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THE
Gunpowder-Treason:

With a Discourse of the

Manner of its Discovery;

AND

A PERFECT RELATION

OF THE

Proceedings against those horrid Conspirators;
Wherein is Contained their Examinations,
Tryals, and Condemnations:

LIKEWISE

KING JAMES'S SPEECH

To

Both Houses of PARLIAMENT,
On that Occasion;

Now Re-printed.

A Preface touching that Horrid Conspiracy,

By the Right Reverend Father in God,

Thomas Lord Bishop of Lincoln.

And by way of APPENDIX,

Several Papers or Letters of Sir Everard Digby,
Chiefly relating to the Gunpowder-Plot,

Never before Printed.

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T O T H E
Reader.

Courteous Reader,



His is not a new, but an old approv'd Book (by the Authority and Advice of some pious and learned persons) newly reprinted. So that there is no need of any commendatory Preface, to court thee into a good opinion of it, or any Apology for my self and this Edition; its own worth will justifie the work. It is no lying Legend, no vain Romance, no spurious or unlicenc'd-seditious Pamphlet, but an Authentique History, of an impious and prodigious Roman-Catholique^(a) Conspiracy, of a Popish Powder-Plot; containing the Examination, Tryal, and evidently-just Conviction and Condemnation of Popish Powder-Traytors; a Villany so black and horrid, (I do not say, unchristian onely, but) so inhumane and barba-

(a) See the Acts of Parliament, 3 *Facobi*, cap. 4, 5. where this Plot is truly call'd, (in the Body of the Act) *An HELLISH Conspiracy of the FESUITES and Seminary PRIESTS.*

rous, as has no Parallel in any Age or Nation, (Jewish, Pagan, or Turkish) nor indeed could have, before the Invention of Gun-powder, and the Unhappy Institution

(b) *Approbata & confirmata Societas Jesu, à Paulo Papa 3. Anno Christi 1540. vide Bullam Pauli 3. datà Romæ Cal. Oct. 1540. In Mag. Bullario Romano, Lugd. 1655. Tom. 1. pag. 738.*

(c) See the Life of *Ignatius Loyala*, by Father *Ribadeneira*, one of his own Society.

(b) of the Jesuitical Society, by (a (c) Fanatical Lame Soldier) *Ignatius Loyola*. For before that time, the World had no Instrument or Means so pernicious as Gunpowder, and congruous for effecting such a Mischief; nor any Order of Men so Impious, as to Approve, Design, and Endeavor to execute a Villany, so manifestly repugnant to the Law of Nature and Scripture, to the undoubted Principles of Human Reason, and Divine Revelation. I well know, that in these six last Centuries, the Pope and his Party, have Murder'd many thousand better Christians than themselves, (whom they are pleased to miscall Heretiques) by (d)

(d) *Vid. Concil. Lateranum 4. sub Innocentio. 3. Anno 1215. Can. 3. de Hereticis.*

Armies raised, and highly encouraged to execute such Bloody and Unchristian Purposes; by their Inquisitions and Premeditated Assassinations; as by

by their own Authors may, and evidently does appear. One of them (and he an Historian of good Antiquity and Credit) tells us, of (c) *An INFINITE NUMBER of Heretiques*, (the Innocent *Waldenses* he means) thus Murder'd. And a Learned and Pious Person says, (and (f) proves it out of their own Writers) *that in the space of 36 years, (and in France onely) 104747 of the same Waldenses, were inhumanly Slain, upon the same Account. And in 60 Years, (as the Account is (g) made, and by the Testimonies of their own Authors proved) no less than 142990 of the same poor Innocent Christians (and in the same Country) were (by the Pope and his Party) barbarously Murder'd. And of later Times, (to omit all others) a prudent and sober Roman Catholique tells us, (h) First of 4000 Waldenses, and then of 50000 Protestants cruelly slain, in the same Country, by the Authority and Approbation (i) of the Pope and his Party, Drunk with the Bloud of the Saints.*

I confess, That those were impious and prodigious Popish Cruelties; yet

A 4

such

(c) *Peremptus Hæreticorum NUMERUS INFINITUS.* Math. Paris, in Hen. 3. ad Annum 1234. pag. 395.

