about it, as he knew that princes do not care to explain themselves on affairs of such a nature till these are so far advanced, that there is nothing wanting to put them in execution but an assurance of approbation in case they succeed. He only signified to the Duke of Usseda, principal secretary of state, that seeing the disgrace the House of Austria sustained from the war in Friuli by the insolent conduct of the Venetians; he looked upon himself as in that condition in which nature and policy oblige a faithful subject to have recourse to extraordinary means, to preserve his prince and country from an infamy which is otherwise inevitable; that this care belonged to him in particular, by reason of the employment in which he was engaged, having constantly before his eyes the extent of the evil which was to be redressed; and that he would endeavour to acquit himself of that duty in a manner worthy of the

zeal which he had for the grandeur of his master.

The Duke of Usseda, who knew him perfectly, immediately imagined that under this was concealed some project equally important and dangerous; but as prudent men do not appear to understand things of this kind, till they are constrained to it, he did not communicate his suspicion to the first minister, but answered the Marquis de Bedmar in general terms, commending his zeal, and referring the rest to his usual discretion. The Marquis, who expected no other return, now thought of nothing but to contrive his design, so as to be sure of being avowed.

There never was a monarchy in the world so absolute as is the authority with which the senate of Venice governs that Republic. They make an infinite difference even in the minutest things between the nobles and the inferior classes: in all the countries which depend on that state, the nobles alone are capable of commanding; and if the Republic ever gives some of the first posts in its armies to strangers, it is always on conditions which oblige them to follow the opinion of the Venetian generalissimo, and in reality leave them only an executive power. As there is not a more plausible pretence to burden the people than that of war, that of the Uscoques afforded a fine opportunity to the nobles, who had the management of it, to enrich themselves. It was exceedingly expensive, but although the necessities and authority of the Republic made the commanders more bold to invent new oppressions, it did not render the people more patient to bear them; and their complaints at last rose so high, that the Marquis de Bedmar might reasonably assure himself, that the

revolution he projected would be as agreeable to the lower orders as it would be fatal to the nobles. There were also among the nobles some who did not love the government. These were the partisans of the court of Rome. They who were most numerous, ambitious, and full of revenge, were incensed, that the Republic had been governed contrary to their inclinations, during the quarrel they had with that court. They were disposed to act and suffer any thing, in order to wrest the power out of the hands of those who held it; and would have been pleased with the misfortunes of the state, as the effects of a conduct which they had not approved. Others, who were more weak and shallow, were for being more Catholic than the Pope himself. As he had abated his pretensions in the accommodation, they imagined that he had been obliged to do it out of policy, and that, if a mental reservation could take place in that affair, it was to be feared the excommunication subsisted as before, in the intentions of his Holiness. Of this number were several senators, as poor in their fortunes as in their minds, who became very serviceable to the Marquis de Bedmar, after he had persuaded them, by the powerful conviction of doing them kindness, that now it was impossible to be a Venetian with a safe conscience.

Notwithstanding the severe prohibitions which prevented the nobles holding correspondence with strangers, the Marquis had found means to establish a strict intelligence with those of them who were the most necessitous and the most dissatisfied. If they had any near relations in the monasteries, a mistress or trusty ecclesiastic, he purchased the acquaintance of these necessary people at any price, and made

them presents of great value, though generally they were only curiosities of foreign countries. These largesses, which were dispensed, as if it were, out of mere generosity, made those who received them imagine they might draw more considerable ones from the Marquis. With this view, they fully satisfied his curiosity concerning all those things he was anxious to know, and even took care to apprise themselves of such as they were not sufficiently acquainted with, in order to answer his questions.

From this time there was no deliberation in the senate which could be kept secret from the ambassador of Spain. He was advertised of all the resolutions which were adopted; and the generals of the Archduke knew those which related to the war before the officers of the Republic had orders to execute them. Yet with all his intelligence, the ambassador had occasion for a considerable number of military men to succeed in his enterprise; but as the Spaniards had a powerful army in Lombardy, he was in no fear of this, provided he had a governor of Milan capable of entering into his designs. The Marquis of Inojosa, who was then governor, was too closely united with the Duke of Savoy to hearken to them. He had lately signed the treaty of Ast, in which France and Venice had been mediators, and the ambassador, knowing that this negociation would not be approved of in Spain, he wrote thither to have him recalled, and solicited Don Pedro de Toledo, Marquis of Villa Franca, his intimate friend, to make interest for the government of Milan. Don Pedro had orders to depart immediately, and succeed Inojosa, about the latter end of the year

1615, and as soon as he arrived at Milan, he gave advice of it at Venice by the Marquis de Lare. The ambassador communicated his project to this Marquis, after the manner he judged most likely to make it be accepted, and chiefly recommended to him to know whether the new governor could let him have fifteen hundred men of his best troops when he required them. Don Pedro, charmed with the greatness of the undertaking, resolved to second it as much as lay in his power, without exposing himself to certain ruin if it miscarried. He despatched the Marquis de Lare a second time to Venice, to assure the ambassador of it; but beseeched him at the same time to consider that it was impossible to send the number of men he desired, without choosing them out very carefully; and that, if they were lost, he should be inexcusable for having sacrificed the bravest soldiers in his army. That he would, however, give him as many as he could, and would choose them so well, that he would answer for them as for himself.

Nothing was of greater moment to the ambassador's purpose than to hinder an accommodation of any kind. In this view, he obliged the Marquis de Lare to make very unreasonable proposals of peace to the Senate from the Governor of Milan, which the Senate answered with indignation. Don Pedro omitted nothing on his part to exasperate things still more. The Duke of Mantua, who was very little disposed to grant a pardon to his rebellious subjects, which he had promised by the treaty of Ast, was encouraged to be obstinate on that article, and to continue the executions which he had begun against them. Proposals were also made to the Duke of Savoy for the conclusion of

the same treaty, which they knew very well he would not accept; and they excused themselves for not disarming their troops after him, as they ought to have done, under the pretence of the war in Friuli, in which the Spaniards could no longer with honour avoid being concerned. The Venetian army had already passed the Lizonzo, * and besieged Gradisca, † the capital of the Archduke. The council of Spain, which had till then appeared neutral, seeing that the Venetians were for dispossessing that Prince entirely, threatened to declare itself. At this time an end was put to the misunderstanding which existed in the House of Austria between the son and the brother of Charles V. about the succession of the empire, and the interest the Spaniards took in this war was the first token of reconciliation. Don Pedro sent Colonel Gambalotta to Crema ‡ with some troops, and ordered twenty-four pieces of cannon to be mounted at Pavia, pretending that these were in a little time to accompany a body of eight thousand men, commanded by Don Sancho de Luna. On the other part, the viceroy of Naples, who was cruising in the Mediterranean with the Spanish fleet, threat-

* Or Lisonzo, a river which rises in Carniola, about a mile east from Weiffenfels, and passing Gradisca, runs into the Gulf of Trieste.

† A strong town now in Austrian Friuli, 182 miles S.S.W. of Vienna. There are two other towns of this name—Old Gradisca, a town of the Austrian empire, in Sclavonia, and near it New Gradisca. There is also a strong fort of the same name in Lower Bosnia, European Turkey, opposite Old Gradisca.

‡ A town of Italy, capital of the Cremasco, on the river Serio, and a bishop's see.

ened to attack the Duke of Savoy at Villa Franca.* He shut up the passage to all the succours coming by sea to the Republic, and was every day preparing to enter the Gulf, in order to keep the Venetian fleet in awe.

The Venetian ministers having loudly declaimed in all the courts against the violence of this procedure, the Marquis de Bedmar undertook to justify it. He thought it would be of service to his design to overthrow that high esteem which Europe had for so many ages entertained for this Republic, on account of its boasted freedom, which had lately been carried higher than ever on occasion of the difference with the Pope, by several able writers. The ambassador, having re-examined these writings, refuted in a few chapters the numerous volumes of the Venetian authors, without doing any one of them the honour to name him; and, under pretence of maintaining the Emperor's right over Venice, he showed that the independence of this Republic was a mere chimera, as well as its sovereignty on the sea. This libel he caused to be published so artfully, that it was never discovered during his life that he had any hand in it, and it seems strange that he was not suspected; but his lively and vehement behaviour which he always evinced, did not permit them to think that a man of so impetuous a character could be the author of a state satire, which was composed with the most refined delicacy. This work, which had for its title *Squittinio della Liberta*

* A sea-port of Italy, in Piedmont. There is another town of the same name in the same province, situated on the banks of the Po.

Veneta, * made a great noise. In their ignorance of the author, the suspicion fell naturally on the court of Rome, by reason of the former writings. The learned among the senate believed, that every one felt the force of it as well as themselves; they were more frightened at it than they would have been at the loss of a battle; and Father Paul had orders to examine it. He declared that it ought not to be answered, because it could not be done, without reviving certain subjects which it were better to conceal; yet, if the senate judged it concerned the dignity of the Republic to resent this injury, he would undertake to put the court of Rome to so great a difficulty to defend itself, that it should no longer think of being the aggressor. This advice, which was adopted in the first heat of their resentment, gave Father Paul the pleasure of publishing his beloved History of the Council of Trent, which would not have been published while he lived, had it not been for this opportunity.

In the mean time, the campaign of the year 1616 having passed without any considerable advantage on either side, the Duke of Savoy and the Venetians, who were unwilling to expose the honour they had already gained to the hazard of a second, empowered Gritti, the Venetian ambassador at Madrid, to renew the negotiation. But the Spaniards made such unreasonable proposals, that they were all rejected. The blockade of Gradisca continued; they fought during the winter season; and the armies took the field in the spring, with increased ardour. The truce which Holland had effected

* An Inquiry into the Liberty of Venice.

rendered the services of the greater part of the troops unnecessary; and the soldiers of fortune, both French and German, were compelled to seek for employment elsewhere. This enabled the Counts of Nassau and Lievestein to bring eight thousand men, Hollanders or Walloons, into the service of the Republic. The Spaniards complained loudly to the Pope, that the Venetians were exposing Italy to the infection of heresy, by bringing these soldiers into the country: but the Venetian ambassador convinced him, that it was not so much the interest of religion which moved the Spaniards to speak thus, as their mortification to see two great republics unite their forces against them. The Marquis de Bedmar would have been embarrassed if the Pope had compelled the Venetians to dismiss those heretics; for, as soldiers have generally their own advantage alone in view when they serve a foreign prince, he hoped to engage the leaders of those mercenary troops in his project by means of money, and the expectation of the plunder of Venice. He cast his eye, for the negociation of this affair, on an old French gentleman, named Nicholas Renault, a man of knowledge and good sense, who had taken refuge at Venice for some cause which was never discovered. The Marquis had seen him some time before with the French ambassador, with whom he resided. In some conversations which they happened to have together, Renault found the Marquis to be a man of as great ability as he was reported; and the Marquis, who was glad to have a friend of his character at the ambassador's of France, had contracted a strict union with Renault. Though this man was ex-

tremely poor, yet, from his restless disposition, he was ready to engage in any enterprise, however criminal; and the Marquis de Bedmar, who studied him thoroughly, and who wanted a man to whom he could entirely trust the management of his project, told him, when he imparted it to him, that from the very first moment he thought of it he had depended upon him.

Renault esteemed himself more obliged by this assurance, than he would have been by any flattering commendation. His advanced age did not make him decline the undertaking. The less time he had to live, the less he had to hazard. He concluded that he could not better employ the melancholy years he had remaining, than in hazarding them to render his name immortal. The Marquis gave him bills of exchange, and letters of credit, which were necessary to enable him to treat with the Dutch commanders; and charged him not to unfold the design, but only to represent, that matters being in such a state between the Republic and the house of Austria, the Spanish ambassador at Venice foresaw a certain conjuncture, which might expose his person to the fury of the people of that city, and desired for his own safety to secure a considerable number of faithful and resolute friends. The pretence was frivolous, but the most plausible excuse is of great moment in affairs of this kind. By this he hoped to corrupt the flower of the land army of the Venetians; and that the rest would be left so weak, that it would be easy for Don Pedro to defeat them on the way, if they were sent to Venice to oppose the conspirators. The sea-forces were far more to be dreaded. They had been always accustomed to

conquer, and could be more easily called home. Most of the men were natural subjects of the Republic; and there was no room to doubt, but that at the first breaking out of the conspiracy, the navy would sail for Venice. It was extremely hazardous to reckon on the Spanish fleet being able to defeat it, and it was therefore necessary to find out some means for preventing its approach. The ambassador, who had not so much experience in maritime affairs as the viceroy of Naples, who commanded the sea-forces of Spain, thought himself obliged to consult him on the subject. This viceroy, who was to be the principal actor of the tragedy which the ambassador was contriving, was the Duke of Ossuna, famous for his gallantries, who was as bold and enterprising as Don Pedro, or the Marquis de Bedmar. This resemblance of disposition had established a strict correspondence between these three ministers. Don Pedro and the Duke of Ossuna were not great in the cabinet, and the duke was even sometimes subject to caprices, which bordered upon extravagance; but the deference they both paid to the Marquis de Bedmar was sufficient for the ability they wanted.

The profits which arise from piracy to those who practise it under some powerful protection, had drawn to the court of the Viceroy of Naples the most notorious pirates in the Mediterranean. The viceroy, who had a fertile brain for extraordinary designs, and was more prodigal than avaricious, did not so much support them for the share they gave him of their booty, as to have a considerable number of adventurers always at command. He was not merely contented to receive them when they applied to him; but if he heard of any

one of uncommon merit among them, he sought after him, and granted him so many favours, that he was certain to gain him for his service. He had acted thus toward one who was known by the name of Captain Jacques Pierre, a Norman by birth, and so excellent in his trade, that all the rest gloried to have learned it from him. The mind of this man had nothing in it of the rudeness of that sort of life; and having acquired some fortune, he resolved to leave it off, though he was then in the flower of his age, and choose the dominions of the Duke of Savoy for his retreat. This Prince, who was fond of extraordinary talents, knowing this pirate by reputation to be one of the bravest men in the world, allowed him to settle at Nice. All maritime people who frequented that coast, soldiers, officers, or sailors, duly made their court to the Captain: his counsels were oracles to them: he was sovereign arbitrator of their differences; and they thought they could never sufficiently admire a man who had quitted a profession in which he was so well skilled, and which was the hardest of any to lay down. Of this number was one Vincent Robert of Marseilles; who having landed in Sicily, while the Duke of Ossuna was viceroy there, received so good usage that he engaged in his service. The Duke, learning that Robert was one of the Captain's comrades, complained in a familiar manner to him, that his friend had preferred the states of the Duke of Savoy to his government, for his retreat. By presents and ample promises, Robert undertook to negotiate with the Captain, and he was supported by such great advances on the part of the viceroy, that the Captain was persuaded to settle in Sicily

with his wife and children; and he soon afterwards took to his former sea-faring life, committing numerous depredations on the Turks, and acquiring great booty. It was at this time that the Marquis de Bedmar communicated his design to the Duke of Ossuna, being assured he should not have much difficulty to engage him in it.

The Duke, who coveted the sovereignty of those seas, wished for nothing more ardently than to ruin the Venetians, who alone could dispute it with him, and who were not so easily beaten as the Turks. He opened his mind to the Captain, and unfolded to him the difficulties: The Captain did not think them insurmountable; and after several days of private conference, he suddenly left Naples, and in an attire which denoted the utmost precipitation and fright. The Viceroy sent people after him every way but that which he had taken, with orders to seize him dead or alive; his wife and children were imprisoned, and kept from that day in a condition to all appearance very miserable; his goods were confiscated, and the Duke pretended the utmost fury. As the Captain did not seem less active than the Viceroy, their misunderstanding was easily credited; and it was believed he had been forming something against Spain, or against the Duke's interest, and his particular designs. In the mean time, he had recourse to his first asylum. The Duke of Savoy was at war with the Spaniards, and was known to be a generous prince. Though he had expressed some displeasure when the Captain removed to Sicily, yet the impostor did not scruple to go and fling himself at his feet. He told him of several

pretended designs of the Viceroy against Venice, which were horrible even to imagine, but which were unconnected with the true one; and that, as he could not engage in them with honour, he was contriving how to make his escape from Naples with his goods and family, when the Viceroy discovered his resolution, and had compelled him to fly in that wretched habit, to save himself from his rage, and to abandon all he held dear in the world to the mercy of the greatest of tyrants.

The Duke of Savoy was touched with pity at this sad relation, and received him with open arms. He told the pirate, that his interests being inseparably linked with those of the Republic, he would himself reward him for the service he should do to the common cause, if the Venetians did not recompense him; adding, that the senate should be acquainted from his own mouth with the designs of the Duke of Ossuna; and, after having exhorted him to bear his misfortunes like a man of courage, equipped him with all necessary things, and given him a noble present, he made him set out for Venice with letters of credence and recommendation. The Venetians were not less compassionate than the Duke of Savoy. The flight, the tears, the poverty, the reputation of the Captain, the hopes that he would bring over to their service those men whom he had drawn into the service of the Duke of Ossuna; but above all, the report he made of the Duke's pretended designs; all these things spoke so powerfully in his favour, that they immediately gave him the command of a ship. This did not hinder Contarini, the Republic's ambassador at Rome, from remonstrating by letters, that this man com-

ing from the Viceroy, ought not to be trusted; but fear, which had produced in the minds of the Venetians that credulity which always attends it, got the better of this prudent advice.

Not long after, the fleet putting to sea, the Captain, who knew of what consequence it was that he should signalize himself, took such considerable prizes from the Uscoques, that upon his return eleven ships more were added to his command. He gave an account of his successes to the Duke of Ossuna, and concluded his letter with these words: "If these scaramouches are always as easy of belief as they have been hitherto, I dare assure your Excellency I shall not lose my time in this country." He wrote at the same time to all his comrades at Naples, inviting them into the service of the Republic. It was not difficult to persuade them, as the Viceroy, pretending to suspect them, treated them with great severity, and complained of the protection which the Republic gave the Captain. He even supported the Uscoques, and under his protection they began to repeat their depredations on the Republic, and brought their booty to Naples in triumph.

As there had been no war declared between Spain and the Republic, the Venetians could not recover themselves from their astonishment at this conduct. It was generally imputed to the extravagance of the Duke of Ossuna; but many believed that the Spaniards made use of the caprices of the Duke for their own purposes. His familiar discourses run wholly upon surprising the ports of Istria belonging to the Republic, upon plundering their islands, and making a descent, if possible, upon Venice itself. He studied the plan of it with his

courtiers. He caused exact maps to be drawn of the adjacent parts; and barks, brigantines, and other small vessels to be built, proper for all sorts of channels; trials to be made of the weight the several depths of water were capable of bearing; and was inventing every day new machines to lessen the weight of vessels, and facilitate the motion.

The Venetian resident at Naples gave exact intelligence of this, to the mortification of the Marquis of Bedmar, who began to repent of being concerned with so rash a person. But the success deceived his fears; for the Viceroy did all these things so publicly, that the Venetians only laughed at them; nay, the wisest could not at length believe there was any thing solid under such open proceedings. The Duke continued his preparations as long as he thought fit, without exciting the least jealousy; and his indiscretion, which it was expected would ruin the undertaking, promoted it more than all the circumspection of the Marquis of Bedmar. The Marquis, however, judged it proper to hasten the execution, either not to allow the Venetians time to reflect seriously on the matter; or on account of the danger to which his person was exposed every day. The Venetian fleet having offered battle once to that of Spain, which refused it, and pillaged the coast of Pozzuolo; the rabble of Venice were so elated, that the ambassador and all his family would have been infallibly massacred, if guards had not been sent thither. The same day he had news from the camp before Gradisca, which comforted him for this accident; for Renault sent him word, that he had found the troops so happily disposed, that he had finished his negotiation with-

out loss of time. The ambassador ordered him to go to Milan before he returned; and Don Pedro received him with the most flattering caresses. They agreed, that it was requisite to seize some town belonging to the Venetians on the Terra Firma, at the same time with Venice; that this town would bridle the rest, and serve as a place of arms to the Spanish army, which should attack them, and as a barrier to Venice, if it made any motion to succour them. Renault passed through the most considerable towns, and made some stay at Crema, to form a faction there by the interest of a French lieutenant named John Berard, an Italian captain, and one Alfier of Provençe, whom Don Pedro had already engaged. These three persons offered to conceal five hundred Spaniards in the town, without exciting the least suspicion to the Venetian commander, and to get possession of it within eight days after. By the examination which Renault made, upon the spot, he judged it to be almost infallible with that number of men. They needed only to cut the throats of a paltry garrison, which had been selected from the militia of the country, all the regular troops of the Republic being in the towns of Friuli, or in the armies.

The Duke of Ossuna had also persuaded the Marquis of Bedmar, that it was necessary to have some place belonging to the Venetians in the Gulf, which might lend a helping hand to the Uscoques and the Archduke, and be a retreat to the Spanish fleet, if by any accident it was obliged to seek for a refuge in that sea, when it should be engaged there. They made choice, for this purpose, of Maran, a strong place in an island bordering upon

Istria, and which had a harbour capable of receiving a large fleet. An Italian named Mazza, who had been sergeant-major of it during forty years, had almost as much authority there as the governor. For a good sum of money, and an assurance of the command of it, he promised to one of the Duke of Ossuna's emissaries that he would kill the governor upon the first orders, and afterwards make himself master of the place, and hold it in the name of the Spaniards. It was almost as easy to execute this promise as to make it; for the governor, who was the proveditor Lorenzo Thiepolo, lived with him in the greatest familiarity; and as the office of proveditor called him frequently to the frontiers in time of war, he intrusted the town entirely to the sergeant-major, as being the oldest and most experienced officer of the garrison. Affairs being in this condition, the ambassador thought he must now finish his work; not but that, by waiting longer, he might have added to the measures he had already taken; but delays, he knew, are pernicious to designs of this nature.

It was of the last importance to the honour of the crown of Spain, that it should not be possible to convict its ambassador of having had a hand in the undertaking, if it miscarried. In this view, he resolved not to reveal it to any of the conspirators save Renault and the Captain; and even these two, as he thought, did not know one another. They never came to him but when he sent for them; and he always appointed them different times, that they might not meet; because if they should be discovered, it would be much for his advantage that they should never have been together. In this apprehension, he would gladly have continued to

make them act their several parts without becoming acquainted; but having considered it maturely, he judged it was impossible. Though both of them had courage and conduct, Renault chiefly valued himself upon managing things so well, that the execution should be easy, and the effect infallible. The Captain, on the contrary, who was far less advanced in years, prided himself most in being a man of great execution, and capable of an extraordinary resolution. The Marquis informed him of the several negotiations Renault had transacted, of his admirable knowledge, which was able to find expedients for all emergencies, of his eloquence and address to gain new partisans, and his talent for writing, which was so necessary when there was an occasion to have perpetual accounts of the condition of the fleets, the provinces, and the armies; and therefore he conceived such a man would be a wonderful help to him. As for Renault, he only told him, that the Captain was the Duke of Ossuna's creature, and that, as the Duke was to have the principal share in their design, there was no concealing any thing from his confident; that he conjured him, therefore, to condescend to the manners of the pirate, as much as should be necessary for their purpose, and to show him all the deference which was needful to conciliate the affection of a man, haughty and presumptuous to the last degree.

The Marquis having thus laboured to dispose these two men to yield to each other, was surprised the first time he brought them together at his house, when he saw them embrace with a great deal of tenderness as soon as they met. He immediately concluded, that he was betrayed; for, as

he had always imagined these men were strangers, he could not comprehend why they had concealed from him that they were acquainted. But the mystery was soon explained. For he understood they had seen one another at the house of a famous Greek woman, who had an extraordinary merit for a courtesan, of which there needed no other proof than this adventure, in which she had so religiously kept the secret of their names. This fidelity appeared to them the more to be admired, because she was not ignorant that they had conceived a great esteem for each other.

The ambassador being fully recovered from his surprise, was pleased to find the desired union so easily effected. They owned in the sequel of the conversation, that they had each of them a private design to engage the other in the undertaking. As they were full of their project in the conversations they had had together at that woman's house, they had fallen sometimes on matters of this nature, in talking of the affairs of the times, of the state, and of the war. This was done without discovering themselves, and still more without any design of doing it; yet they freely acknowledged before the ambassador, that the heat of argument had sometimes carried them a little too far, and that they had expressed their sentiments too openly. The ambassador exhorted them to make use of this reflection, to be more circumspect for the future, and to learn, by this experience, that to keep a great design truly secret, it is not enough not to say nor do any thing which has any relation to it, but that a man must not so much as remember that he knows it. Renault then acquainted them, that since the rumours of a peace, which were revived towards the

end of June, the Venetian officers had treated the foreign troops very ill; who, being no longer restrained by the Count of Nassau, who died about that time, had not behaved well before Gradisca; that the general of the Republic, fearing they should do worse, had separated them, and put them into several posts, at the greatest distance from one another that he could choose; and this precaution having made the distrust of their fidelity public, they had mutinied, and, having insolently refused to execute some orders of the senate, that general had thought it his duty to put to death the chief of the seditious; that he had confined their leaders at Padua, and sent the rest to different places of Lombardy, till they could be discharged, and the execution of the treaties permitted the Republic to dismiss them. Renault added, that the Count of Nassau's lieutenant, who was one of the principal persons with whom he had negotiated, was banished to Brescia, and had contrived a plot there, by means of which, he was ready to put that town into the hands of Don Pedro; and that it was necessary, in the first place, to come to a resolution in reference to that particular design, because the lieutenant pressed in his letters to have a decisive answer.

The ambassador told them, that no motion must be made on that side till they were masters of Venice; and even then, there would be occasion but for a single place in Lombardy; that they were assured of Crema, and that this new enterprise would only divide their forces; that they should keep those they had gained in their good disposition; but the execution should be put off from

time to time under different pretences, and that, rather than expose themselves to make the least declaration, that thought must be laid aside entirely. Renault replied, that besides the lieutenant, he had treated with three French gentlemen, whose names were Durand, sergeant-major of the regiment of Lievestein, De Brinvile, and De Bribe; with a Savoyard named De Ternon, who had been at the storming of Geneva, a Hollander named Theodor, Robert Revellido, an Italian engineer, and two other Italians who had been formerly employed in the arsenal, and whose names were Lewis de Villa-Mezzana, a captain of light-horse, and William Retrosi, lieutenant to Captain Honorat in Palma. That he had judged it necessary to open himself fully to these nine persons; but, in the manner he had chosen them, he would answer for their fidelity with his head; that during his stay in the camp they had already made sure of above two hundred officers; and as for those officers, he had only given them to understand, according to the ambassador's orders, that the business was to repair to Venice, to deliver his Excellency out of the hands of the populace of that city when occasion should require it. That since his return, having written to know the exact number of men on whom he might depend, and desired them to report nothing but what was absolutely certain; they had informed him, that he might reckon upon two thousand men of the troops of Lievestein at least, and on two thousand three hundred of those of Nassau, and that all the officers were ready to put themselves into his hands as a security for this promise. That in the beginning of this negotiation, they had flattered their soldiers with the

hopes of some expedition after they were discharged by the Republic, in which they might make themselves ample amends for the misery they had suffered; that there was no ground to apprehend the singularity of the enterprise should dishearten them, even if it should be requisite to declare it; for they were so exasperated against the Senate, on account of the ignominious usage they had received, that, if there were no other reason, he would answer that there was nothing they were not capable of doing to be revenged. That, nevertheless, for the greater safety, the secret need not be revealed to them, unless it should be thought proper, until things were so well-disposed, that they could hardly doubt of the success: and that, as it was resolved to give them Venice to plunder, there was not one who would scruple to embrace such an opportunity of acquiring wealth.

From the first, the Marquis de Bedmar had determined not to engage in the enterprise until he was furnished with more means than were necessary to effect it; and that these means should be so independent one of the other, that even if some of them should happen to fail, the others should still be put in force. In this view, he had concerted measures with the Duke of Ossuna for a body of troops, though he reckoned on what Don Pedro had promised him, and upon Renault's agreement with the Dutch officers; and in each of these three ways he had secured himself with the same caution and exactness as if he had had no certainty of the other two, and as if he had three different undertakings in hand. It was now time to know precisely when the Duke of Ossuna could send those troops to Venice; and

since he could not be altogether depended upon in so important and difficult a matter, some person must be sent to him who would ascertain whether he was in a condition to perform what he promised. The captain could not be absent from Venice, without observation; and Renault was indispensably necessary there. They cast their eyes, therefore, on De Bribe, one of the French gentlemen whom Renault had engaged in Friuli; but this cavalier having received a commission from the Republic to raise soldiers, while he was preparing to set out, it was thought more advisable that he should go on with his levies, and one Laurence Nolot of Franc county, a comrade of the Captain, was despatched in his stead on the first day of the year 1618. The Marquis thought it was likewise time to reveal himself to the council of Spain. To obviate all the explanations which might be required from him, he sent thither his project, as much at large, and as well represented, as he was able: and because he knew the slowness of that court in its deliberations, he told the Duke of Lerma flatly in a private letter, that he must have a speedy and decisive answer; that the danger he was in gave him a right to express himself in that absolute manner; and that, if they detained his express above eight days, he would interpret that delay as an order to abandon the whole design. He received an answer within the time he required, but it was not altogether so decisive as he wished it. They told him, if there were any disadvantage in deferring it, that he might proceed; but that, if it were possible, it was mightily desired to have first a full and faithful description of the state of the Republic.

The ambassador, who was prepared on that head, was not long in drawing up a relation so just and artful, that the Spaniards have called it "the masterpiece of their politics." It does not appear for what design it was calculated, and yet, they who understand it, find not one word there which does not relate to the scheme in view. It begins with an eloquent complaint of the difficulty of the work, by reason of the impenetrable secrecy of the government he is to describe. Then he praises the government, but the encomium respects merely the first age of that Republic. After this, and some other general observations, he says, that the law which excludes the people from the knowledge of affairs, has been the occasion of the tyranny of the nobles; and that which subjects the ecclesiastical power to the censure of the chief magistrate has encouraged the licentiousness of the people of Venice against the court of Rome, since their late quarrel with that court. He exaggerates this licentiousness with the impieties which the Hollanders were said to have committed in Friuli with impunity; he exclaims particularly against the burying of a nobleman of their country, whose name was Renaud de Brederode, in the church of the Servites at Venice, notwithstanding he was a Calvinist; and severely taxes Father Paul, without naming him, as the cause. After commenting on the state of the people, and the contentment which they seemingly evince under the oppression of the nobles, he examines the state of the senate, of the provinces, and of the armies. In the senate he observes its divisions; and does

not scruple to say, that he knows many malecontents among the nobles. He describes the desolation of the provinces, by the cruel irruptions which the Uscoques had made in some of them, and by the poverty the others had brought upon themselves in succouring them. He affirms that there are not three officers paid in each garrison of Lombardy, and that the Republic preserves its authority there, only because nobody undertakes to usurp it from them. As to the armies, he gives a just relation of the insurrections which have happened, and of the dispersion which had been made of the mutineers in such numbers, that those who were left could be looked upon only as a crowd of wretched militia without experience or discipline. That as for the sea-forces, they were now become the refuge of the most infamous pirates in the Mediterranean; a crew unworthy of the name of soldiers, and of whose service the Republic could no longer be sure, than while they were not in a condition to turn her own arms against her. Having eloquently and forcibly described these things, he examines the opinion which ought to be formed concerning the future state of this Republic, her fortune, and duration; and proves, from the facts he has established, that she is in a feeble state, and that her maladies are of such a nature that she cannot bring them to a crisis, nor correct her present constitution, but by changing her entire form.

Upon this relation, the council of Spain left the Marquis of Bedmar in full liberty to act, without giving him any orders; but the protracted absence of Nolot put a stop to all, and the ambassador was out of all patience for having ex-

posed himself in an affair of this nature to the capricious humour of the Duke of Ossuna, whom he ought to have known long ago. A delay was mortal in this conjuncture of things. After the Spaniards had taken Vercelli, Gradisca was hard pressed by the Venetians, and the council of Spain had no other way to save it, than to renew the propositions of peace. A writing was drawn up in concert at Madrid, which contained the principal articles; but the continual disorders of the Duke of Ossuna obliged the Venetians to recal the powers of their ambassador, in order to transfer the negotiation into France, where the death of the Marshal d'Ancre gave them hopes of more favour. The peace was concluded at Paris, September 6th, and the governor of Milan had a conference soon after with the Count de Bethune, to regulate the execution of it in reference to the Duke of Savoy. But at the same time, the governor continued to disturb the Venetians, and even took some small places from them in Lombardy. They complained of it every where, and were preparing for war more vigorously than ever, until the Marquis de Bedmar made his compliments on the peace in a full senate, and promised the execution of the articles agreed. He did this not from any order he had received from Spain, but because he had a mind to obliterate the ill impressions the senate had entertained of him, from things which were past. In this view, he acquitted himself on this occasion with all the zeal, and all the demonstrations of joy and friendship imaginable; and the Venetians agreed readily with him for a suspension of hostilities. This suspension was an important affair for the Spaniards, and

the masterpiece of their ambassador. Gradisca was straitened to such a degree, that it could not hold out fifteen days longer; and yet hostilities were not to cease till the expiration of two months, because that time was judged necessary on both sides, to finish all the ratifications for the execution of the treaties. It was requisite, therefore, to prevent the surrender of this place, before that time elapsed. The suspension put it out of danger; and the Spaniards having no longer that obligation to hasten the execution of the treaties, remained at liberty to spin it out in length, as much as was necessary for their designs. The Duke of Ossuna, indeed, being compelled by orders from Madrid, and the remonstrances of the Pope, offered soon after to restore the ships he had taken; but as for the merchandise and the goods, he said he knew not what was become of them; and yet they were selling in Naples, even before the eyes of the resident of Venice; and the Duke sent out a powerful fleet to cruise again in the Adriatic Sea.

The senate complaining of this to the Marquis de Bedmar, the Marquis himself made stronger complaints of the same. He declared that the did not pretend to answer for the actions of the Duke of Ossuna, and that even the King their master would not answer for them; that among the many favours, and the good treatment he had received at Venice, during the whole time of his embassy, the only displeasure he felt was to be informed that the conduct of that Viceroy was imputed to his counsels; that he had never been concerned in it; that the least knowledge of the Duke of Ossuna would convince any one that he had no other guide than

his own caprice; and as for himself, they might judge of his disposition by the peaceable conduct of the governor of Milan, of which he gloried to be the author. That governor, it is true, observed the suspension exactly; but he still continued armed; and that it might not seem strange, he judged it proper to embroil himself afresh with the Duke of Savoy. Under pretence that the troops discharged by that prince had halted in the country of Vaux, waiting for the entire execution of the treaties, Don Pedro refused to the Count de Bethune to disarm, as he had before promised at Pavia, and prevailed with the Duke of Mantua to refuse likewise what depended on him. The Count de Bethune protested against them in a public writing at his withdrawing on their refusal, and an answer was made to this protestation in the most plausible manner the Marquis de Bedmar could invent. Hence it is plain, that it was of great importance to hasten the execution of his project, since it was so difficult to keep things in the situation requisite to make it succeed.

All this time the Duke of Ossuna did not despatch Nolot; and the ambassador, who was in the utmost perplexity to discover the reason of it, was informed at last of the cause. Some time after the Captain had been received into the service of the Republic, the Duke, who wished to know by different channels the state of Venice, sent after him an Italian named Alexander Spinosa, to pry into every thing. This man, who was not known, soon got to be employed there, as did all the soldiers of fortune who offered to serve. He easily judged the Duke was forming some momentous

enterprise, but did not suspect that the pirate was the manager of it. He soon perceived, however, that he was not on so ill terms with the Duke as every one imagined. When Spinosa arrived at Venice, he made the Viceroy an offer to poniard the Captain; and the Viceroy having refused it, under pretence of the danger there was in its execution, Spinosa, who was a man of sense, and knew the Duke, judged that there was some stronger reason for the refusal, otherwise he would not scruple to be revenged. The Duke charged him, however, to observe the actions of the pirate. In order to acquit himself the better of his commission, Spinosa got into the company of some Frenchmen whom he had known at Naples, and who were frequently with the Captain at Venice. These persons, who were of the number of the conspirators, gave the Captain an exact account of the inquiry Spinosa made into his conduct, and discovered also that this spy was carrying on some design himself, and endeavoured to procure men of courage and action for the service of the Duke of Ossuna. The Captain was very much incensed that the Duke should not have an entire confidence in him, but he was not surprised at it; he only considered, that if Spinosa continued to cabal, and was not in concert with him, he would weaken their party by dividing it, and that it was impossible for him to open himself to a man who was placed upon him as a spy. The Marquis de Bedmar and Renault were also of opinion that no time ought to be lost to remedy this inconvenience; and after having maturely consulted how to do it, they found there was no safety for them, unless they destroyed Spinosa. He was a man that would sell his life dearly, if

an attempt were made to assassinate him; his employment obliged him to be always upon his guard; and the Captain was forced at last to accuse him before the Council of Ten, as a spy from the Duke of Ossuna, after he had in vain tried all other means to take him off. The French, with whom he had associated, so contrived matters and supported things so well by circumstances, that he was seized and strangled privately the same day. Whatever he could allege against the pirate made no impression on the minds of the judges; because it was against his accuser, and he was not able to prove any thing he had advanced.

This affair very much increased the confidence the Venetians had reposed in the Captain; but it made the Marquis de Bedmar very uneasy, because it was an alarm to the Senate, to have a watchful eye upon the conduct of those strangers who were in the service of the Republic. The Duke of Ossuna had just been informed of the death of Spinosa, when Nolot arrived at Naples. He did not hesitate in guessing at the author. The mortification it gave him made him take it ill that the Marquis de Bedmar had sent him no notice of it; and the different suspicions which this accident excited greatly perplexed him. In the mean time, the troops of Lievestein having mutinied, were brought to the Lazaretto, within two miles of Venice, by order of the Senate, in the beginning of February. The Marquis de Bedmar, who feared they would come to an agreement with the Republic for their pay, and so be obliged to depart, contrived, by the means of their chief officers, to make themselves satisfied

with the sum which was immediately offered them. Taking advantage of the nearness of these troops, so favourable to the design of the conspirators, Nolot had orders, by an express, to represent to the viceroy, that during all that month they should have near five thousand men ready at their command. Nolot omitted nothing of his duty; but the Viceroy, who had not quite digested his passion, amused him so long, that after six weeks expectation, the officers, fearing lest their soldiers, who suffered extremely, should treat without them, treated themselves, with the consent of the conspirators, who thought they could not prevent it. Ten days after, Nolot arrived from Naples, with the resolution of the Duke of Ossuna, which was such as was desired, but directed to Robert Brulard, one of the Captain's comrades. The ambassador and the Captain, who were busy in contriving how to extricate themselves, did not vouchsafe so much as to take notice of the affront the Viceroy offered them by such a slight. He declared he was ready to send, when they pleased, the barks, brigantines, and other small vessels proper for the ports and canals of Venice, and a sufficient number to carry six thousand men, if there was occasion. Nolot had seen the troops and the barks ready to set out, and the Captain caused the ports and canals to be sounded, through which they were to pass, in order to land at the Place of Saint Mark. As he had a great many seamen at his command, by reason of his office, who, not being suspected, could go and come in those ports and canals as they pleased, it was easy to him to cause all the dimensions thereof to be taken with exactness. There was nothing now

remaining but to hinder the departure of the troops of Lievestein. No money was spared for that purpose, and the rigour of the season served for a pretence for their delay. The greatest part of them continued still at the Lazaretto; and those who were embarked when Nolot arrived, stopped in places which were not much more remote.

To relieve Renault and the Captain from these cares, for which they were not sufficient alone, they required eighteen men at least, of sense and courage, in whom they could fully confide. They had now made up this number, partly from those with whom Renault had negotiated in Friuli, and partly from those whom the pirate had induced to follow him from Naples. Of the latter there were five captains of ships like himself, Vincent Robert of Marseilles, Laurence Nolot, Robert Brulard, and another Brulard, named Laurence, natives of Franc county, with another Provençal named Anthony Jaffier. There were besides two brothers from Lorraine, Charles and John Boléau, and an Italian John Rizardo, all three excellent petardeers, and a Frenchman named L'Anglade, who passed for a most ingenious master of fireworks. The capacity of this last was so well known, that he had been allowed to work at his trade in the arsenal. By this mean the petardeers, his comrades, had a free admittance there, as well as Villa-Mezzana and Retrozi, who were of those whom Renault had engaged, and who had formerly been employed there.

These six persons drew so exact a plan of the arsenal, that those who had never been there, could easily deliberate upon it. They were much

assisted in this by two officers of the arsenal whom the Captain had gained, and who had seasoned the praises he gave them upon all occasions with so considerable a number of Spanish pistoles which he had to distribute, that they engaged to do blindly whatever he should command them. L'Anglade and they lodged in the arsenal. Renault had taken with him to the house of the French ambassador three of his friends, Bribe, Brainville, and Laurence Brulard; the three petardeers remaining at the Marquis de Bedmar's, who furnished them with the powder, the other materials, and the instruments necessary to work at their trade, but without having any communication with them. They had already made more petards and fireworks than were necessary, and the ambassador's palace was so full, that it was impossible to conceal any more. The Captain lived at his usual place of abode, but alone, that he might not give any suspicion in case he was observed; the others he lodged at the courtesan's where he and Renault first met. The esteem and friendship which succeeded the love they had felt for this woman, but especially the conviction they had of her fidelity, persuaded them that they could not make a better choice. She was of a Greek island in the Archipelago, and of a family as noble as it is possible to be in a country under the dominion of the Venetians, without being a Venetian. He who commanded there for the Republic, having debauched her by mighty promises, had since caused her father to be assassinated, because he would have obliged him to perform what he had promised. The daughter was come to Venice to demand

justice for the murder, but in vain; and this prosecution having consumed the small fortune she had, her beauty repaired her misery, as it had caused it. She heard with rapture the project of her two friends, and without difficulty risked every thing in order to ensure its success. She hired one of the largest houses in Venice, and under colour of some conveniences she was causing to be made in it, she brought thither but part of her furniture, that she might have a pretence to keep the house they had before, which was not far off. In these two houses eleven of the principal conspirators were concealed near six months. As she was visited by all persons of fashion, strangers and Venetians, and as this great resort of people might discover those who lodged with her, she feigned herself indisposed to get rid of them. They who know with what civility women of this profession are treated in Italy, will have no difficulty in comprehending, that her house became hereby inaccessible to all those who had no business there. The conspirators went out only by night, and their meetings were held in the daytime. In these meetings Renault and the Captain proposed those things which they had agreed upon with the Marquis de Bedmar, to have the advice of the company, and come to a resolution on the means to execute them. When they had occasion to repair to the Marquis, they did it with all the circumspection which is necessary in a country, and at a time, when the houses of ambassadors were narrowly observed as if they were so many enemies, and that of the Marquis in particular. They had long concluded that it would be requisite to have a thousand soldiers in Venice, before

they fired their train. But because it was dangerous to introduce them all armed, the Marquis had provided himself with arms for above five hundred. This was easily done with secrecy, as the gondolas of ambassadors are never searched; and there was only wanting an opportunity to bring these thousand men into Venice without notice.

The Doge Donato died, and in his place was chosen Anthony Priuli, who was then in Friuli, to see the treaties executed. The generals by sea had orders to go and fetch him with the navy, and the great chancellor and the secretaries of state were to meet him at a distance from the city, and carry him the ducal cap. Twelve of the principal senators were to follow them a certain distance as ambassadors of the Republic, each of these single in a brigantine, armed and magnificently adorned, and with a splendid retinue. The senate itself in a body was to receive him a good way out at sea, on board the Bucentaure, and conduct him into the city with all this solemnity. As it rarely happens that they who are created Doges are out of Venice at the time, this pomp drew thither an infinite number of curious people. The Marquis de Bedmar, who foresaw this, as soon as he was assured of the election of Priuli, despatched Nolot a second time to Naples, with orders to see the brigantines of the Duke of Ossuna sent out with the utmost speed. To remove all grounds of delay, the Captain was enjoined to send to the Duke as exact a plan as was possible of the execution, and especially to give him an account of what had passed at Venice, during Nolot's first journey. The pirate enlarged upon this precaution. He was for securing the mind of the Viceroy by every means, and to

show him, that it was not believed there was any reason to complain of him, he concluded his letter with these words. "I blame Nolot's negligence for the long stay he made at Naples; for I question not, but if he had represented things as they were, your Excellency would have soon despatched him. He must certainly have asked for money, or something like it, but he had express orders to the contrary, and I undertake even now to keep Venice for six months in my power, if it be necessary, in expectation of your Excellency's great fleet, provided you send me the brigantines as soon as Nolot shall arrive, and the six thousand men you was pleased to offer." This letter was dated April the 7th, the day on which Nolot set out. In the mean time Renault brought to Venice all the officers of the troops which had been corrupted, to acquaint themselves with the town, and observe the posts, that they might not be at a loss on the night of the execution. Before they came, they chose a thousand men out of all the Dutch troops, who were to hold themselves ready to march at the first orders; and that their absence might be less remarkable, they drew an equal number out of all the places belonging to the state on Terra-Firma, in which there were any dispersed. To receive these men, each of the officers hired as many lodgings as they could without giving a suspicion; they told the landlords that they were for strangers who came to see the festival; and as for the officers themselves, they all lodged at courtesans' houses, where, paying well, they were in more safety than any where else. There remained nothing now but to regulate the order of execu-

tion; which the Marquis de Bedmar, Renault, and the Captain, settled as in concert follows.

"As soon as it shall be night, those of the thousand soldiers who shall come without arms, shall go and arm themselves at the ambassador's house. Five hundred shall repair to the Place of St Mark with the Captain; the best part of the other five hundred shall go and join Renault, in the neighbourhood of the arsenal, and the rest shall seize all the barks, gondolas, and other carriages which shall be found at the bridge Rialto, with which they shall convey with all haste about a thousand soldiers more of the troops of Lievestein, who are still at the Lazaretto. During this, they shall behave themselves as peaceably as they can, that they may not be obliged to declare themselves, till these troops arrive. However, if they should be obliged to it, and any thing should be discovered, the Captain shall intrench himself within the Place of Saint Mark, and Renault shall seize the arsenal, in the manner which shall be represented; then two great guns shall be fired, to serve as a signal to the brigantines of the Duke of Ossuna, which shall be ready to enter Venice; and the Spaniards whom they shall bring, shall supply the want of the Walloons who shall be sent for. If there be no necessity to declare during this, when the Walloons shall be landed at the Place of St Mark, the Captain shall take five hundred of them, with the other five hundred men he shall have already, and the Sergeant-major Duran to command them. They shall begin by drawing up these thousand men in order of battle in the Place; then the Captain, with two hundred whom he shall take, shall make himself master of the ducal pa-

lace, and especially of the room of arms there, to supply those of his men who shall want any, and to hinder the enemies from making use of them. One hundred others, under Bribe, shall possess themselves of the Secque; and one hundred more, under Brainville, of the Procuraty, by the help of some men who shall be artfully introduced there into the belfry in the day-time. These last hundred shall remain as a corps de guard in the belfry so long as the execution shall last, that the alarm-bell may not be rung. Possession shall be taken of the entrance of all the streets which lead to the Place, by another corps de guard; and artillery shall be planted there facing the street; and till some can be had from the arsenal, a few of those shall be taken which are ready mounted before the house of the Council of Ten, which is hard by, and which it will be no difficult matter to seize. In those places which shall be thus secured, and in which a corps de guard shall be kept, they shall poniard all they find; and during these different executions round the Place, the sergeant-major shall remain still in order of battle in the middle, with the rest of the troops. All this shall be done with the least noise that may be; afterwards they shall begin to declare themselves, by petarding the gate of the arsenal; at the report of which, the eight conspirators who have drawn the plan thereof, and shall be within, shall set fire to the four corners with fireworks, which, as well as the petards, are prepared for this purpose at the ambassador's palace, and they shall poniard the chief commanders. It will be easy for them to do it in the confusion which the fire and the noise of the petards will occasion, especially those com-

manders not having any suspicion of them. They shall then join Renault when he shall have entered, and make an end of killing all they find; and the soldiers shall carry artillery to all the places where it shall be proper to plant some, as at the Arena de Mari, at the Fontego de Tedeschi, at the magazines of salt, on the belfry of the Procuraty, on the bridge of Rialto, and other eminences, whence the town may be cannonaded in case of resistance. At the time that Renault petards the arsenal, the Captain shall force the prison of Saint Mark, and shall arm the prisoners; the principal senators shall be killed, and suborned persons shall go and set fire to above forty places of the town, the farthest distant one from another that is possible, that so the confusion may be the greater. In the mean while, the Spaniards from the Duke of Ossuna, having heard the signal which shall be given them, as soon as the arsenal is seized, shall come and land also at the Place of St Mark, and immediately disperse themselves in the principal quarters of the town, as that of St George, that of the Jews, and others, under the conduct of the other nine chief conspirators. The cry shall be nothing but LIBERTY; and, after all these things are executed, leave shall be given to plunder all except the strangers; it shall be prohibited to take any thing from them under pain of death; and no further slaughter shall be made but of those who resist."

Nolot found things in so good a posture at his arrival at Naples, that the six thousand men were put to sea the next day, under the command of an Englishman named Elliot. In order to give the less suspicion, the Duke of Ossuna caused his large ships to take a great compass to repair to their

posts; but he sent Elliot and the brigantines by the shortest way. The second day of their steering, this little fleet met some pirates of Barbary, who attacked it. As it was only prepared to transport the men it had on board, and not to sustain a warm engagement, it was very much annoyed by the artillery of the Barbarians, whose brigantines were more manageable, and better armed. But although the great crowd of men on board those of Naples did not allow them the necessary space to defend themselves in order; yet, as they were all chosen Spaniards, they handled the enemy so roughly with their swords, that the pirates might perhaps have repented their stopping them in their course, if they had not both been dispersed by a furious tempest, which separated them in the middle of the action. The little fleet was so damaged, that it could not put to sea for some time; and the Marquis de Bedmar, seeing by this news that he could not disturb the solemnity which was preparing at Venice, assisted at it with more magnificence than any one. He protested in a full senate, making his compliment to the new Doge, that the particular joy which he expressed at his promotion proceeded from the hopes he had, that his Serenity would preserve on the throne the favourable dispositions he had lately demonstrated in Friuli for the accomplishment of the peace. At his return from this audience, he sent for Renault and the Captain. At first he asked them, if they thought it proper to lay the whole aside? They answered, they were not only of the contrary opinion, but that even their companions had appeared no more alarmed at this misfortune of the fleet, than if it had safely arrived; and that they

were all disposed to pursue the necessary measures to maintain things in their present situation, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity. The ambassador, who had put this question to them with trembling, embraced them with tears of joy after this answer. It was then resolved in concert, between the Marquis and his two confidents, that the execution should be delayed till the Feast of the Ascension, which was not far distant, and which is the greatest solemnity of Venice; and that, in the mean while, the troops should be maintained in the places where they then were, and supplied with all the conveniences they could wish; and for this purpose, no money should be wanting to the principal officers; that of the three hundred who had been sent for to Venice, the leaders should be retained, and the subalterns sent back to their troops, as well to keep the soldiers in their duty, as to discharge the town of so many, where such a number of officers might create a suspicion; that they who were detained should be employed in the most agreeable manner, that they might not be tired of waiting, nor even have the leisure, if possible, to reflect on the present state of things; that the twenty principal conspirators should observe their conduct narrowly; and to oblige the Republic to bear with the delay of the troops of Lievestein, and not to dismiss those of Nassau, the governor of Milan should not execute the treaties.

Although every contrivance was invented by the Marquis de Bedmar, and put in practice by Don Pedro and the Duke of Ossuna, they were forced to make every day some steps towards a peace. The Council of Spain did not dare to hazard any thing on

the hopes of so doubtful a success as was that of the conspiracy; and France, which was for maintaining the treaty of Paris, obliged the Venetians to consent to the Duke of Savoy's disbanding the troops which halted in the country of Vaux, and served for a handle to the delays of Don Pedro. This difficulty being removed, the Marquis de Bedmar, in order to prevent that prince from surrendering the places he had taken in the Montferrat, caused a rumour to be spread, that as soon as the Duke of Mantua should be re-established, he would make an agreement with the Spaniards for that state. At the same time, Don Pedro began a groundless quarrel with a minister of Savoy, who was come to Milan with the ambassadors of France, and sent him an order to depart. The Duke, provoked at this affront, recalled him, and left off vacating the places he had taken; but the ambassadors having represented to him that he was falling into the snare which Don Pedro had laid for him, he restored them all at once. Don Pedro was so astonished at this news, that he could not forbear showing it publicly in his discourse; he was thereby forced to restore the prisoners, and the smaller places; but for Vercelli, which was the important point, he made such strange difficulties, that Spain threatened to recall him before the usual time. At first he said, it would be ignominious in him to surrender that place while the ambassadors of France were at Milan, as it were to compel him to it by their presence. They withdrew; then he declared, he expected the Duke of Savoy would first restore certain lands which belonged to some ministers of Mantua. These lands were restored, and yet Vercelli was not surrender-

ed. At last, France, which desired to conclude the marriage of Madame Christiana, the King's sister, with the Prince of Piedmont, having explained itself in a decisive manner in reference to that place, Don Pedro began to send away the stores and artillery which were there, but with an incredible slowness. The Marquis de Bedmar having sent to him to be still more dilatory, he bethought himself of demanding new assurances from the Duke of Savoy in favour of the Duke of Mantua; but even the ministers of Mantua, tired with such prolongations, declared, in a public writing, that they did not require those assurances.

This declaration made the Marquis de Bedmar uneasy enough; but the conduct of the Duke of Ossuna made him much more so. The Duke being wearied out with the complaints the Venetians caused to be made to him from all parts on his continuing to disturb the navigation of the Gulf, and not knowing what to allege farther in his defence, thought fit at last to make this answer, that he would persist in it as long as the Venetians should entertain in their service the most irreconcilable enemies of the King his master. De Bedmar's rage, when he was informed of the Duke's answer, may be easily conceived. He did not doubt but the Senate, which was for peace on any terms, would dismiss them, to cut off from the Viceroy all manner of excuse. But the issue deceived once more the prudence of the Marquis de Bedmar. Some demon, favourable to the extravagances of the Duke of Ossuna, made the Venetians take a resolution directly contrary to their inclination and interest. It was remonstrated to the Senate, that the Republic, by

its procedure had shown too much that it desired a peace, and this was what made the Spanish ministers so backward to execute it; that if they satisfied the Viceroy on his complaint, he would imagine he gave the law to Venice; and that instead of dismissing the Hollanders, they ought to retain the troops of Lievestein, who were to depart the first opportunity, till the treaties were perfectly executed. The joy which this resolution gave the Marquis de Bedmar, was interrupted by a discovery of the plot at Crema. L'Alfier, the Provençal, and the Italian Captain who had been seduced there, quarrelled at play, and fought; the Captain was mortally wounded, and to discharge his conscience, confessed all to the Venetian commander before he expired. L'Alfier, who suspected what would happen, as soon as he had wounded him, made his escape with those of his accomplices to whom he could give notice; the others were taken, and the French lieutenant, who was the principal manager of the enterprise; but as Renault had always appeared to them under the character of an agent of Milan, and they did not know what was become of him since this affair, suspicions fell only upon Don Pedro.

Eight days afterwards, the sergeant-major who was to deliver up Maran, having for his own profit suppressed some vails which belonged to a valet de chambre of the Proveditore, and a pensioner of the Republic, the fellows were exasperated at the loss, and took the opportunity of his absence to go into his house, where they broke open his chests, and carried off his money and his papers, among which were found letters which made mention of

his design. As he knew nothing more than that the man came to him from the Duke of Ossuna, who had negotiated with him, he could accuse no one but the Duke; but he took a nobler resolution; he always answered in the midst of his tortures, that he knew very well they would not save him let him discover what he would, and that he would rather leave his accomplices, if he had any, in a condition to revenge his death, than ruin them with himself without any advantage. A public thanksgiving was observed in Venice for these two discoveries. The enterprise, however, became thereby much more certain than it was before; the Senate believed they had at last discovered the hidden cause of the irregular procedure of the Spaniards, and seeing these two plots had miscarried, they imagined they were now tranquil, and no longer doubted of the accomplishment of the treaties. The time, however, of the execution was at hand. From the Sunday which precedes the Ascension, to Whitsunday, there is at Venice one of the most celebrated fairs in the world. The great influx of traders did not render the town more difficult to be surprised, and it gave an opportunity to the thousand soldiers, who came thither among the merchants, to enter it, and lodge themselves without observation. It was easy for them to leave the Venetian towns, where they were dispersed, because for some time they who were most eager to return to their own country had deserted, and the Podestats applied no remedy to it, as the Republic would have the fewer to pay. But lest it should excite surprise that so many should desert in so short a time, the greater part pretended, at their departure, that they went to the fair at Ve-

nice. They disguised themselves like persons of all professions, and care was taken to lodge together those who spoke different languages, that thereby they might be the less suspected to hold any intelligence; and they were all cautious of giving any token that they knew one another.

The five hundred Spaniards designed for the execution of the plot at Crema which was discovered, were sent at the same time by Don Pedro to the adjacent parts of Brescia, in order, upon the first advice of the success of the conspiracy, to seize that town, by the assistance of a faction which the lieutenant of the Count of Nassau had formed there, and which still subsisted. The commander of these Spaniards was instructed to lead them directly to Venice on the first notice he should receive from Renault. As for the Venetian fleet, it had retired into Dalmatia, but was prepared to put to sea again on the first orders, because of the continual motions of the Duke of Ossuna. The Captain sent to the officers who commanded his twelve ships in his absence, artificial fire-works of the most furious sort, to disperse secretly in all the other ships of the fleet the day before the execution. As none distrusted those officers, it was easy for them to do it without being perceived, or even suspected. He charged them to measure the matches so exactly, that all might take fire at once; and that if any ship escaped they should attack it, and make themselves masters of it, or sink it with their cannon; and that after this they should repair to Venice without losing a moment, and put themselves in a posture to execute all these things forthwith; but to wait, however, for another order before

they began. The day was fixed on the Sunday of the Ascension, which was the first day of the fair. The Duke of Ossuna had caused his little fleet to be so well convoyed this time, that it arrived without any accident within six miles of Venice. It was divided into two parts, which sailed at some distance from one another, to be the less observed. The greater was composed of boats like those of fishermen, to avoid suspicion; and the rest consisted of brigantines, like those of the pirates. On Saturday morning, notice was sent to Elliot to set out from his post the next day, at the hour proper to arrive within sight of Venice in the dusk of the evening, and to set up the standard of St Mark; to possess himself of some small islands, by which he was to pass, which were able to make no defence, and whence he might come to Venice without being perceived; that then he should present himself boldly before the two Castles of Lido and Malamoco, because it was known there was no garrison in them, and that he might pass between them without any obstacle; that he should advance within cannon shot of Venice, and give notice when he arrived; and the boat which should bring that advice by the Captain would send seamen to pilot him, lest he should be run aground on the shoals, with which the waters that encompass Venice are full, or should split against the rocks, which render the entrance of the ports impracticable to those who are not accustomed to them.

As the following day was to be employed in disposing all things for the execution of the night, Renault and the Captain thought it proper to hold a consultation for the last time, the day before,

with their companions; and the Captain left to Renault the care of representing to them the state of things, and of giving them the necessary informations. Whatever they could do, they could not all meet until night. There were the three Frenchmen who lodged with Renault, the lieutenant of the Count de Nassau, the three petardeers, L'Anglade, the two officers of the arsenal, the Captain, and the lieutenant who had been employed there formerly, Nolot, the two Brulards, Jaffier, Robert, the Hollander Theodore, the Savoyard who had assisted at the storming of Geneva, and the engineer Revellido. These twenty persons having shut themselves up in the most private part of the house of the Greek courtezan, with Renault and the Captain, after the usual precautions on these occasions, Renault made a speech. He began with a simple and large narration of the present condition of affairs; of the forces of the Republic, and of their own; of the disposition of the town, and of the fleet; of the preparations of Don Pedro, and of the Duke of Ossuna; of the arms, and the other warlike provisions which were at the house of the ambassador of Spain; of the intelligence he had in the senate, and among the nobles; in a word, of the exact account which had been taken of whatever it was requisite to know.

Having gained the approbation of his auditors by the recital of these things, the truth of which they knew as well as himself, and which were almost all of them the effects of their care, as well as of his, he concluded his harangue by exciting their courage and ardour in the enterprise. His discourse was received by the whole assembly

with the enthusiasm which men usually have for sentiments agreeable to their own. Renault, however, who had observed their countenances, remarked that towards the conclusion of it Jaffier, one of the Captain's best friends, had fallen, all on a sudden, from extreme attention, into an inquietude which he strove in vain to conceal; and that there still remained in his eyes an air of astonishment and sadness, which expressed a mind seized with horror. Renault spoke of it to the Captain, who made a jest of it at first; but having viewed Jaffier for some time, he was almost of the same opinion. Renault, who perfectly understood the relations and necessary connections between the most secret motions of the mind, and the lightest external demonstrations, when a man is agitated, having maturely examined what had appeared in Jaffier's countenance, thought himself obliged to declare to the Captain, that he did not believe he was to be trusted. The Captain, who knew Jaffier to be a brave man, accused him of judging precipitately; but Renault persisting to justify his suspicion, laid the grounds and the consequences of it before him so clearly, that if the Captain was not touched by them as deeply, he was convinced, at least, that Jaffier ought to be watched. But he represented to Renault, that if even Jaffier should be staggered, which he could not imagine, he had not time betwixt then and the following night to deliberate how to betray them, and to take a resolution thereon; but let it be as it would, in the present posture of affairs there was no time to form new measures, and that it was a risk which must be run, either willingly or by force. Renault replied, there was one certain way not to be exposed

to it, and that was to poniard Jaffier themselves that night. The Captain remained silent a while at that proposition; but at last he made answer, that he could not resolve to kill the best friend he had upon a bare suspicion; that the action might be attended with several ill consequences; and urged a number of objections relative to the effect which such an act might have on their associates.

Renault listened with attention to the Captain's discourse, when one of their associates came into them with an order from the senate, that all those who had any post in the fleet were to go on board the next morning. At the same time was brought a note from the ambassador, which discovered the reason of that order. The Duke of Ossuna could not leave Naples so privately to repair to his great ships, but the spies of the Republic were apprised of it; but as he had left an order that no carriage should be furnished to go to Venice till a certain time, and that all letters which were directed thither should be stopped, the Venetians could not have advice of his departure before that day. The Archduke, who was lately elected King of Bohemia, had desired succour from him against the rebels of that country, who began to be in motion; and the Viceroy having boasted that he would conduct those succours through the Gulf to the very ports of the Archduke in Istria, the Venetians had caused him to be entreated even by that prince to take another route; but as he did not govern himself by those reasons which govern other men, when they were certified of his departure, they made no doubt but he intended to conduct in person those succours by the way he had resolved. They would not dispute the

passage with him, as they might have done, because they did not seek a rupture, and only chose to send their fleet to the coasts of Istria, where he was to land his troops, in order to observe him, and restrain him from the various temptations he might be under, at the sight of their maritime places.

Renault and the Captain dreaded that the courage of their companions would fail, on account of the unforeseen embarkation of the Venetian fleet, of which they were just informed; and this news gave them much uneasiness, because they immediately judged it would oblige them, though greatly against their will, to make some alteration in the manner after which they had first disposed the execution of their enterprise. This execution could not be performed that instant, because the night was too far advanced, and it would be day before notice could be given to the little fleet to approach within cannon-shot of Venice, where it was requisite it should be, and before a messenger could be sent for the troops which were at the Lazaretto. As for the next day, the Venetians being to put to sea, if Elliot was ordered to move forward likewise, he would infallibly meet those who would be all that day repairing from Venice to the fleet. The course the Venetian navy was to take, was the most favourable the conspirators could wish, for it was leaving Elliot behind; and all things being well considered, it was judged proper to give it time to get to some distance. The difficulty was, to resolve whether the Captain, L'Anglade, the three petardeers, and the other conspirators who had posts there, should obey the order of the senate. They seemed indispensably necessary at

Venice, especially the Captain; and yet he was the man who could least of all stay behind; the important command he had in the fleet, would make him be more taken notice of than all the others together. As many of them had employments on board his ships, he could almost alone supply their default by his authority, if he were present, and even hinder their absence from being perceived. These reasons made them conclude, that he should go with only L'Anglade, whose employment in the fleet depended immediately on the general, as well as that of the three petardeers; but as for the petardeers, they chose to risk all rather than let them depart. The General asked the Captain about them as soon as he saw him, and the Captain answered, he believed they were concealed in Venice in the courtezans' houses, as well as some of his officers whom he missed, and that the precipitation with which he was obliged to come away, had not given him time to find them out. The General was so pressed by the senate to depart, and being busy for the same reason, he could not send to seek them for several days, and still less stay till they were found.

Before he went on board, the Captain took Jaffier aside, and prayed him to supply his place with Renault on the night of the execution. He magnified to him the confidence they had in his conduct and courage, and told him, that without that assurance he should never have resolved to go, but that he thought he left another self to his companions while Jaffier remained with them. During this speech, the Captain observed him with

attention; but the man being warmed with testimonies which were given him of the esteem that was entertained of him, answered with such tokens of zeal, fidelity, and acknowledgment, as confirmed him in his opinion that Jaffier was faithful, notwithstanding the suspicions of Renault.

This was the last effort of his dying resolution; it vanished when his friend had departed; and having no longer before his eyes the only man who was capable to keep him firm, he abandoned himself entirely to his uncertainty. The description Renault had given of the night of the execution, in the conclusion of his harangue, had struck him to such a degree, that he could not moderate his pity. His imagination improved that picture; and represented to him exactly, and in the most lively colours, all the cruelties and injustice which are inevitable on such occasions. From that moment he heard nothing on all sides but the cries of children trampled under foot, the groans of aged men in the act of being murdered, and the shrieks of women ravished. He saw nothing but palaces tumbling down, churches on fire, and holy places defiled with blood. Venice, the sad, the deplorable Venice, presented itself every where before his eyes, no longer triumphant as formerly over the Ottoman power and the pride of Spain, but in ashes, or in irons, and more drenched in the blood of its inhabitants, than in the waters which encompass it. But then, to betray his friends! and what friends? for who does not know that there is a prison at Venice, which is more capable of shaking the constancy of a man of courage, than the most frightful punishments of other countries!

These reflections, which attacked Jaffier in the weakest part, confirmed him in his last sentiments; the pity he felt for his companions balanced in his soul that which the desolation of Venice had excited, and he continued in this uncertainty till the day of the Ascension, to which the execution had been deferred. There came news from the Captain in the morning; he sent notice that he would answer for the fleet; that it was sailing to the neighbourhood of Maran, and at the same time, as the troops of Lievestein should be sent for from the Lazaretto, a boat should be despatched to him to acquaint him with it, and that he would wait for that advice ere he began to act. They sent Elliot those guides that were promised him; suborned persons were introduced into the belfry of the Procuraty of St Mark, who had some acquaintance with those who kept guard there, and who laid them asleep by means of drugs proper for that purpose, mixed with their food and liquor, and by making them drink and eat to excess on account of the public rejoicings of the day. Orders were given to certain chosen officers, to possess themselves of the houses of those senators who were most to be feared, and to kill them. Each had the house marked out to him which he was to attack, as had also each of the principal conspirators, and the other officers, the post he was to take, the men he was to have, and where he was to take them, the word to know them by, and the way by which he was to lead them; notice was likewise given to the troops at the Lazaretto, to the Spaniards of the little fleet, and to the thousand Hollanders who were already in Venice, how they were to divide themselves

from the Place of St Mark, where they were all to rendezvous, the places they should seize, the commanders who were appointed them, and the watchword to know them; the artillery of the Council of Ten was visited by persons no way to be suspected, and it was found to be in a condition to serve.

Jaffier had the curiosity to see the ceremony where the Doge espouses the sea, because it was the last time it was to be performed. His compassion revived at the sight of the public rejoicings; the profound tranquillity of the unhappy Venetians gave him a lively sense of their approaching desolation, and he returned more irresolute than ever. But Heaven, not being willing to abandon the work of twelve ages, and of so many able minds, to the fury of a courtezan, and of a company of profligate wretches, the good genius of the Republic inspired Jaffier with an expedient by which he hoped to save Venice and his companions at once. He went to Barthelemi Comino, secretary of the Council of Ten, and told him he had something very urgent to reveal, which concerned the safety of the state; but first he required that the Doge and the Council should promise him one favour, and should engage themselves by the most sacred oaths to make the senate ratify their promise; that the favour was, the lives of two-and-twenty persons he should name, whatever crime they should have committed; but that they need not think of wresting the secret from him by torments without granting him this favour, for there were not any horrible enough to force a single word from his mouth. The Ten were assembled in a moment, and immediately sent to the

Doge, to receive from him the promise Jaffier demanded. He hesitated no more than they to give it; and Jaffier then discovered to them the whole conspiracy. The thing appeared so horrible to them, and so prodigious, that they could not believe it. As it was easy, however, to verify some particulars of it, Comino was sent to the belfry of the Procuraty. He brought back notice, that he had found the whole guard drunk or asleep. They sent him then to the arsenal. He was a good while before he could find the officers who had been corrupted; but at last a servant, being intimidated with his threats, showed him a little door, which he caused to be broke open, after he had knocked at it several times to no purpose. He found the officers with the three petardeers, who were just finishing the fire-works designed for the execution. He asked them what obliged them to work on so great a holiday, and why they had not opened to him when he knocked. They answered, that the petardeers were to set out the next day for the fleet; that the General had ordered them to bring a great number of fire-works ready to play off; that there not being so many ready as he required, they had desired the others to assist them to make some; that as the thing might be of consequence, they thought their presence might be dispensed with as to the observation of the festival; and that, in order to do it without scandal, they had shut themselves up, as he found them, in the most retired part of the arsenal, which they had chosen on purpose. Though Comino could make no reply to this answer, he arrested them.

The Ten being frightened more and more, sent next to the Greek woman's house, but no one was found there. The suborned persons who had laid the guard of the belfry asleep, had counterfeited sleeping as well as the rest when they saw Comino; but he was hardly gone out, when they ran to the courtezan's house, where they gave so warm an alarm, that without losing a moment, Nolot, Robert, Revellido, Retrosi, Villamezzana, Durand, Ternon, and Robert Brulard, who chanced to be with her, went all together into one of the barks, which had been retained at the Rialto to convey the troops from the Lazaretto, and got happily out of Venice. The grief which the Council had for their escape, made them resolve to search the houses of the ambassadors of France and of Spain without further delay. They asked civilly for admittance about an affair which related to the safety of the Republic. The Frenchman granted it as civilly, and Renault was taken, and brought away with Laurence Brulard, and De Bribe; but the Spaniard refused them with bitterness; he alleged all the privileges of his function, and protested furiously against the violence which was offered him, when he saw them enter by force. They found there arms for above five hundred men, sixty petards, and an incredible quantity of powder, fire-works, and such like. An exact inventory was taken of all, at which he was present, ridiculing them all the while. Just as this inventory was brought to the Council of Ten, a nobleman of the house of Valiera arrived with Brainvile and Theodore, two of the principal conspirators. They had been informed that all was discovered, and, despairing to save themselves,

as they knew all the ports were shut up since the Greek woman's escape, they resolved to make a show as if they would discover the conspiracy, and went to this noble Venetian, whom they had known in Flanders, to get him to introduce them to the Council, where they were seized. In the meantime a general search was made in all the taverns, inns, lodgings, gaming-houses, infamous places, and others, where strangers might hide themselves; and all the officers, either Dutch, French, Spaniards, Walloons, Neapolitans, or Milanese, were secured, to the number of nearly four hundred.

While these things were doing, two natives of Dauphiny who came from Orange, arrived in their boots, as they had flung themselves, at quitting their horses, into the bark which brought them. They told the Council, that some Frenchmen, their friends, having written to them from Venice, that if they had a mind to enrich themselves, they only need hasten thither, because there was a conspiracy just ready to be executed, to seize the town and give it to be plundered, they were come with all speed to detect so great a wickedness, instead of sharing in it. They were thanked, lodged honourably, and desired to rest themselves till the senate had time to deliberate on the reward which was due to them. In the meanwhile, the day came, the senate assembled, and the Marquis de Bedmar demanded audience. It was granted to him out of mere curiosity. The noise of the conspiracy was then spread over the city, and occasioned a dreadful disorder. The people, who had a confused notion that the Spaniards were the authors of it, got together about the ambassador's

palace, in order to break into it, and were ready to set it on fire, when those who were to conduct him to the audience arrived. They made known their commission; and the people, flattering themselves with hopes that the senate would inflict on him an exemplary punishment, suffered him to go, and followed him with many imprecations.

The ambassador having entered into the senate, began with bitter complaints against the violence which had been committed in his house, contrary to the law of nations; and accompanied his complaints with such haughty and furious menaces of revenge, that the major part of the senators were in a consternation, and dreaded lest he had still some invention, which was not known, to accomplish his design. The Doge answered him, that they would account for the outrage to him, when he had informed them about the arms which were found in the house of one who, as an ambassador, ought to be a minister of peace. He replied, that he was astonished that persons who were esteemed so wise, should be so weak as to insult him to his face on so gross a pretence; that they knew as well as he did that all these provisions were but deposited in his house, as had been done formerly, to be sent to Naples and Tirol; that as for the arms, all the world knew there were none so good as those which were made in the towns belonging to the Republic; and that for the fireworks, and other things of that kind, some workmen of an extraordinary skill having offered themselves to him, he had been induced to employ them out of curiosity. The Doge, interrupting him, told him those workmen were profligate wretches, or rather monsters, born for the ever-

lasting shame of mankind; and as he spoke those words, he presented to the ambassador a letter of credit to the governor of Milan, which had been found among Renault's papers, with other letters from the Duke of Ossuna. The ambassador made answer, that as for the Duke of Ossuna, he had declared his sentiments before, that he knew nothing of his conduct; and as for the letter of credit, it was true the French ambassador had recommended to him a gentleman some time ago, who stood in need of favour at Milan for a particular business, and he had given that man the letter they showed him; but that he was wholly ignorant that the Republic was any way concerned in that affair. The Doge, seeing by his replies that the ambassador would never want an answer, contented himself with representing to him very strongly the guilt of his enterprise; and concluded with protesting that they were all very far from thinking the King his master had the least hand in it. The ambassador replied to this remonstrance with all the transport of a man of worth, whose honour is attacked unjustly, that he was of a nation to which bravery and prudence were so natural, that they had no need to have recourse to ill artifices to ruin their enemies; that the King his master was powerful enough to destroy them by open force, and without making use of treacheries, as might very shortly appear.

He went out abruptly after these words without any ceremony. They who conducted him, begged him to rest himself a little in an apartment till the Senate had given the necessary orders for his safety; and he suffered himself to be

conducted where they pleased, raging with anger, and without making any answer. While the populace was got together in the place, to tear him to pieces when the Senate should deliver him up, it was easy for those who were sent to his house, with a strong guard, to ship off his domestics, and his most valuable furniture; after which, they came to fetch him, and conducted him through private passages of the palace to a brigantine well armed, and attended with a good convoy.

The people, enraged at his escape, made images of him and the Duke of Ossuna, to which they did all that they would have done to their persons, if they had been in their power. Orders were sent at the same time to the General at sea, to drown L'Anglade, the Captain Jacques Pierre, and all the trusty officers the Captain had on board his ships. As it was supposed they would be upon their guard, they chose a vessel of the strangest and most unusual form that could be found at Venice to carry the order. It was in a seemingly careless manner, and it took a large compass about, to arrive from the contrary side to that it ought, if it came from Venice. It was known afterwards that the Captain had been all the night in expectation; and seeing this vessel arrive, he retired immediately into the largest of his ships, as if he had suspected the truth, and was for putting himself in a condition to make a defence, in case he was betrayed. But it is probable that the fear of ruining all, through a terror which might be merely a panic, made him deliberate whether he ought to declare himself or not; for the General, who did not lose a moment, having sent to him two chosen men, and no way

suspected, they entered without arms, as to appearance, into the place where he was, and found him alone, and, accosting him with an air as free as usual, poniarded him on the sudden, and flung him into the sea, without any one perceiving it. L'Anglade and forty of his officers were served after the same manner, and with the same secrecy.

In the mean time, Renault being interrogated at Venice, answered, that he knew not what they meant. They showed him the letter of credit to Don Pedro, a passport in Spanish for all the countries under the obedience of Spain, bills of exchange for great sums, and a thousand pistoles besides. He said that he knew neither the Spanish ambassador, nor the governor of Milan; and therefore, if there was any thing amongst his papers relating to them, it must have been put there by some other person; and as for the bills of exchange, and the pistoles, they were all that he was worth in the world. They put him on the torture; but he said nothing farther, unless that he was a poor old man, of worth, quality, and honour, and that God would revenge him. The rack was brought before him for several days following, and even a pardon was promised him, if he would confess all that he knew; but to no purpose. And after having been tortured in all the forms at several times, he was at last strangled in prison, and hung up publicly by one foot, as a traitor. The lieutenant of the Count de Nassau, the three petardeers, Bribe, Laurence Brulard, and the two officers of the arsenal, were hung in the same manner, after having suffered the rack with the same constancy; but Brainvile, Theodore, and above three hundred officers, were only strangled or drowned privately.

Jaffier, in the mean while, being enraged at the ill success of his compassion, made loud complaints that the Council of Ten did not keep their promise with him in favour of his companions. It had not been violated, but after mature deliberation. Nay, several were for having it religiously observed; others remonstrated, that if the conspiracy had been made known by Jaffier only, it might have been a question; but two natives of Dauphiny having also revealed it, the Senate were at full liberty to act after the same manner as if Jaffier had made no discovery. This advice carried, it being supported by the horror and public fright, though many things might have been urged to the contrary. They endeavoured to appease Jaffier by all sorts of means: they offered him money and employment; but he refused all, and inflexibly required the lives of his companions, and at last left Venice, quite inconsolable for their execution. The Senate hearing this, sent him an order to quit the states belonging to the Republic in three days, at the peril of his life, and four thousand sequins, which they forced him to take.

The pity Jaffier felt for his companions redoubled upon him, as often as he reflected that he had been the cause of their death. Having understood, as he was travelling, that the design against Brescia was still in a condition to succeed, the desire of being revenged on the Senate, made him fling himself into that town; but he had hardly got there, when the Council of Ten having found out that affair by the papers of the conspirators, sent thither some troops, who took possession of the principal posts, and put several Spaniards to the sword. Jaffier was taken fighting at the head

of them, like a man who only seeks to sell his life dearly; and being brought back to Venice a few days after, he was drowned the day succeeding his arrival.