(f) *Fac. Ufferjus Armach. de Stat. & Success. Eccles. cap. 10.*

(g) *Dr. Crankorb, contra Spalatensem. cap. 18. Sect. 19. &c.*

(h) *Father Paul of Venice, History of the Council of Trent. pag. 119, 120.*

(i) *Idem ibid. pag. 423. vid. Thuanum ad Annum 1572. de Nuptiis Parisiis & Lanicæ, na Protestantium in Gallia.*

such as were not absolutely and immediately Pernicious, and destructive of the poor Persecuted Christians. For,

I. When Armies were raised to ruin them, they had some time to Consult their Security, to Fight, (if they were able) if not, to Fly, and so preserve their Lives.

II. When they were caught, and call'd into the Inquisition, (and so to a seeming Legal Tryal) they had some time to make their Defence, at least to Pray, and make their Peace with Heaven.

III. And the Execution of those Cruelties, was upon particular Persons, in some Village, City, or Province.

But the Hellish Gun-powder Treason and Conspiracy (we are now speaking of) contrived by the impious Subtily of the Jesuits, (and their Associates) and to be executed by the pernicious violence of Gun-powder, would have been (had it taken the design'd

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design'd effect) a far more Secret and Sudden, a more Universal and Compendious Villany: All the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, all the Commons and (*horresco referens*) the King Himself Blown up, and so Murder'd in a moment: That is, Not some particular Persons onely, but the whole Kingdom Assassinated; not *in Effigie* (as in some Countries, they hang Malefactors they cannot catch) but in its Real Representatives, the whole Parliament of *England*. A Conspiracy so Inhuman and Barbarous, of such Diffusive and Universal Mischief, as (before that time) never was, nor would nor could have been Approv'd, Continu'd, and Executed, without Gunpowder and Jesuits. But for a more full Discovery of this Treason, I refer the Reader to the Book it self, and our publick (a) Acts of Parliament concerning it.

Yet to give him some further Satisfaction and Reason, for the second Edition of this Book, let him be pleased to know:

(a) See the Acts above cited, 3 Jacobi. cap. 4. &c.

I. That

(b) At a Conference of both Houses, Nov. 1, 1678,

I. That since the Happy Discovery of the late Damnable and Hellish Conspiracy, (as the Two Houses of Parliament truly (b) call it) many Pious and Learned Persons, desirous to look back and consider the particulars of the Gunpowder Plot (both Conspiracies being hatch'd and hammer'd in the same Popish Forge, by the Jesuits and their Adherents) did diligently seek after this Book, I now publish; but (above 70 years being passed since the first Impression) they found it not; and therefore to satisfy their Desires, and supply that Defect, it was thought convenient, and (as the condition of the Kingdom now Stands, or Staggers) necessary to Re-print it.

II. Though the Gun-powder Conspiracy was hatch'd in Hell, and carry'd on with all the Sworn Secresie, and Impious Policy imaginable; yet (there being no Policy against Providence, nor any
Mis-

To the Reader.

Mischief so mysterious, as to be hid from that All-seeing Eye of him with whom we have to do) the most gracious and good God of Heaven and Earth, opportunely discovered that Traiterous Conspiracy, and (in great Mercy) prevented the Mischief, intended to his People. This was a Miraculous Mercy, never to be forgotten, but (with all gratitude) kept in perpetual Memory, by our whole Nation. *God hath so done his Marvellous Works,*

(^a) **THAT THEY OUGHT to be had in REMEMBRANCE.**

(a) Psal. 111. 4.
Vid. Esther 9. 28.

When God delivered his People out of *Egypt*, he Instituted the Passover, as a Memorial, that they and their Children might for ever

(^b) Remember it. And when our Blessed Saviour Redeem'd us

(b) Exod. 12.
24, 26, 27.

from (more than *Egyptian* Bondage) the Slavery of Sin and Satan; he also Instituted a Sacrament, to help our Infirmity, and be a Memorial of his unspeakable Mercy—

(^c) **DO THIS IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME.**

(c) 1 Cor. 11.
24, 25.

All

To the Reader:

All our Gracious God requires, or expects from us, is a Grateful Memory and Acknowledgement of his Mercies; which is impossible to be done, if we forget them. Seeing then, that this Book contains an Authentique History of the great Misery and Mischiefs intended, and by Popish Policy and Cruelty prepared for this Nation, and the unspeakable Mercy of our most Gracious God preventing it. It was thought fit to Reprint it, as a Memorial that Men might Read and Remember these Mercies, and Renew and Continue their Gratitude for ever for them.