The death of this unhappy man having fully restored tranquillity to this noble city, the first care of the Senate was to demand another ambassador from Madrid. Don Lewis Bravo was accordingly nominated to that employment, with orders to set out immediately; and the Marquis de Bedmar gave him, according to custom, instructions, which might be reduced almost to two points. The first was, that the new ambassador should upon all occasions vehemently blame the conduct of his predecessor, and affect to follow the contrary, even in the most indifferent things. The other point was, that in all matters he should have to negotiate relating to the rights and pre-eminences of the Republic, he should make use, instead of all other memoirs, of the *Squittinio della Liberta Veneta*, to which the Marquis referred him in several places, in terms which, though modest, discover sufficiently the paternal fondness he had for that libel. In the meanwhile was published, by sound of trumpet, and in writing, throughout all the territories of the Republic, a prohibition, under pain of death, to impute any part of the conspiracy to the King of Spain, or the Spaniards. Thirty thousand ducats were given to the two natives of Dauphiny, who came from their own country to discover it. Don Pedro, seeing matters ended, disbanded his troops, and restored Vercelli. The Duke of Ossuna gave considerable presents to the wife and children of the Captain, when he set them at liberty; and the

Marquis de Bedmar had an order from Spain to serve as first minister in Flanders; and some years afterwards he received a Cardinal's hat from Rome.

VIII.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE AND FALL OF MASANIELLO

AT NAPLES,

A. D. 1647.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN OF ALESSANDRO GIRAFFI, BY JAMES HOWELL, AND REPRINTED FROM THE EDITION OF 1664.

——" Quelle horrible inhumanité que d'arracher aux hommes, pour des desseins pleins de faste et d'ambition, les doux fruits de la terre, qu'ils ne tiennent que de la liberale nature et de la sueur de leur front ! "—Telemaque, lib. xii.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

James Howell, one of the most learned men and copious writers of the seventeenth century, is so well known, that it would be out of place here to introduce him to the reader; and, indeed, his life is so eventful and varied, living as he did in the stormy reign of Charles I. and during the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, that to give an outline of it would far exceed the confined limits of an Introductory Notice like the present. Suffice it to say, that he was the son of a clergyman of Caermarthenshire, was born upon the rivulet Brynn of Llangammarch, near Brecknock in Wales, about the year 1596, was educated at the free school of Hereford, sent to Jesus College, Oxford, which he left after he took his Bachelor's Degree in 1613; and as he was a younger son of a numerous family, he was obliged to push his own way in the world. After a variety of adventures and employments, both at home and abroad, he died in November 1666, and was buried

on the north side of the Temple Church, London, where his monument is still to be seen. His works are very numerous and varied; but they are mostly all forgotton except his familiar letters, entitled "*Epistolae Ho-Elianae*," which appeared before the Restoration, and which, as he says himself, (vol. ii. No. 43), contain a sort of legend of his life. They were published in 1645, and are said to have been the best specimens of that kind of writing which had appeared in the English language; though Antony Wood maintains, that, as letters, they are fictitious.

Amongst the various pieces which Howell translated, was the following History of the Rise and Fall of Masaniello at Naples, translated from the Italian work, "Le Revolutioni di Napoli," by Alexander Giraffi, an Italian nobleman, published at Venice in 1647, the very year of Masaniello's extraordinary career. It will thus be seen, that Howell lived at the very time that enterprise happened. The first edition was published at London in 1650, and was dedicated to the Company of Merchants trading in the Levant. Another edition, with an additional Part, containing a History of the Conclusion of the Tumult, appeared in 1664, two years before his death, and was dedicated to the same Company. It may be necessary to observe, that another history of this conspiracy was published at London in 1729, by

Francis Midon Jun., which, though the author says he collected it "from Authentic Memoirs and Manuscripts," is also a translation of Giraffi, wherein great use is made of Howell's translation. Midon indeed acknowledges this; and observes, that "that translation is the only thing he had met with in English on the subject."

The style of Howell is peculiar to himself, quaint, and sometimes pedantic, but forcible, and abounding with beautiful allusions. It has been altered and abridged in various places of the following narrative, in order to make it more intelligible to the readers of the present day; but the spirit of the whole has been carefully preserved. The title which Howell gave to his translation, will best explain its contents. He terms it, "An Exact History of the late Revolutions in Naples, and of their Monstrous Successes, *not to be paralleled by any Ancient or Modern History.*"

Tragedie Milton Jun., which, though the author says he collected it "from Ambrosio Simoneta and Minoscripta," is in a translation of Giraldi, wherein great use is made of Horace's Art of Poetry. Milton indeed acknowledges this, and adds that "that translation is the only thing he had met with in English of the kind."

Mason's Caractacus is a work of considerable merit, and sometimes pathetic but tedious, and abounding with beautiful digressions. It has been altered and abridged in various places of the following narrative, in order to make it more fit for the reader of the present day; but the spirit of the whole has been carefully preserved. The title which Howell gave to his translation of Sylvester's romance, Urania, is "An Ionick History of the late Times wherein is shewed, and at length, by the sweet Sympathy of Amorous Affections, the Ruin of Tyrants and Usurpers, by the Triumphant Victories of Martial Spirits, by the generous Endeavours of Ladies, and other Persons of Quality." Howell, in his preface, says he wishes "Carlisle, Jermyn, and other Persons of Quality" to be "Patrons of Lucania, and other Persons by the Author."

* From Horace.

† Non dissimilem, non omnino dissimilem.
Nihil ad illis nostra.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE AND FALL OF MASANIELLO

AT

NAPLES.

Truth never looked so like a lie,
As in this modern Historie.

THE PROEM.

THAT brave Neapolitan courser, no less generous than undaunted, who for excess of mettle (prancing and triumphing in his own liberty,) would not suffer either bit in mouth or saddle on back by any barbarous nation or foe for so many ages:

He who, in so many warlike assaults so full of martial spirit, by his proud neighing kicked down the pride, and broke the courage of the great Hannibal, driving him back to the banks of Carthage after his glorious victories against the Romans, and other nations by him debelled: *

* From *debello*, to conquer.

Him of old
Thou didst *debel*, and down from heaven cast
With all his army.—MILTON

He who stopped that formidable army of three hundred thousand combatants under King Genseric the Goth, after he had sacked and burnt Rome, forcing him to bid farewell to fair Italy:

He who, with a bold tooth, did so irreparably strike Bellisardus the Greek, that he constrained him to take counsel of his feet, in a shameful flight:

He that, with a mortal kick, struck Alboinus the pagan, King of the Longobards, with an innumerable army, having had the dominion of Italy more than six hundred years:

He who triumphed over three most potent barbarous kings, di Fontana King of Afric, di Esdione King of Bœotia and Carthage, and Marchinato King of Syria and Persia, taking pleasure to swim in the blood of two and forty thousand Saracens, and never resting or drawing back his foot till he got from them all the spoils of that fearful army:

He who, after three months of close siege, did force Henry, the German Emperor, to retreat shamefully:

He who, being gamesome and full of heat, delighted chiefly to prance among arms and armed men, and to whiten the sands with his foam, and to trample upon unburied carcasses:

This brave Neapolitan courser came afterwards, by misfortune (his ancient liberty and innate bravery being lost), into the possession of strangers, sometimes of the Normans, sometimes of the Suavians, sometimes of the French, but not without the expense of a world of blood. At last he fell into the hands of the Arragonians, and the most renowned House of Austria their successors; who looked upon him with a gentle look, and—whether he was stroked with some magic

hand, or switched with some enchanted rod—he received from them the bridle into his mouth, the saddle upon his back, and willingly took up the Cavalier to manage him ever since.

Naples, for the space of 200 years, served the House of Austria with gratitude and fidelity. She succoured Alphonso I. with a voluntary imposition of ten carlines * upon every fire throughout the whole kingdom forever. She added five carlines more to Ferdinand; and so by degrees it mounted to sixty-six carlines, which she pays to this day, [1647], being three millions of gold yearly.

Afterwards, even with more readiness, she supplied Charles V. in ten donatives with five millions; Philip II. with thirty, in three-and-thirty donatives; and Philip III. and IV., from the year 1628 to this day, with one hundred millions and more. Yet in order to raise those large subsidies, it was found necessary to impose many taxes and gabels upon all necessary commodities.

Pursuing the same affection towards her King and being desirous to present him with a new donative, without regard to her own strength, in 1646, a new design was formed to put a fresh gabel upon fruits, which comprehended all sorts, as well dry as green, such as mulberries, grapes, figs, apples, pears, &c. depriving her of her ordinary nutriment. By making her thus live seven months continually, she fell down at last flat upon the ground by mere weakness; and then feeling her deplorable state, and that of the whole

* A *carline* is, or rather was, a coin equivalent to about *sixpence* Sterling.

kingdom, she took a new resolution to disburden herself not only of this, but of all other insupportable exactions, formerly imposed; and this she did not without well-grounded reasons. For it is clear that there is engraven in the breasts of all men by Nature a detestation of slavery, and unwillingly therefore do they put their necks into the yoke of another, especially when exorbitant exactions are imposed whereby they are reduced to extreme fits of desperateness. *Ad extremum ruunt populi exitium, cum extrema onera iis imponuntur:* People run to extreme ruin, when extreme burdens are laid upon them,—as Tacitus truly taught.

Hence it came to pass, in the royal city of Naples, that a multitude of the common people, with their families, being, among other gabels, much aggrieved by that upon fruits, and not being able to endure it, made it often known to the most excellent Lord, the Duke of Arcos, viceroy of that kingdom, by the public cries and lamentations of women and children: and the men of Lavinaro, and other populous quarters, as he passed through the market-place to the devotion of the most holy mother of Carmine, in the church of the Carmelites, situated along the said market, petitioned him by the means of the most eminent Cardinal Filomarino, the Archbishop, and others, to take off the said gabel. At last upon a Sunday, as his Excellency went to the said church, he heard a great noise among the people, and little less than threatenings, presages of the following commotions; and promising to take off the said gabel, he returned with such apprehensions of fear to the palace, that he not only went no more to the Carmine, but would not suffer the solemn feast

of St John Baptist to be celebrated, which was done yearly in Naples, in order to prevent such a multitude of people to assemble in one place.

In the interim, the people, much grumbling and murmuring that the promised grace was delayed, set fire one night to a baracca of powder in the market-place, which burned down the toll-house where the said gabel was exacted; and from day to day most pungent and bitter invectives, full of popular grievances and of fiery protests against the public officers, were fixed up in the most public places of the city. This boldness increased afterwards; and with this boldness came the report of complete success in the revolutions of Palermo, and a great part of Sicily, Messina excepted, the viceroy of which kingdom, the most excellent Lord the Marquis of Velez, had taken off or moderated many gabels, and afterwards had given a general pardon for all excesses.

The people of Naples, being allured and encouraged by this example of a neighbouring kingdom, grew very envious to attain the same freedom, saying, "What? Are we less than Palermo? Are not our people, if they unite, more formidable and warlike? Have not we more reason, being more burdened and oppressed? On, on to arms! Time is precious; it is not good to delay the enterprise." These, and like complaints, becoming more public, the Viceroy, in high wisdom, being desirous to prevent mischief, caused the six quarters or precincts of the city to assemble, viz. the fifth part of the gentry, and the sixth of the people, that some means might be devised to take off the tax upon fruits. But this design, though it was pleasing to all for the satisfaction

of the people, because it was prejudicial to some of the farmers there were secret ways found out to hinder its happy effects. The Viceroy, therefore, was induced to repair the toll-house; which he did, however, with a view to the ultimate adoption of some temperate way which would satisfy the discontented people on the one side, and the Neapolitan nobles, gentry, and merchants on the other; the latter having advanced upon the said gabel above six hundred thousand crowns upon the account of the capital million, and eighty-five thousand crowns of annual rent.

It was now rumoured abroad that some new tax was to be put upon corn and wine; on which account the enraged people protested that they would never give way thereunto; but reiterated their demands to have the gabel upon fruit quite taken off, and no other put on in compensation of it. As matters were in this state, behold an occasion did suddenly present itself which made way for the total execution of the desired purpose, as it shall be clearly declared from day to day, and that with as much fidelity and truth as any pen can possibly promise upon this subject.

THE FIRST DAY.

Sunday, 7th July 1647.

A young man about twenty-four years of age, chanced to be in a corner of the great market-place at Naples, in appearance active and pleasant, of the middle stature, black eyed, rather lean than fat, having a small tuft of hair on his chin. He wore linen slops or trowsers, a blue waistcoat, and a sailor's cap; his legs bare below the knees, and without shoes. Yet he had a good countenance, and was sufficiently bold and enterprising, as the result will prove. His profession was to angle fish with a rod, hook, and line, as also to buy fish, and to carry and retail them to those that dwelt in his quarter. Such men are called in Naples *Pescivendoli*. His name was Tomaso Aniello * of Amalfi, but he was commonly called, by contraction, Masaniello. This man dwelt in the market-place; and under the window of his house, towards the left of a neighbouring well or fountain, were the arms and name of Charles V., being very ancient, which might be ascribed to a mysterious presage that he should renew and restore, as he himself would often very pleasantly observe, the privileges which that unconquered monarch granted to the city and people of Naples. It is a remarkable circumstance, that about a hundred years before, in the month of May 1547, as

* The word literally signifies a *ring*.

John Antonio relates in his History of Naples, when there was a commotion in the government of Don Pero de Toledo, on account of the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition which Philip II. would have introduced, another Masaniello, a Sorrentine, and captain of some banditti, was the leader of that tumult. But because the nobility were then joined with the people, that insurrection was not very hurtful, nor lasted long. And if such an union had now been, so much ruin had not befallen both King and people; for what greater contagion can there be in a city, than disunion between its inhabitants?

This Masaniello, from a kind of natural penetration, having observed the murmurings up and down the city, laid hold of the following occasion:—One day (which was four days before the holy festival of *Corpus Domini*) he went very angry towards his house, and, passing a church where a famous bandit captain, named Perone, had fled for refuge, with one of his companions, he was asked by them what was the matter? He answered in great wrath, "I will be hanged if I do not attempt to set this city right." They laughed at his words, saying, "A proper person you are to right the city of Naples!" Masaniello replied, "Do not laugh; I swear by God, if I had two or three of my humour, you should see what I could do." "What would you do?" asked they. He answered, "Will you join me?" "Why not," said they. "Pledge me, then, your faith," replied Massaniello, "and you shall see what we have to do." They instantly pledged their faith to him, and he departed.

But he had not been long at home before he

met with fresh provocation; for some of the officers of the customs having accidently met his wife in the street, as she was carrying a small quantity of counterband flour in her apron, they laid hold on her, and hauled her to prison; and, without having the least regard to the tears and entreaties of her husband, would not let her go, till he had sold all his goods, to pay a fine of an hundred ducats, which was the price they had set on her liberty. This barbarous extortion struck so deep into the heart of the young man, who was naturally choleric, that he immediately meditated upon the means of being revenged; and considering how the people were enraged by the gabel upon fruit, he made use of that pretence, and running up and down among the fruit-shops that were in that quarter, complained loudly of the cruelty of the tax, and engaged them to come in a body to the market-place, and there declare publicly to the country fruiterers, that it was in vain for them to bring their fruit to market, for they would not buy one basket till the gabel was taken off.

In the meantime, while this dissatisfaction spread throughout the shops, the *elect*, or chief magistrate, Andrea Anaclerio, having been chosen that very day, betook himself to the market-place, where the various fruits were distributed to the shop-keepers. They all cried out to him that they would buy no more gabelled fruit; but Anaclerio persuaded them at that time to pay the tax, with the assurance that it would be speedily taken off. This promise caused the tumult to cease at that time, and Masaniello, seeing that nothing farther was done, went up and down, exclaiming, *Avant Gabel! Avant*

Gabel! for which some laughed at him, but others considered well his words.

About this time a great number of boys had gathered together in the market-place, and Masaniello approaching them said, "Say as I do; two torneses, that is, a bajocco for a measure of oil, six and thirty ounces the loaf of bread, twenty-two the pound of cheese, six granas for beef, six granas for pulse, nine granas for veal, two granas the pint of wine." * These words he made them repeat various times; and being thus taught, and bearing them in memory, they cried them up and down all the city, and even in the face of the Viceroy. He gave them, however, another lesson, which was, "*Viva Dio! viva la Madonna del Carmine! viva il Papa! viva il Re di Spagna! e la grassa! e muoia! muoia il mal governo!*" † These and similar phrases being taught by Masaniello to the boys, they cried them up and down, which caused much laughter and jeering at their master. But he told them, "You laugh at me now: you shall soon see what Masaniello can do: let me alone, and if I do not free you from slavery, let me be held infamous for ever." This increased their laughter; but regardless of it, he began to enlist such a number of boys, betwixt the ages of sixteen and seventeen,

* There were silver or copper coins current in Naples at the time. A *bajocco*, or bajocoa, was a copper coin, ten of which made a *julio*, and one hundred a Roman crown.

† "Let God live! let the Lady of Carmine live! let the Holy Father live! let the King of Spain live! let there be plenty! may the ill government die! may the accursed government die!"

that they came to be above 500, and at last 2000, insomuch that he could not only muster a company, but even a whole regiment. He then prepared himself for the approaching festival of our Lady of Carmine, making himself commander of his troops, and giving to every boy a little cane.

Among other things during this festival, it was a custom to observe a certain ceremony, which was, that a sort of castle or tower of wood was erected in the midst of the great market-place, and a company of boys, who represented the Turks, used to defend it, whilst another set of lads pelted and battered it with sticks and fruit; and this drew together a great concourse of people; but it seldom ended without quarrelling and bloodshed.

On this occasion, there were assembled a vast multitude of people of the meaner sort; and although the hour was come when fruits were generally brought to the market to be taxed, and the boys were all met for the purpose of picking up such as fell upon the streets, it chanced that no fruit appeared at all; for the shopkeepers had resisted the payment of the gabel, telling the fruit-merchants that they might pay it themselves if they pleased, but as for them they would pay none. This caused an altercation, which proceeded from words to blows, and which being told to Zuffia Grassiero, governor of the city, he ordered Andrea Anaclerio to quell the commotion. This, Anaclerio in vain attempted to do, for both the fruiterers and the retail sellers were firm and obstinate in their quarrel; and not to displease the latter, he decided against the fruiterers (most of whom were from the city of Puzzuolo), reviling them with words, threaten-

ing to bastinado them, and to condemn them to the galleys.

Among those of Puzzuolo, there happened to be a cousin of Masaniello, who, according to the instructions given him, began more than any to excite the people. Seeing that he could sell his fruit only at a low price, and, after paying the gabel, have hardly any thing left, he flew into a rage, and, throwing two large baskets full of fruit upon the ground, he exclaimed, "God gives plenty, and the ill government a famine! I care not one straw for this fruit: let every one take it." Upon which the boys eagerly ran to gather and eat the fruit. As all this fell out according to Masaniello's expectation, he rushed in among them, crying out, *Avant gabel! Avant gabel!* but Anaclerio instantly threatened him with the bastinado and the galleys, which so exasperated the people, that they threw figs, apples, and other fruits, with great fury into his face. But this attack seemed too little to Masaniello, who hit the magistrate on the breast with a stone, and encouraged his army of boys to follow his example, which they did. Anaclerio was accordingly forced to break through the crowd as fast as possible in a coach; and reaching the church of the Lady of Carmine, he embarked there in a felucca, and thus reached the palace in safety, otherwise he would have been torn in pieces, or stoned to death by the boys.

Upon this success the people flocked in greater numbers, as well to the said market-place as elsewhere, and began to exclaim loudly against those intolerable grievances under which they groaned, and crying out, "Let the King of Spain live, but let the accursed government die." The tumult still in-

creasing, Masaniello being followed by a multitude of boys and all sorts of loose people, some with sticks, others with pikes and partisans taken from the tower of the Carmine, he leaped upon the highest table which was among the fruiterers, and with a loud voice cried, "Rejoice, dear companions and brothers; give God thanks, and the glorious Virgin of Carmine, that the hour of our redemption draws near; a poor bare-footed fellow, like another Moses who freed the Israelites from Pharaoh's rod, shall in like manner free you from all gabels that were ever imposed. A fisherman, I mean St Peter, reduced with his voice from Satan's slavery to the liberty of Christ, Rome herself, and with Rome, a world. Now another fisherman, who is Masaniello, shall release Naples, and with Naples a whole kingdom, from the tyranny of gabels. Henceforth you shall shake from off your necks the intolerable yoke of so many grievances, which have hitherto depressed you. Nor to affect this do I care a rush to be torn in pieces, and to be dragged up and down the kennels and gutters of Naples. Let all the blood in my body be drawn out of these veins; let this head dance from my shoulders by the fatal steel, and be perched up in this market-place upon a pole, I shall die contented and glorious; it will be triumph and honour to me to think that my blood and life were sacrificed in so glorious a conquest, and that I became the saviour of my country."

Masaniello, by often repeating this and similar harangues, marvelously inflamed the minds of the people, who were disposed in their hearts to co-

operate with him to this effect; and as a proof of their zeal, they set fire to the house next the toll-house for fruit, both of which were burnt to the very ground, with all the books and accounts, and many of the goods belonging to the farmers of the customs, which were therein.

This being done, the common people increased in such numbers in every street, that the citizens shut up their shops, every one being astonished at the sudden tumult; and many thousands of the people uniting themselves, went to other quarters of the city, where were other gabel-houses, for fruit, corn, flesh, fish, salt, wine, oil, cheese, silk, and all other eatable or wearable commodities, and spared not one of them. All the writings and books of entrance or issues appertaining to the said gabel, as also all the furniture, as well of the farmers as others, and all things that were there in pledge, or otherwise, such as hangings, chairs, arms, great quantities of money, with other rich moveables, were hurled into a great fire of straw, and burnt to ashes upon the streets. There was one thing remarkable during this plundering and confusion, not one durst meddle with the least piece of any thing, but all was dedicated to the fire; it being the quintessence, as it was said, of their blood, they would not have a jot of any thing preserved from the fury of the flames. The mob becoming still more bold and courageous, because they found no resistance or obstacle, and the number having increased to about 10,000, they made towards the palace of the viceroy, many of them holding loaves of bread upon the tops of staves and pikes, and crying more loud than ever, "Let the King of Spain live, and let the accursed government perish!"

The first army of Masaniello, also, consisting of 2000 boys, every one lifting up his cane with a piece of black cloth tied on the top, went along the streets and cried out with dolorous and loud voices, which moved many to tenderness and tears, "Have compassion upon those poor souls in Purgatory, who, not being able to endure the burden of so many grievances, seek how they may escape: O dear brothers! join with us; O sisters! help so just, so necessary an enterprise, and so profitable for the public good." These doleful tones they whined from one street to another, till they came at last to St James' prison, which they violently broke open, and, freeing all the prisoners, they admitted them to their society.

Being now come before the palace, and under the window of the Viceroy, they began to cry out amain, that they would not be freed of the fruit-gabel only, but of all others, especially that laid upon corn. The Viceroy came out to the balcony, and told them that the said gabel should be abolished, and part of the corn gabel also; but the mob bawled still that they would not be relieved in part, they would have the whole taken off, and they still cried out, "May the King of Spain live! and the accursed government die!" A number of them wishing to enter the palace to notify unto the Viceroy the rest of their grievances, his Excellency commanded the German and Spanish guards to suffer them to pass and repass freely: but not being heard by them, some resistance was made by the soldiers, when the mob, with canes and clubs only, (a thing incredible to believe,) and with loud cries, effected their entrance, demanding audience of the Viceroy. But he had made his

escape; and the Dutch and Spanish guards at the gate abandoned their posts, and made off to their quarters. The mob then entered the palace, and bursting open the hall-door, entered without any difficulty, until they came to the chamber where the Viceroy was hid in a closet, and, though they found the door doubly bolted, yet by force of halberds and other instruments, they broke it open. The Viceroy would have been torn to pieces had not the Duke di Castel di Sangro and Don Ferrant Carraciolo previously conveyed him away, and so saved him from that mortal blow which was intended. With a few gentlemen that were about him, the Viceroy now resolved to retire into the castle, where the Duchess of Arcos had withdrawn herself with her ladies, children, and relations; but, understanding that the ladies had taken up the draw-bridge, he took a resolution to fly into the neighbouring church, dedicated to St Louis, where there was a friery of Saint Francis of Paola. In order, however, to let the mob know that he was willing to enter into their demands, from a window he threw small schedules up and down signed by himself, and sealed with the King's seal, wherein he absolutely took off the gabel upon fruit, and part of that upon corn. But the mob were far from being satisfied; they made signs with their hands, and cried aloud that he must come down and speak with them face to face, upon which the Viceroy went down to avoid exasperating them by any appearance of distrust.

In the mean time, that part of the mob who remained in the palace ran up and down with great fury, gutting the rooms everywhere, setting fire to sedans, tables, windows, screens, and other move-

ables of value; yet they would not meddle (a thing to be wondered at in the middle of such a tumult) with the apartments of the most Eminent Cardinal Trivultio, who dwelt in the same palace.

The Viceroy, having come down to the rabble, threw himself into a coach with two horses, which was provided at a proper place to carry him to the church of St Louis; but no sooner was he perceived by the mob, than they stopped the coach, and, opening the door, presented two naked swords at his breast, and threatened that unless he would take off the gabels, he would be put to instant death. He accordingly promised he would do so if they were quiet; but this would not serve them unless he came out of the coach, and showed himself to the people. This also he did, and then some respect was shown him; some kissed his hands, and fell upon their knees, crying out, "Most excellent Sir, for the love of God, disburden us once of these gabels—let us have no more slavery—let us live." His Excellency then confirmed unto them their request, but meanwhile was devising how to escape out of their hands; for although he was honoured by many, yet he held himself not safe in such a confused multitude. In order to divert the mob, he threw among them some hundred zecchins of gold, which he carried about with him for that purpose, which had good effect, though many cried out aloud, "We have no need to be relieved with a little money, but to be freed from the gabel." But while most of them were greedy to take up the gold, his Excellency got safe and sound into the church, where he caused all the doors to be shut, and those of the monastery also.

The rabble perceiving this, and being greatly

enraged that the Viceroy had escaped out of their hands, went straightway to the monastery, and, battering down the first gate, they thought to do so with the rest, crying out still to be released from the gabels, and insisting that his Excellency would consign them a paper in writing under his hand and seal, in which he should promise to do so. Fearing that the mob would do farther violence to the monastery, as their numbers still increased, he opened a window, and desired them to be quiet, for he was disposed and ready to satisfy them. The incredulous multitude, however, believing still that they would be deluded, proceeded to batter down the other gate; which being done, they immediately entered the monastery. While this violence was going on, Filomarino, Archbishop of Naples, being zealous in his pastoral charge for the service of God and his church, endeavoured to appease the people, in order to avoid those irrecoverable losses which he saw threatening the city, made a sign to them with his hand, that they should be peaceable; but they replying, that they would have the writ for release of the gabels from the Viceroy, especially those upon corn and fruits, his eminence answered them, that he would make it his business to obtain it, and so going out of his coach, he went in person to the second gate of the monastery, to hinder the pulling of it down by the furious rabble. He effected his purpose, for, out of the great reverence they bore to their archbishop, the fury ceased; but still they prayed that the gabels might be abolished. The bishop promised to bring them the instrument signed and sealed; but lest the fury should recommence during his ab-

sence, he sent a messenger to the Viceroy, desiring him to send the said instrument. This the Viceroy did, desiring him to deliver it with his own hands to the people. The Bishop having received the said written instrument, entered his coach, and showed the charter to all the mob, which he drew after him along Toledo Street, every one being anxious to know what it contained. But what? The charter was no sooner read with a loud voice by the Bishop, but the mob cried out again that they were cheated, for that instrument contained only the taking off the fruit-gabel, and seven carlines upon wheat; but they would have divers other gabels abolished. The Bishop, perceiving that nothing could be done with the rabble while in that state of ferment, and having delivered the charter to the chief of the people, retired peaceably to his palace.

The mob now ran to the great market-place, to give notice of the said charter to the rest, who were assembled there in still greater numbers; but finding that this was but satisfaction in part, it was deemed necessary, for the common defence of the faithful people of Naples, to enroll some armed men, to procure a total discharge of gabels. Returning to the palace, thousands of men and boys would again have attempted an entrance into the church and monastery of St Louis; being resolved to burst open the doors of that part, where divers lords and ladies were, but the Spanish soldiers opposed them; and, in particular, a brave captain kept off the rabble with his sword, and the soldiers with their muskets, and divers of them were killed. In the meanwhile, the ladies had time to retire into the Friers' cells, and the Vice-

roy, by the help of the Abbot of the Convent, scaled the walls, and got into the monastery of the Jesuits, whence, putting himself in an old sedan carried by Spaniards, he was conveyed to the Castle of St Elmo.

As soon as it was known for certain that the Viceroy had escaped from the monastery, the rabble returned to the palace, resolving to disarm all the Spaniards who were on guard. But they compounded, by delivering to them drums and half pikes, and all other instruments, their swords and muskets excepted. They then went to all the other courts, and guards dispersed up and down the city, whom they immediately attacked and disarmed. They next proceeded to the suburbs of Chiagia, to the palace of Don Tiberio de Garaffa, Prince of Bisignano, who was field-master, and colonel-general of the battalion of Naples, defying that great cavalier, who, by his natural affability, had made himself beloved by all Naples. They desired that he would be pleased to be their defender and intercessor betwixt them and the Viceroy for the total abolition of the gabels, according to the favourable privileges granted them specially by Charles V. But before they got the Prince of Bisignano's answer, some of them ran furiously to the place where they exacted the gabel of fruit at Chiagia, set fire to the house, and burnt every thing that was in it, as they had done in other places. The rabble still augmenting in that populous suburb, they divided themselves into two squadrons, or rather armies. By this time, the Prince of Bisignano came out on horseback. The lesser sort of boys put him in the middle, and he desired them to be orderly; but they called out,

"Let us go to take off the gabels." He was conducted by the palace, and so along to the castle, and thence through all the public places, till he came to the great market. The Prince, seeing the mob wonderfully increased to above fifty thousand persons, endeavoured to appease them; and to do this the more conveniently, he went to the church of the Lady of Carmine; and being got up in a high place, with a crucifix in his hands, he prayed, exhorted, and conjured them for the love of God, and of the most blessed Virgin his patroness, to be quiet a little, promising them by oath to obtain from the Viceroy what they desired. But finding that all this did no good, he waited some time in the market, to have an opportunity of negotiating with the ringleaders of the riot, in order to assure them that he would make it his own task to procure them complete satisfaction. In the meantime, other new accessions of people coming from other parts of the city, they proceeded to break open the prisons of Santa Maria d'Agnone, St Archangelo and others; the guards of which not being able to resist, were obliged to yield and fly. The gates being thrown open, they made all the prisoners depart, burning and consuming to ashes such books and processes against them as were found there; though some of the mob were averse to this violence, because those prisons had been in former times royal palaces. At last they were dissuaded from it by the Prince of Bisignano, who stated that by setting at liberty foreigners, murderers, and thieves, they would draw upon themselves great inconveniences.

They next directed their course toward the dogana

or tollhouse for corn, with faggots on their backs, and fire and pitch in their hands; and the gates being wrenched from their hinges, the Prince not being able to persuade them, though he laboured earnestly, they entered there with such a fury, that they spread fire on all sides. Nor were they satisfied till they saw all not only burnt, but reduced to ashes: corn, with a great store of household stuff, and a great quantity of money, which the ministers of the dogana had in bank, being either their own, or *in deposito*, or pawned, were consumed in the flames.

After this exploit, they went to the Piazza of St Lawrence, the Prince still remaining with them from a desire to pacify them. Having arrived there, and entered through the church into the cloisters to go up to the steeple-tower to sound the great bell, that all men should put themselves in arms, an entrance was at first denied them by some who had fled thither for sanctuary; but two of whom were presently killed. Now, some of the people began to apprehend divers fears; but a Sicilian, who appeared to be rather a devil in human shape, and one of the greatest furies that hell could hold, animated them all to battle. He reproached them with their fears; he jeered their cowardice: but the justice of Heaven found him out; for he was killed from the said tower by a musket-bullet.

The Prince Bisignano, finding himself exhausted after so many hours fatigues, and after so much mischief done to the city, and being weak and faint by reason of the heat of the season, and his own delicate constitution, now sought to disengage himself from this labyrinth of popular tumult. By a wise stratagem, he distributed the people into

various quarters of the city, with strict prohibition that they should not sack nor assault any one's house: which plot took; for being thus divided, he retired unperceived to a kinsman's house hard by, where, having refreshed his spirits for a while, he betook himself about the evening in a close sedan chair into Castel Nuovo.

The report being dispersed abroad of the retirement of the Prince Bisignano, and the people, finding themselves without a head, cried out for their leader and conductor Masaniello, who, accepting of that charge, began more than ever by sound of drum to influence the people throughout all the city and suburbs. It was now thought fitting that some religious men should go in procession through the city, not only to appease the unbridled people, but to implore Divine help; which being done, those offices of the holy church were much acknowledged by the Viceroy, who sent effectual relation thereof to the Conte d'Ognate, then Catholic ambassador at the court of Rome. In the mean time, the Viceroy and the nobility, dreading that the rabble would go to St Lawrence church, and seize upon divers things which belonged to the city, and sound the great bell to arms which hangs in the steeple of that church, sent thither some companies of Spaniards well armed, as also others, for the guard of the said church and cloister of St Lawrence.

At two o'clock after midnight, the Viceroy removed from St Elmo to Castel Nuovo, which adjoins the royal palace, there being only a bridge between them. There went also thither Cardinal Trivultio, with many officers and cavaliers; and although it seemed high time for them to think of

chastising the rebels, yet the Viceroy, like a wise prince, restrained his indignation, and published, that by next Monday the loaf of bread should weigh 33 ounces 4 grains, whereas before it was scarcely 24 ounces; and that the gabel of fruit should be absolutely taken off. For greater safety, however, he ordered that additional guards should surround the castle. Meanwhile, the people did not flag a whit in their former fury, but caused the bell of our Lady of Carmine to ring out thrice for arming, and consequently great companies flocked together, and divided themselves into divers quarters. Some proceeded to set fire to all the out-houses of Naples, where gabels were exacted, with drums beating before them; others remaining behind, to prepare arms for the following day, plundered the shops for swords and muskets, for bullet, fire and match. Others went among the merchants, who, without any resistance, furnished them with all sorts of arms; and because one master of a shop would foolishly have made opposition by threats, and, which was worse, by discharging a mortar-piece out of a window, which killed one of them, they were so exasperated, that putting fire to his house, wherein were divers barrels of powder, eighty-seven persons were blown up and perished, and forty-four were hurt. To prevent such a disaster in future, his Excellency commanded, that all the powder in other places throughout the city should be wetted: But the unbridled mob, passing with such an imperious authority through the streets, began to put an army in order, and provide all things necessary for the business of the following day.

THE SECOND DAY.

Monday, July 8th 1647.

THE active and formidable preparations made by the rabble the night before had this effect, that although the day had not yet grown clear, and the glorious sun was not come out of the womb of the vermilion morn, yet up and down the city nothing was heard but drums and trumpets, and clashing of arms; nothing seen but colours displayed, choice soldiers, burnished swords, cocked muskets, archibuzes, lances, targets: and what was even more alarming, besides the citizens themselves, the country swains appeared from the neighbouring villages armed with ploughshares, pitchforks and shovels, and, ranging themselves in a military way for common defence to plough glebes of flesh, and water them with blood; in fine, the women were seen in great numbers armed with fire-shovels, and iron-tongs, with spits and broaches, and their children with little staves and canes, encouraging the young men to battle. Now, let it be considered what such a multitude all armed could do, who being invipered as it were with blood in their eyes, cried out "Let the King live! let the King our Lord live! let the ill government die! No gabels! no gabels! Let the dogs die, who, being transformed to wolves, have devoured the flesh of innocent lambs! Let these wasps fly away, which have hitherto sucked the sweet honey of the bees!"

With such like cries proceeding from the bottom of their throats they rent the very air, and were enough to soften the hardest marble, draw tears from the stones, and sighs from ice; they animated one another, they crowded the streets, guarded the passages, and prepared themselves to provide furniture for the war. Horror, blood and amazement, reigned in every corner. The keys were consigned from Minerva to Mars. Books were neglected, studies were abandoned, the bar was solitary, the chairs were silent, the ecclesiastics sung Lachrymæ, the law ceased, patronages were despised, advocates were dumb, the judges were idle, tribunals were shut. The arsenals only were open; the pikes had got the better of the pen, force of wit, boldness of wisdom: The whole city was inflamed with martial fury. The places adjoining the great market, especially Lavinaro, Porta Nolana, Couvaria, Sellaria, the Piaz of the Elm, were in the utmost commotion, from the dense multitude who resorted thither. Orders were given to the inhabitants of the other precincts of Naples, which are thirty-six in number, to arm in like manner, under pain of an irremissible burning down of their houses, which was punctually performed. There being want of powder, they went to a house where it was sold, to buy some; but the sellers refusing without orders from the Viceroy, they raged with such a fury, that, throwing fired matches into that house, they blew up the powder into the air, and with it above sixty persons, as afterwards appeared from the number of bodies which lay many days unburied. This happened at Porta della Calce; and it caused a shock like an earthquake through all the city; but they were not a whit dis-

heartened at the disaster. Going, in greater numbers than before, to the King's powder-house out of the city, towards Cap de Chino, they would have seized that magazine of powder, had they not been prevented by the labourers, who had put the said powder in water to prevent a similar disaster.

While the rabble made all these preparations, the Viceroy did not relax his wonted prudence to acquit himself of his duty, although he had retired into Castel Nuovo. He dispersed guards all along the castle, and in St Francisco Xaverio's Street, to the number of 400. He shut up in the royal palace for his own guard 1000 Germans, and planted at the gates 800 Spaniards, with 1000 Italians. He secured Pizzafalcone, which lies above the palace, as also the neighbouring streets, with good fortifications, making ramparts of faggots, and raising other trenches of earth about the gates of the old and new palace, and at the end of the street looking towards the said palaces. He likewise commanded a large piece of ordnance to be put at the end of every street towards the Santo Spirito, the monastery of the Dominicans, and of the Minims; another against the cross of the palace; another upon the ascent of Santa Lucia; and two before the great gate towards the middle of the new palace. In the meantime the people hearing that another regiment of Germans had arrived from Puzzolo by order of the Viceroy, they went to meet them, killed part who made resistance, and the rest, who willingly surrendered themselves, were made prisoners, and led into the city. The same was done to two companies of Italians; but by order of Masaniello the latter were released, and armed for the defence

of the city. The Germans he sent in derision into the Castle, laden with all kinds of provisions.

It happened upon Monday morning, that the Spanish guard, for some insults they had received, imprisoned two mean fellows; and the people, fearing they would be executed, rose up and threatened, with howlings and unusual cries, to tear in pieces all the Spaniards who were in Naples, if those prisoners were not delivered them; wherefore, to avoid such a fate, which would certainly have happened, they were yielded up safe and sound.

That morning, bread of very excellent quality and unusual weight was sold, insomuch, that a loaf of bread, which was but little more than twenty-two ounces, was now thirty-three, and the joy of the people may be easily conjectured. Both men, women and children, citizens and strangers, went crying up and down the streets, "Let the King of Spain live! let the most faithful people of Naples live! and let the ill government die!"

It now seemed expedient for the Viceroy, to despatch by some Lords of the Collateral Council, and of the Council of State, a note unto Masaniello, as head of the mob, wherein he granted as much as was demanded the day before, which was the taking away of all kinds of gabels. But the people would not be satisfied with this, but sent notice, that they would have further contentment, viz. a restitution of the privileges granted them by Kings Ferdinand, and Frederic, and by the Emperor Charles V., all of which, by public act, the Viceroy, the Collateral, and Council of State, with all the nobility, should oblige themselves to observe. They insisted farther, that the people should nominate the chief clerk of

the market of the city; that it should pass for a law, that no new gabels in future should be imposed, without the consent of the Capo Popolo, who should be a lord by title, as it was anciently, when the Prince of Salerno enjoyed that office; that he also should be named by the people, without any dependency, or having any recourse to the viceroys for the future. They scrupled not to demand, in addition, that the Castle of Saint Elmo should be put into their hands, though they proceeded not very far in that proposition.

His Excellency, perceiving that the mob would lend no ear to any reasonable offers of peace, judged it expedient to restore to favour the Duke of Mataloni, and Don Joseph Caraffa his brother, and to solicit their joining with other lords and knights, they being favourites of the people, and and to go up and down the city with a view to restore order and quietness. This, accordingly, was done; for many lords did ride up and down the streets in divers quarters, in particular the Prince of Bisignano, Caraffa di Bel Nuovo, Il Principe di Monte Sarchio of the house of Avalos, the Prince di Satriano Ravaschiere, the Duke di Castel di Sangro, Don Ferrante Carraciolo, the Prince della Rocella, the Lord Don Diomedo Caraffa, the Lord of Conversano, with other Lords, dwelling in the piazza of the great market, in which there was a great multitude assembled. These Lords signified unto the mob, that his Excellency the Viceroy was very ready to give them all satisfaction; but it was answered, that they desired no more, than that the privileges of King Ferdinand should be granted to the city, which were confirmed by Charles V., who, by oath, promised

to impose no new taxes upon city or kingdom, either he or his successors, without the consent of the Pope; and even being so imposed, they should be well regulated, otherwise the city might rise up with sword in hand, without any mark of rebellion, or irreverence to the Prince, for the maintenance of her liberties. Now, since most of the gabels ever since, some few of small consequence excepted, have been imposed without the consent of his Holiness, it was just that they should be all taken off, and that the people should have delivered up to them the original of the said privilege, which was among the archives of the city in the church of St Lawrence. Those lords and gentlemen understanding this, went back to Castel Nuovo to impart all this to the Viceroy, who presently convoked the Collateral Council, with that of the State, as also the Sacred Council of Santa Chiara, to consult what answer should be returned unto the people.

In the mean time, the Archbishop, ordained that the holy sacrament should be openly exposed in many churches, and that all persons should be invited to implore divine assistance at such an emergency. The miraculous blood, and the holy head of St Gennarro, the glorious protector of Naples, which lie in the dome of the chapel of Tesoro, were likewise exposed, and the clergy went in solemn procession up and down the city, viz. the Dominicans, Franciscans, those of Del Carmine, the Augustins, the Jesuits, Capuchins, Teatins, and others.

That day it was debated by the people who should be their chief, that by his authority they might prepare their addresses to the Viceroy, and

obtain what they desired; and as, among those who rode up and down the city, the Lords della Rocella were the most eminent, and had their palaces in the great market, they made overtures to the said Lords, that they would please to employ themselves in behalf of the people, in order to obtain the restitution of their Charter to which they consented. For the performance thereof, these Lords went to Castel Nuovo, accompanied by many people, where his Excellency commanded them to be admitted, the concourse of people remaining without all the while, expecting, not without much anxiety, an answer from the Viceroy.

At the same time, and for the same purpose, the Lord Prior was sent for from St Lawrence; and in the belief that the Charter would now be found, the multitude which accompanied him was so great, it appeared as if both he and his horse were carried on their shoulders. But the Lord Prior, knowing that it would be difficult to find it, and feigning to withdraw himself upon some business, he made off with incredible speed, and concealed himself in the church of the holy Apostles. This occasioned extraordinary murmuring and discontent among the people, who thought themselves baffled and deluded by one who they expected would have been their defender and advocate. Nevertheless, some affirm that the Lord Prior, with a view to quiet them, did bring them a skin of parchment, pretending that it was the original charter of Charles V.; which being shown to the satrapans and council, and found to be a counterfeit, they were so enraged, that had he not fled, they would have put him to death.

The Duke de Roccella, in the mean while, returned from the Castle to the great market-place, attended by the gross of the multitude, and carrying with him a copy of the charter desired by the people; but having heard of the dangerous success of the Lord Prior, he dared not say it was the original, but told them it was a true and real copy, as the original could not be found. Hereupon it was received at the beginning with some applause; but being read and found imperfect, it raised a mighty discontent in the hearts of the people, who cried out that they were mocked, cozened, and betrayed by the said Duke, as they had already been by the Prior; and falling into a mortal hatred of all the nobility, they raged against them, threatening them with ruin and revenge. Having the said Duke della Roccella in their hands, they clapt him in prison in the monastery del Carmine, and appointed the bandito Perrone to be his keeper, who himself had formerly been chained in the same church, but was set at liberty by the people. This man, however, being an ancient friend and confident of the Duke, did manage the business so effectually with the people, that he obtained the Duke's freedom, obliging himself to restore him into their hands when demanded; so the Duke having remained a day or two in his palace, retired afterwards to his country house.

There was appointed to be about the person of Masaniello, as one of the principal heads of the people, a priest named Julio Genovino, who had been their Elect during the government of the Duke of Ossuna, and was well practised in the affairs of the court, and who had always endea-

voured to advance the good of the people; and to him they added for a companion the aforesaid famous bandito Perrone. These two being joined with Masaniello, drew out a list of sixty houses of ministers and others, who had been connected with the farming of the gabels, and who, having enriched themselves, as was given out, with the blood of the people, deserved to be made examples to future ages, by having their houses and goods burnt to the ground; which was done accordingly.

But let us proceed more orderly in the relation of these ruined palaces. The first was that of Gieronimo Fetitias, one of the farmers of the corn gabel, situated in the quarter of Porta Nuovo, near the houses of the Lord Mormili. There the people having flocked with faggots and pitch, and getting into the house, they threw out of the window all kind of household stuff, and all sorts of utensils, with great store of money, chains and bracelets, breaking the windows wider for that purpose; all of which were brought to the market-place and hurled into a great fire, where they were burned to cinders, amid huge outcries of the people.

This first act of the fiery tragedy being ended, they went next to the house of Felice Basile, who at first had been a poor baker, and carried bread up and down the streets of Naples; but having friends at court, by tampering with the gabels, in a short time he became very rich. He dwelt near the Spirito Santo, where the people having met, and plundered his palace from top to bottom, they hurled out at the windows and balconies all the household stuff, writings and books, with other

rich curiosities. There were twenty-three great trunks thrown out into the streets, some of which being broken open, contained wondrous rich things, such as cloth of gold and tissues, with costly embroideries, that dazzled the eyes of the beholders; all of which, with a cabinet full of pearls and other precious stones, were hurled into the devouring element, without saving so much as a rag; nor durst any one take up the value of a pin, unless it were to help the throwing of it into the fire.

These two burnings lasted five hours; after which they passed to the palace of Antonio de Angelis, a counsellor, who had been elect of the people in the time of Monterrey, and who concurred with that viceroy in imposing many new gabels. This man being admonished by many of his friends to secure his goods and his palace from destruction, neglected their advice, because the day before they had taken down his gate only, and he imagined that there their fury had terminated. But he reckoned without his host: his unfortunate destiny blinded him so, and so stopped his ears, that he would not listen to wholesome caution. Whereupon the rabble, being come before his house, they furiously entered, and finding it full of all kinds of costly furniture, even to admiration, they presently destined every thing to the fire, leaving not a jot unburnt. That which was most to be pitied was, that the pleas, writings, charters, patents, and processes of divers poor and rich men, were all consumed. There was also a library of curious books, two coaches, four beautiful horses, and two mules, all burnt; and they threw bottles of oil into the fire, to make it burn with more violence. In his pantry, larder-house, and kitchen, there were delicate

provisions, and divers chests of sweetmeats; and a boy having taken up a small piece of bacon which fell by chance, he was nearly torn in pieces by the multitude. There were 10,000 crowns in good silver burnt, besides vessels of plate double gilt. The fire of this house was so great, that although it was in the night-time, every corner of the street was as clear as if it had been noon-day.

Thence they ran to the house of Antonia Mirabella, another counsellor, and a Neapolitan cavalier, who narrowly escaped with his life, but of whose house they left not one stone upon another, but consecrated all to the voracious flame, which lasted above three hours.

At six o'clock they passed to the palace of Andrea Anaclerio, Elect of the people; but he had wisely removed his goods the Sunday before, presaging some violence. In furious disdain, they applied fire to the four corners of the house, which made a horrible flame, to the terror of the beholders, which lasted till the sun returned to enlighten the following morn.

But while the people consumed with fire the houses, goods and wealth, of those public thieves, as they termed them, there burnt in the breast of the Viceroy an ardent desire to put a period to such fearful combustions. In order to hasten an accommodation, the Collateral Council and Councils of State and War, were assembled; and it was resolved, that his Excellency should command four companies of foot, to reinforce the squadron which was already in the castle, while a legal instrument was ordered to be printed, wherein an abolition of those gabels, and a general pardon, were granted. This instrument was accordingly printed and sent

into the great market, that all people beholding it, might return to their homes; but it took no effect, because the pardon was considered imperfect, not specifying so much as the people would have, and containing divers matters subject to litigation. The Viceroy, perceiving that the nobility were hateful to the people, and therefore unfit to quench the fire, but rather to increase it, now purposed to make use of two of their own prime advocates, who were also much esteemed by him. These were Andrea Martellone, and Onosico Palma, whom the Viceroy having commanded to come unto him, he committed unto their care and prudence, and that with a great deal of earnestness, the appeasing of the people, with large promises of remuneration. These men executed what was imposed upon them with much alacrity; but it produced no fruit, and having returned to the Viceroy, they said it was impossible to assuage the fury of the people, unless he delivered unto them the original of the charter granted by Charles V. Upon this being fully understood by the Viceroy, who, from the beginning, had an ardent desire to content the people, especially in this point, he caused all diligence to be used, that the said charter should be found out. In order to effect this, he despatched to the Church of San Lorenzo some of the nobles, elect of the city, together with Don Joseph Maria Caraciolo, a person of great valour and learning, who, besides his high birth, was a most earnest pacificator at all times, especially at the present conjuncture, being warmly devoted to the service of his King and country.

In the meantime, Masaniello made it known to all the merchants in the name of the people, and

corporations of the city, that they should instantly arm themselves for the service of the people; and in order to enforce his proclamations, a great part of his train, partly on horseback and partly on foot, proceeded to the various houses demanding arms, which were delivered up to them, both by noblemen and officers. They thus obtained possession of many thousands of archibuzes, carbines, muskets, pistols, and such like arms; as also nine pieces of artillery, which one merchant had in his house, and which were given him in pawn from the Court for some thousands of ducats. They took also seven canons out of a ship, which they assaulted in a new galley, all of which they placed at the mouths of the principal streets of the city; and having understood that Mazola, a Genoa merchant, had a good store of arms, they entered his house, where they found 4000 muskets, which were distributed up and down to the populace dwelling in the quarters of Santa Maria il Parete, then clapped torches to his house, and consumed it to the foundation.

The Archbishop seeing that, notwithstanding all proffers of accommodation, the disturbances increased every hour with more fury, resolved to go abroad in procession; but doubting that it would not be agreeable to the people, before he put his designs in execution, he requested the Impositors of St Paul and of The Apostles to discover how they stood affected. These, together with Don Carlo de Bologna, and Don Diego de Mendoza, being the most eminent of the Secular Priests, both on account of their birth and exemplary lives, put themselves into their coaches, and went to the Piazza of the great market, to observe the humour of the peo-

ple, the Bishop having no other aim herein, than the service and satisfaction of the city; yet he wanted to know their inward inclinations. The said Fathers and Lords having put in strict execution what they had in charge from the Archbishop, found true what his Eminence had formerly doubted; as it was told them by the chiefs of the people, who yet thanked the Archbishop for his pious zeal, that, touching such a solemn and extraordinary procession, they humbly advised his Eminence not to do it, because the priests and religious men in those broken times might haply receive some injury, which would prejudice the reputation of the church. They prayed his Eminence, however, that he would expose in the church the holy Host, and order public orisons for forty hours.

The fathers and gentlemen having returned to the Cardinal Archbishop, related unto him what they had proposed, and the answers that were made; whereupon his Eminence, not thinking it expedient to put his former thoughts in execution against the will of a tumultuary people, directed the said Impositors, and all heads and rectors of churches, as well secular as regular, that the blessed Sacrament should be exposed, and public and private prayers made, to recommend unto the Divine Majesty the woful condition of city and kingdom; which was punctually performed every day until the death of Masaniello.

When the Archbishop had despatched those seasonable orders, it being now night, his Eminence repaired to *Castel Nuovo*, to consult with the Viceroy, whether any terms of accommodation could be proposed, that might avert the calamities that hung over the city, and give some satisfaction

to the enraged multitude; who had been so used to fire and cruelty, that they seemed to delight in such sights and executions. For the better effecting of which, this worthy patriot associated with him the most illustrious the Lord Altieri, Apostolical Nuncio, at that time residing in the kingdom. In the evening, divers other lords and cavaliers retired also to *Castel Nuovo;* as well for the safety of their persons, as to consult with the Viceroy, what was most proper to be done in the present extremity.

THE THIRD DAY.

Tuesday, July 9th 1647.

THE minds of the Neapolitan people being now inflamed with rage, and with a determination to destroy the houses of all public ministers, partisans of the royal court, lawyers, and farmers of the gabels; there were no bounds sufficient to stop their insolence and fury.

Hence the glorious sun had scarcely appeared in the orient to illuminate the city, before the furious people ran to the palace of one Valenzano, formerly a very poor plebeian, and who afterwards, from a petty clerk in the Dogana, had become a farmer of the gabel, and enriched himself extremely. It is incredible what a world of precious goods, both for quantity and quality, were found in his house, which were all reduced to ashes, except two boxes full of gold, found in the cupboard of a window, which were taken and deposited in the King's bank.

Hence they passed to the palace of the Duke of Caivano, towards the little gate of Santa Chiara, where all his writings and public books,—he being Secretary of the State—and an infinite store of rich moveables and utensils were found, all which were burnt in two great fires, and the palace levelled with the ground. What rich coaches, sedans and couches, with rare vessels of argentry, and jewels of all kinds, were consumed in this place! There were also a great number of curious

pictures found here. The profane were burnt, but some holy pieces were sent to divers churches, reserving for the fire the frames of them, although they were very gallant and rich, which course they observed in all other places. The heat of this fire was so great, that it reached to a monastery of nuns, of the order of St Francisco, hard by, who cried out that they were all destroyed. It also included a library of books, the leaves whereof flew up aloft, and the words were legible in the air, one of which leaves happened to fall upon the ground, which treated of the nobility of the ancient Dukes of Milan.

It would be tedious to describe the desolation and ruin caused by those conflagrations, with the quantity and quality of the goods destroyed. It may be merely observed, that all these cruelties (termed by the people *just revenges*) were exercised upon all those who were put down in Masaniello's list, as devoted to destruction. Among these were the palaces of many of the nobles. The owners of many of these mansions, wishing to save their property, endeavoured to elude the vigilance of the rioters, by privately conveying them to various monasteries and convents; but Masaniello having notice of this, caused the inmates of these religious houses to deliver them up, under the pain of a similar visitation; and, not venturing to refuse, they were consigned to the rabble, who immediately threw them into the flames. So intent were they on their work of destruction, that some splendid coaches, which were discovered concealed with their horses alive, were also thrown into the flames, and consumed to ashes.

The most diligent search, in the meanwhile, was made for the original charter of Charles V. in the Convent of St Lawrence, where the archives of the city were kept; and not finding it there, the people grew more tumultuous than before, ordering every thing they found to be burnt, among which was the picture of the Spanish King, which they had formerly carried about with them, exposed under a rich canopy, and exclaiming, "Let the King live! Let the accursed government die!" Among the bands which went abroad that day, were many women with arquebuses on their shoulders, like so many amazons. One of them, well dressed and handsome, having the royal arms upon her head, encircled by a writing in large letters, "Long live the King, and the most faithful people of Naples!" and having a naked sword in her right hand and a poniard in her left. They now declared that they would be masters of the Convent and Tower of St Lawrence. This they demanded, because they feared its situation; inasmuch as their head-quarters in the market-place were exposed to its cannon; and as it was the arsenal of the city, by obtaining possession of it, they could provide themselves with arms and amunition. They had, indeed, made an attempt upon it on Sunday, the first day of the insurrection, but being then few in number, they met with a vigorous repulse from some banditti who were in the belfry. The case, however, was now altered; 10,000 of them surrounded the place, ranged themselves in order of battle, and prepared for an assault, by placing two large pieces of cannon before the tower, with the intention of battering it down. But the friars soon abandoned

the monastery, leaving behind them only a few novices, some noblemen, and about sixty Spaniards, sent on the previous evening to guard the tower, and who soon surrendered, on the conditions that their lives should be spared and their cloathing preserved. Overjoyed at their success, the rioters rushed into the convent, seized all the arms, and eighteen pieces of cannon, placed there for the service of the city. The former were distributed among the people, and the latter ordered to be planted at certain streets, with a sufficient guard. Masaniello then commanded the great bell to sound to arms; declaring, at the same time, that it was not for rebellion, but only that the people should be ready to defend their rights and liberties; and to make his intentions the more plausible, he caused the standard of Spain, and the ensigns of the city, to be displayed from the top of the steeple. About this time, having notice by his scouts that some Spaniards, quartered in the neighbouring villages, were marching towards Naples, Masaniello despatched a party to meet them, who, after disarming them, sent them back to their former stations, while he proceeded himself, at the head of a considerable body, to stop the progress of 600 Germans, sent from Capua by the governor of that city to aid the Viceroy. As soon as Masaniello approached, they laid down their arms, and were led to Naples, where they were so well treated by the fisherman, that they went up and down the streets exclaiming, "Long live the most faithful people of Naples!"

While the people were thus revenging themselves on their pretended adversaries, the two original charters of Ferdinand and Charles V., which

they so earnestly desired to possess, were discovered, and brought to the Viceroy by the chief Elect of the nobility, and Don Joseph Caracciolo, who had been indefatigable in their search after them. The Viceroy, on this discovery, sent for the Archbishop, and, delivering them into his hands, with a ratification of the privileges therein contained, desired him to go to the market-place, and show them to the people; at which the Archbishop rejoiced greatly, not doubting that he would be able to allay the commotions.

The Archbishop was received in the market-place with the greatest reverence and honour, and proceeded to the church of the Lady of Carmine, amid the applauses of the people. As soon as he had entered the church, he exhibited the original charters, which he read with a loud voice, and which seemed to be received by all as if with a jubilee of contentment. Yet, some rebellious spirits who were among them, as if by the secret excitement of the devil, pretending to suspect the Archbishop's sincerity, began to cry out, "Will your Eminence also deceive us?" which produced such a movement, as made the Archbishop apprehensive of his safety. He asked Masaniello, who stood near him, what was the matter. "Most Eminent Sir," replied Masaniello, "the people still suspect that this charter is not the true one, and that your Eminence goes about to baffle us; but I do not believe it; and I will turn against them in your defence, or kill myself, knowing well how punctually honourable your Eminence is." The Bishop answered, "My dear son, these privileges and charters are the very same which Charles V. subscribed, and which the people desire; but in order that

you may be convinced, find me an intelligent man, and I will deliver it to him, leaving it in his hands; and for a sign of the truth, I will not stir hence till you are satisfied. You are my sons as much as the nobles; and as your pastor and father, I would spill my blood most willingly for my people, as also for the peace and quietness of my dear country. At these words Masaniello grew very quiet, and with him the tumultuous people. So they sent for Doctor Julio Genovino, a most sagacious man, who knew thoroughly the affairs of the city and kingdom by his long experience, being eighty years old, and having been nineteen years a prisoner, during the time of another revolution which happened in the government of Ossuna. The Archbishop, therefore, delivered the charter to this man, that he might study and review it, which he did all the night following with most exact diligence, during the whole of which time the Bishop remained in the church of Carmine. And it was by the disposition of God Almighty, and the most blessed Virgin, that this happened; for that very night thirty-six houses of cavaliers were to be burnt.

It happened, however, that while the charter was in the hands of Genovino, a whisper ran throughout the multitude, distrusting the intentions of the Viceroy. Fearing that, if they dispersed, they would still feel the governor's vengeance, and as they conceived that he had by no means given them a sufficient security in pledge for the entire removal of the gabels, they simultaneously exclaimed, that the original charter was of little value, as long as the Viceroy's ratification

was lame and imperfect, and that, therefore, articles of capitulation must be drawn up by some of their party, and signed by the Viceroy, and the several councils and tribunals of the kingdom. The Archbishop, astonished at this new demand, could only say, that he would send to the Viceroy, and ascertain his pleasure therein. Accordingly, the prelate sent some of his attendants to the Viceroy, informing him of the new demand; who, prudently concluding that it was of no use to employ force, sent a letter in reply to the Archbishop, desiring him to let "the most faithful people know, that whatever articles they should draw up, would not only be signed, as they desired, but that he would get them ratified as soon as possible by the King of Spain."

When this was announced to the people, it was some time before they could agree among themselves about the person to draw up the said articles; but at length they selected Genovino, and commanded that they should be read publicly in the market-place on the following morning, before they were presented to the Viceroy. It is said, that one of the articles proposed was, that the Castle of St Elmo should be delivered up to the people; and that Masaniello seemed to approve of it, when Genovino stood up, and said, "that although the people might legally take up arms to maintain and defend their rights and privileges, pursuant to the decision of Pisanello, and several other most learned lawyers in 1547, yet they could not insist upon the surrender of the Castle of St Elmo, without incurring the imputation of rebellion." At the word *rebellion*, Masaniello, who had always protested that his sole

design was to shake off the oppression of the gabels, and not his allegiance to the King of Spain, desired, that no more might be said about it, for he would rather die than give his consent to a demand that would make him pass for a rebel. This was no small proof of Genovino's influence with the people, which he farther showed, by causing one of his friends, named Ciccio Arpaja, who had been formerly condemned to the galleys for being concerned in the conspiracy against the nobility under the Duke of Ossuna, to be declared *Elect* of the people, which procured even the consent of Masaniello.

THE FOURTH DAY.

Wednesday, July 10*th* 1647.

THE Neapolitan people, not satisfied with publishing unto the world, by outward firing and combustions, the extreme disdain they had taken against the chief authors of the gabels, still ruminated in the night what further revenges were to be taken in the day.

Hence it came to pass, that early upon Wednesday morning, when Aurora had hardly ushered in the sun, Masaniello ordered, that upon pain of death the brigade of his Life-guard, in number about 8000 persons, should repair to the palace of the Duke of Caivana, to plunder again the said Duke, notice having been received that goods of far greater value were not yet discovered. Thereupon, the soldiers, as swift as lightning, went, in obedience to Masaniello's command, and re-entered the house, where, battering down a door, they found two chambers full of the richest tapestry, with other costly moveables; then, descending into the gardens, they defaced divers marble statues and fountains, grubbed up the flowers and trees, broke down the balconies, and set fire to every thing both in house and garden.

Other acts of outrage were committed; women and boys brought straw and all sorts of combustibles to help the flames, crying, "Though there is little straw left in the houses, it will help to burn the kennels of those dogs who have imposed on us the accursed gabels." Many women brought their infants in their arms, and, putting

lighted torches in their hands, would make them throw these into the fire, exclaiming, amid curses, ejaculations, and prayers, "These poor infants shall also take vengeance of the thieves for the bread they have taken out of their mouths. May the king live! May the dogs die the death!"

While the people thus evaporated their high discontents against the enemies of the public good, the Lord Bishop continued to negotiate with the Viceroy, and in addition to the ancient charters of King Ferdinand and Charles V., confirmed by the royal Collateral Council and Council of State holden expressly for that purpose, he also received a general pardon or indulgence for the people of Naples, the tenor whereof was as follows:

"Philip by the Grace of God, King, &c.

"Don Roderico P. de Leon, Duke of Arcos.

"We, by an everlasting privilege, do grant to the most faithful people of this most faithful city of Naples, that all gabels and impositions be extinct and abolished which were laid upon the city of Naples, and the kingdom, from the time of the Emperor Charles V. of happy memory, until this hour. Moreover, we grant a general pardon for any offence whatsoever committed, since the beginning of this present revolution to this point of time; as also, for every offence and inquisition passed that related to the said revolution.

"Given in Castel Nuovo, 10th of July 1647.

"El Duque de Arcos.

"Donata Coppola,
Secretary of the Kingdom."

These charters and privileges having been delivered to Don Julio Genovino on the part of the people, and the former pronounced by him to be genuine, the business seemed now brought to so hopeful a pass, that a motion was made by the Viceroy for a solemn cavalcata to the Church Del Carmine, where all the nobility should attend him, that the capitulations of peace might be publicly read, and *Te Deum* sung, to give God thanks for all his goodness. This being intimated to Masaniello, he consented thereunto, yet commanded the people to continue vigilant, and ordered every enrolled soldier to have his arms ready, and not to stir from his post upon pain of death.

There was now great hope of seeing the distractions at an end. The rabble, satisfied with the vengeance they had taken, and dazzled by the prospect of so many immunities and privileges they were on the point of enjoying, abated of their former fury, and even sighed after peace. But a fatal and unexpected accident entirely ruined these good dispositions, and blew up the flames of discord to a greater height than ever.

At the very time when the market-place, as well as the church and convent of Carmine, were crowded with an infinite multitude of people, who all waited with impatience, to learn the success of the negotiation, about 500 banditti, well armed and mounted, came into the market-place, where they were received with demonstrations of joy, upon their giving out that they had been sent for by Dominico Perrone, and were come for the service of the most faithful people.

As soon as Masaniello saw them, he thanked

them for their good will; and, telling them to alight, appointed them different quarters of the city, where they should expect his further orders afoot; upon which, Perrone told him, he judged it much more proper to assign them a separate standing to themselves, and by no means to dismount them; because, being on horseback, they would be much readier to assist him in case of necessity. To this, Masaniello replied, that it was altogether unnecessary, and that they would be as serviceable to him on foot as on horseback. But, Perrone warmly insisting upon their going mounted, and in a body, without being able to give any good reason for it, Masaniello began to suspect, that some dark business was going forward; and, therefore, peremptorily commanded the banditti to go afoot to the quarters he assigned them, and not to stir an inch without his order. He had no sooner spoken, than a musket was fired off; which, Masaniello looking upon as the signal of some mischief, cried out, "Treason, treason! there is a plot on foot!" when five muskets were immediately fired upon him by some of the banditti, who had slid themselves among the crowd that surrounded him; and though a bullet or two came so near to him, as to singe his shirt, yet he received not the least hurt. The people, seeing their general alive and without harm, cried out one and all, that God, and the Lady of Carmine, whose medal hung upon his breast, had protected Masaniello; then fell without mercy upon the banditti, and having killed thirty of them upon the spot, they pursued the rest into the church and convent of Carmine, whither they had taken shelter. Nor could the holiness of the place secure them from the people's rage; who, in

an instant, turned it into a scene of blood and cruelty. Nothing was to be heard on all sides, but the piercing cries of the wounded, who, whilst calling for confessors, met with the stroke of death. Two of them were slain at the foot of the great altar; and another under the very seat where the Archbishop sat, whither he had fled for safety. In short, the whole pavement was covered with slaughtered bodies; among whom were Dominico Peronne and Gregorio Peronne, the former having lost his life for being an accomplice in the conspiracy, and the latter for being brother to the former. Captain Antimo Grasso lost his life also; having first declared, that the banditti had been sent by the Duke of Mataloni, and Don Pepe Caraffa, his brother, to revenge, by the death of Masaniello, the insults he had received from the rabble; that Dominico Perrone was privy to the plot; and that several troops more of banditti were to come into the city at the close of day, who, favoured by the night, and the confusion which the death of Masainello must necessarily create, were to fall unawares upon the people, and cut them into pieces.

One of the banditti taken alive desired his life of Masaniello, and he would discover unto him more than Grasso had confessed; which being promised him, provided his discoveries proved true, he revealed, that the night following, supposing the foresaid five hundred banditti were successful, several other troops of horse were to second them, and set fire to certain mines under the great market-place, when it was fullest of people. These mines, he said, contained fifty cantaras of powder, amounting to fifteen thousand

pounds, which, being spread up and down through the bowels of the said market-place, would have blown into the air all the people then present, with the monastery and church del Carmine, insomuch, that there would have perished, besides the destruction of the buildings, holy and profane, about one hundred and fifty thousand souls. When the mines had taken effect, the banditti were to disperse up and down, joining with some of the gentry whom they had brought over to them, and falling upon the rest of the common people, put all to the sword. Upon this being understood by Masaniello, he ordered that, with all possible diligence, those subterranean places should be searched, and upon his declaration being found true and real, he gave the prisoner his life, but with perpetual banishment from the city and kingdom. The said powder being taken up from all those places under ground, did serve the people for many days, for they had great scarcity thereof.

The rabble had now put to death 150 banditti; and having dragged their carcasses through all the streets and kennels of the city, they brought their heads to Masaniello, who commanded them, together with those of Perrone and his brother, to be fixed upon poles in the middle of the great market-place; which order was executed accordingly. One would think the spilling of so much blood would atone for the greatest inhumanity, and that the people, after having sacrificed so many lives to their just resentments, would have stopped here and gone no further. But Masaniello, considering his work but half completed, so long as the Duke of Mataloni and Don Pepe Caraffa were not in his power, used his utmost endeavours to find out the

place that contained them; when word was brought him, that the latter was in the church of Santa Maria de la Nova, and that the former was at St Efrem, a church belonging to the Capuchin friars. A squadron of armed men were immediately dispatched to St Efrem, with orders to bring the Duke alive or dead; but having got timely advice by a spy, he put on the disguise of a Capuchin friar, and, upon a swift courser, rode off towards Benevento. The rage of the people was now bent against D. Guiseppe Caraffa; and four thousand persons, all armed, were sent to the foresaid monastery of Santa Maria della Nuova, where he had secured himself, as also his brother, Father Gregorio Caraffa, Prior de la Rocella, who, assisted by God for his innocence, foretold the approaching danger which menaced their destruction. The Prior exhorted and conjured his brother that they should betake themselves to a place of great security; but Don Guiseppe, not giving ear to the exhortation of the Prior, yielded to his hard destiny, and remained alone in the monastery. The Prior having taken leave of him with tears in his eyes, was scarce gone, when the foresaid rabble surprised the place, and rushed in with extreme rage, though for a great while they could not find him, he being hid in the secretest place of the monastery, whence he tried to give notice to the Viceroy of his desperate condition. Having written a note for this purpose, it was sewed betwixt the sole and the shoe of a poor friar, to whom he gave a good reward to go with it to the Castle. But the bearer had scarcely set out before he was stopped, and searched from head to foot; and the said note

being found, they fell upon him most furiously, and chopped off his head.

Caraffa hereupon lost all hopes of preserving himself, if he remained in the monastery, and therefore resolved to attempt an escape; but in order to do this with less danger, he put off his friar's weeds, and apparelled himself in a secular habit. He now leaped out of a window of the monastery over against the shop of a silkweaver, and going into the next house, where a mean woman dwelt, he hid himself under a bed, praying her (with a large promise of reward) to conceal him; but the ill-natured and base woman, promising herself a greater reward from the promiscuous crew, delivered him into their hands. Having seized upon him, they dragged him along the little piazzo of Ceriglio; and, notwithstanding that he promised twelve thousand crowns in good gold if they would suffer him to escape, and although some began to hearken to such a proffer, the greater number barbarously cried out, "Kill him, kill the traitor!" at which words, among others who slashed him with daggers and stilettos, Michel de Sanctis, a young fellow, son to a butcher hard by, with a great knife cut off his head. The joy of the rabble upon this occasion was as great as if they had taken off the head of the Grand Turk, and cut to pieces the whole Ottoman empire. They fixed the head of Caraffa upon a pike, and bore it in triumph to the market-place, crying as they went along, "Thus may all those perish, who are traitors to the most faithful people!" The head was now presented to Masaniello, who, taking it into one hand, and striking it several times with a cane which he held in the other,

made a speech to it, wherein he upbraided Caraffa with the pride and cruelty which he had shown upon several occasions, as if he had been still living; then commanded it to be put in an iron grate, and nailed to a post erected for that purpose, without the gate of St Gennaro, facing the Duke of Mataloni's palace, with this inscription underneath—"Don Pepe Caraffa, Rebel to his Country, and Traitor to the Most Faithful People."

This tragical adventure made different impressions upon the minds of those who were witnesses of it. The people beheld it with unspeakable pleasure and satisfaction; but the nobles were struck with fear and horror. They knew not what to think, or what to expect, after such a terrible example made of one of their order, who at other times used to make the whole city, nay the very kingdom, tremble at his name. And what increased their apprehensions still the more, was, that since the discovery of the banditti's plot, the better sort of citizens, who as yet had had no hand in the tumult, now rose in arms, and joined themselves to the rabble.

In the mean time, Masaniello, from a tribunal in the market-place, environed with heads and bloody carcasses, was thundering against the nobility; and not satisfied with the death of Caraffa, he issued out a proclamation, whereby he declared the Duke of Mataloni an enemy to the most faithful people, and promised a reward of 30,000 crowns, with the ransom of 150 outlaws, for his apprehension. Having also grown suspicious since the discovery of the conspiracy against his person, Masaniello made no scruple to believe, that it had

been contrived by, or at least carried on with consent and approbation of, the Viceroy; and therefore, with a view to reduce him to such straits as should at once revenge him, and force the Viceroy to accept of whatever conditions he thought fit to impose upon him, he commanded that no refreshments or provision should pass into the Castle, where he and his Duchess, with the Counsels, King's Ministers, and Officers of State, resided.

He commanded also, because he intended to choke them with thirst, as well as to famish them with hunger, that all the aqueducts should be cut off; and the Viceroy, seeing himself in so scurvy a condition, despatched a letter to the Archbishop, requesting that he would make known to the people his sincere intentions towards them, and that he was a mere stranger to the practices of the banditti, and their abominable conspiracies; for proof whereof, he assured them that he had used all human industry to apprehend those banditti, and deliver them to the hands of the people, to do with them what they pleased.

THE FIFTH DAY.

Thursday, July 11th, 1647.

It is well known, from what Pliny and others affirm, that in the Olympic Games, it often happened that the judges gave the prize in doubtful combats, not so much according to the valour of the combatants, as in compliance with the wishes of the people; and one may very naturally think, Masaniello being young and of very low birth, that he obtained the truncheon of general command, not so much in reward of his own merits, as that the empty breath of popular applause was now blowing strongly in his favour. It appears, however, that Masaniello, although a mere fisherman, or rather a fisherman's boy, had sagacity enough to uphold the high command which he had assumed. Throughout the whole of the important events of the last few days, in which he had been so conspicuously engaged, he had conducted himself with so much wisdom and discretion, and with such rigorous justice, as to have raised a kind of admiration in the minds of all men—and particularly in that of the Archbishop, who, more than any other, had occasion to try his capacity, from the first day of his reign till the end of his usurped dominion. He had unspeakable boldness, which seemed wonderful to those present, and will seem incredible to the absent: not the forwardness of a plebeian, or of some abject fellow, but that of

some great martial commander; and therefore, with threats in his looks, terror in his gestures, and revenge in his countenance, he subjugated Naples—Naples, the head of such a kingdom, the metropolis of so many provinces, the queen of so many cities, the mother of princes, the birth-place of glorious heroes. By the impenetrable judgment of Heaven, this Naples, with a population of six hundred thousand souls, saw herself commanded by a poor fisherman, who, within a few hours, raised an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, dug trenches, appointed sentinels, placed spies, reviewed squadrons, condemned the guilty, comforted the fearful, encouraged the bold, threatened the suspected, reproached the coward, applauded the valiant, promised rewards, and marvellously incited those, who were by many degrees his superiors, to battle, to burnings, to plunder, and to death. The whole city, yea the very Spaniards, stood astonished, that in so great, and so confused a multitude of armed men, he could proceed so regularly in his orders, and that these orders were so punctually observed,—that he should be so observant to ladies, so respectful to holy church and her officers, suffering no outrage to be offered to them, save only in Santa Maria della Nuova while in quest of Caraffa; and that, amid such a world of wealth, which was burned up and down, not the value of a pin should be converted to private use.

Many papers having been circulated the preceding evening, wherein inklings were given of some notable design against the people, the first order published by Masaniello, early upon Thursday morning, was, that all men should go without

cloaks, gowns, wide cassocks, or such like, which was generally obeyed, not only by the common sort, but by all the nobility, churchmen, and religious orders; yea even by the canons and dignitaries of the cathedral churches, the chaplains of the Archbishop Filomarino, Cardinal Trivultio, the Viceroy, the Apostolical Nuncio, and of all the bishops residing then in Naples: And if we give credit to the relation of many, their Eminences themselves went without upper garments all the while that Masaniello reigned, every one submitting to him.

He commanded also that all women, of what degree or quality soever they were, should go without farthingales, which was also obeyed; and that, when they went abroad, they should tuck up their petticoats somewhat high, that it might be discerned whether they carried any arms underneath; it having been discovered, that under such long robes sundry sorts of arms were brought to the banditti, and other enemies of the people. That morning, also, all the streets were intrenched, and the cannons from the magazine of San Lorenzo were brought down, set upon carriages, and placed in divers parts of the city; and companies, both of foot and horse, were dispersed up and down, well armed, to be able to withstand any force.

Masaniello also commanded, that all cavaliers and noble personages, under pain of death, should deliver their arms into the hands of such officers as he should commission; and that all their servants should also give up their weapons for the service of the people. This was accordingly done, although with a very bad grace; for they plainly perceived the design of this disarming, which was

not only to render them unable to make any opposition, but to expose them to the mercy of the furious people their enemies.

That day there was also an excise put upon all eatable commodities, regulating at what price they should be sold; and in sundry places of the city, divers pictures were set up of Charles the Emperor, and of his Catholic Majesty Philip IV., now regnant, with the arms of the city of Naples drawn underneath; which, when the soldiers passed, they were directed to cry out, "Let the King of Spain live, and let the ill government die!"

While the commands of Masaniello were thus published and executed every where throughout the city, the Archbishop, who from Tuesday morning had kept himself within the monastery of Carmine, to be able to negotiate with Masaniello, and the other heads of the people, did not neglect to publish a true account of his own and the Viceroy's intentions, in the fervent hope that he would be able to appease this high popular fury, which every day, every hour, yea, every moment, increased with still greater fury. He next sent into the Castle the capuchin Filomarino his brother, in order to induce the Viceroy to give his assent to what was demanded, assuring him that the people were inclined towards peace, and that, therefore, it now all depended with his Excellency; and that, if said assent was longer delayed, he could not but prognosticate a total and irreparable ruin to both city and kingdom. The Viceroy received this message with great satisfaction; and, to show his readiness to comply with the wishes of the Archbishop, he wrote him a very affectionate letter,

wherein, after demonstrating the ardent disposition which he had for the public tranquillity, and which indeed the late interruption alone had prevented being felt, he declared himself willing to be guided solely by his Eminence; and in proof of it, that he would ratify whatsoever his Eminence promised to the people, that no longer delay might take place in carrying and returning propositions and answers from one side to the other.