III. Another Reason why this Book was a second time Printed and Published, was, That all, (who had a Mind and Time to read it, without Partiality and Prejudice) might have Authentique Evidence to convince our Adversaries: who not only in remote Countreys beyond the Seas, but here in *England*, since His Majesties

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ties Happy Return, (and in Print) do endeavor (with a strange Confidence, to give it no worse name) to persuade Men to believe, That the Gun-powder Conspiracy was no Popish Plot, but Cecil's Contrivance. One of their late Scriblers says indeed, *That it was A HORRID*

PLOT; but adds, (a)

That it was suspected,

to BE POLITICK-

LY CONTRIVED

BY CECIL. And

then afterwards, to-

wards the end of

that Popish Calen-

der or Almanack, he more con-

fidently saith, *That the Gunpow-*

der Treason, was (b) MORE

THEN SUSPECTED, TO

BE THE CONTRIVANCE

OF CECIL, the great Polititi-

an, to RENDER CATHO-

LIQVES ODIQUS. He

confesseth (in both places cited,

as well he might) *That SOME*

ROMAN-CATHOLIQVES

were in that Plot. But there were

(a) *Calendarium Catholicum:*

Or, An Universal Almanack, 1662.

That's the Title. But by that

word *Catholicum*, he means, a Ro-

man-Catholique or Popish Alma-

nack; for it is calculated only for

the Meridian of *Rome*, and is not

Catholique in any other sense.

The words I cite, are in the 2d

page, *ad Annum 57.*

(b) *Idem ibid.*

in explication of

Holy-dayes set a-

part by Act of

Parliament; near

the end of that

Calendarium Ca-

tholicum, (or Po-

pissh Almanack)

on the 5th of No-

vember.

but

To the Reader.

but **FEW DETECTED**, and they that were *Detected*, were **DESPERADO'S**. So that he would have us believe, that it was not any Popish, but *Cecils*, (a Protestants) Contrivance, and those Popish Desperado's (as he calls them) who were detected in it, were by *Cecil* the Politician, drawn into that Conspiracy, to make Catholiques odious. It is almost impossible, that any Man who is not resolv'd to believe, (or make others believe) a Lie, should profess and publish such evident Untruths, in matter of Fact, against the Sense of a whole Nation, and the publick Acts and Declarations of King, Lords, and Commons in a full Parliament. But (to me) it is no wonder, that they, who (for their mis-called Catholique Cause) have confidence enough, impiously to Design, and (as far as they are able) Execute such Prodigious Conspiracies, against their King and Country, should have equal Impudence to deny them, when (for

(for want of success) they and their Unchristian Cause, are concern'd in such Denial. And here when this Popish Writer, (who otherwise was a Man of some Parts and Quality) says, *That there were only A FEW Papists DETECTED in that Popish Powder Plot.* I shall desire the Courteous and Impartial Reader to consider :

1. That they were not so Few, as he pretends ; as may evidently appear, by the following Book, which contains the Discovery, Conviction, and Condemnation, of those Popish Traitors.
2. And considering, That this impious Conspiracy was Contrived and Carried on, with so great and sworn Secresie, taking Solemn Oaths, and the Sacrament upon them (never intended for such impious Purposes) to conceal that horrid Design, and their Practices in the prosecution of it : the wonder is not, that no more, but that so many were detected.
3. But

3. But admit that a Few only, were Detected here in *England*; so as to apprehend, and (as they well deserv'd) execute them for their Treason: yet 'tis certain, that the damnable Powder Conspiracy was well known beyond Seas, to the Popish Party, (especially the Jesuits) long before the happy discovery of it: as out of *Deltio*, and some others of their own Writers has, and (when there is an opportunity) may be made Manifest.

(a) In the former place quoted out of that *Calendarium Catholicum*.

(b) In the second place above cited out of that Calendar.