The Archbishop, having received from the Viceroy this ample commission, held a conference with Masaniello and his counsellors Genovino and Arpaja, in the church of Carmine; and, reading unto them the Viceroy's letter, with much dexterity and eagerness he represented unto them the tenderness of the Viceroy's affection towards the people, and his own most ardent desires to give them all possible satisfaction. By a reciprocal correspondence of affection, and for the universal quietness of the people, they bound themselves to conclude the whole business, by consenting to an accommodation. On these persuasions, twenty of the richest rulers of the people being present in the church of Carmine, and a great number of the more civil sort of the multitude, they all promised to his Eminence, by solemn asseverations, that on his account, and to correspond with the regard of the Viceroy, they were most ready to finish the tumult. This being pleasing to the Viceroy, he sent the Archbishop another letter, recommending him, with the greatest tenderness, speedily to conclude the business, which could permit no longer delay, referring to the substance of the letter formerly sent him.

The messenger who brought this letter arrived

just at the time when the Archbishop was busy drawing out the articles of agreement; which, being despatched with greater celerity than was believed, they were forthwith intrusted to Father Filomarino by his Eminence, and sent to the Viceroy, that his Excellence might sign them with his own hand; and it being notified by the said Father, that the desire of the people was to have the capitulations legally authorized by public act, and subscribed not only by the Viceroy's hand, but also by the Collateral Council Royal, together with the Council of State, another letter was sent in more earnest terms than any of the former, in which the Archbishop entreated the Viceroy to bring to a conclusion that solemn ceremony, so much panted after by the people; representing unto him the imminent dangers that otherwise would ensue, and were visibly hanging over the city and kingdom, to the disservice of God and the King, the holy church, and the citizens. The Duke of Arcos read, and maturely weighed the articles that were brought him to be signed; the substance of which was, "That the people should, from that time forward, enjoy all the benefits, privileges, and immunities granted to them by the Emperor Charles V. and King Ferdinand, according to the purport and meaning of the original charters, which should hereafter remain in their hands: That all excesses and outrages committed from the 7th of July, when the insurrection began, to the day of the date of these articles, should be pardoned by a general amnesty: That the Elect, as well as the counsellors and deputies of the people, and other inferior officers therein specified, should be chosen

every six months, by the commons, without need of further confirmation: That the said Elect should have as many voices as the nobility, as it used to be before they had been stripped of this privilege by Don Frederick, and which the most Catholic King Ferdinand had, in the year 1505, promised to restore to them: That the Viceroy should cause the said articles to be ratified by the King of Spain, within three months after their publication; and that they should be engraved in marble, and set up in the middle of the great market-place: That the people should not lay down their arms, till the said confirmation of their privileges: And lastly, that in case they could not obtain such a ratification, and the execution of the said articles and privileges, they might, with impunity, rise in arms, and strive to redress themselves, without being deemed guilty of rebellion, or irreverence to the King of Spain."

Although the Viceroy knew well enough that these articles would ruin fourscore and ten thousand persons, concerned in the gabels, and that the ministers hereafter could not raise any more subsidies, yet he signed them with a cheerful countenance, and gave them to the Collateral Council and the Council of State, who, having signed them also in their turns, his Excellency returned them to Father Francisco.

As soon as the letter and the subscribed capitulations were delivered to Father Filomarino, and brought back by him to the Bishop, they were delivered to the people; and it was solemnly appointed, that after the capitulations had been publicly read in the church of Carmine, Masaniello should pro-

ceed with the Archbishop to the Castle to speak with the Viceroy.

About ten o'clock the same day, it is incredible what a multitude of people gathered together in the great market-place, besides those that filled the church del Carmine, near the great altar of which, and under a canopy of state, the Archbishop was seated, surrounded by Masaniello, apparelled in cloth of silver, and his counsellors Don Julio Genovino, and Don Francisco Antonio Arpaja, Elects of the people. The capitulation was now read by a Public Notary, and being understood by the people, it was received with inexpressible joy and applause; upon which Genovino went up into the pulpit, and, with a loud voice, said these words: "My people, these are the things which you have so long desired, and endeavoured to procure ever since the government of the Duke of Ossuna, yet they could never be had; but by God's special grace and our Lady, the blessed Virgin of Carmine, we have now obtained them. Let us rejoice for so high and signal a blessing, let us triumph for so glorious a victory, let us give Heaven due thanks for so dear a trophy; thundering upon this blessed occasion Te Deum!" Beginning the hymn himself, he came down from the pulpit, and the music was continued by two choirs, accompanied by the deep sound of organs, and the sweet quaverings of divers musical instruments, which filled with such a jubilee and joy the hearts of all people, that many of the spectators wept from excess of contentment.

The ceremony being concluded, the Bishop prepared himself to accompany Masaniello with his

company towards the palace; and to make this cavalcade more splendid, and of greater magnificence and decorum, Masaniello commanded that all masters of families should decorate their windows, walls and balconies, with the richest silk pieces and tapestries they possessed; and that care should be taken to have all the streets cleanly swept which lead to the Castle. This order was no sooner given than executed by all sorts of persons, nobles, cavaliers, ecclesiastics, merchants, citizens and artisans. One gentleman only disdained to obey the commands of such a base fellow; but being persuaded by a discreet friend to conform, and not contest with so powerful and popular a man, pointing out to him the examples of the Spanish grandees, he complied with the time, and so became a conqueror, as it were, of the fury of Masaniello, from whom, by his disobedience, he would have undoubtedly brought fire and ruin upon himself.

Masaniello presently despatched a captain of his to the Castle, to acquaint the Viceroy of his intention to confer with him, desiring to know his pleasure therein. The Viceroy pretended to like the message and the visit; therefore, he answered that he might come when he thought good, for he would gladly see him.

Masaniello, on the persuasion of the Archbishop, having thrown off his mariner's dress, which was no other but a shirt, a waistcoat, and linen pair of breeches, had clad himself with cloth of silver, with a towering plume of white feathers in his hat, and a naked sword in his hand, and, mounted on horseback, he now rode towards the Castle.

He went before the Archbishop's coach, attended by 50,000 of the choicest of the people, whereof some were on foot, some on horseback. On the right side of the Archbishop's coach rode Mateo d'Amalphi, the brother of Masaniello, clad in a coat of gold, with a rich sword and dagger; and upon the left rode the new Elect of the people, Francisco Antonio Arpaja; and immediately near the coach came in a sedan the prime Counsellor of the people, Don Julio Genovina. As the cavalcade advanced, the crowds of people increased, of all ages, sexes, and occupations, wherewith all the streets were thronged. Acclamations and applauses rent the air, and every one rejoiced for the different state of plenty and freedom which they were likely to have, from that condition of penury and subjection into which they were formerly plunged. The cry was in every corner, "Let the King of Spain live! live Cardinal Filomarino! let the most faithful people of Naples live!" With such acclamations they entered the Castle, where, before the Fountain Medina, there went up to meet Masaniello, in the Viceroy's name, the captain of his guard on horseback, but without arms, saluting him in the name of his master, and giving him welcome to the palace, where his Excellence expected him with much desire. Masaniello returned him the salute; and it was observed, though not with as much courtesy, yet with as much gravity and few words; which being done, Masaniello stopped and made signs to the people to go no further, there being 20,000 people already entered; and it was admirable to see how immoveable they all stood, and with what incredible silence.

Then Masaniello dismounted, and began to speak in a loud, yet gentle tone, as followeth:

"My dear companions and countrymen, let us give God thanks, with eternal sounds of jubilee, that we have recovered our former liberty. Who would have thought our efforts would have been so successful? They seem dreams or fables, yet you see they are truths and reality. Let infinite thanks be given to Heaven, and to the most blessed Virgin of Carmine, and to the paternal benignity of the most reverend Archbishop, our shepherd. Well, my countrymen, who are our masters? Answer with me, God." The people answered accordingly, and with ready echoes took the sound from their general, Masaniello. This being done, he took from his bosom the charters of King Ferdinand, and of Charles the Emperor, with the new privileges confirmed by the Viceroy, by the Collateral Council, and Council of State; and with a louder voice than before, redoubling his words, he said, "Now are we exempted and free from all gabels; we are eased of so many weights; impositions are taken away and extinguished: now is restored that dear liberty in which rests the happy memories of King Ferdinand, and of Charles the Emperor. I for myself desire not any thing; I wish nothing but public good. The most reverend Archbishop knows well my intentions, which I have told him often, and confirmed by oaths. He will answer for my disinterestedness, in having refused 200 crowns a month out of his own purse which he offered me during life, if I would be an instrument to accommodate all things; but I always, though with many thanks, refused that offer. Moreover, if I had not been tied by the strong tie of a promise to

his Eminence, and terrified by the thunder of excommunication, I would not have apparelled myself as you see me; I would never have shaken off my mariner's dress; for I was born such, such I lived, and such I mean to die. After fishing up public liberty in the tempestuous sea of this afflicted city, I will return to my hook and line, not reserving to myself so much as a nail for my own dwelling. I desire no more of you but that, when I am dead, you will every one say an Ave Maria for me; do you promise me this?" "Yes, yes," every one answered, "we will do it for you, but let it be an hundred years hence." Masaniello replied, "I thank you. Let me now desire you not to lay down your arms till a confirmation come from Spain of all the privileges from our liege lord the King. Trust not the nobility, for they are traitors, and our enemies. I go to negotiate with the Viceroy, and within an hour you shall see me again, or at least to-morrow morning; but if to-morrow I be not with you, put to fire and sword the whole city. Do not you pass your words unto me to do so? and why not?" —"Yes, that we will," they answered all resolutely; "you may be sure of that."—"Well, well," replied Masaniello, "though what hath hitherto passed hath not much pleased the Viceroy, yet his Majesty will find that he hath not lost any thing; only some of the nobility, our enemies, have lost by it, and must return to their former beggary! Ravenous wolves, who bought and sold our blood, never regarding the glory of God, the service of his Majesty, or the common good of city and kingdom! Now, the temples of the Spanish monarch shall be adorned with the most precious

crown that ever he bore upon his head; for that which shall be given him hereafter shall be all his, and not, as in former times, when it vanished away, and was half drunk up by his officers."

This emphatical and sarcastic speech being ended, and the Archbishop having, at Masaniello's request, given his blessing to the people, the General commanded them, under pain of disobedience, to follow him no further; and then went into the palace with the Archbishop, Genovino, Arpaja, and Mateo d'Amalphi his brother. His Excellency the Viceroy stood ready at the stair's-head to receive them. As soon as Masaniello saw him, he threw himself at his feet, and having kissed them, and thanked his Excellency, in the name of all the people, for his gracious approbation of the treaty, he told him he was come thither to receive whatsoever sentence his Excellency should think fit to pass upon him. But the Viceroy, raising him up and embracing him, answered, that he was very glad to see him, and was so far from thinking he was criminal, that he would give him daily proofs of his favour and esteem! To this Masaniello replied, that God was his witness, that the only scope and end of all his designs was the service of the King and of his Excellency: After which, the Viceroy, the Archbishop and Masaniello, retired, all three into a private apartment, in order to consult together upon the present posture of affairs.

In the mean time, there were many whisperings among the great concourse of people assembled in the court-yard of the Castle, and who were so crowded together, that one might have trilled a ball on their heads. These murmurings arose

from some dread that Masaniello might be arrested, or at least some hurt done to him; therefore the Viceroy thought it expedient that he should be publicly seen in an open balcony with the Archbishop and himself, which was done accordingly; whence, facing the people, he cried, "Lo, I am here alive and free: Peace, peace!" At which words the people set up a shout, crying, "Peace, peace!" A little after, all the bells rung in the adjacent churches; but disliking the sound, he commanded that they should ring no longer, which was also obeyed. Addressing himself now to the Viceroy, he said "You shall see how obedient the Neapolitans are;" and putting his finger upon his mouth, there was so profound a silence, that scarce a man was seen to breath. Afterwards, with a loud voice, he commanded that every soul present, under pain of rebellion, should retire from that court; which was punctually and presently obeyed, as if they had all vanished away, not one remaining behind; insomuch, that the Viceroy was amazed at such a ready and marvellous obedience.

Many discourses having passed in the palace betwixt the Viceroy, the Bishop, and Masaniello, it was appointed that the capitulations should be printed, and that, on the following Saturday, the Viceroy, accompanied by all the Councils and the tribunals, should go to the Church del Carmine in person, where the capitulations should be publicly read, and where his Excellency and all the aforesaid Councils should swear, by a solemn oath, to observe them forever; as also to procure their confirmation by his Catholic Majesty.

The Archbishop and Masaniello being about to depart, the Viceroy bestowed upon the latter, a

rich gold chain of 3000 crowns value, putting it about his neck with his own hands; and although he refused it divers times, he afterwards received it by the advice of the Archbishop. He was pronounced at the same time by the Viceroy, Duke of St George, a renunciation having been made to him of that title not long before by the Marquis of Torrecuso. For the last seal of compliment, Masaniello, prostrating himself at the feet of the Viceroy, kissed his knee; after which the Viceroy embraced him, and said, "Son, go in peace, and God bless thee;" whereupon, having taken his last leave, and going down, the Archbishop brought him in his own coach to the Archiepiscopal palace; and it was a pleasant sight to behold every window hung with rich tapestries, carpets, curtains, and hangings, and the streets full of great wax-candles and torches, it being now one hour in the night, and the bells ringing in every church that had any, through all the city. After this conference, until his head was chopped off, Masaniello ruled with as absolute dominion as if he had been monarch over the city, both in civil and in warlike affairs.

As they approached the Archbishop's palace, a noise was spread abroad, that a great number of banditti were come against the people. It was the Marquis of St Ermo, of the family of Caraccioli, who, having arrived in the town from his country-house with some horsemen, would have been torn in pieces, with all his company, had he not discovered himself who he was. Being known by many, they went to acquaint Masaniello with all, who was yet with the Archbishop in his palace; and the first that went was the Mar-

chioness of St Ermo, aunt of the Marquis, which she did as well to speak with Masaniello, as to desire the Archbishop to interpose and inform him of the truth for the security of her nephew. Masaniello had scarcely understood the substance of her desires, before taking her by the hand, he assured her that all would be safe; and commanded some of the people, who were there present, to acquaint the commanders and captains of the militia with his pleasure to that effect.

After this, Masaniello, thinking to return to his house in the market-place, was desired by the Archbishop to make use of his; to which he consented, together with Genovino, Arpaja, and his brother; but by reason of the rumours which were spread, about the city being invaded by banditti, all the people remained armed, and very vigilant; and by command of Masaniello, divers bells were sounded to that purpose. The lights were also doubled that night in all the windows, and fires kindled up and down in the streets, which made the city as bright as if it had been at noonday. There were also triple guards placed at every gate, who asked the names of all such as passed and repassed, and strictly examined them.

THE SIXTH DAY.

Friday the 12*th July* 1647.

THE condition of the coward is so vile and abject, that he trembleth at every thing that suddenly happeneth; the least puff of wind that bloweth, the least bird that chirpeth, the least bough that shakes, the least vermin that stirs, doth so affright him, that it fills him with fear, and his face with paleness: He seems to have a fit of an ague, or is like one shaken with extremity of cold: So often as he hears any noise, he betakes himself to his heels, his feet proving his best counsellors.

Such apprehensions at this time seemed to have been got into the hearts of the Neapolitans, both of the gentry and commonalty; the one fearing enemies from abroad, the other worse within the city; the one stood in fear of the late usurped power of the people; the people feared designs, plots, and stratagems from the nobility and gentry, whom they had so much insulted. Every squadron seemed to the gentry to be a whole army; on the other side, any strange face that entered into the city seemed to the jealous people a Trojan horse, that would vomit out arrows and thunderbolts, and close entrapping enemies. Hence it came to pass, that many of the nobles and gentry, not hazarding their honours and reputation, with their rich moveables, to the diabolical fury of a tumultuous unbridled rabble, abandoned the town,

and, getting into the country, made the country all over to appear like a flourishing populous city. But the people drew sinister arguments from the flight of the nobility; for they suspected that they withdrew into the country with a design of joining with the banditti, whereof they had an unlucky example on Wednesday before, in the person of the Duke of Mataloni and his brothers.

There was taken that Friday morning a felucca with six mariners and four short coats, completely armed, one of them carrying a great packet of letters, who, being bound and brought before Masaniello, the letters were found to come from the Duke of Mataloni to his secretary; and though nothing could be inferred from them to the prejudice of the people, yet, on account of the mode of writing, which was dark, and in ciphers, and because of the former practices of the Duke, Masaniello caused those six to be dragged to the rack, thinking they would disclose some new stratagems. The mariners also were strictly examined; but their innocence appearing evident, by the ingenuity of their answers, they were released. As for the others, after they had been tortured with the rack most piteously, their heads were chopped off.

It being rumoured everywhere that Masaniello exercised the office of Captain-general of the people, and that it was confirmed unto him the night before by the Viceroy, he was therefore the more feared and obeyed. He erected another tribunal in Toledo Street, provided with all the instruments required to execute justice, and placed there a lieutenant, who that very day condemned four more banditti, who were beheaded upon the new

scaffold, which struck a great terror in the coursers called in Naples *Scoppotelle.*

The same morning, though Masaniello had put off his silver suit, and taken again the habit of a mariner, yet was he obeyed and feared by every one. He began betimes to give public audience in the market-place, not upon a bank, but out of a window of his own house, which looked into the market, whither they reached him memorials and petitions upon the end of pikes, while he held an archibuz in his hand ready cocked, which was a great terror to every one who came to negotiate with him; and the more so, that there were eight or ten thousand men in continual watch before his door. There were also thousands from other places who came to receive their commands from him, and to publish his orders, which ran all in these words, "Under pain of rebellion and death;" insomuch, that it was a thing beyond all wonder to see so many commands, bans, commissions, and orders published and affixed to posts and walls, subscribed "Thomas Anello of Malphi, Captain-general of the most Faithful People of Naples." His orders were executed with admirable promptitude and exactness—a thing incredible, that a wretch, extracted out of the dregs of the people, should, in five days, make himself patron of 500,000 souls; that he should bridle such a city as Naples, and have at his command 200,000 combatants, who all acknowledged him for their Generalissimo; and that he should have absolute dominion, both by night and day, with the disposing of all things according to his pleasure and fancy.

Among other orders issued by Masaniello on Fri-

day morning, the following were of the number. Under pain of death, every one should cut off his great lock, and wear no perriwigs, declaring he had commanded this, because many banditti were found dressed like women, with arms underneath: He renewed the orders of the day before touching ecclesiastics, that they should not wear their upper habits; that all friars or religieuse that were found not to be of the city, should be brought before him to be examined, whether they were true friars, or banditti so habited: That, upon the sounding of two o'clock within night, every one should retire to his lodging; after which time, whoever was found upon the streets, should die irremissibly without mercy: That the Friday being passed, every one should retire to his own shop; and that, at every post, four men should be placed for a guard, who should have a carline, two measures of wine, and twenty ounces of bread every day, and that they should change every other day, by which reckoning, in city and suburbs, the guards might amount to 30,000 men. And because, from the beginning of the revolution, many lords, cavaliers and officers, had retired with great prudence to divers monasteries and convents, as also sundry ladies to the nunneries, one of the first orders by Masaniello was, that every one, upon pain of death, should return to his house. To this every one was constrained to submit, otherwise they would have exposed themselves to the fury of the merciless rabble. There was another command issued out, which was a most rigorous one, that not only the natives, but foreigners, should set upon their gates the arms of the King of Spain on the right hand, and the arms of the people on the left; which was

put in execution by all foreigners, as well as by Neapolitans.

Besides the hundred heads of the banditti and upwards, which were exposed to public view in the common market-place, divers other delinquents were put to death this day; and, according to the quality of the offences, some were hanged, some beheaded, some set upon wheels, and others shot to death. On Friday morning also, he caused one to be baked alive in his own oven, because he made his bread lighter by some ounces; and in the evening he caused another, who was guilty of the same offence, to be shaved close, head and beard, and then sent to the Castle to receive the rest of his punishment from the Viceroy. He caused a vintner to be hanged because he had killed a sentinel; a Sicilian to be beheaded, because he had taken fifteen carlines to murder a man; and a boy to be apprehended, and hanged for an impostor, who brought news that there were 4000 foot and 1600 horse upon their march towards Naples. He had seven secretaries and ten ministers, to punish whom he pleased; insomuch, that he was feared, obeyed, and served with the utmost exactness, readiness, and terror.

All the banditti and licentious priests, who, by his orders, were taken, were suddenly slain; and if his commands were not instantly performed, he stood with a musket in the window, which he pretended now and then to discharge. There was a horse offered to him of considerable value; but he sent it presently to the King's stables, saying, it was a horse fitter for his Majesty. He sent also the Viceroy with the horse all sorts of provisions for his stables. He found hid in an obscure place

nearly 100,000 crowns, which he commanded should not be squandered by any means, but reserved for the King, at the same time offering the Viceroy five millions if necessary. There were many presents made unto him by cavaliers; but he would not receive the value of one farthing, saying, "God deliver me from the cavaliers, that I may have neither peace nor truce with them." He sent a Spaniard who had murdered one, to the Viceroy, that he would see him punished; the Viceroy remanded him, and desired that he might be hanged in the market-place. The same day, he caused two banditti to be shot to death at Porta Medina, for being accomplices with the Duke of Mataloni, yet he would not set the Duke's palace on fire, fearing there might be some mine underneath; as also, having an intention of making it a conservatory for poor maidens.

By command of Masaniello, many armed men were sent throughout the city and suburbs, to apprehend any servant, or any of the family and kindred of the Duke of Mataloni, and of Don Joseph his brother. This caused many of the Duke's friends to be brought before him, some of whom were presently put to death, others imprisoned, that being well examined on the rack, there might be knowledge had where the Duke was, and where he had hid his goods, none being left in his palace. Among these there was one of his slaves taken leading two beautiful horses, who, fearing he should have been suddenly slain, discovered that the Duke went at first to Benevento, and afterwards to Calabria, he knew not whither; but, touching his goods and furniture, they were hid in certain churches, and in the mo-

nastery of the Augustines; whereupon the said slave was not only pardoned, but well rewarded, well clad, and feasted by command of Masaniello, unto whom he gave also the staff of a Captain.

All this being known by Masaniello, he sent an intimation to the clergy of the said churches and monasteries, and to all other religious places and nunneries, that whosoever had any of the goods of the Duke of Mataloni, a traitor to the people of Naples, should, without any excuse or delay whatsoever, produce them all, under pain of having their monasteries set on fire. Hereupon, the superiors of those churches and convents being terrified, took out all the goods of the Duke of Mataloni, which were concealed in those places, amounting to a vast quantity, and of high value, being rated at 500,000 crowns, so that 300 porters were employed to fetch them out. Moreover, there was also found 4000 crowns in money; all of which being brought before Masaniello, he commanded that all his moveables and goods should be put in a magazine near the great market-place, and that none should touch the least thing, but that the monies should be employed to pay the soldiers.

Masaniello also commanded a body of armed men to go to the country, and demolish the house of the Duke of Caivano, and burn all the furniture and goods that were there deposited; which was done. The palace of Mataloni, which was in Chaia, was also pitifully set on fire; nay, the rabble took the portraits of his ancestors, and consigned them to the flames; first mangling them most horribly, thrusting them through with their swords, plucking out their eyes, and cutting off

their noses and heads; and having returned to the great market-place, they hung another picture of the Duke of Mataloni under the body of Don Peppo Caraffa, with this motto underneath, "The Duke of Mataloni, rebel to his Majesty, and traitor to the most faithful people." After this, further commands were given by Masaniello to burn the goods of other officers, and particularly of the King's Visitor; yet this command was revoked by the effectual intercession of the Archbishop Filomarino. It was also ordered that the Regent Zuffias should run the same fortune; but the execution was suspended, and no man knew why, unless it was because certain troops of horse were quartered at his house, which was intrenched round about.

There arrived in the port at that time thirteen galleys of the squadron of Naples; and the General Gianetino Doria having sent notice thereof to the Viceroy, with desire to land some men for provisions, the Viceroy ordered that he should make his address to Masaniello; which being done, he immediately commanded fresh victuals, with a supply of money, to be sent to the General; but with this proviso, that the galleys should go further off the port, and that none should set foot ashore, either soldier or passenger, not even the General himself.

In the mean time all people went up and down the streets with as much security, and all kinds of shops were opened with as much freedom, and as little fear, both by night and day, as if there had been no soldiery at all in the town, or occasion of outrage, so great were the apprehensions of fear

and terror, which were imprinted in every one's heart, of the rigorous and inflexible justice exercised by Masaniello.

The Viceroy, all this while, seeing himself as it were besieged in the Castle, deprived of provision, and all sorts of victuals and refreshments, sent to Masaniello that he might be furnished accordingly. Thereupon fifty porters were sent unto him, laden with bread, wine, fruit, flesh, poultry, sweetmeats, and all other things that were eatable.

As Masaniello had, the night before, sent to the Viceroy, that he much wondered he had not seen Cardinal Trivultio, the said Cardinal was advised by the Archbishop to give him a visit; for Masaniello was come now to that height, that he expected observance from every one, even from the Princes of the Church. Therefore, to prevent some rude affronts and outrages, which vulgar minds are subject to offer, the Cardinal went from the Castle to the great market-place to visit Masaniello, which he did, by giving him the title of *Illustrissimo*. But the first words which Masaniello addressed to him were laughed at, which were, "The visit which your Eminence gives me, though it be late, yet it is dear unto me." His Eminence having paid his respects to his *most illustrious* Lordship, when he departed, Masaniello commanded two files of musketeers to guard and conduct him to the Castle. The Cardinal Trivultio was scarce gone, when some gentlemen came from the Castle with presents to Masaniello from the Viceroy, thanking him for the refreshments which he had sent into the Castle; and also bringing some compliments from the Duchess, who desired to know how he did, and begged that, for her

sake, he would make use of what were sent. Among other things, there was a rich suit of apparel sent him; a strange metamorphosis of fortune, and so capricious and rare, that these things will seem incredible, and mere romances to future ages, though all be a true and real story.

THE SEVENTH DAY.

Saturday, the 13*th of July*, 1647.

MASANIELLO, already pronounced Captain-general of the Neapolitan people, was advised that there was no other means more effectual and sure to overcome and triumph over any projects against his person or the people, than punctual submission, and which he so exacted, that the least act of disobedience was punished with death, as being held a capital crime. Hence, having heard, that upon Friday night some went up and down the streets to sound the shopkeepers, endeavouring to make them see their slavery, the first thing he did at break of day, was to publish, by sound of drum and trumpet, that, upon pain of death, those seducers should be revealed; some of whom being found out and appeached, they were hanged before those shops where they committed the offence. There were gibbets set up in other places of the city, whereon divers were executed that day; among others, two vassals of the Duke of Mataloni, who were discovered to have brought some letters in their shoes, which, because they were written in ciphers, were adjudged to contain matter of rebellion, or some sinister counsels and incitements to sedition.

It was told him this day, that there was a great burglary and theft committed in the palace of the Prince del Colle Cavalliero; and at first it was

thought to be by some of his squadron; but, after a diligent examination, it was found to be by some of the banditti, who had taken sanctuary in a little church. They were accordingly dragged out, and executed in the public market-place.

The same morning, there came before him seeking justice a poor girl whose father had been killed; and the brother of him that had killed him being there present, he cried out, that if the fact were pardoned, he would take her for his wife without any dowry; but that kind of marriage did not please Masaniello, because the young maid abhorred it, in regard of the blood of her father; therefore, he obliged the brother of the murderer to find out two hundred crowns within four-and-twenty hours for the young maid's dowry, and so the offence should be remitted. A little after this, a murderer was brought before him, who had been a friend to Perrone, and giving him time and confession, he sentenced him to death, and ordered that his head and his feet should be chopped off, and his body dragged up and down the streets. Another bandit was used in the same manner.

It was intimated the same Saturday morning, that two squadrons, with seven hundred Spaniards, should immediately go abroad to find out the banditti, who, according to report, were in bands together, in divers places, ready to invade the city. He also caused a proclamation of grace to be published, that what bandito soever should discover any such plot, should be absolutely pardoned, provided he was not depending upon the Duke of Mataloni. He farther commanded, that all artisans should work openly in their shops, and not within their

houses; as also, that all merchants should follow their business, but be ready within half an hour's call to take arms. A message was also brought him from a cavalier, upon some business of consequence; but he answered, "I have nothing to do with cavaliers, for God hath put me here for the people;" and, turning himself to the people, he said, "My people, pray for me, and preserve me well; if ye lose me, wo be unto you!"

The same morning there came from the country about Naples innumerable people, and, among them, many women with staves upon their shoulders, and naked swords in their hands, bringing with them their children armed also with something or other, proportionable to their years. They came all to the great market-place to do homage to Masaniello, and to be redressed by him for divers grievances. But while Masaniello was busied in such exercises, Genovino and Arpaja, accompanied by the brother of Masaniello, went to the Castle to put the Viceroy in mind of his former engagement and promise made upon Thursday night, that he would come upon the Saturday following to the Archiepiscopal Church, with all the Tribunals of the Chancery, the Council of State and War, with the Royal Chamber of Santa Chiara, accompanied with all the civil and criminal Judges of the great Court of the Vicaria; in presence of whom, and of the whole people, an oath should be taken, to observe with all punctuality the capitulations, which oath was to be taken by the Viceroy and all the Tribunals.

In the meantime, the Viceroy sent two of his best horses with rich furniture, and led by two

of his servants, to be at the service of Masaniello and his brother, who, being mounted upon them, apparelled both in cloth of silver, Masaniello carried in one hand a naked sword, in the other the charter of Charles the Emperor; and his brother carried the capitulations made with the Viceroy, to be read publicly, and to be sworn to in the Archbishop's palace. There rode in their company the Elects of the people, Francesco Arpaja and Julio Genovino, besides others of the civil sort among the people. And because the multitude increased through all the streets, and encompassed them on all sides, so that they could neither pass forward nor backward, Masaniello, with a loud voice, commanded "That none should stir a step further;" which was accordingly obeyed. They now rode to the palace of the Viceroy, with a trumpet sounding before them, where, after being shortly entertained by him, his Excellency, and the Councils and prime officers, accompanied them towards the Archbishop's palace. First, there were many trumpeters on horseback, then a choice troop of one hundred horse, then Masaniello and his brother, after them the Elect of the people, and old Genovino, who, by reason of his great age, was carried in a sedan. After these came the Captain of Guard to the Viceroy, and immediately after the Viceroy himself, with his pages, laqueys, and horses, and his guard of Germans, with a great number of gentlemen and cavaliers, domestic and foreign, and surrounded with a crowd of people, who, together with the Viceroy, cried out with loud acclamations, "Viva il Re di Spagna!" The bells rung in every church as they passed, which filled the hearts of all with joy and pleasure.

Small and great, women and children, cried out, "Viva il Re!" but many cried out, "Let the King live, but without gabel!" and some Spaniards were overheard to cry, "Let the King live, for now he may say he is King!" In passing through the Piazzo of St Lorenzo, Masaniello stopped there awhile, and with him the whole cavalcade. Turning himself to the people, he cried out with a very loud voice, "May God live! may the King of Spain live! may the Cardinal Filomarino live! may the Duca de Arcos live! may the fidelissimo popolo di Napali live!" and all the people took the word, and, with strong echoes, cried out, "Viva! Viva!" doubling and redoubling the sound with incredible exultations.

Having arrived at the Archbishop's palace, and dismounted, they entered the church, being met by the Archbishop, all his canons, chaplains, and officers. They then advanced to the great altar, where the Archbishop being set on a throne, as also the Viceroy, and all the Tribunals who were there attending, Cavalier Donato Coppolo, Secretary to the kingdom, read, with an audible voice, the capitulations desired by the people, Masaniello standing all the while on foot upon the steps of the Archbishop's throne, and, to the astonishment of all, adding, taking away, correcting and interpreting all things as he pleased, no man interrupting or replying unto him. After the articles were read, a solemn oath was taken by the Viceroy, and all the Ministers and Officers of State, to observe the said capitulations; promising also, and swearing to procure their ratification by his Catholic Majesty. When this was done, two choirs sung *Te deum laudamus;* during which Masaniello was observed

to swell with a kind of glory, at having attained his ends with so much felicity and applause. Nevertheless, he carried still in his hand a naked sword, and sent many arrogant and ridiculous messages to the Viceroy. The first was, that thenceforward he should continue to be Captain-general of the city. The second was, that by virtue thereof, he intended to go with a guard, and to give patents to all officers of war and arms. The third, that he would dismiss from the Castle all cavaliers. These and such like messages he sent to the Viceroy separately, and there were affirmative answers brought back to each, not to disturb the ceremony with negatives; but the gentleman that delivered these messages made an apology for himself privately in the ear of the Viceroy, for indeed most people there did blush, or laugh, or jeer, at the sudden impertinence of Masaniello.

While these messages were sent, *Te Deum* was ended; then Masaniello began to reason, sometimes to good purpose, sometimes senselessly. He said, that the most faithful people of Naples were naturally spirited and vivacious, and were so esteemed by all nations; but that they had almost quite lost their wonted magnanimity and courage, by the heavy weight of so many exactions and gabels which were imposed upon them from time to time, not by their Catholic Majesties, but by evil ministers, and their own associates. During this discourse he so heated himself, and protested with such a fury and excess of zeal, and the words proceeded from him so incoherently, as to make all the people amazed and surprised with a kind of dumb astonishment. Having finished his discourse, he began to tear in pieces the rich dress

he had on, and desired the Archbishop and the Viceroy to help him off with it, saying, that as he had only put it on for the honour of the ceremony, it was now become useless since that was ended; that for his part, he had done all he had to do, and would now return to his hook and line. This proceeding seems to have been a prelude to the madness which not long after possessed him. However, being made to understand that it would be very indecent to strip in the church, and in the sight of so many persons, he went out with the Viceroy, who, with all the nobility and gentry that attended him, made a procession through the most public streets of the city, and then returned to the Castle, where he was saluted with several peals of ordnance. Masaniello, having taken his leave of the Viceroy, went back to his house in the market-place, through all the acclamations and blessings that were due from the people to the great restorer of their privileges.

THE EIGHTH DAY.

Sunday, July 14*th* 1647.

It is impossible to express the rejoicings of the people of Naples for the capitulations of peace which were signed and sworn the day before, which rejoicings ended not that day, but continued upon Sunday. The articles were printed, and fixed through all places of the city, that all things might be manifested to the world, and every one contended who should express greater happiness. Such a general jubilee indeed was among them, that it drew tears from many, which, falling upon the ground, made flowers of joy to spring up, which the heaviness of former times had caused to fade.

And because the beginning of this reformation, and consequently of this joy, proceeded from Masaniello, and from his stout undertakings, he was extolled with the highest praises by every one, and cried up to be Liberator Patriæ, to be the Saviour of his Country, and the Asserter of public liberty, from the tyranny and gripes of so many ravenous wolves, both in city, court, and kingdom; who, glutting themselves with the common blood of the people, increased their wealth by the poverty of others. And yet all this was effected, not by the hand of some invincible emperor, of some warlike prince, but by a poor young fellow, a barefooted fisherman. This made it far more admirable; and they attributed it the more to God, who

chooseth the weak things of the world to confound the strong.

After the publication of the capitulations and general agreement, the city of Naples seemed to wear a new face, for there was no more fear of any war, or of further combustions, and consequently no need of any armed bands, or caution for the maintenance and defence of the people from the insults of enemies. Nevertheless, it seemed expedient to Masaniello still to continue a military force on foot; and he commanded that every one should stand firm to his post: Nor was it unnecessary or superfluous policy; because the city, after so general a convulsion, could not presently recover her former health; nor, after so many conflagrations, could she be secure till the fire had been quite extinguished.

Hence it came to pass, that the soldiers still remaining up and down the city, Masaniello began to command more like an absolute master or tyrant than a captain-general. It being known on Sunday morning that four banditti had fled for sanctuary to the church of Carmine among the Jesuits, he sent a considerable band of armed men to encompass both cloister and church, whose gates being shut, the assaulters made their entrance by pickaxes, so that a great hole being made in the wall, they rushed in and took one of them, chopping off his head presently, as they did afterwards to the three others: And because one of those fathers, being zealous for the church immunities, had made some resistance for the preservation of those miserable men, he was so mortally wounded that he died a few days after.

Notice being also given, that within the monastery of nuns called Della Croce di Lucca, many of the goods of Cæsar Luprano were deposited, he having two daughters who were nuns there, Masaniello commanded some captains to proceed thither, and to bring into the market-place the said goods, with orders, that if the nuns made any resistance, to threaten them with the firing of the monastery. This was put in speedy execution; and the soldiers repairing thither unhinged the gates of the religious house, which struck such a terror into them, that one of them was like to have breathed her last; which, being related by a flying messenger unto the Archbishop, his Eminence was moved, and therefore sent to Masaniello, who, to excuse himself, answered, "He knew nothing of it, but that it was done without his order, and he would therefore punish those captains." This he did; for, ordering them before him, they were examined, and so executed. But still he was resolved to have those goods, which were accordingly delivered him by those nuns.

Masaniello having given strict command that none should dare to go out of the city without his express license; and Caffarelli, Archbishop of Santa Severina, having occasion to remove himself from Naples, where he then resided, to Calabria, to visit his own church, he went in a short habit, and without a cloak (such an order being still in force) to the house of Masaniello, to obtain leave of him. When Masaniello beheld him, he said, "What wilt thou have, my good Lord?" He answered, "That I may safely pass to my church of Santa Severina in Calabria, with your

good leave." "My Lord," answered Masaniello, crying at the same time, "Who waits there? Let four hundred of my men go and accompany my Lord as far as his archbishoprick." The Archbishop thanked him, saying, that he went by sea. "By sea?" said he, "then let forty feluccas be provided to attend my Lord Archbishop." He answering there was no need, because he had already taken four for the transport of himself and his family, which were sufficient, and to have more would be an incumbrance unto him, and troublesome. "Well, well; your Lordship may do what you please," replied Masaniello; "but at least you shall not refuse to accept of this small bag of double pistoles," which he presented unto him, saying, "Take this, to defray the charge of your voyage." The prelate thereupon smiled, and, giving him many thanks, he refused them a good while, saying, he wanted them not; but he was constrained to receive 500, which he did for fear of hazarding his head, by denying such a capricious and frantic man; then, giving him a license in writing, he embraced him, and said, "My Lord, go in safety." A little after, a gentleman of Auversa, of the family of Tufo, came to speak with him upon business of his own; and having despatched him, he gave him a kick behind, saying, "Begone, I make thee Prince of Auversa."

That morning he commanded the house of a widow baker to be burnt, because she had made light bread. He caused also an abbot to be beheaded, called Nicolas Ametrano, and three others, being dependents of Mataloni. He issued an order, that it was his pleasure the Jesuits, the Certosini, the Benedictines, and the Friars of Mount Oli-

vet, should pay a great sum of money for the service of the people. He commanded also to bring before him sundry rich men; and, asking them first if they were loyal to their King, upon their answering that they were, he made them subscribe to a writing, wherein every one bound himself to pay him so much money, telling them that he did so to observe the word given the day before to his Excellency, to make a donative of five millions of gold to his Majesty; towards whom, being desirous to show himself more devoted and faithful, he issued a proclamation, that none should go for the future dressed according to the mode of France; and repeated his former orders, that every one should have the King's arms and that of the people on his door, and that every one should tend his shop, with arms ready upon all occasions.