4. When that Popish Calendar (before cited) tells us, (a) *That the Papists in the Powder Treason and Conspiracy, were DESPERADO'S, of a Religion which DETESTS such Treasons. And afterwards, (b) That all SOBER CATHOLIQVES utterly DETEST that, and ALL SUCH ABOMINABLE CONSPIRACIES. To this false Flourish, I shall only say,*

First,

First, That I confess, and easily believe, that those Gunpowder Traitors, were indeed (what he calls them) *DESPERADO'S*, desperate Villains, else they would never have undertaken, or acted in a Design so black, and (as he truly calls it) Abominable Conspiracy , against their King and Native Country. And, Secondly, If the *Gunpowder Plot*, was an *Abominable Conspiracy*, and they who acted in it *Desperado's*, and *not Sober Catholics*, (as that Author pretends, to excuse and free his Church from the Approbation and Guilt of that Horrid and Damnable Conspiracy) then certainly those Great and Learned Popish Writers are very much to blame, who in their Publique (and by their Party generally Approved) Writings, so highly commend those Gunpowder Traitors (and others of their Faction, justly Condemn'd and Executed for High Treason) and tell us, *That they lived like SAINTS*, and (although Con-

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demn'd

(1) *See* 01 5 in his Pook against the Oath of Allegiance, call'd, *A Discussion of the Answer of Dr. Barlow, &c.* pag. 22, 23.

demned Traitors) **DYED MARTYRS.** Father *Parsons* (a Man of a high esteem at *Rome*, and with his whole Society) speaking of *Garnet* (Provincial of his Order, and a principal Gunpowder Traitor) says, (a) *He was AN INNOCENT MAN, who SUFFERED INJUSTLY; That he lived A SAINTS LIFE, and accomplished the same, with A HAPPY DEATH, dying IN DEFENCE OF JUSTICE:* And yet it is evident, that he died for, and in Defence of that horrid and damnable Gunpowder Conspiracy. So that (with them) Treason and Innocence, Traytor, and Martyr, seem to signify the same thing. Nor is Father *Parsons* onely of this Opinion; for *Petrus* (b) *Ribadeneira* (in a Book published with Approbation and Authority) has reckon'd *Garnet, Southwell, Oldcorne, &c.* (Gunpowder Traitors) amongst the **MARTYRS** of the *Jesuitical Society.* Nor do we

(b) *Petrus Ribadeneira, Catalogo Scriptorum Societatis Jesu, Antwerp. 1613. pag. 377. In Indice Martyrum.*

we envy them that Honour; but rather wish, that all such Traytors were made such Martyrs. The same Author (in the same Book and Index) reckons *Campion* (who was Justly executed for (c) High Treason) amongst the MOST (d) RENOWNED and FAMOUS MARTYRS of *Christ*. And that I may neither trouble the Reader, nor my Self, with more Testimonies, to prove a Truth notoriously known to all, who know and impartially read their approv'd Authors; I shall only add, what *Bzovius* tells us: who endeavouring (de industria, & data Opera) to Prove the Popes extravagant Power to Depose Kings, and Absolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance and Fidelity; he gives us, a Catalogue (e) of about Thirty Kings and Princes deposed, or (by solemn Anathema's) Curs'd and Damn'd by the Popes; and (f) cites about an 100 of their Learn-

(c) *Camden's Elizabeth*, in the 24th of her Reign, lib. 3. pag. 239, 240.
 (d) *Edmundus Campianus MARTYR CHRISTI INCLYTUS, & sui. Seculi CLARISSIMUS.*

(e) *Abraham Bzovius, de Pontifice Romano. cap. 46. pag. 611.*
 (f) *Bzovius ib. pag. 619, 620.*

(speaking of *Campion*, the Gunpowder Traitors, and the rest of their Popish Party, justly Executed here in *England*, for their execrable Treasons and Conspiracies against their Prince and Country) he further tells us, (8) That an *INNUMERABLE* Company of English *MARTYRS*, following their *CAPTAIN* Edmund *Campion*, taught *THE SAME THING*. That is, they taught the Popes Vast Supremacy, and his pretended Power, (for there is no Shadow of Ground or Good Reason for it) to Damne and Depose Kings, and Absolve their Subjects from their Fidelity and Sworn Allegiance; for to that end they are (by him) produced. The Premises consider'd, I appeal to any Sober and Unprejudiced Reader, whether such desperate, and (amongst them) approved and received Principles, will not be a great and prevailing Incouragement to the Jesuits, and such other Popish Fanatiques,

(g) *INNUMERABILES Anglicani MARTYRES, DUC'E M. Edmundum Campianum Secuti, IDEM DOCUERUNT.*
 Abraham Bzovius.
ibid. cap. 46. pag. 621. 601. 1.