The same morning, Pizzicarolo, a cousin of Masaniello, went to the palace, and said openly, that he began to grow mad, and that, if he did not give over his firings and burnings, his throat would be cut by his own friends. This Pizzicarolo had more power over him than any other, for he took no meat from any hand but from his. But Masaniello had grown odiously proud; he would order and contradict a thing at the same instant; his head had begun to turn, being mounted so high, and from a simple fisherman having become a kind of monarch. All people obeyed him—Viceroy, Bishops, and all—who humoured him all the while, not doubting but he would at last break his own neck. Hence it came to pass, that from an humble and zealous spirit, he became a fool and a tyrant, issuing such rigorous proclamations, commanding so many heads to be chopt off, so many palaces to be burnt, merely to please his

own caprice, and to make himself formidable. He would ride on horseback alone, and make the round of the city, imprisoning and torturing whom he pleased, shutting up shops, preaching and railing against the nobility and gentry, not sparing the Viceroy himself, but threatening to take off his head. Yet when he spake of the King, he named him with a great deal of reverence, taking off his hat, and bowing his body; but it appeared very ridiculous, that he made boys and mean fellows captains, camp-masters, and officers of war.

In the afternoon, divers of the people, and some commanders made by Masaniello himself, sent to the Archbishop to complain that they were clapt in prison for small matters, and some were condemned to have their heads severed from their bodies. Upon which the Archbishop spoke to him by way of advice; but when he saw him obstinate, he desired him at least to defer the execution of those men till the day following, it not being fitting to shed human blood upon a Sunday, and stain the holy Sabbath with such sacrifices of cruelty. The Archbishop spoke to him with candour and winning affability, and, turning his discourse to other facetious stories, he obtained of him a delay of the execution; and to recreate his tired spirits, he wished him to go to take the refreshments and pleasure of Posilipo for a while.

The same day towards the evening, Father Rossi, a theologue of the Archbishop, went with a message to Masaniello, desiring that the people might lay down their arms, for he was secure enough now without soldiers, and again recommending that his Excellency should retire for a while to Posilipo to refresh himself. This message pleas-

ed him well; and all things necessary being provided, many soldiers were disbanded, which was done without any grumbling or questioning.

A little after, Masaniello went from the market, accompanied by a great mob, to the Castle, all the way a-foot in a loose habit, having one of his legs bare, and without band, hat, or sword, but running like a madman. He made a sign to the sergeant-major of the Spanish Guard, that they should make no noise; so he entered, and said to the Viceroy that he wished to eat, for he was ready to perish of hunger. The Viceroy, looking to his servants, said, "Bring something to eat for the Lord Masaniello."—"No, Sir," he replied; "let us go take fresh air at Posilipo, and let us eat together there, for I have provision already." And saying this, he caused some mariners to enter with baskets of fruit. The Viceroy excused himself as well as he could, because he was troubled with a great pain in the head, but said he would be very glad of his company at any other time. So he gave orders, that his own gondola should be made ready to wait upon Senior Masaniello, who embarked himself, with divers mariners, attended at least by forty feluccas full of musicians, and other sorts of men fit to give him amusement. Many thousands of people ran to the mole of Chiaia to see the spectacle; and in his way, he gave orders that some should go to the canons regular of St Lateran, to draw thence such goods as he had understood were conveyed and deposited there; which was done, and taken to the market-place. As he went along, he threw pieces of gold into the sea, which the mariners swam after, and ducked to

take up, in order to afford him pleasure and pastime. Then he fell to eating, or rather to feasting, for he had very choice provision in the gondola; and they said, that, before he came back, he had drunk twelve bottles of wine called Lachrymæ Christi. The operation of that wine will be seen in the next day's work, which was Monday. When he returned to Naples in the evening, he gave those of the gondola and feluccas which attended him, ten measures of wheat every one.

The comedy of this day had not been complete, if the wife of Masaniello had not acted her part. About the evening she went to the Castle, clad in cloth of silver, with a chain of gold, and other jewels and gallantries, in a very stately coach of the Duke of Mataloni, which was made for the day of his marriage, and was valued at least at 8000 crowns. She was accompanied by gentlewomen of quality, who complied with the times, and went also richly adorned; but these were no other than Masaniello's mother, two sisters, and kinswomen of his, all fishermen's daughters! A little boy, his sister's son, bore arms upon his sleeve, which showed that his uncle was Captain-General of the city of Naples. When she came to the Viceroy's palace, there were sedans sent for her and her company, with a guard of halbardiers, pages and laqueys, to attend them: and being brought in to the Duchess, they were welcomed with dainties. The Duchess presented her with a rich diamond; and the Visitor-General took the young boy often in his arms, and kissed him. Masaniello's mother meeting upon the stairs with cavalier Cosmo Fonseca, the grand engineer, who used to make epitaphs, she told him that he should tell the Vice-

roy, that as her son feared nobody but God and his Excellency, he ought to desire him to refrain from so much fire and blood.

Masaniello, being returned from his recreation at Posilipo, was so heated with the wine that he had drunk, and with the heat of the sun, that he fell into a kind of dotage and foolishness. He sent presently to speak with the said Fonseca, and ordered him to make divers inscriptions engraven in marble, to this effect, "Tomas Anello of Malphi, Prefect and Captain-General of the most faithful people of Naples." He also gave orders that his commands should be no longer obeyed, but only those of the Duke of Arcos.

THE NINTH DAY.

Monday, 15*th July* 1647.

If Masaniello, on Saturday when Te Deum was sung in the cathedral church, had renounced all his usurped authority and power into the hands of the Viceroy, and returned, as he said and swore he would, to his former vocation of selling fish, he had deserved a statue of gold from the people of Naples, to the eternal memory of his magnanimous undertaking, brought to such a successful issue; but boundless ambition cast such a mist before his eyes, that, breaking the reins of reason, his brain began to turn, and he committed many acts of foolishness and cruelty.

Yet many reasons are urged for the continuance of his command. Some say that he was willing to resign it, but that, by the instigation of his wife, and others of his kindred, he took a resolution to keep it still. Others say, as having heard so from himself, that he still continued his power, because if he left it, he could expect nothing but death, being so generally hated by the nobles and gentry for having burnt and destroyed so many palaces, and put to death so many of their number. Others say, that he still continued his authority, because sense opposed reason, being allured with the sweetness of rule and power.

Yet, if his said usurped dominion had been at-

tended with that humility, discretion and judgment, with which he began his reign, he might, peradventure, have continued longer from that precipice whereinto he tumbled in so short a time. His ruin befel him, because he had broken out into a thousand follies, which were the causes of his tyrannical deportment, and consequently of the universal hatred of the people, who, for many days, had depended upon him, as upon an oracle, and obeyed him as a sworn and natural King.

But if one be curious to know the reason why he fell into that state, I might tell him, that it was reported a fatal drink had been given him by the Viceroy, which was calculated to work upon his brain, making him odious and ridiculous to the people. This, at least, is the opinion of many. It may well be said, also, that the sottishness and foolery which befel him, proceeded from excess of vigilance, care, watchings, and not eating; for he seldom slept, and he ate much more seldom, his head being so full of thoughts, and new affairs pressing upon him continually, whereof his narrow understanding was not capable. The extreme joy likewise at becoming, from a poor fisherman, monarch of such a city as Naples, might have distempered a greater mind than his. Hence it came to pass, that, throwing himself upon his bed, he hardly could close his eyes; but he would suddenly rise up again, telling his wife, "Let us be Lords of Naples, and then let us sleep: Up, up, let us put our authority in practice." Then, going to the window, he would face the guard, and call upon them, employing them always upon some design or other, that his usurped dominion should not be idle. What marvel is it, then, all these things being well

considered, that he should fall into such foolish extravagances?

On Monday morning Masaniello appeared in the market-place on horseback, with a naked sword in his hand, striking many men, and driving them before him, without provocation. While thus domineering, an old and experienced captain, called Cæsar Spano, begged that the command of Tuttevilla's regiment might be consigned unto him, as they were Germans and Walloons, which was done accordingly; but he struck and wounded the old captain, saying, "Be gone when I bid you." Turning his horse's head, he went towards Toledo Street, where, meeting with one who was said to be a spy, he suddenly, without any trial, caused him to be beheaded.

Afterwards he met the Prince of Cellamare near the church of St Joseph. That nobleman was chief postmaster of the kingdom, a discreet and well-tempered prince; and to him Masaniello addressed himself, saying, "If he knew any one, though he were the greatest potentate in the world, who favoured Mataloni, he would chop off his head." A little after, there passed by the Duke de Castel di Sangro, Don Ferrante Caracciolo, a cavalier of high esteem in Naples, who, not using any compliment towards Masaniello, he ran a great hazard of his life; for he made him come suddenly out of the coach, telling him that a new Elect was to be made over the five piazzas of the nobles; and he would publish an order, that they who deserved that degree should go decently dressed, and that the cavaliers who were sellers of votes should retire to their dwellings barefooted; and so he dismissed him. This being done, he went to the King's stables,

and there being many horses there, he said, "These are particular men's horses;" but the grooms told him, they belonged to the King, and that the Lord Carlo Caracciolo, the chief master of the horse in the kingdom, had the charge of them. He asked, "What Carlo? What master of the horse? Am not I every thing? Not acknowledging any one." And saying this, he took for himself and his friends six of the best horses; but, before he had brought them half-way to the market-place, recollecting himself, he sent them back to the stables. At the same time he despatched a band of armed men to the hospital, and to the church of the Zoccolanti, commanding that the goods of the Visitor-General of the kingdom, Don John Ponze de Leon, should be carried to the market-place; but he returned them again, when he was told of the kisses he had given his nephew in the Castle the day before; yet he told him there would now be no necessity for a Visitor-General, because he himself would look well enough to the abuses of things, and to the public thieves of King and country.

After dinner, he sent a peremptory order to Don Ferante Caracciolo, that, under pain of death, and the burning of his palace, as he had not in the morning come out of his coach to do him reverence, that he should meet him in the market-place. He sent also another message to Don Carlo Caracciolo, master of the King's horse, to do the like. They answered prudently, that they would do what he desired; but holding it derogatory to their honour, instead of going to the market-place, they went to the Castle to complain to the Viceroy, and deplore the abject and sad condition

into which they were plunged, with all the rest of the Neapolitan nobility and gentry. Having related unto him the arrogant message sent them by Masaniello, they said they had resolved to die sooner than to live in such baseness and servitude; for it was a great stain to their reputation to suffer him to rule so long.

The Viceroy was extremely vexed to hear of such grievances; but he durst not apprehend Masaniello, as he was well supported by the infatuated people all in arms. While they were discoursing on the means how things might be remedied, Genovino and Arpaja came into the Castle, and bitterly complained also against Masaniello. The first spoke very despitefully of him, saying that he found himself every moment in no small danger of his life, even more so than he was in the time of the Duke of Ossuna. Arpaja also had his mortifications; he publicly received a box from Masaniello. All people were terrified at him, and affronted; yet they knew not how to remedy themselves, having at his devotion 150,000 men well armed, although the greater part, and the most civil, hated him, especially since the Sunday evening, on account of his inhuman cruelties. It was therefore determined, by the advice of Genovino and Arpaja, that all the people should make their addresses to the Viceroy, and assure him, that they not only disliked, but hated the tyranny of Masaniello, and would not obey him any longer; provided they were assured of the observance of their privileges already granted. To this the Viceroy readily consented, and promised the confirmation of them by public ban at the Piazzo of St Augustin. But a great number fearing the frowns of Masaniello,

came not thither. Two resolved to chain him, and keep him in safe custody all the residue of his life in some castle, for they were not inclined to put him to death for the things he had done for the public good; but he was gone on another excursion to Posilipo.

When Masaniello had returned from Posilipo, he went to the office of the galleys, and provided captains and other commanders for them, though they were far from the port; and thence proceeding to his house in the market-place, he threatened divers captains to take off their heads, as also Genovino and Arpaja, because they had not attended him that day. Nay, he threatened fire to the whole city, because he perceived they had lost the former respect and obedience which they were wont to show him.

Being extremely hot, he threw himself into the sea-water in all his clothes; and having come out again, he began to shake his sword up and down, and do divers mad pranks; nor could any, not even the Archbishop himself, bridle him or keep him within any bounds. The captains of the people were now constrained to apprehend him, and place him in confinement, with a band of soldiers for his guard, in his own house.

THE TENTH DAY.

Tuesday, July 16*th* 1647.

Next day, being the feast of the Virgin of Carmine, a day of very great devotion among the Neapolitans, especially the common people, Masaniello, having escaped from his keepers, entered the church, which stood near the great market-place. The Archbishop had scarcely entered, when Masaniello, meeting him in the face, said, "Most eminent Lord, I perceive now that the people will abandon me, and go about to deprive me of my life. I desire that, for my consolation, and of all this people, a solemn cavalcade may be made, together with the Viceroy, and all the tribunals of the city, to this most holy Lady; for being to die, I shall then die contented; therefore, I beseech your Eminence to send this letter to the Viceroy." The Archbishop embraced him, and, much commending his devotion, instantly sent a gentleman to the palace with the letter to the Viceroy; and going afterwards to the great altar of the Lady of Carmine, he leaned there, intending to chant mass, the church being crowded with people. Masaniello, going up the steps of the altar, took a crucifix in his hands, and recommended himself with much tenderness to the people, that they should not forsake him after what he had done for them; narrating the difficulty of the design, the danger he had en-

countered, the hatred of so many thousands by reason of his fiery punishments, and the conclusion at last of the whole business in that very church. A little while after, he fell into a raving fit; accusing himself of the badness of his past life, and exhorting every one to make the like confession before the feet of his ghostly father, that God's anger might be appeased. But as he uttered many ridiculous expressions, some savouring of heresy, his guard forsook him; and the Archbishop not enduring to hear him, being in the very act of celebrating the mass, he persuaded him to go down. Mass being done, he prostrated himself at the Archbishop's feet, praying that he would please to send his chaplain to the Castle, to advertise the Viceroy that he was willing to renounce his command. This the Archbishop promised to do, and caused him to be conducted to a dormitory to repose a while, thinking him worthy of compassion: so the Bishop returned to his palace.

In the mean time, Masaniello being refreshed, had gone out into a great hall, and as he was leaning over a balcony to take the fresh air, some hardy persons rushed in, accompanied by a great multitude, who, having first entered the Church of Carmine, cried aloud, "Let the King of Spain live, and let none hereafter, under pain of life, obey the commands of Masaniello!" Going thence to the cloister, under pretext to speak with Masaniello, and negotiate with him, they found him almost all alone. He hearing some one crying Masaniello, the unfortunate wretch advanced to those who were conspired to despatch him, "Ye go perhaps in search of me; behold, I am here, my people." Presently, Salvador and Carlo Cataneo,

two brothers, Angelo Ardizonne, and Andrea Rama, discharged their musket-shots at him; and he fell upon the earth, crying, after the first shot, "Ah! ungrateful traitors!" A butcher then came in and cut off his head, which, being put upon a lance, they went into the Church of Carmine, where were 10,000 people, and thence to the market-place, crying out, "Let the King of Spain live, and, under pain of death, let none henceforth name Masaniello! Masaniello is dead! Masaniello is dead!" and discharging many archibuzes, the common people were so affrighted that they lost their courage. The assassins now went securely up and down, with his head upon a pole, and the boys dragging his body along the public streets, where money was thrown to them that drew him by many of the gentry, who all this while durst scarce look out of their houses, or appear abroad publicly, but who now got on horseback, and went to the Castle to attend the Viceroy, and offer their congratulations. The Archbishop, after he had left the Carmine, had scarce reached his own palace, when the tidings of Masaniello's death were brought him, which made him also go directly to the Castle, to acquit himself of those duties of congratulation which were due to the Viceroy. Strict orders were instantly sent abroad, that the street-captains should be in complete readiness, at the command of the Viceroy, and that they should not obey any one else whatsoever. The Viceroy also commanded to apprehend the accomplices of Masaniello, his wife, his sisters, his kindred; who, being all made prisoners, were brought up to the Castle. And because his brother Matteo was gone to Benevento with more company, to take, as it was

given out, the Duke of Mataloni, there were armed bands despatched thither to apprehend him, and conduct him to Naples; which was done, and he was committed to the Castle; though afterwards, to please the people, he and others were set at liberty. There were armed bands sent also to the market-place, to restrain the people, and guard the goods that were there deposited.

These good orders being given, the Viceroy was exhorted by the Archbishop, and by all the nobility and ministers, to show himself publicly up and down the streets; whereupon he, mounted on horseback, accompanied by his Eminence, and attended by all the counsellors, ministers, officers, nobility and gentry, with all the tribunals, and being well guarded with horse and infantry, they went to the chief church, to give God thanks, and the most glorious Protector of Naples, St Gennarro, whose holy head and blood were taken out and placed upon the high altar, where extraordinary thanks were given for the tranquillity which was re-obtained by the death of so base a fellow, who, by the secret judgments of God, had made himself so formidable that he terrified the whole city.

From the church the cavalcade proceeded to the market-place, where the Viceroy did again, by sound of trumpet, confirm the privileges granted by Charles V., together with the capitulations. He was received with extreme demonstrations of joy by all the people, who loudly cried out, "Let the King live! live the Duke of Arcos!" and others added, "Let Filomarino live, the restorer of his country's peace!" They also gave thanks to the Lady of Carmine; then returned to the Castle

very joyful, and afterwards every one went to his own home.

The shops were now suddenly opened, the Spanish soldiers took their arms again, the guards dispersed up and down returned to their former posts, and that in the Castle was redoubled with Walloons. Every one with reverence submitted to the Viceroy, to whose prudence, patience, and dexterity, joined with the vigilance and indefatigable assistance of the Archbishop, the preservation of that city may be attributed. Indeed, if that prelate had not strongly and industriously interposed in the business, the whole city would have been destroyed with fire and sword. This appears from a letter written by a Neapolitan cavalier, one of the greatest patriots of the city, to one of his friends resident at Rome, wherein also there is a relation made, how St Gennarro, the protector and patron of Naples, appeared, which prognosticated peace, tranquillity and happiness, to the Neapolitan people.

On account of the treaty, many nobles and cavaliers were seen passing every day along the streets to the Castle in their coaches, showing themselves to the people, from whose sight they had carefully kept themselves before. The ladies also appeared in their former dresses, which formerly they durst not do, by reason of Masaniello's order to the contrary; yet they moderated their expenses and train, especially those who were used to gain by the gabels.

The head and foot of Don Peppo Caraffa remaining still exposed to public view in an iron grate, upon the gate of St Gennarro, with an inscription, " This is the head of Don Peppo Caraffa

di Mataloni, traitor to his country, and of the most faithful people of Naples." Scarcely had the rumour gone abroad of the death of Masaniello, when four gentlemen allied to the family of the Mataloni, ventured to go boldly to the said gate, and in a commanding way, though there were 1000 soldiers present, they got a ladder, and climbing up, broke the iron grate with the inscription, and took out the head, which they carried in a silver bason, covered with a silk towel, and brought it to the church of St John de Porta, delivering it to the curate of that church, John Baptista Julina. Afterwards they caused it to be put in a leaden box, and an authentic instrument made *ad futuram rei memoriam*, by a public apostolical notary authorized by the Court of Rome, called Don Maria de Juliis. The names of the four gentlemen who did this hardy act, which names are inserted in the said instrument, were Girolamo Laudara, brother to the Duke of Mazano, and the Cavaliers Gastani, sons to Carrafesca, Don Scipion, Pietro Antonio Rastaldi, and Gio Baptista d'Afflitto.

It will be recollected that Masaniello, a little before his death, began to feel the pulses of the richest men up and down the city, demanding of them many thousands of crowns, because he purposed, as he gave out, to present five millions of gold to the King, which he had already promised to his Excellency by way of donative. That sum was to be raised out of the money found in the burnt houses, and contribution of the chief merchants and citizens of Naples, which he would have effected within a few days, had he not died; therefore, it was questioned whether his death tended more to the service or disservice of Spain.

Amongst other wealthy merchants he had sent to one Gasper Roomer, a rich Fleming, who, to prevent the firing of his house, sent 12,000 crowns to Masaniello, and then retired to a house four miles out of the city, at a place called La Barra, carrying with him all his best moveables and goods he had in Naples. To this merchant he again sent Savino Converso, of the Carmine, a great confident of his, the same Tuesday, the day that he was slain, with an order in writing, at sight whereof he was to consign unto him 5000 zechins for the service of his Catholic Majesty, since he had grown so rich out of good bargains he had from the Viceroys from time to time. Roomer could not tell how to avoid the complying with his desire, and obey them; so he delivered so much gold in ready money to the messenger, who, leaving a receipt behind him, and returning to Naples, understood, as he passed a little church near the Carmine, what had happened to Masaniello. He then embarked himself in a felucca, and went away with the money to Rome; but the merchant sent spies up and down to find him out; and at last, by the help of those of his order, for he was a friar, he got notice where he was, and recovered much of his money.

That Tuesday, in the evening, as already mentioned, was brought to Naples the brother of the said Masaniello, and committed prisoner to the Castle, together with his mother. As they passed, all cried out, "Room, room for the Lady Duchess of Sarda!" With the brother of Masaniello were brought four heads of his companions, who would not yield themselves, but make resistance with musket-shot, and nine were taken alive; the rest were mortally wounded, or put to flight.

Thus rose and fell Masaniello of Amalphi, and in the manner which he himself seemed to have anticipated, and to which he alluded at the commencement of the revolution, when going up the market-place; namely, that what he did was for the public benefit of the city, and that, when he had finished the work, he might be slain and dragged up and down the streets of Naples. And so it happened right; for having confirmed the interests of the city upon Saturday, and caused their privileges and the confirmation of them to be subscribed and sworn to by the Viceroy and all the councils, he was the third day after assassinated, and dragged up and down the streets; his head thrown into a ditch called the Corn-ditch, and his body cast into another, between the gates of Nolana and Capoana. *

All antiquity cannot furnish us with such another example as his; and after-ages will hardly believe what height of power this ridiculous sovereign arrived to, who, trampling barefoot on a throne, and wearing a mariner's cap instead of a diadem, in the space of a few days raised an army of above 150,000 men, and made himself master of one of the most populous cities in the world. And, as if Fortune, that capricious jilt, had taken delight in raising a fisherman above the greatest monarch, she not only submitted to his empire that innumerable rabble that always followed him, but even that ancient and generous Neapolitan nobility itself, whose immortal exploits have filled the whole universe with their fame. In short, it may be averred without contradiction, that, neither the

* Here Howell's narrative concludes. The sequel is from that of F. Midon, Lond. 1729.

most formidable tyrants, nor the princes the most beloved, were ever so much dreaded, or so soon obeyed, as Masaniello was, during his short but stupendous reign. His orders were without reply; his decrees without appeal; and the destiny of all Naples might be said to have depended upon a single motion of his hand.

Those who have most curiously inquired into this great and sudden revolution, of which he was the author, have for the most part looked upon it as a pure and immediate effect of God's judgments, who, to chastise the avarice, the pride, and the barbarity of the Spanish ministers, which were then at their highest pitch, singled out the arm of this poor fisherman to execute his anger. Nor is this opinion without foundation: For, if we examine the actions and accidents of Masaniello's life, we shall find them too extraordinary and too wonderful, not to have been in a peculiar manner directed by the hand of Providence. It is reported, that whilst he was yet in the cradle, two Capuchins accidentally calling in at his mother's house, one of them took him into his arms, and, having looked very stedfastly upon him for some time, he told her, that that child should one day come to be the master of Naples, but that his government would have but a very short duration. We have already taken notice of his own allusions, relating to his death, together with the cause, time, and manner of it. But, what will raise our admiration most of all is, that he, who had never had any education, and who had always passed among those of his acquaintance for a mere fool, was all on a sudden seen to act and to speak as if he had been conversant in politics, and the management

of public affairs. And indeed, with how much wisdom did he not make and maintain, in the very heat of the commotions, the most useful orders and regulations that the wisest legislators and the most experienced generals could ever be capable of? With what art and address did he not insinuate himself into the hearts of so many thousands of men, by far his superiors, encouraging the fearful, extolling the bold, reproaching the coward, and most pathetically describing to all the miserable state of their country, groaning under the heavy exactions of proud and avaricious ministers, and animating them to revenge and redress themselves! Cardinal Filomarino, Archbishop of Naples, acknowledged, that in the several conferences he had with him relative to the treaty of accommodation, he had often been amazed at the solidity of his judgment, and the subtilty of his contrivances. In short, let us but reflect upon the greatness of that enterprise which he projected, and executed for the good of his country: That indefatigable assiduity with which he applied himself to it, which robbed him of the hours of nourishment and repose, and made him dictate to seven secretaries all at one time: That just severity, which obliging him to put so many persons to death, never exerted itself on any whose crimes had not deserved it: But, above all, that noble and generous disinterestedness, which kept him poor in the midst of such vast heaps of wealth; and we shall be apt to conclude with a certain Neapolitan gentleman, "that Masaniello seems to have been endowed with no other qualifications, but such as were necessary for the execution of the Divine vengeance."

But it is not just, that these reflections should make us leave the head and the body of Masaniello unburied and asunder; and, after having exposed the ingratitude of the people, in forsaking their great deliverer, it is but reasonable, that we should also take notice of the sorrow and repentance which they expressed for it, by the pompous obsequies with which they honoured his remains. The day immediately following that of his death, several children, at the persuasion of some persons who told them "it was a shame that the corpse of him who had done so much for the good of his country, should be thus exposed to the dogs," went and fetched his body, and after they had washed and cleaned it well, carried it on a bier to the cathedral church of Carmine. At the same time, a young man, living in the market-place, called Jeronymo Donneruma, went with a company of men, all armed, to look for his head in the Corn-ditch; and having found it, he brought it along with him to the same place where the body was, in order to have them joined together. This being done, it was resolved, in a general assembly of the people, who were gathered together on purpose, "that Masaniello deserved to receive the greatest honours, as head and Captain-general of Naples;" and, accordingly, his corpse, preceded by five hundred priests and religieuse, and followed by 40,000 armed men, and almost as many women, with beads in their hands, was carried through several of the most public streets of the city, with all the solemnities that are commonly used at the funeral of a martial commander. As they passed by the palace of the Viceroy, his Excellency, to conform to the times, sent eight of his

pages, with torches in their hands, to accompany the corpse, and at the same time ordered the Spaniards, who were then upon guard, to lower their ensigns, and salute him as he went by. He was at last brought back again to the cathedral church, and there buried; whilst all the bells in Naples rung a mournful peal, and amidst the tears and lamentations of an infinite multitude of women, who showed so much respect and veneration to his dust, that one may say, that, by the effect of a popular inconstancy, which is not to be equalled, Masaniello, in less than three days, was obeyed like a monarch, murdered like a villain, and revered like a saint.

Such, then, is the history of the Neapolitans, from the first origin of their civil misfortunes and sufferings, under an overbearing ministry, to the first period of tyranny and oppression among them; that is, to their being restored to the full possession of their rights and privileges by the fisherman-hero. Happy for them, had they never been molested in the enjoyment of them, and that the public faith had remained inviolate! But, alas! They were soon made sensible, by a fatal experience, that the most sacred, and most religious oaths and covenants, are not strong enough to bind princes or their ministers, from acting contrary to their views of interest and ambition.

Not many days after Masaniello's death, the Viceroy made Julio Genovino President of one of the Courts of Justice, and gave him, besides, several other public marks of his favour and esteem. The people were surprised at it; and they could not conceive what it was that

should induce the Viceroy to give such extraordinary demonstrations of favour to a man who had, with the greatest warmth, so lately espoused the interest of the Neapolitans, and upon all occasions had, in a particular manner, manifested his enmity to the Spaniards. This was a mystery to them, and they were at a loss to unriddle it. But it was not long before their eyes were opened, by the publication of the printed treaty. They observed, that the fourteenth article in it contained a salvo, which had not been read to them in the Cathedral Church, and which, indeed, made the treaty void and of no effect. The purport of it is as follows: "That all taxes and gabels until then imposed and exacted, should be abrogated and annulled forever; such of them only *excepted*, as were alienated to private or particular persons, which should always subsist, any thing in this treaty mentioned to the contrary notwithstanding." Now, there being no tax in the kingdom but what was alienated, all the gabels and taxes consequently remained still in force; and this treaty, that was concluded with so much solemnity, and afterwards confirmed by so many oaths, was only a political trick to lull the people asleep till the ministry should find a fit opportunity of replunging them into a state of slavery and subjection.

But all crimes are not alike successful; and Heaven would not suffer so heinous a violation of the public faith, sworn and pledged upon the altars, to go unpunished. Those, who had first discovered the fraud, immediately communicated it to their neighbours; these again divulged it to the people. In an instant, the whole

city was alarmed. Multitudes of people flocked together in haste to the market-place, as is usual in cases of public danger. They plainly perceived the reason of Genovino's new preferment, and they concluded, that he had sold them to the ministry. On a sudden, they gave a loose to their rage and indignation. They flew to arms; and, in the first heat of their furious resentment, they uttered a thousand direful imprecations against the government, in whom they could no longer confide. This was the beginning of a civil war, which, in the end, proved fatal to the Spaniards. The authors of it, unimproved by so recent an example of what an injured and exasperated people can do in their own defence, and the defence of their liberty, soon saw themselves and their country involved in all the calamities and horrors that attend intestine feuds and dissentions. And some of them, by meeting with a more hasty and exemplary punishment, have left behind them an everlasting monument of the wrath of Heaven against perjured and avaricious ministers.

IX.

THE

POPISH PLOT.

A. D. 1678.

THE

POPISH PLOT.

A. D. 1678.

"Those [illegible] are [illegible], lies will
[illegible] in [illegible],
Which [illegible] would [illegible] a plot,
[illegible]

"Was I [illegible] to [illegible] by [illegible],
[illegible] protection,
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible],
[illegible] my protection."

Anon.

I am [illegible] [illegible] we are now about to [illegible], in [illegible] [illegible] history, is one of a very [illegible] [illegible] from those which have been [illegible], and is of very great [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the more recent, as [illegible] the mass of [illegible] evidence which [illegible] speaking [illegible] The general designation is the Popish Plot; [illegible] has been sometimes [illegible] Plot, and the [illegible] Plot.

Oates's [illegible] also been termed [illegible] Plot, because [illegible] Oates was [illegible] discoverer [illegible] and Anthony Ashley Cooper, [illegible] of Shaftesbury, a [illegible] [illegible]

THE

POPISH PLOT.

A. D. 1678.

"Thou wants not wickedness, but wit,
To turn it to thy profit;
Who but a sot would hatch a plot,
And then make nothing of it?

'Twas I was fain to rear thy barn,
And brought it to perfection.
I made the frighted nation run
To me for my protection."

ANON.

THE narrative on which we are now about to venture, in concluding these histories, is one of a very different complexion from those which have been previously discussed, and is of very great difficulty, not so much from the mere recital, as from the mass of contradictory evidence which exists respecting it. The general designation is the POPISH PLOT; though it has been sometimes termed Oates's Plot, and the *Meal-Tub Plot.*

Oates's Plot has also been termed *Shaftesbury's Plot*, because Titus Oates was held as the main discoverer of the facts; and Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, a famous politician in the

reigns of Charles II. and James II., was the grand instrument in inducing the nation to believe them. A review of the lives of those two remarkable characters is necessary in the outset, in order to make the narrative more concise and intelligible. *

Titus Oates, who was actually reckoned at one time the *Saviour of his country*, was perhaps one of the most infamous and unprincipled characters recorded in history. He was born about 1619, and was the son of Samuel Oates, at one time a ribbon-weaver, and afterwards a preacher among the Anabaptists, and, as a consequence, a furious fanatic in the reign of Oliver Cromwell. † Our hero was first sent to Merchant Taylors' School, and afterwards to Cambridge, where he studied successively in two colleges, Caius and St John's. It does not appear that he took any degree; for he was wont, by way of reproach, for assuming the title of Doctor in Divinity, to be termed the *Salamanca Doctor*. He left the University, without

* In Arnauld's "Apologié pour les Catholiques," (*Vide* Life of Tillotson, by Nelson, p. 90), the plot is said to have been a mere invention of Oates; and certainly much of it appeared afterwards to be nothing else.

† The following notice of the father of this man, who must not be confounded with Samuel Oates, or Otes, of Norfolk, Rector of Marsham and South Keppes, and originally of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is from Echard's History, vol. iii. "Being chaplain to a regiment of Cromwell's forces in Scotland, he was there clapt up in prison upon Overton's plot against the usurper. But having the good fortune to escape, upon the King's restoration, he conformed to the church, and got the living of Hastings in Sussex, where he continued till he thought fit to return to his former Anabaptistical station." It does not appear that Samuel Oates of Corpus Christi, who died early in the 17th century, was related to this fierce Anabaptist.

distinguishing himself in any department of learning, and was known chiefly for his impudent boldness, and a certain sectarian mode of canting in his exercises.* He contrived to get holy orders, though in his youth he had frequented a Baptist conventicle in Virginia Street, Ratcliffe Highway, and even held forth for some time for his father, who had not then conformed to the church; and shortly afterwards, he officiated as a curate both in Kent and Sussex. During this period, he was noted for some mysterious and extravagant nonsense he preached respecting Christianity, and was also on one occasion prosecuted for perjury. He contrived to get an appointment as a chaplain in the navy; but he was soon dismissed for licentious and infamous conduct.‡ Shortly afterwards, he received a qualification from the Duke of Norfolk, to act as one of his chaplains; but at this time he became infected with the Socinian heresy, the promoters of which, after the Restoration, abounded in England, especially in London, that heresy mak-

* The following account of Oates at this period of his life is characteristic:—"In the year 1664, I was admitted into Caius College, in the University of Cambridge. During my stay there, I remember Titus Oates was entered in our College by the same token, that *both the plague and he visited the University in the same year.* He was very remarkable for a canting fanatical way, conveyed to him with his Anabaptistical education." *Vide* A *Modest Vindication* of Titus Oates, the Salamanca Doctor, from Perjury, &c. by Adam Elliot, M. A. a priest of the Church of England, folio, *apud* Collection of State Tracts in Advocates' Library.

‡ Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Times, folio, vol. ii. p. 425. "He was dismissed," says that Whig Bishop, "upon complaint of some unnatural practices, not to be named."

ing fearful progress among those wild and enthusiastic sectaries which sprung up in the reign of Charles I., and were triumphant during the grand usurpation. For this our hero was deprived of his chaplaincy by the Duke of Norfolk; and, having been guilty of various irregularities, he was silenced by the Bishop of the diocess. At this time, says Archdeacon Echard, "he became very uncertain as to his principles and religion, and infamous as to his morals." Our divine, during his residence in the Norfolk family, had frequently discoursed with the Popish priests who were entertained there; and, after he was deprived and silenced, being reduced to extreme poverty, he pretended to become a Jesuit, either for bread, or, as he afterwards boasted, for the purpose of being admitted into their secrets, and betraying them.* A priest named Hutchinson, who afterwards joined the church of England, and was a curate for above a year in London, though he subsequently recanted, was the person who conversed with Oates; and though our hero does not appear to have been much trusted, he was thought a hopeful convert. It was in the year 1677, that he became intimate with one of the London clergy, named Israel Tong, or Tongue, a man of some learning, but of a restless disposition, whose head was full of projects, and his pen always ready to be employed on such subjects. Oates at this time went under the name of Ambrose; he was entertained by Tongue, fed, clothed, and lodged at his expense, as if it were from mere charity. At length,

* This he always maintained, and protested to Bishop Burnet, before God and the holy angels, that he went among the Jesuits solely for this purpose.

however, after Tongue had thoroughly ascertained Oates's disposition, he proposed to our hero a mode by which he would most likely make his fortune. The nation, Tongue observed, was universally opposed to Popery; there was a deeply-rooted prejudice against it, which prejudice could easily be roused by any plot or alarm, either real or pretended. There had been many plots and conspiracies formed to restore Popery. The nation were now in such a state that the least alarm would excite them; and as popery had been often attempted to be restored before, it was not unlikely that some enterprise was now in progress by the Priests and Jesuits. If Oates could prove this, it was certain that his preferment would be great, and his popularity with the nation such as to secure its lasting gratitude: And although there was no plot, yet if he could get the names of some Jesuits, and some information against the Papists, it would be an easy matter to manage the rest, by accommodating themselves to circumstances. The Salamanca Doctor relished Tongue's plan extremely, and pretended to be a convert to the church of Rome. It was said that he actually became a Jesuit, but this has been strenuously denied. In April or May 1677, he proceeded to Valadolid in Spain, where he continued for six months, and then returned; but having made no discoveries of consequence in his expedition, after staying a month in England, he went to the seminary college of St Omer's in France, and there entered himself a student of the Order of Jesus. Here he was not much noticed, and he skulked about in great poverty. It is more than probable, however, that during his residence at St Omer's he might have

heard the Jesuits express themselves in a sanguine manner respecting the restoration of Popery in England, from the hopes they entertained of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. Nothing farther of consequence occurred in the Salamanca Doctor's life, till he appeared in England as the chief informer in the Popish Plot. He returned to London in June 1678, and there set about his contrivance with his adviser Tongue.

Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, whom Oates, in a dedication to one of his works, describes as his "affectionate good friend, and singular good Lord,"* was a statesman of a very dubious character. His conduct during the usurpation of Cromwell, when, according to Clarendon, "he gave himself up body and soul" to the Parliament, induced that noble historian to say, that,

* Shaftesbury was thus designated in 1679, in two of Oates's performances, when our hero was in his glory; the one entitled, "The Witch of Endor, or the Witchcrafts of the Roman Jezebel, by Titus Oates, D. D., folio, 1679;" the other, "The Pope's Warehouse, or the Merchandize of the Whore of Rome, published for common good, by Titus Oates, D. D., folio." Shaftesbury had many other tracts, in vindication of Oates and his associates, dedicated to him. He was the father of Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, the celebrated author of the Characteristics. He died in 1683, and his life was set favourably forth in a small 12mo volume which appeared at the time, entitled, "The Compleat Statesman, demonstrated in the Life, Actions, and Politicks of that great Minister of State, Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, containing an Historical Account of his Descent, his Administration of Affairs in the time of Oliver Cromwell, his unwearied Endeavours to restore his most sacred Majesty, his zeal in prosecuting the Popish Plot," &c. &c. His life, in the Biographia Britannica, is one continued strain of panegyric.

"he became an implacable enemy to the royal family." He was, however, in the correspondence for restoring Charles II., and was particularly active in that cause. After that period, he appears most prominent in the history of those turbulent times. He has the credit of most actively promoting, if not of originally inventing, the exclusion bill against the Duke of York, which drew upon him the implacable hatred of that Prince. It is impossible to conceive, that a man such as Shaftesbury could be ignorant of Oates's character; yet for reasons of policy, he actively promoted the belief of the Plot; and hence he received part of the honour, such as it was, by its being termed *Shaftesbury's Plot.* He was particularly zealous in promoting the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, which was the effect of his opposition to the Duke of York, and often met Monmouth, Lord Russell, and the other conspirators engaged in that enterprise. "His furious temper," observes Mr Hume, "notwithstanding his capacity, had done great injury to the cause in which he was engaged. The violence and iniquities which he suggested and encouraged, were greater than ever faction itself could endure; and men could not forbear sometimes recollecting, that the same person who was become so zealous a patriot, was once a most profligate courtier." It is said that he had the vanity to expect being chosen King of Poland, and this occasioned him being nick-named *Count Tapsky*, in allusion to a medical operation he had undergone when he was chancellor; he was also styled *Shiftsbury*, as a jest upon his title. It is a curious circumstance, which may be here noticed, that Shaftesbury wrote a his-

tory of his own life and times, which, when he fled into Holland, where he died, he intrusted to the care of Locke the philosopher. Algernon Sidney had been put to death on a charge of treason, grounded on papers found in his closet; and Locke, dreading a similar prosecution, committed the manuscript to the flames. *

It is not so much my intention to discuss the history of this turbulent and, it may be said, fanatic period, as to place the contrivers and promoters of the Plots now under consideration in a true light before the reader. There are indeed many things to be considered, ere we can pronounce the *whole* of Oates's evidence as fiction, and *all* the persons whom he accused innocent; for his discoveries were to a certain extent successful. He was believed by the nation, he was credited by the courts of law and the Parliament. Yet, if we recollect that this man was rewarded with a a pension of 400*l.* per annum by the party which triumphed at the Revolution, by which party, to

* I am very well aware that it has been often vehemently denied that Shaftesbury had any connection with Oates's plot; and it has been asserted, that had it been of his contriving, it would have been more consistent and credible. It matters little, however, whether he be viewed as the contriver of it or not; it is clear that he studiously promoted the knavery of Oates to promote his own purposes. (Lord John Russell's life of William Lord Russell, 4to. p. 74, 75.) Dryden has described this statesmen in a strain of exquisite satire in his Absalom and Achitophel:

——— "The false Achitophel was first
A name to all succeeding ages curst;
For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit;
Restless, unfixed in principles and place,
In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace."

wit, the Whigs, he was applauded and defended, we shall be at no loss to account for the turbulence which characterized the opposers of legitimate authority, however much that authority may have erred. For William of Orange had undoubtedly formed a design on the English crown before the Revolution; and hence can be easily explained the proceedings of his partisans, the enemies of James II, —their promoting Monmonth's insurrection, their strenuous endeavours to exclude the Duke of York from the succession, and even to procure his banishment, and their anxiety to excite the nation; which circumstances, and former treasons by the Papists, had given them too much occasion, by continual rumours of plots and conspiracies, to attempt the re-establishment of the Popish Church. It would be needless, in these narrow limits, to enter minutely into such an interesting discussion as it must be on the history of that eventful period; and it may be sufficient, therefore, to observe, that the nation being divided into two great parties, the defenders of legitimate right, and those who wished to promote the Whig principles and the accession of William of Orange, supported as the latter was by the sectaries, and legions of enthusiasts both in England and Scotland, nothing could be of greater advantage to the Whig or Orange party, than to keep the nation in a continual state of alarm, by vague and fearful rumours, as had been done with too much success in the reign of Charles I.; and had it not been for the machinations of that political party which afterwards triumphed at the Revolution, and for the recklessness which they manifested to further their purposes, the Popish Plot would never have been

hatched by Oates and Tongue; the Meal Tub documents would have remained undisturbed; the Ryehouse Plot would never have been contrived; and Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney and others, would have kept their heads on their shoulders. For it is of no use to tell us, that the doctrine of the *jus divinum* induced the clergy of the Church of England to decry the Popish or Oates's Plot, because, during the existence of the Commonwealth, they had been, in common with the Papists, equally oppressed by the Fanatics, and had therefore a natural kindness towards each other. * It is true both the clergy and the Papists joined in hating the Fanatics; the former from their laudable opposition to schism and extravagance of every form; the latter from their detestation of heretics in general, with whom, however, according to their usual practice, they coupled the Church of England; and past experience had taught them, notwithstanding the numerous treasons which the Papists had attempted, that while the rumour of a Popish plot was industriously circulated by the Fanatics, they themselves might be plotting something against the Church of England. The conduct of those immortal *seven bishops*, whose names are imperishable in the annals of their country, abundantly proves, that while the Church of England hated Popery, from which she had been reformed by the blood of her noble martyrs, she nevertheless made conscience of legitimate authority, which ought at all times to be treated with reverence and respect.

* See this subject discussed in the Collection of State Tracts, published during the reign of King William, vol. iii. folio, London, 1706.

It will thus be seen how far the simple evidence of Oates, Bedloe, and the rest of their associates, was entitled to that credit which it received. After Oates's return to London from St Omer's, Tongue and he proceeded to take advantage of the public mind, already sufficiently excited by suspicions of the King and the Duke of York being industriously circulated. Under the pretence of secrecy, or feeling it necessary to be private, those two men took lodgings at a place called Foxhall, on the Surrey side of the Thames, which belonged to a person named Lambert, on which account, the house in which they met was afterwards designated the *Plot-House*. Here Oates's narrative was formally drawn out, consisting of forty-three articles in the shape of depositions, but without any person's name prefixed. The plan or narrative follows in as condensed a form as possible, by which we shall be enabled to form our conclusions.

The professed design of the whole, according to Oates, was, to re-establish the Popish religion, and utterly to extirpate Protestantism, root and branch. The agents in this grand conspiracy were, 1. Pope Innocent XI., who, in the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, in the presence of 300 persons, in the month of December 1677, had declared England and its dependencies to be part of St Peter's patrimony, and at the disposal of his Holiness. 2. The English Cardinal Howard, who was appointed to take possession of England in the name of his Holiness, and was made Archbishop of Canterbury, with a reservation of 40,000 crowns per annum, for maintaining his authority

as Papal Legate. 3. Various persons who were constituted Bishops of the Sees in England by the Pope. 4. John Paul de Oliva, general of the Order of the Jesuits in London. 5. Pedro Jeronymo de Corduba, Provincial of that Order in Spain, who was to procure money and other aids from the Spanish government, and who was to misrepresent the English King's actions in all possible ways. 6. Father La Chaise, a Jesuit, Confessor to the King of France, with whom one Coleman * maintained a treasonable correspondence. 7. Whitebread, the Provincial of the Jesuits in England, the Benedictine Monks in the Savoy, London, numbers of Jesuits and Seminary Priests then in England, who were acquainted with the Plot, either in whole or in part; several noblemen and lay persons of rank; and even the Queen and the Duke of York were said to be concerned. The means by which the conspiracy was to be accomplished were, first, to kill the King, which was to be done in various ways. Two ruffians, named Groves and Pickering, undertook to assassinate him. For this service the latter, who was a man in easy circumstances, and withall a *fanatic*, was to receive as a reward 30,000 *masses;* while the other, who liked more tangible remuneration, was to be paid at the rate of a shilling per mass,

* This man had been formerly the Duke of York's Secretary, and was at that time secretary to the Duchess. He carried on a correspondence in the years 1674, 1675, and 1676, between the Duke and the French King, through the means of Fathers Ferrier and La Chaise, the latter of whom was termed by Oates *le Shee.* (Lord John Russell's Life of William Lord Russell, p. 75.)

which would, of course, amount to 1500*l.** Lest this plan should fail, two Benedictine monks, named Coniers and Anderton, aided by four Irishmen, were to stab him; or, lest this should also fail, Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's physician, undertook to poison him, as a reward for which he was to receive 15,000*l.*, 5000*l.* of which was entered in their books as part of the payment. They were next to make use of the Duke of York's name, and he was to receive the three kingdoms from the Pope, to pardon the regicides, and to extirpate the Protestant religion, if he complied with these conditions. They were to set fire to London, Westminster, and all the principal cities of the kingdom, when the King was killed, and, by laying the blame on the Presbyterians and Fanatics, would thereby induce the adherents of the Church of England to fall on the extravagant schismatics, and aid in their extirpation. There was to be a general massacre of all the Protestants; an army of 50,000 men was to be raised in London, to cut the throats of 100,000 Protestants; 10,000 French soldiers from Flanders, and 30,000 pilgrims and lay-brothers from Spain were to assist

* "But this scheme misgave; because, according to the evidence, the conscientious and opulent Mr Pickering had furnished himself for the exploit with an old pistol, the cock whereof was too loose to hold a flint. Another time they were to come to Windsor, to execute their bloody purpose with sword and dagger, but could find no better conveyance than miserable hack horses, one of which became lame, and disconcerted the expedition. *Such at least was the apology made by Oates for not appearing when a party were, upon his information, stationed to apprehend them.*"—Sir Walter Scott's Notes to Dryden, in his edition of Dryden's Works, vol. ix. p. 262.

them; in Ireland, Talbot, the Popish Archbishop of Dublin, had received that kingdom from the Pope, and his brother was to command there 70,000 Papists, besides auxiliaries; the massacre of 1641 was to be repeated; the Duke of Ormond was to be assassinated; the Pope was to contribute 300,000 crowns; and the French were to supply men, arms, and money. In Scotland, where the dregs of the fanaticism of the former age had fermented sects of fierce enthusiasts, and where large conventicles were daily held among the mountains, by men whom persecution had rendered homeless and frantic, it was merely deemed expedient, according to Oates, to foment the fanatical commotions, by certain Jesuits disguising themselves, and proceeding thither, holding forth in field conventicles to the people, for the purpose of distracting the government.

This gigantic conspiracy, in which Oates and his associates dealt so largely in round numbers, and scrupled not to maintain most boldly the most magnificent projects, was not concocted in the above form at once, but at subsequent periods, and was disclosed in repeated examinations. It is very curious to observe, that there was not the slightest document produced to prove this mighty enterprise, save Coleman's Letters; yet, when Oates and Coleman were confronted, the former did not know him at first, though he had charged him with being particularly active in the conspiracy. But those Letters, which purported to have been written to La Chaise in 1674, 1675, and 1676, had evidently very little connexion with Oates's contrivance. It has been remarked by a

Whig writer,* that "it was not material whether Oates was a man of truth or not, the papers, [Coleman's Letters], without Oates's farther evidence, proving the design." This, however, is not to the point. Oates was an adventurer, a man of abandoned morals; and his evidence was so contradictory, that nothing but the peculiar circumstances of the nation, at that time more than ordinarily excited, ensured for him any credit. But it certainly does appear from Coleman's correspondence, though Oates knew nothing of the matter, that there was some design on foot among the Jesuits to attempt the re-establishment of Popery. "We have here a mighty work upon our hands," he says to La Chaise, "no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that, perhaps, the utter subduing of a pestilent heresy, which has a long time domineered over this northern world. There never were such hopes of success, since the days of Queen Mary, as now in our days." He proceeds to anticipate great things from the Duke of York's well known religious principles.† There is, however, every reason to conclude, that Oates knew nothing of this but by vague rumour; and accordingly, he might start the whole affair, from the very principle which is happily expressed by Mr Hume respecting the Romish Church, or rather the Order of the Jesuits, that "such zeal of proselytism actuates that sect, that its missionaries have penetrated into every nation of the globe; and, in one sense, there is a *Popish*

* State Tracts published in the Reign of King William, vol. ii. folio, p. 9.

† Hume, vol. viii. p. 74. Life of Lord William Russell, by Lord John Russell, p. 75, 76.

plot perpetually carrying on against all states, Protestant, Pagan, and Mahometan." Had Oates's information proceeded from any other source but mere surmise, he would have been much more cautious in his story. For the Catholics could gain nothing by the assassination of Charles, whom indeed they suspected to be theirs at heart; for though he was a latitudinarian in religion, he was strongly suspected of being friendly to the creed of those countries where he had been sheltered in his adversity: And had the King been cut off by them, the succession of the Duke would have been something difficult." * The Catholics," says Sir Walter Scott, " had given a handle against themselves, by their own obscure intrigues; and it was impossible to forget the desperate scheme of the Gunpowder Plot, by which they had resolved to cut off the heresy in the time of King James. The crime of the fathers was in this case visited on the children; for no person probably would or could have believed in the Catholic Plot of 1678, had not the same religious

* The Duke of York was well known to be an open and avowed Papist, as was also his Duchess, the daughter of the celebrated Clarendon. That lady pretended that she had been converted to Popery, by reading Dr Peter Heylin's History of the Reformation. See her Motives for adhering to the Catholic faith, written by Herself, in 1670, apud The Church History of England, folio, vol. iii. printed at Brussels, 1742. Her first motive is curious. " Henry VIII." says she, " renounced the Pope's authority, because he would not give him leave to part with his wife, and marry another in her life-time." Probably, when the Duchess recollected the circumstances of her own marriage, she found an analogy in her own case, and chose rather to abjure her Church, than run the hazard of not being Queen, by continuing a Protestant.

zeal meditated something equally dangerous in 1606. It is true, the Gunpowder Conspiracy was proved by the most unexceptionable testimony; but the plot in Charles's time rested on the oaths of a few bold-faced villains, who contradicted both themselves and each other." The nation, in short, as the same writer observes, was exasperated, by being made the dupe of villany and credulity.* It is a remarkable fact, as it respects Shaftesbury, that on being questioned by a nobleman respecting the matter, he replied, "I will not say who started the game, but I am sure I had the full hunting of it." The design of the whole was evidently to ruin the Duke of York, between whom and Shaftesbury there was a violent hatred. A simple anecdote will prove the manner in which they treated each other. On one occasion, when Shaftesbury was sitting as Chancellor, he called the Duke of York to order, when, passing his chair, the Duke said to him in a low voice, "You are an impudent scoundrel."—"I thank your Grace," replied Shaftesbury, "for having called me neither a *coward* nor a *Papist.*"

But it becomes us to proceed to the mode in

* Dryden's Works, vol. ix. p. 260, 261. Dryden, in his Absalom and Achitophel, has admitted that there was some intrigue on foot among the Jesuits. He says, that the plot was

"Bad in itself, but represented worse:"

And that,

"Some truth there was, but dashed and brewed with lies."

Coleman, when he was examined before the House of Commons, admitted the correspondence, but said there were only three men in England privy to it—the Duke of York, Lord Arundel, and himself. This is a proof that Oates knew nothing beyond surmise.

which the discovery was made. On Monday the 12th of August, about twelve o'clock, Tongue applied himself to a person named Christopher Kirby, a chemist, who was sometimes employed in the royal laboratory, informing him, with great secrecy, that there was a conspiracy against the King; and showed him forty-three articles in writing, requesting him, with the utmost caution, to reveal the same to the King. Kirby willingly undertook the business, and went that very day to Whitehall about two o'clock, but could not obtain an audience, the King being then in company with the Duke of York. He returned to Tongue; and, after advising with him what to do, it was concluded that the discovery should be made to the King on the following morning, as he walked in St James's Park; and Kirby wrote a few lines to present to his Majesty. Accordingly, on the 13th, they were on the watch; and as soon as the King appeared, the writing was presented by Kirby. "Sir," said he, "keep among your company; your enemies have a design upon your life; you may be shot in this very walk." He was ordered by the King to wait his return, when he was examined on the mysterious expressions he had used. He said, that two men, named Grove and Pickering, had engaged to shoot his Majesty, and that Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's physician, had also undertaken to poison him. Being asked how he knew this, he replied, that he had seen it in writing the day before, in the hands of his friend Dr Tongue, a divine of the Church of England, and, if his Majesty pleased, he would introduce the Doctor to him. The King of course assented; Tongue was introduced, and delivered a paper to

the King, containing an outline of the pretended plot, divided into forty-three heads; humbly requesting, at the same time, that the paper might be kept secret, otherwise the discovery would be prevented, and their lives in hazard; farther proposing to the King, that they might have access to him under the pretence that they were chemists, to prevent suspicion. The King answered, that he was going the next morning to Windsor, and had not then leisure to peruse the paper, but ordered them to attend the Earl of Danby, Lord Treasurer, and lay the whole business before that minister. * They waited on Danby on the 14th, when Kirby was ordered to withdraw. The paper was shown to Tongue, and he was asked if it was the original document? He replied, No; it was a copy in his own handwriting. He was asked, who was the author, and where was the original? He said he did not know, beyond a mere suspicion; but the original document in his possession *had been thrust under the door of his house during the night.* He was lastly asked, if he knew where to find the author? But he answered again in the negative; adding, that he had seen him lately on the street, and that it was possible he would soon meet him again. †

* "Tongue," says Bishop Burnet, "told the King a long thread of many passages, all tending to the taking away his life, which the King, *as he afterwards told me*, knew not what to make of; yet, among so many particulars, he did not know but there might be some truth." *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. p. 425, folio edit.

† A Compleat and True Narrative of the Manner of the Discovery of the Popish Plot to his Majesty, by Mr Christopher Kirby, London, folio, 1679, p. 1, 2.

Thus far the matter proceeded, the Doctor remarkably cautious about committing himself; and, indeed, it appears that Danby himself did not attach much credit to his story; for, as Burnet observes, "if, at first, the thing had been traced quick, either the truth or the imposture of the whole affair might have been made to appear." Danby, however, was ordered to say nothing of it to the Duke. In the meantime, various letters were sent by the post to Windsor, addressed to Beddingfield, the Duke's confessor, who, after he had read them, carried them to the Duke, protesting that he neither knew whence they came, by whom they were written, or what they meant. They were, however, laid before the King by the Duke, who, having by this time received notice of Tongue's information, concluded that they must have been written either by that person himself, or by some of his associates.

It was subsequently mentioned by Tongue, that a person called Oates had got knowledge of the conspiracy, by pretending to be a Papist, and thereby learning all their secrets, though he was a Protestant at heart.* About four days after the first interview, Tongue again waited on the Treasurer with more information, which had been previously written out by Kirby, and told Danby that his suspicions, he found, were just; that he had since met a man, who owned that he was the author of the papers respecting the conspiracy; that he had given him another paper on the same subject, but earnestly requested that his name might be kept a secret, as the Papists would in-

* King James II.'s Memoirs, tom. viii. p. 322.

fallibly murder him, were they to discover that he had informed. The information respecting Grove and Pickering was renewed; but when Danby asked Tongue if he knew them, he cautiously said, that they frequently walked in St James's Park, and, if his Lordship would send any person with him, he was certain that he would be able to point them out in a little time. He was then asked if he knew where they resided. He replied, that he did not then know, but he would endeavour to inform himself, and give notice thereof to his Lordship. Soon after this, Danby went to Windsor; and Tongue and his associates set about digesting their plot.

It is almost needless to follow out all the preliminary interviews which those unprincipled men had with the Treasurer, ere the Plot became a public question. Had it not been for the anxiety of the Duke of York, the affair would probably have been forgotten, as many circumstances tended to convince the King that it was all a fabrication; but when the Duke heard that not only various priests and Jesuits, but his own confessor, and even himself, were implicated, he pressed most earnestly for an investigation. The importunities of Tongue and Kirby had also excited suspicions in many; and it was the object of those worthies, on account of the cool reception they met with from the government, to carry the whole business before the Parliament, where they were certain of getting a hearty welcome. Notwithstanding the anxiety of the Duke, he could not get the government to investigate the business till some time after the information had been given. On the 6th of September, Tongue and Oates applied themselves to

Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a Justice of the Peace in the parish of St Martin, Westminster, who was prevailed upon to hear Oates's deposition upon oath. There was in this a considerable degree of cunning, as he had previously been informed that he was to be examined by the Council.* It is remarkable, that the villains would not permit that magistrate to read the particulars of the information, pretending to him, that the King had a true copy, and that it was not convenient it should be seen by any one else. It appears, from their own account, that Godfrey was satisfied with this statement, and took Oates's depositions, Tongue having the impudence to make oath that those were known to the King, when he knew very well that all the King or Council knew were only a few crude particulars, giving an outline of the matter; which outline they had filled up from time to time, as they had seen cause, or were able to invent from their vague surmises. On the 27th September, Tongue and Kirby were summoned before the Council, but it had dismissed before they appeared, and they were ordered to attend the following day. Meanwhile, they appeared in the morning before Sir Edmundbury Godfrey with more information, which completed the narrative as it was afterwards published, and having again sworn to it, they procured two authentic copies. They then appeared before the Council; and after being examined, Oates was sent for, who, with Tongue, was allotted lodgings in Whitehall, guards for their

* Oates's temporal circumstances at this time were such that he would have engaged in any plot, as he had every thing to gain, but nothing to lose. Kirby was obliged to supply him with daily bread.

persons, and a weekly sum of money for their support.

When we consider the characters of those impostors, who were themselves, in fact, the conspirators, we cannot but wonder at the credulity of the age. Whether or not Oates's assertion, that the Jesuits had gone into Scotland to encourage the Presbyterians to rebel, be true, it is needless to inquire, as it is well known that the Presbyterians needed no additional fomenters of their practices against the government, for they inherited a sufficient portion of the inflammatory and treasonable spirit. In order, however, to make this grand contrivance more clearly understood, it is necessary to give a brief abstract of "the wonderful intelligence," as Mr Hume calls it, "which Oates conveyed, both to Godfrey and the Council, and afterwards to the Parliament," which I shall do from Oates's own narrative, published at the time.* The narrative consists of eighty-one items, with Oates's oath prefixed that they are all *true*, and the signature of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, dated 27th September 1678, witnessed by Tongue and Kirby, with other particulars, noticed in the sequel, all published by the authority of Parliament, and humbly dedicated by Oates to the King; and certainly, if ever any man was entitled to credit for invention, Oates and his associates deserve it in no ordinary degree.

It was alleged among other things, for these *items* must be merely run over, that certain Jesuits, whose

* This remarkable production is entitled a "True Narrative of the Horrid Plot and Conspiracy of the Popish Party," &c. By Titus Oates, D.D. Folio. London, 1679.

names are given, were in correspondence with one Father Suiman, an Irish Jesuit at Madrid, to foment the rebellion in Scotland, carried on against the government by the Presbyterians: That Oates carried letters to Father Suiman on that subject from those Jesuits: That the Seminary College of St Omer's sent twelve English students into Spain to prosecute their studies at Valladolid and Madrid, where they were obliged, by the superiors of the seminary colleges there, to renounce their allegiance to Charles II., being taught that Charles II. was a bastard, and not their lawful King, but the son of a *black Scotsman:* * That various letters had been seen by him, in which was set forth, that if the Duke of York did not answer their expectations, they would murder him as well as the King: That Suiman wrote to St Omers that the King would be poisoned, and the Duke also, if he did not re-establish the Catholic religion: That various letters were written by certain priests, the names of whom were given, to procure some persons to despatch the King, and to "put a period to his days:" That Father Suiman received a letter, dated 20th July 1677, assuring him that the business was or would be done, which letter Oates saw at Madrid: That certain Spanish Jesuits wrote to two English priests, named Strange and Keines, offering them 10,000*l.* to kill the King: That certain English priests wrote to St Omer's that they hoped to stab the King at Whitehall, or else take him off by poison, for which work they were to

* Oates pretended that this was delivered in a public sermon preached on September 29. 1677, by one Daniel Armstrong, who was connected with the Scotch College at Valladolid.

have 10,000*l.*, then in the hands of one Worsly, a jeweller in London, procured by Father *Le Shee*, [La Chaise]: * That letters were sent to the said *Le Shee* thanking him for his zeal: That letters were written to the priests at St Omers and to *Le Shee*, informing both parties that they had incited the Presbyterian fanatics in Scotland to rebellion: That letters were also written, ordering that the oath of allegiance should be publicly denounced: That letters were also sent, mentioning that the *black bastard* [the King] was not to escape: That it was said, that the King's father was not the son of King James, but a bastard, "begotten upon the body of Anne of Denmark by her tailor:" That a Jesuit told him (Oates) that "he hoped to see the fool at Whitehall laid fast enough:" That it was their determination to fire the city of London. Such, with a variety of others similar, were the depositions of Oates. He added, that archbishops and bishops were appointed to all the Sees in England. The names of the conspirators were all given by the impostor; and on his showing, it appeared that they amounted to ninety-one priests, of the Benedictine, Carmelite, Franciscan, Dominican, and Jesuit orders in England and on the Continent, all English; "twelve Scotch Jesuits lately gone into England," says the villain, "whose names I know not, but I know their persons;" two lay-brothers, Pickering and Smith; eight secular persons, to wit, Sir George Wakeman, Coleman, Groves, and a Dr Fogarthy; and "four

* "A Spanish provincial had expressed the like liberality; the Prior of the Benedictines was willing to go the length of 6000*l.*; the Dominicans approved of the action, but pleaded poverty." Hume, vol. viii. p. 69.

Irish ruffians." To these were added some noblemen and gentlemen who had their commissions from Rome, Lords Arundel, Powis, Stafford,* Bellasis, Peters, Baltimore, Mountgarret, Sir William Godolphin, Sir Francis Radcliffe, and others. Such was part of the dreadful plot which Oates, one of the "most infamous of mankind," pretended to reveal; it may be sufficient to say, without wading through the mass of nonsense which was brought forward at the time, that the sole object of the whole, according to the Salamanca Doctor, was to re-establish Popery in the three kingdoms, without scrupling at murders, firings, or massacres. Bishop Stillingfleet was marked out for assassination, on account of his controversial writings against the Papists; so was Dr Poole, the author of the Synopsis; and, says Bishop Burnet, Oates "made me a compliment, by informing me that I was one marked out to be killed also. But he made that honour which he did us too cheap, when he said that *Tongue* was to be served in the same manner, because he had translated the Jesuit's Morals into English." If, after the assassination of the King, the Duke of York refused the conditions of the conspirators, *to pot James must go*, was their significant expression.

To reason on the utter improbability of this gigantic plot, a very small part of which, for the sake of brevity, is given here, would be just to assert what every one must assent to, from the characters of the contrivers, and the

* This nobleman, Oates maintained, was a chief conspirator, and had contributed several sums of money, the amount of which he pretended he did not remember.

plausible story they told. The King himself was fully convinced of its absurdity, from various falsehoods which he detected in Oates's depositions; but it would have been dangerous, after the matter had been noised abroad, with innumerable additions by the partisans of the villains, and the sectarian fanatics, to have refused to allow an investigation. The Earl of Danby, too, who was in the Whig or sectarian interest, was willing to encourage any rumour. And as Oates had given information respecting the correspondence of Edward Coleman with Father La Chaise, that gentleman was arrested, and all his letters or papers secured.

It certainly did appear, from these letters, as has been formerly observed, that Coleman had been engaged in a correspondence with La Chaise, and other Catholics abroad, partly on his own account, and partly on the affairs of the Duke of York; and his zeal had led him to use very intemperate expressions in those letters. From those letters, moreover, it certainly appears that intrigues were carried on between English and foreign Papists, relative to the state of religion; but it is also equally certain that they did not corroborate Oates's story any farther than that particular letters existed, written by and to Catholics. The notorious inconsistencies of Oates, his absurd assertions, that not only the King, but the Duke, the only support of the Catholic party, was to be cut off, were such as to invalidate at once those documents, in which, besides, there was no allusion to any of those peculiar features of conspiracies, such as massacres, conflagrations, assassinations, insurrections. Yet,

though these things were not expressed, they were most credulously inferred. A universal terror seized the nation; Oates was held to be its deliverer; and the discovery of Coleman's letters was held to be a conclusive proof of the Doctor's veracity. The language, too, in which our hero indulged in the tide of his prosperity against the Duke, plainly intimated against whom the whole pretended plot was levelled. Throughout all his narratives and informations, he termed the Duke *Rascal*, *Papist*, and *Traitor*. "He will be hanged," said the villain, "and I hope to live to see it: we will have no more regard for him than if he were a scavenger of Kent Street." He hoped, he also said, to see the Duke at the bar of the House of Commons, where there had been many better men than he: and if the devil had a place in hell hotter than another, he hoped it would be bestowed on the Duke; but honest Titus expressed no wish to be personally interested in, or to be a witness of, that very charitable elevation. It is a remarkable circumstance, that during the national ferment occasioned by Oates's discovery, no pamphlets or writings appeared by Protestants to allay the turmoil, and expose the falsehoods of the machinators. Some pamphlets were indeed written by Catholics, but these only made the matter worse, and disposed the nation the more to believe Oates's evidence, naturally concluding, that these attempts of the Catholics to disprove the Doctor's narrative, betokened matchless impudence to adventure in disproving a thing which the nation were determined to believe as true, and which, as the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs said, "was as clear as the sun." It was, however, the opinion of the

Lord Keeper Guilford, who thought that the "devilish imposture" of Oates might have been checked by a temperate pamphlet on the subject, and who had actually begun to make preparations for such an exposure. Unfortunately that great man did not proceed in his design, otherwise the distractions of the nation, occasioned by the imposture, might have ceased; the Old Bailey might not have been the scene of the "*Oatesian storms*;" and the twelve priests might not have been "worried out of their lives" by the "fury of the people, which, like a hurricane, pursued them." *

The news of Oates's Plot soon spread over the nation, and excited the greatest alarm, confirmed as it was by the discovery of Coleman's letters, and inflamed by the representations of Shaftesbury and others, who opposed the Court, and were the enemies of the Duke. The King, in the midst of the heat, had gone to Newmarket to pursue his diversion, so little credit did he give to the whole narrative, leaving his Privy Council to investigate a business in which he desired to have no concern whatever. † Yet, notwithstanding the alarm which it excited, it began to cool, and per-

* Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford, by the Hon. Roger North, 4to, 1742, p. 154, 155.

† This is proved from the private MS. Memoirs of James II., published in 4to, in two vols. London, 1816; from the Stuart MSS., then preserved in Carleton House, by the Rev. J. S. Clarke, LL.B. It is there stated, vol. i. p. 522, 523, "The King himself was so fully aprised of the vilainy from the beginning, that he intended to have nipp'd it in the budd, and hinder'd it from being made publick, which, he sayd, would alarme all the kingdom, and put thoughts of killing him into men's heads, who had no such thoughts before, had he not been diverted from it by the Treasurer [Danby]."

haps would have been soon forgotten, when an accident happened which completed the delusion, and rendered the nation incurable in their belief.

On the 27th of September, Oates had given in his depositions to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and, on the 17th of October, that gentleman was found dead in a ditch at Primrose Hill, in the immediate vicinity of London, near Hampstead. He had left his home in St Martin's parish on the 12th of October, and was found on the 17th with his sword through his body, his neck having the marks of strangulation, and contusions on his breast. He had money in his pockets, rings on his fingers, and his cane and gloves lay beside him. Nothing could exceed the consternation of the kingdom; the Papists were immediately blamed for it, as Godfrey had taken Oates's evidence. Rumours, surmises, assassinations, insurrections, were every where talked of; the city of London was put in a posture of defence, as if an army of the hated sect were already at its gates; men of all parties now cordially joined in the delusion; every stranger was believed to be an assassin, or Jesuit in disguise; and Sir Thomas Player, the Chamberlain of London, wisely remarked, that were it not for these precautions, *the citizens of London might all rise next morning with their throats cut!* *

All this time Oates was living at Whitehall in a prosperous manner, having guards to attend his person, and a pension for his maintenance. As soon as the murder was known, he felt some difficulty in making it to bear upon his plot, and knew not "whether to bring the assassination to the

* North's Examin. 4to. p. 206.

conspiracy, or the conspiracy to the assassination; but he contrived the matter with such ingenuity, that the murder became a proof, and the plot became a proof of the murder, to the universal conviction of the public." * Meanwhile, every artifice was employed to excite the fury of the vulgar; an inquest was held on Godfrey's body, and the decision of the jury farther inflamed the public mind; it was positively sworn, that the murder was committed by the Papists; the body was publicly exposed on the streets of London; the funeral was conducted with extraordinary solemnity; seventy-two clergymen marched before, and more than 1000 persons after; the funeral sermon was preached by a clergyman guarded in the pulpit by other two able-bodied divines, lest he should be murdered in the act by the Papists.

The murder of Godfrey must remain a mystery, unless it be admitted, that, being of a melancholy disposition, and afraid of the Parliament, for having committed a misprision of treason, he laid violent hands on himself, or was despatched by some of the villains in league with Oates, to establish the truth of the conspiracy. It is impossible to think that it was committed by the Roman Catholics, who would have been madmen to have ventured on such an act, considering the feeling excited against them in the nation. For, first, it would have done them no service at all to have revenged themselves on Godfrey, who merely took the evidence of Oates in an official manner; and again, he was intimate with Coleman, then in

* Sir W. Scott's Notes on Dryden, vol. ix. of Dryden's Works, p. 283.

prison, and had repeatedly stated that he did not believe the plot, and that he had taken the evidence with reluctance. Besides, it appears strange that so many magistrates should have been allowed by the Papists to have proceeded in the most violent manner against them for more than a century, with impunity, and that they should have selected the very worst time for revenging themselves on this unfortunate magistrate. So far was he from being so much hated by the Catholics, as to induce them to murder him, it is well known that he lived on the very best terms with many of them, and was by no means distinguished for his vigorous proceedings against them. This is confirmed by Bishop Burnet. "I knew him well," says the Bishop: "He was a zealous Protestant, and loved the Church of England, but had kind thoughts of the Nonconformists, and was not forward to execute the laws against them; and he, to avoid being first in doing that, was not apt to search for priests or mass-houses; *so that few men of his zeal lived on better terms with the Papists than he did.*" The Bishop observes, a little before, that Godfrey was then "entering upon a great design of taking up all beggars and putting them to work." If such were the case, and if he did not lay violent hands on himself, or was despatched by some of Oates's associates, which is the more likely, might he not have been waylaid and murdered by some of those vagrants whom he had thus exasperated? It is true, indeed, we would naturally conclude, that they would have made off with his money, yet such a supposition is by no means improbable.

It is necessary to dwell a little on the murder

of Godfrey, as this is one of the most important parts of the narrative. It certainly appears that he was considerably disturbed in mind, and apprehensive concerning his conduct in Oates' evidence. When the fact of his murder was examined, one Mary Gibbons deposed, that he on one occasion visited her house, and appeared in a troubled state of mind. He asked her if she had not heard he was about to be hanged, for all the town was in an uproar about him. She said, for what? He replied, that he had taken Oates and Tongue's depositions of the plot, and yet he had never informed the Lord Chancellor or the Attorney-General of it. She asked, what plot? He replied that Titus Oates had perjured himself, and it would come to nothing.* On another occasion he said, "I must not talk much, for I lie under ill circumstances: some great men blame me for not having done my duty, and I am threatened by others, and very great ones too, for having done too much."

It is evident, that had it not been for the murder of this unfortunate gentleman, the whole evidence of Oates would have been treated with indifference. It appears, that Godfrey left his home on a Saturday; and the last time he was seen was near St Clement's Church in the Strand, about one o'clock that day. His servants were surprised that he did not come home, as he was known to be a man scrupulously punctual; yet it was supposed that he had gone to see his aged mother, who lived at Hammersmith, and who, it was supposed, was dying. But when they sent thither,

* Echard's History of England, vol. iii. p. 502.

he had not been there. His two brothers, who lived in the City, had not heard of him; and during this interval, many reports were circulated: Some said he had fled for debt, others that he had got married; and suspicions fell on the Duke of Norfolk, as it was said that he had been last seen near Arundel House. But when he was found in the ditch, conjecture was at an end. Bishop Burnet says he saw the body, in company with Dr Lloyd, and it was evident that his neck was broken. "There were many drops of white wax-light on his breeches, which he himself never used; and since only persons of quality, or priests, use those lights, this made all people conclude in whose hands he must have been." * A proclamation was issued by the King, offering a reward of 500*l.* for the discovery of the murder; and lest a similar fate might deter many from making the discovery, another proclamation was issued, declaring the most absolute protection to the discoverer.

The Parliament assembled on the 21st October; and though the King mentioned the plot, he was by no means anxious to make it a subject of discussion, as he knew the dispositions of the parties, and the handle they would make of it to interfere in his affairs. But Danby and his party thought otherwise. The cry of the plot was universal. A form of prayer was appointed for the occasion; numerous addresses were sent to the two Houses; the Lords Stafford, Arundel, Peters, Powis, and Bellasis, were sent to the Tower; and after Oates's evidence had been heard, the following was the judgment expressed: "The Lords and Commons are of opinion, that there hath been, and still is,

History of His Own Times, vol. i. folio, p. 429.

a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the Popish recusants, for assassinating and murdering the King, for subverting the government, and for rooting out and destroying the Protestant religion." Every day the Parliament sat, and did nothing else but deliberate about the Plot: Committees were appointed; blank warrants were drawn out for the apprehension of suspected persons; and Oates, the infamous impostor, was applauded by the nation, and rewarded with a pension of 1200*l.* per annum. *

Yet the credit of the plot was again about to sink, when another actor appeared, if possible, still more infamous than Oates. This was one William Bedloe, or Beddoe, familiarly styled Captain Bedloe, a man of base birth, and abandoned morals, who, for his impostures and thefts, had been in many prisons in England, and who, by lies and contrivances, had endeavoured to pass for a man of quality, though he had begun his career as an errand-boy in the family of Lord Bellasis.† To such a man, the hope of a reward of 500*l.* was a sufficient inducement; but he took care to be back-

* Hume, vol. viii. p. 83.

† "He had been noted," says Mr Hume, "for several cheats, and even thefts—had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names."—"He was of base birth," says Echard, "and worse manners—he was skilful in all the arts and methods of cheating—getting credit for watches, coats, horses, borrowing money upon recommendations, bilking vintners and tradesmen, lying," &c. —"He had led," says Bishop Burnet, "a very vicious life—he made a shift to live on his wits, or rather by his cheats, so tenderness of conscience did not seem to be that to which he was much subject." It is useless to enumerate farther proofs of this man's infamy.

ed by the second proclamation of personal protection, ere he appeared with his information. He had taken a sudden journey from London to Bristol, after he had been freed from prison; and on his way, he wrote a letter to Coventry, Secretary of State, not a little mysteriously worded, the object of which was, that he should be apprehended by the Mayor of Bristol. His scheme was successful, and he was secured with all the formality of being a great conspirator. He left Bristol, however, on the 5th of November, and arrived in London, where he was examined before the King. He declared that Sir E. Godfrey had been murdered in Somerset-house, and thence taken to the ditch near Primrose Hill, where he was found; and that he had been offered 4000*l.* to assist in carrying it away, by one of Lord Bellasis's servants. He denied, however, that he knew any thing of the Plot, but that he had heard that 40,000 men were coming from Spain into England. He also declared that he had no acquaintance with Oates. On the following day, however, the 8th of November, when examined before the House of Lords, he thought proper to admit that he did know it, and he made it, if possible, still more terrible. Oates's narrative, it is to be observed, had been by this time published, and he confirmed it all; but he desired to draw up a narrative of his

* Bedloe published a pamphlet, in 1679, on the subject in folio. It now lies before me, among others, and is entitled, "A Narrative and Impartial Discovery of the Horrid Popish Plot, carried on for the burning and destroying the Cities of London and Westminster," &c. He has the impudence to say in the title-page, that he was "lately engaged in that horrid design, and one of the Popish Committee for carrying on the said fires."

own. He accused various persons, who were ordered to be apprehended. He alleged that he could reveal several important matters relative to the five Lords then in the Tower. His principal evidence, however, was, that Godfrey had been murdered in Somerset House; which was a remarkably cunning manœuvre of Bedloe, as he knew that the Queen resided there, whom he and Oates afterwards charged with being accessory to the Plot.

Here it is necessary to notice the conduct of the Earl of Shaftesbury, relating to Godfrey's murder, and the investigations. It has been already observed, that Mrs Mary Gibbons, who was the wife of one Captain Gibbons, a relation of Sir E. Godfrey, had signed a paper, declaring, that, to her knowledge, Godfrey had been extremely melancholy, a week before he was missing, and that he told her he was afraid of being hanged for concealing Oates's depositions. Mrs Gibbons was summoned before the Committee, when Shaftesbury called out to her, "You damned woman, what devilish paper is this you have given us?" And forthwith, after railing against her most shamefully, he put her on oath, to make her tell the name of the author, threatening to have her *worried* and *torn in pieces.* The poor lady was so much frightened, that she fell into fits; and she repeatedly declared, that what she had said respecting Sir E. Godfrey was true. But there is a still more remarkable illustration of the arbitrary proceedings of Shaftesbury and his associates, who, it must not be forgotten, were great pretenders to liberality, and violent declaimers against arbitrary power. The evidence of Bedloe, that Godfrey

had been murdered in Somerset House, seems to have afforded them great satisfaction, and they were disposed to turn it to their advantage. About a fortnight after Godfrey's body was found, they got hold of one Corral, a hackney coachman, who, upon some officious information, it was pretended, had been heard to say, that he had carried Godfrey's body in his coach to Primrose Hill. He was asked by Shaftesbury and others, whether he had done so, or knew if others had done it. He answered, that he did not, and he knew not who did. "If you swear the truth," said Shaftesbury, "you shall have 500*l.*;" and he produced some money, promising the poor man a house near the Court, and pledging himself that none would dare to harm him for his evidence. "Who should those be, my Lord?" asked Corral, "no one set me to work, nor do I know for what I am brought hither."—"We are all peers of the land," said Shaftesbury, "and if you will not confess, there shall be a barrel of nails provided to put you in, and you shall be rolled in it down a hill."—"What would you have me to say, my Lord?" replied the poor man: "I know nothing of the matter. Would you have me to accuse other people, to bring them into my condition?"—"Then," said Shaftesbury, "you shall die. The Papists have hired him, and he will not confess." He was committed to Newgate, heavily ironed, and thrown into a loathsome dungeon, where he was kept for some hours. On the afternoon of that day, he was brought in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, where Shaftesbury re-examined him. "Now, you rascal," said his Lordship, "here is a person who will prove he saw you driving Godfrey's body in

your coach;" and addressing a person who stood near him, "Did not you see him whip his horses, and drive down by Tottenham Court Road?" "Yes, my Lord," was the reply. "Rascal," said his Lordship, "why will you not confess, and save us from all this trouble?" "What would you have me confess?" said the poor man, "I know no more than your Lordship does, and perhaps not half so much." "Sirrah," replied Shaftesbury, "if you will not confess you will be starved to death." The coachman began to weep, which Shaftesbury perceiving, "Ah rascal!" said he, "no tear comes after all." The man still declared that *he knew no more than the child unborn.* "That's a Popish phrase," said his Lordship, "he has consulted with the Papists, and will not confess, so take him away, and let him be starved to death." He was again removed to Newgate, where he was imprisoned in the condemned cell from Thursday to Saturday, and received such treatment, as induced him to meditate suicide. On Monday, he was brought to the House of Lords, and re-examined by the committee, when Shaftesbury in a cajoling manner, said, "Come, you are an honest fellow: tell us the truth, and you shall have the promised reward, and then you may go home to your wife and children; we will secure you from any harm. What do you say to this? now speak." The poor man fell on his knees, protesting he knew nothing of the murder, or who carried the body, and that, before he would wrong any one, he would sooner die. Then said Shaftesbury, "You are an impudent rogue; but you shall go back to Newgate and rot there awhile.

You will be tried at the sessions and hanged. You had better confess the truth and get the money, than be brought before the judges, and condemned. It will be a dreadful sentence for you." "Yes, my Lord," replied the man, "a dreadful sentence, but it would be much more dreadful hereafter were I to accuse any man unguilty." "I see," said Shaftesbury, turning to the Peers present, "we can do nothing with him: take him away, and let him rot in prison." The poor man reminded him of his wife and children:—"Let them starve," said his Lordship. He was detained in Newgate thirteen weeks, six of which he was heavily ironed; nor was he liberated till another actor appeared, who swore that Godfrey's body was carried on horseback to the ditch near St Pancras from Somerset-House.*

* Shaftesbury, in this affair, appears to have been no bad prototype of the famous Judge Jefferies; and it will not be amiss, for the sake of contrast, and as subsequently connected with the subject, to turn to the trial of the famous Richard Baxter, for libel and sedition. Jefferies thus expressed himself in the outset:—"We have now a saint to deal with, and I know how to deal with saints as well as sinners. Yonder stands Oates on the pillory [as he actually then did], and he says he suffers for the truth, and so does Baxter; but if Baxter did but stand on the other side of the pillory with him, I would say that two of the greatest rogues and rascals in the kingdom stood there." When the trial was proceeding, one of Baxter's counsel said, "My Lord, I humbly conceive that the passages are natural deductions from the text."—"You *humbly conceive*," said Jefferies, "and I *humbly conceive;* swear him; swear him. Sometimes you humbly conceive, and sometimes you are very positive." When it was said, that Baxter had spoken favourably of the Bishops. "Baxter for Bishops," said Jefferies; "that's a merry conceit indeed; turn to it, turn to it." The passage was pointed out,

At length, however, they found a man who served their purpose exactly. This was one Miles Praunce, a goldsmith, a notorious Papist, who had frequently been employed by the Queen in Somerset-House. This man also pretended to recant, and to become a Protestant, describing himself as "a hearty well-wisher to the Protestant Church." It seems that this man had a lodger named Wren, who was fourteen months in arrears with him for rent, and as he wanted the money, Wren used threatening language, which began a quarrel. It happened that Praunce had been from home about the time of Godfrey's murder, and Wren thinking this was sufficient evidence against him, lodged an information that he was concerned in the murder, though it afterwards appeared that his absence was on the previous week. On the 20th of December, Wren paid his rent, and on the following day Praunce was apprehended. He admitted that he had been from home; but he said that he had absented himself to avoid being put in prison on account of his religion. Whether Wren got the 500*l.* for his information does not appear, though it is more than probable; and certainly Praunce was liable to suspicion, for besides his

wherein it was said, "That great respect is due to those who are *truly called* to be Bishops among us."—"Aye," cried Jefferies, "this is your Presbyterian cant; *truly called* to be Bishops, that is, himself and such rascals called to be Bishops of Kidderminster, and other such places; Bishops set apart by such factious snivelling Presbyterians as himself; a Kidderminster Bishop he means, according to the saying of a late learned author, that every parish shall maintain a tithe pig metropolitan." In this way Jefferies proceeded; not at all dissimilar to Shaftesbury's conduct.

own well-known character, he was acquainted with Grove and Pickering, he had two brothers who were priests, and two sisters nuns; and it was alleged by the informers that he had hired a horse to go out of town at the time of the murder. Being taken into custody, he was carried to a house adjoining the House of Commons, for examination. His apprehension, being soon rumoured all over the town, caused a number of persons to resort to the place, and among those was Bedloe, who did not even know Praunce; but having inquired at some of the bystanders who the prisoner was, immediately went away. Some hours afterwards, Praunce was carried to a tavern called *Heaven*, where Bedloe was in attendance, who, as soon as he saw the former, exclaimed, with an oath, and starting from his seat, "This is one of the rogues that I saw with a dark lantern about the body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, but he was then in a periwig!" Bedloe's declaration was of course received; Praunce was carried to the Committee of the House of Lords, and while he was waiting to be summoned, Wren came up to him, and said, "Now is your time to confess, or you are ruined." When he appeared before the Lords, Bedloe directly charged him with Godrey's murder; but Praunce as positively denied it, wishing damnation to himself if he was in any way concerned. He acknowleged that he had been a Papist, but had now taken the oaths; that he had wrought in his trade for Grove, Pickering, Ireland, and one Fenwick; he said, too, that when these men had been apprehended, he had observed in a tavern, *that they were very honest men*, at which some who heard him took offence, but every thing else he strenuously denied.

He was committed to Newgate, and closely confined; but it was so contrived by Bedloe and others, that he became acquainted with all the particulars of the plot, and at last was so well tutored, that he appeared as evidence, and accused two Irish priests, named Gerald and Kelly, Robert Green, and Lawrence Hill, both connected with the Queen's chapel, and a man named Berry, along with himself, as all concerned in Godfrey's murder. This evidence both surprised and shocked many; yet it was not received without suspicion, which had indeed been caused by the contradictions apparent between his and Bedloe's story. It is said, that when the Duke of Monmouth asked the Earl of Ossory what he thought of Praunce's narrative, his Lordship replied with great emphasis, "It is all a very great cheat."

It is impossible to peruse the proceedings of those villanous impostors without indignation, and without pitying the kingdom which could allow itself to be duped by their unprincipled schemes. Praunce, after repeatedly confessing and denying, at length patched up a story to the following effect,—that the priests had resolved on Godfrey's murder for his rigorous proceedings against them—that they dogged their victim for a considerable time—that, on the Saturday Godfrey disappeared, Gerald, Green and Hill, lay in wait for him at several places, watching his movements. Between six and seven in the evening, Godfrey was near the Church of St Clement Danes in the Strand, where he went into a certain house, as it was supposed, to sup. Green left his two associates on the watch, and came to Praunce's

shop, which was in Prince's-Street, Covent-Garden, and found him not there, but in an adjoining house. He informed him that Sir Edmundbury was then in St Clement's, though he did not mention the house, and desired him to go as soon as he could to the Water-gate at Somerset-House, where he would find Kelly the priest, and Berry the porter. Praunce did so, and waited with them till nine o'clock, when Godfrey appeared. At that moment Kelly and Berry began a pretended quarrel, when Hill, who knew Godfrey very well, ran up to him, and said, "For God's sake, Sir Edmundbury, be pleased to come in, for here are two men quarrelling, and I am afraid blood will be shed between them." Godfrey treated it with indifference; but at length the importunities of Hill, who represented, that, as he was a magistrate, his presence might have effect, prevailed. He entered the gate, followed by Hill, when on a sudden he was throttled; a large handkerchief was thrown about his neck, and he was strangled, receiving at the same time many knocks and blows from Hill, Gerald, Kelly, and Berry. Praunce said, he only saw the attack; the rest he had from themselves; and that Gerald, when he saw Godfrey dead, remarked, "Well, if we could not have enticed him in here, I was resolved to have followed him into Hartshorn Lane, that leads to his own house, and to have run him through with my own hand." After keeping the body with them for some days, a sedan chair was procured, and it was carried out in it through Covent-Garden to the end of Long-Acre; at a short distance from which place they got a horse, and thus conveyed it to the ditch near St Pancras' Church, where it was found. Praunce

pretended that the murder was observed only by one man, and, strange to say, this man turned out to be Bedloe. *

Upon this information, Green, Berry, and Hill, were brought to their trial, condemned, and executed. Oates and Praunce were the two witnesses against them. The unfortunate men persisted in their innocence to the very last; but it served them nothing. Not content with this, however, Praunce also got up a narrative of a conspiracy to murder the Earl of Shaftesbury, which, doubtless, was very agreeable to the plans of that statesman, who secretly laughed at the whole affair. It may be sufficient merely to enumerate the other victims of those abandoned men. Coleman was tried and executed. In December, Ireland, Whitebread, and Fenwick, the three Jesuits, were brought to trial, as were also Grove and Pickering. The only witnesses against them were Oates and Bedloe. The conduct of the Chief-Justice, Sir William Scroggs, on this occasion, was most atrocious. He browbeat the prisoners, and denounced them during the trial in the most opprobrious manner. When the jury brought in their verdict of guilty, he said, "You have done, gentlemen, like very good subjects, and very good Christans; that is, like very good Protestants; and now, much good may their 30,000 masses do them." The unhappy men went to the place of execution persisting in their innocence; they were hanged, embowelled, and quartered. Others were also executed. Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's physician, was tried, but acquitted. To such a degree of phrenzy had Oates roused the nation, that, as Mr Hume ob-

* Praunce's Narrative, folio, p. 14, *et seq.*

serves, "the blood already shed on account of the Popish Plot, instead of satiating the people, served only as an incentive to their fury; and each conviction of a criminal, was hitherto regarded as a new proof of those horrid designs ascribed to the Papists." It is needless to run over all the particulars of long trials; with the exception of Sir George Wakeman, the accusations of Oates and Bedloe were equivalent to sentence of death. Bishop Burnet declares, that "money was offered to those who would bring in new criminals." *

The murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey is the most remarkable feature in this narrative; and the question is, by whom was it committed? † Having already offered a few observations on that subject, it may here be simply observed, that there can be little doubt that it was done by the contrivers of the Plot. It would perhaps be hazardous to maintain that Shaftesbury and the heads of the popular party perpetrated the deed, and threw the odium

* The numerous trials which followed the discovery of Oates's Plot, will be found in the State Trials, vols. vii. viii. ix. and x.

† In a pamphlet entitled, "Intrigues of the Popish Plot laid open, by William Smith, M. A., late Schoolmaster of Islington," folio, London, 1685, there is a remarkable passage concerning Oates, and Godfrey's murder. Oates, it appears, had been one of Smith's early associates, and had given evidence against him also, by which he was apprehended. "The business," says Smith, "happened well for Oates, as he afterwards often told me. He would usually say, 'I believe not a word on't; but my plot would come to nothing without it: It made well for me. I believe the Council would never have taken any farther notice of me, if he [Godfrey] had not been found. He was a cowardly rascal; for when I went with my depositions, he was in a dreadful fright; and such a smell got up, that I could hardly stay in the room.'"

of it on the Papists, although it has been asserted that the whole plot was the contrivance of those men, and that Oates merely acted as their agent. The Plot hatched by Oates and his associates, however, was so monstrous, so incredible, and so contradictory, that, notwithstanding the commotion it at first excited, it was almost forgotten, when its contrivers, having adventured thus far, found that a new and more terrible event was necessary to complete their imposition on the nation. Godfrey, who knew Coleman well, was selected to take the depositions. He had the reputation of being a zealous Protestant; he was easiest to be entrapped, as it was his custom to go about streets and lanes alone at all hours. Despatched by some of the villains, it was easy to throw the odium of the whole on the Papists, who were already sufficiently obnoxious to the nation.

Whatever may be thought of the Popish Plot in the present day, while it is incontestable that Oates was truly what Jefferies termed him at his trial, "the blackest and most perjured villain that ever appeared on the face of the earth," it is undeniable, as subsequent events proved, that there was a plan in agitation to re-establish the Roman Church. But it could not be by the means pretended by Oates. The Roman Church accommodates herself to circumstances with a wondrous facility; the conspiracies formerly attempted by her adherents had been always defeated; and violent measures in the reign of Charles II. would have been still less successful than in the reigns of Elizabeth and James. There can be little doubt, as the events which terminated in the Revolution proved, that the

adherents of the fallen Church hoped to accomplish their object by a *religious toleration*—a removal of all religious disabilities. This was the great object of James II. during his brief and inglorious reign. Devoted to the Romish superstition,—a fanatic, indeed, in that faith, he began by giving a toleration to all sects, which thereby included the Popish Church, for he knew well, that if he were able to undermine the Church of England, the hierarchy of Rome would soon rear itself on the ruins of that bulwark of Protestantism. It is, perhaps, one of the most remarkable features of the history of this affair, and affords a striking contrast to the present time, that the Whigs of that age, namely, Monmouth, Shaftesbury, and Lord Russell, were those who were zealous in their endeavours to exclude the Duke of York from the throne on account of his religion, and openly denounced any *toleration to Papists*. It ought also to be noticed, that Lord Russell on the scaffold firmly believed in the truth of Oates's narrative. "As to the share," said he in a paper delivered to the sheriffs, "I had in the prosecution of the Popish Plot, I take God to witness, that I proceeded in it in the sincerity of my heart, being then really convinced, as I am still, that there was a conspiracy against the King, the nation, and the Protestant religion." *Tempora mutantur*. The Whigs of that period, the enemies of James II., who promoted the Revolution, were declaimers against the alleged arbitrary government, and yet the enemies of religious toleration—the patrons of Titus Oates and his unprincipled associates.

WHILE Oates was reaping the fruits of his imposture, and applauded by a credulous and infuriated nation, his fellow-workers in iniquity, Tongue and Bedloe, made their exit from this world, the former at London, before he had been rewarded with the benefice which the Parliament was endeavouring to procure for him; the latter at Bristol, in a starving condition, having to the last, it is said, maintained the truth of his evidence, in the hope that something might occur to retrieve his affairs. Two characteristic notices of those grand incendiaries ought not to be omitted. The reputation of Oates was great in the city of London, and on one occasion, about twenty rich citizens, all firm believers in the Plot, met our hero, Tongue, and another divine, (who had been a kind of confident of the King), and they held a great supper in one of the London taverns. During the evening, Tongue perceived that more respect was paid to Oates than to himself; and, as he had no slight estimation of his own abilities, he quarrelled with Oates, and ended in telling our hero, that he (Oates) knew nothing of the Plot, but what he had learned from him. Truth will appear, though it is sometimes not discovered till rogues fall out amongst themselves. The hint given by Tongue was conveyed to the King, who immediately sent for their clerical companion, and questioned him minutely on Tongue's expressions. That worthy, however, pretended that he did not recollect; which so provoked the King, as to draw from him this rebuke: "I find there is likely to be a great deal of blood shed upon this Plot, and the times are so troublesome and dangerous to me, that I dare not venture to pardon any one who

is condemned. Therefore, their blood be upon your head, and not mine. I desire to see you no more." * The other notice refers to the bill of charges, which Oates and Bedloe brought against the government for the expenses they had incurred, as they had the impudence to declare, on behalf of the public good. That of Oates amounted to 678*l.* 12s. 6d.; Bedloe was more modest, he claiming *only* 213*l.* How those two could have been able to expend that money, or where they could have got it, does not appear, though no doubt their fertile brains could have easily concocted *items* for cash, as they had already done for their Plot; for Oates, before this affair, was almost starving, having neither money nor credit; and Bedloe had been starving in the Marshalsea. It is not said that the government paid them; but it has been well observed, that "many persons have since thought, that their bills and their narratives of the Plot were equally credible."

Meanwhile, the encouragement which had been given by the nation to Oates, and the liberal manner in which he was rewarded, induced others to adventure in the same profitable speculation. By a communication with Oates and his associates, a new plot was got up in Staffordshire by one Stephen Dugdale, who had been steward to Lord Aston; and as the nation were now fully convinced, that the Papists were a people continually disposed to mischief, it was believed with the same credulity. It has even been asserted, that various barristers had been employed in concocting depositions; but be this as it may, nothing was now

* Salmon's Examination of Bishop Burnet, 8vo, vol. ii.

heard but rumours of plots in every quarter; and the state of Scotland, where the Presbyterians had at the very time murdered Archbishop Sharpe of St Andrew's, made affairs still worse. The King was by no means in an enviable situation: more inclined to pleasure and dissipation, than to the consideration of affairs of state, he was incessantly annoyed by rumours of plots and assassinations, and by the supporters of those rumours in the Parliament, who were labouring at the exclusion bill against the Duke of York. England was thus distracted by the contrivances of a few abandoned impostors; and Scotland was similarly situated by a religious feud of more than ordinary violence.

During these commotions, Shaftesbury and his associates were diligently labouring at their main design,—the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne. In this he was supported by the Duke of Monmouth. But the Earl of Halifax, and other royalists, who were on bad terms with Shaftesbury, contrived to defeat the projects of that statesman, and procured the dismissal both of himself and Monmouth from their official situations. Lest the opposing party, however, should lose their influence, and perceiving that Oates's plot was not so firmly believed as formerly, a new affair was got up, which served as a sufficient pretext for fresh clamours and discontents.

Every necessitous villain, encouraged by the success of Oates, set his wits to work to hatch a new contrivance. Among those wretches was one Thomas Dangerfield, otherwise called Willoughby, Day, and Thomas, for he had a variety of names to suit emergencies, a person "infamously famous for the former ill practices of his life,

which had more than once rendered him obnoxious to the justice of the law, and subject to ignominious punishments." * This villain,—and the credulity of the times enabled even him to become of consequence,—had been transported, whipped, four times pilloried, fined for his cheats, outlawed, convicted of coining, and burnt in the hand for his crimes. He had very lately got out of Newgate, but afterwards he had found quarters in the King's Bench for debt, whence he had been liberated by some charitable Catholics. Being a man of matchless assurance, he became the author of a new plot, which has been termed the *Meal-Tub Plot*, for reasons which will immediately appear. He had an intrigue, it is said, with one Mrs Cellier, a Popish midwife, who was acquainted with the Countess of Powis, to whom he was introduced. According to the account which he afterwards published, he pretends that Mrs Cellier procured his liberty, to employ him in some important matters, and that, at her instigation, he treated with one Stroud, a prisoner in the King's Bench, to overthrow Bedloe's depositions, and to charge him with heinous crimes. At this time he went under the name of Willoughby. He also pretended that the five Popish Lords in the Tower had furnished him with money to pay his debts, and get out of prison. He then says that he was sent into Buckinghamshire, to the house of one Webb, where a priest lay concealed, who went by a woman's name, and received his directions for fathering the plot on the Presbyterians,—that it was in-

* A just Narrative of the Hellish New Counter-Plots of the Papists, to cast the odium of their Treasons on the Presbyterians," folio, 1679, p. 12.

tended to indict Oates for perjury—that he was employed, with several others, to spread the rumour of the plot in several coffee-houses—that he was employed by Lord Arundel to kill the King for 2000*l.*, and the Earl of Shaftesbury for 500*l.*,—and that, though he rejected the former, he embraced the latter proposal, and made several attempts to that effect;—these, with some other particulars, for it is needless to lay before the reader the whole contents of Dangerfield's story, constituted this pretended contrivance of the Papists, as a counterpart to the Popish or Oates's Plot. Shaftesbury, it appears, was the great obstacle, and the Meal-Tub Plot may be properly said to have been hatched against him.

Without entering minutely into all Dangerfield's impostures, it may be merely observed, as it is not very material to discover the foundation of this affair, that certain writings were discovered concealed in a *Meal Tub*, in the house of Mrs Cellier, in Arundel Buildings, by Sir William Waller, a man who had made himself officiously active in his zeal for Oates's Plot, and several others. The scene of this plot was laid in Yorkshire, and in Ireland. The writings discovered in the *Meal Tub*, which contained what may be truly termed the *Tale of a Tub*, alleged that the Duke of Monmouth was to be supported in his pretensions to the crown—that a union was to be effected between the conspirators and the Scottish insurgents—that Shaftesbury and several other noblemen and gentlemen were all to have commissions in the new army to be levied for overthrowing the government,—and that, for the arranging of the matter, four clubs were instituted, which

met severally at the King's Head, and the Green and Dragon Taverns, Fleet Street, the Sun Tavern, behind the Royal Exchange, in the city of London; and at a chandler's shop in Westminster. Each of these clubs, it was pretended, consisted of at least 200 persons, all men of rank and good estates. Their writings, according to Dangerfield, were all dictated by the Countess of Powis, aided by some other zealous Catholic ladies.

Dangerfield, however, found that his device or cheat was not so much encouraged as that of Oates. The nation were more inclined to believe in the reality of a Popish, than of a Presbyterian Plot; and though nothing could be made of his testimony, yet it caused a violent clamour, as if it had been a court-trick, to throw the odium of a plot, by way of retaliation, on the Presbyterians, whom the King heartily hated, and who professed a form of religion which, he said, "was not fit for a gentleman." Proclamations, to which the King was obliged to consent, were still issued out against plotters, and several were seized and tried, but acquitted; among whom were the Earl of Castlemaine, Ladies Powis and Tempest, Sir Thomas Gascoigne, Mrs Preswick, and Mrs Cellier. Yet it was otherwise with some, whom the testimony of those villains brought to the scaffold. Lord Stafford, one of the five Lords who had been committed to the Tower, was beheaded, and the measure of iniquity was filled up by the execution of Dr Oliver Plunket, the Popish Archbishop of Armagh, at Tyburn Turnpike, who was brought purposely out of Ireland to this melancholy end, that the public rage might be satisfied by the murder of illustrious victims.

The political feelings which distinguish any faction or party, are certain criterions of historical evidence. The Whigs, by whom are especially meant the Commons, acted directly contrary to those principles they professed to maintain, by their outrageous proceedings on the Plots which had distracted the nation. By their unjust commitments, dictated by caprice, and for the promotion of their own peculiar purposes, it cannot be denied that they violated the great charter, and the ratification of that liberty by the Habeas Corpus Act, while the liberal rewards they gave to tribes of infamous, starving, and unprincipled informers, in reality sanctioned that villany begun by Oates and his associates. On a consideration of those scenes, and of the history of the times, need we wonder that the violence of that party drove its adherents into the conspiracy known by the name of the *Ryehouse Plot*—a conspiracy as real as the others were false, which induced the insurrection and the execution of Monmouth, as also the executions of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney, with others of lesser notoriety, who became the reputed martyrs of a faction, which, however disinterested might be its pretended motives, was nevertheless certainly cognizable by the laws?

Let us, however, return to Oates. The prosperous career of this man, after the flight of Shaftesbury into Holland, was soon to close, and the grand impostor was himself called to answer for his thousand perjuries. The death of that nobleman, which also soon happened, who was the grand supporter of the plot,—who, it has been well observed, "when in power was the greatest ty-

rant, when out, the greatest incendiary; arbitrary in one case, seditious in the other," tended much to expose and unmask the egregious impostor, whose name is identified with baseness and want of principle. Oates had indeed been assailed, after the public became tired of his plot; and the satire to which he exposed himself by his malicious representations and falsehoods, when it had no longer become high treason to call his veracity in question, was not without its effect. Sir Dennis Ashbourn said of him, that he had one property in common with the devil, namely, *that he was a liar from the beginning*. "He prefaceth his oaths," says one of his opponents in a strain of exquisite satire, "with a suitable lie. He styles himself, *Titus Oates, Sacræ Theologiæ Professor*, which, rendered into true English, is, *Titus Oates, a Damned Liar*, for *Titus Oates, Doctor in Divinity*, is a contradiction to truth.—I have heard of *Angelicus Doctor*, and *Seraphicus Doctor*, but I never heard of *Doctor Diabolicus*, until Titus Oates and the Popish Plot appeared together." *

At the time when the Ryehouse Plot was investigated, Oates was committed to the King's Bench Prison, and tried for *Scandalis Magnatum* against the Duke of York, which the plotting Doctor richly deserved. Oates, when the action was raised, had been committed to the Compter, not being able to find bail, whence he was removed to the King's-Bench by a writ of Habeas Corpus. It is to be observed, that the Duke, who had by this time obtained a victory over his enemies, was by no means backward in raising such

* Adam Elliot's Account of Oates's Depositions, folio p. 34.

actions; and accordingly, he instituted proceedings against various individuals, and recovered considerable damages. Duncan Colt, a zealous Whig, was fined 100,000*l.*, on the 3d of May 1684; on the 31st, Robert Julian was brought into court for publishing a scandalous ballad to the tune of "Old Sir Simon the King;" on the 11th of June, Francis Smith, a bookseller, was found guilty of publishing a libel, entitled, the *Raree Show;* on the 18th, another bookseller was found guilty, and fined, for publishing a libel, termed, "The Presbyterian's Pater Noster;" and on the 26th of November, Nathaniel Thompson was fined for publishing another libel, termed, the "Prodigal Son returned Home," alluding to the Duke's recent return from the Continent and Scotland. The action against Oates was founded on expressions which the Doctor had repeatedly used in the tide of his prosperity, and he was fined 100,000*l.*, and costs. As it was impossible for him to pay the hundredth part of that sum, he was ordered to prison, where he remained till 1685, after the accession of James II., when he was brought into Court on the 3d of May for perjury, before Sir George Jefferies, Lord Chief Justice. On this occasion he was also found guilty, and on the 9th he was tried a second time for the same offence. It is needless to detail the proceedings of those long trials, as they chiefly relate to the minute parts of the pretended plot, and to an investigation of Oates's assertions. He was again found guilty, when Mr Justice Withins pronounced sentence. "Titus Oates," said that Judge, "you are convicted upon two indictments of perjury. I say, perjury. I must repeat the word twice, because

you are doubly convicted; it is one of the greatest offences that our law has made cognizance of; it is so in its nature: but your perjury has all the aggravations that can be thought of. If a man kills another with his sword, and there be forethought malice in the case, he is hanged for it; but when a man shall draw innocent blood upon himself by a malicious, premeditated false oath, there is not only blood in the case, but also perjury, corrupt, malicious perjury. I know not how I can say, but that the law is defective that such a one is not to be hanged. For, if we consider those dreadful effects which have followed upon your perjury, we must conclude our law defective; they are such as no heart can think of without bleeding for that innocent blood which was shed by your oath, which every honest man believes and regrets." After some farther observations, Oates was sentenced to pay a fine of 1000 marks on each indictment, and to be stripped of his canonical habits. On the first indictment, he was sentenced to stand in the pillory before Westminster Hall for two hours, with a paper over his head declaring his crime. On the second indictment, he was ordered to be taken on the following day to the front of the Royal Exchange, and there to stand for two hours in a similar manner. He was finally ordered to be publicly whipped by the common executioner on two successive days; and as an annual commemoration of his punishment, he was ordered to stand in the pillory at four appointed times every year: namely, on the 24th of April, at Tyburn, on the 9th of August at Westminster Hall Gate, on the 11th of August at Charing Cross; and on the 2d of Sep-

tember at the Royal Exchange, and to be imprisoned during his life. Those days were appointed as denoting particular times on which Oates grounded his Plot, and his evidence against the unfortunate individuals who were executed.

Those sentences were accordingly performed on this unhappy man, rather a different reward from what Shaftesbury had promised him, when he told him on one occasion, that he hoped to see him Archbishop of Canterbury. Yet, although the lash was applied to his naked back in the most severe manner, such was his resolution, or his determination to be obstinately bold through spite, that he flinched not during the punishment, but bore it with a courage worthy of a better cause; which, as it always does, excited the admiration of the vulgar. James had the imprudence to exult in this punishment. On one occasion, he said to Sir John Reresby, "The Popish Plot is ended now;" "And buried, please your Majesty," was the courtier's reply. Oates was standing in the pillory at Westminster Hall during the trial of the famous Richard Baxter for sedition, as already alluded to, which took place on the 30th of May 1685." From a note in the State Trials, it appears that his sentence was rigidly enforced by the Government every year; and the sight was regularly calculated upon by the citizens of London. In Narcissus Luttrell's MS. Brief Relation, it is said, under date August 11, 1688, "Titus Oates stood in the pillory at Charing Cross, *according to annual custom.*"

The severity of Oates's sentence cannot be disputed; for, though he was one of the most infamous of men, it was surely neither wise nor pru-

dent to visit him with a punishment such as that awarded him. Had the law not been defined in every point on the punishment of perjury, Oates would, to a certainty, have visited Tyburn in a sledge, and suffered death. Yet, though there was a spirit of revenge manifested against Oates, it will at the same time be admitted, that his conduct, as being the means of procuring the death of many innocent persons, was peculiarly wicked, while the manner in which he carried himself during his prosperity was insolent in no ordinary degree. "I dined," says Sir John Reresby, under date December 26, 1680, "with that excellent man, Dr Gunning, Bishop of Ely. The famous Dr Oates was of the company at table, and, flushed with the thoughts of running down the Duke of York, expressed himself of his Highness and his family in terms that bespoke him a fool, and something worse; nor contented with this, but he must rail at the Queen his mother, and her present Majesty. In this strain did he hurry on, while no soul dared to oppose him, for fear of being made a party in the Plot, till, no longer able to bear with the insolence of the man, I took him to task to such purpose, that he flung out of the room with some heat. The Bishop told me that such was the general drift of his discourse; that he had sometimes checked him for the indecency of his talk, but that, finding he had done it to no manner of purpose, he had desisted from any farther effort to set bounds to his virulence." Perhaps Jefferies, who sat as Chief Justice at Oates's trial, with all his faults, took the only legitimate view of the Plot, when he said in his charge to the jury, that "there was a consult,

and there was a conspiracy against the life of our King, our government, and our religion; not a consult at the White Horse in the Strand, but a cabal and association of perfidious rebels and traitors, who had a mind *to embroil us in blood and confusion;* but, God be thanked, it had not its desired effect. The same sort of villains were parties in this conspiracy, who had too great a hand in the late great Rebellion, which we to this day feel the smart of; and they had a mind to make use of the like instruments as they did before, to bring us into the like misery, as that in which we were before involved."—"This very fellow Oates," says Jefferies in another place, "was so much credited, that all other people almost were below him, and greater respect was paid to him than to the branches of the royal family. Nay, it was come to that degree of folly, to give it no worse name, that in public societies, to the reproach and infamy of them be it spoken, that profligate villain was caressed, was drank to, and saluted by the name of the *Saviour of the nation!* O prodigious madness! that such a title as that should ever be given to such a prostitute monster of impiety!"

If it be concluded, as it surely must, that Oates's Plot was an impudent imposture on the credulity of the nation, the Ryehouse Plot is placed beyond the possibility of a doubt. The same agents were concerned, the same motives actuated them—the overturning of the constitution, and the expulsion of the royal family from the throne. The Whig party were, indeed, divided respecting the motives by which they were actuated. One set were for setting aside the King altogether; a second, for a pure republic; and a third, (in

which are to be comprehended the Ryehouse conspirators), were for making a plausible story about Monmouth's title to the crown, which they afterwards did to the ruin both of that nobleman and themselves.

I am far from speaking disrespectfully of such illustrious men as Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney, nor do I wish to excite the political prejudices of the reader of these pages by any wish to depreciate them by preferring the opposite party. Yet on the abstract principles of right, and on the clearest evidence that the Ryehouse Conspiracy was a continuation of what Oates begun, either by himself or by the agency of others, a consideration of the whole case leads to the conclusion, that if Oates's Plot was an imposition, the Ryehouse was a real plot. It is needless, as it is indeed unnecessary, to refer here to historical facts, or thence to draw those fair and legitimate deductions which the events of the so much boasted Revolution of 1688 abundantly prove. Lord Russell, as I have already said, declared to the very last his belief in Oates's Plot, and this was tantamount to acknowledging his own guilt. He was as active as Shaftesbury in its prosecution, and in violating the Habeas Corpus Act. He not only promoted, but he actually seconded the motion for excluding the Duke of York from the throne. What, then, was the object of Oates's Plot? To exclude the Duke. And what the object of the Ryehouse Plot? To dethrone James II. And what, finally, the cause of Oates's prosecution? For his insolence to his sovereign, his lies and perjuries, his swearing away the lives of many innocent persons. This, then, is the conclusion—when the

false conspiracy vanished into air, a real one was formed, which, as it was connected with, was made to bear on the former; and this conclusion is legitimate, without justifying the proceedings of the government, so far as these relate to the irregularities which were exhibited in the trials of Russell and his associates. That unfortunate nobleman, doubtless, was the most sincere of all the others; but he acted on mistaken principles; he forgot that, though the Papists of that age were equally zealous for the re-establishment of the superstition, past experience had taught them, that projected massacres, combustions, insurrections, and assassinations were fruitless, and that they were aiming to accomplish it by a relaxation of the penal laws, and by cunningly at first proposing a *toleration.*

A recital of the Ryehouse Conspiracy being, then, a repetition of the former plot, with the introduction of some new actors, it may be stated in one word, that the execution of Russell and his associates was a retribution for that of Stafford, Archbishop Plunket, and those who fell victims to Oates's imposture, encouraged by the Whig interest. There is, however, this material difference, that while the former were really involved in a plot against the government, the latter were beyond a doubt the victims of popular credulity.

With respect to Oates, he continued in prison, undergoing annually the punishment he had incurred, till the Revolution. On the 28th of March 1689, his case was brought from the King's Bench into the House of Lords; and, on the 9th of April, his petition for relief was heard. In a paper which he sent to the House, he had the boldness to begin his representation with a

preamble, that he had discovered a horrid Popish Conspiracy "for the destruction of the late King Charles II., his *present Majesty* (then Prince of Orange), and the Protestant religion in these kingdoms," which had been confirmed by the votes of several Parliaments, and the condemnation of several of the conspirators. After a number of debates, the Whig government of William of Orange, following up the politics of Shaftesbury and the Ryehouse Conspirators, sent an address to the King, to which the name of Bishop Burnet is prefixed, beseeching William to discharge Oates from the remaining parts of the sentence which he must otherwise undergo. On the 11th of June, that sagacious Government actually came to the resolution, "That the prosecution of Titus Oates, upon two indictments for perjury, in the Court of King's Bench, was a design to stifle the Popish Plot, and that the verdicts given thereupon were corrupt, and the judgments given thereupon were cruel and illegal." Oates, after various proceedings, succeeded in obtaining not only a pardon, but a pension of 5*l.* per week, as a remuneration for the pensions of 624*l.*, 60*l.*, and 200*l.* per annum, granted him by Charles II., of which he had been deprived, and to which he had petitioned to be restored. He was not satisfied, but went about continually grumbling against the Government, while at the same time he secretly, and sometimes openly, ridiculed his Plot, which had caused such a ferment in the nation.

I shall now, however, conclude these histories; happy if I have been able to lay before the reader any thing like a tangible narrative of those re-

markable events. Conspiracies are episodes in the history of man, or at least in the history of kingdoms. They are out of the usual order of things; they are, as it were, by themselves. Let me not be understood, however, as imagining that they are unconnected. Sometimes they result from the proceedings of states and kingdoms, in the persons of their governors; but they have been oftener the results of ambition, fostered and attempted by a few daring individuals for particular purposes, religious, or political, or both conjoined. In all cases, visited as they have been, and ought always to be, by a stern retribution, they teach us salutary lessons;—mankind learn from them the sage precepts of experience. No government can be so pure as to please all; but the nearer it endeavours to approximate to perfection, the less will it have to fear from factions and turbulence. Men, when they feel themselves happy, know generally how to appreciate their state; nor do they care much to hazard their tranquillity for hopes which are visionary, and promoted by incendiaries. In whatever light we view them, and whatsoever may be the alleged cause, supposing it the least exceptionable, conspiracies, resulting as they do from factions, are atrocious acts, notwithstanding the greatness of the undertaking, and the boldness of the attempt. They invariably imply crime, and involve blood and revolution. He who addresses himself to the public reason of mankind, will, notwithstanding every opposition, eventually obtain a hearing, and his motives must be considered, in connection with his practice, pure; but he who, of set purpose, endeavours to undermine, by dark and factious cabals, the institutions of his country,

or the government under which he lives, is not only an object of suspicion, but of merited execration; for, even should his pretence be the redress of abuses, and should he succeed, he cannot assure us where the reformation he would wish to accomplish will terminate, or to what lengths the spirit of change and revolution will run: he cannot say in any circumstances, "Thus far wilt thou go, and no farther." In like manner, he who, like those whose career we have been discussing, sets himself, either for the accomplishment of his own purposes, or as the tool of a party, to excite disorder and tumult in a state, by false and infamous rumours, deserves nothing but the universal execration of his country; and experience proves, that this he sooner or later receives. The history of a conspiracy, then, is a lesson of experience; the rock on which its contrivers split is a memorial of human vanity and human ambition; it proves to us the truth of the adage set forth by the sage of antiquity, that we ought rather, in the legitimate order of things, to endeavour to make advances towards that which is best; and thus, though all men cannot reach the summit, they will at least individually have the satisfaction of seeing many far behind.

THE END

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