natiques, to design and execute any Plot or Conspiracy, to Kill an Excommunicate King; whom they believe to be an Heretique, devested of Majesty, and all Royal Authority, and an Enemy to their Roman-Catholique Cause and Church. So that if they should miscarry in any such impious Design and Popish Conspiracy (as hitherto they have, and (by the Blessing of God) I hope they ever will) yet they know they shall be highly honor'd by all their Party, and be so far from having the Brand of Traytors (though the World well knows they deserve it) that they will pass for *SAINTS*, stand in red Letters in their Roman Calendar, and be Magnified for *Martyrs*. This incouragement they have to any Plot or Conspiracy, (how impious soever) if it be against Heretiques, and for their Catholique Cause) from their received Principles, from their belief of the Popes vast Supremacy and Infallibility, and their

obligation to promote the Catholick Cause. And (on the other side) they have no less encouragement, to design and execute any Conspiracies against Protestants; whom they look upon as the worst of Heretiques, Enemies to God and their Church, to be (^a) persecuted (*more Romano*) with Fire and Sword, and not worthy to live in the World. For certainly such an opinion (true or false) may, and will encourage those who believe it, to endeavor the extirpation and utter ruine of all those; who (in their judgment) are such impious and prodigious Villains. What opinion the Popish Party (I blame not all, some I know, and I hope there be more of a better Temper) generally have of Protestants (Prince and People) here in *England*; I shall give you in the Words of a Popish Pamphlet, writ since His Majesties Happy Return, to poyson the poor deluded People, with an hatred of all Protestants, and their Religion.

(a) So it is declared in that great General (and with them) Infallible Council, under Pope *Innocent 3.* *Concil. Lateran. Anno 1215. Can. 3. de Hereticis.*

on. In that (b) Pamphlet, the Author is pleased to say,

(b) The Pamphlet has this Title, -- *Miracles not*

ceas'd, by A. S. London 1663; it contains (as the Title tells us) *The MOST GLORIOUS MIRACLES, wrought by a Roman-Catholick Priest, about London and Westminster 1663. in confirmation of the HOLIE ROMAN-CATHOLIQUE FAITH.* And the Priest is there called, *A HOLIE MAN OF GOD.* Pag. 3. *Sent by God to do miracles, in confirmation of the holy Roman-Catholique Church, and her doctrine.* Pag. 15, 16.

1. That the Protestant Religion is a Cheat, Heresie, and **HEATHENISME**, pag. 3.
2. That the Protestant Bible, is no more the Word of God, than the **TURKISH ALCORAN**, pag. 4.
3. That the Protestant Bishops; Ministers, &c. are Cheaters, False Prophets, and **PRIESTS** of **BĀAL**, ib.
4. That they are **ANTICHRISTIAN**, Pseudo-Bishops, Sons (c) of Iniquity, and Fathers of Mischief, ibid. pag. 16.
5. That our Protestant Religion, is **RIDICULOUS** and **IDOLATROUS**, pag. 17.
6. That all Protestant Bishops and Ministers, are Priests of Baal, **MINISTERS** of **SATAN**, and **ENEMIES OF GOD**, and our souls, pag. 32.
7. And

(c) Pope Pius V. calls them, *Improbos Concionatores & IMPIETATUM ADMINISTRATOS.* In Bulla Damnationis & Excommunicationis Elizabethæ. Ann. 1570. Sect. 2.

To the Reader.

7. And (to make his Roman-Catholique railing complete) he there adds, *That the KING, (whom God preserve) and the PARLIAMENT were SECTARIES and HERETICKS,* *ibid. pag. 32.*

These are his own words, and the Articles of the Impeachment which that Popish Author brings against Protestants; and he further tells us, That he has *CLEARLY PROVED* several of those Articles in another (a) Book of his own making, which he there cites. This he says, and possibly believes, though he have little Reason for it; it being impossible, that he should have any (much less a clear) Reason, to prove such Positions which are evidently untrue. And here I shall crave leave to say,

(a) A little Book, intituled, *The Reconciler of Religion.* So he calls it, Page 3.

- I. That I do not wonder, that he (and other Popish Writers generally) should speak so blasphemously against the Bible, and bitterly against the Protestants, seeing it is evident, that there is no
 fort

sort of Christians in the World, whose Religion is so consonant to that Sacred Book, nor any Book so contradictory, and (when it is seriously read and believed) so destructive of Popery, as the Bible. Whence it is, that the reading it in any vulgar Tongue, is prohibited to the People. The *Trent* (b) Fathers impiously and blasphemously saying, that if the People should read the Word of God in a known Tongue, (which was (c) writ by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, that Men might read, believe, and be saved by it) it would d be **MORE MISCHIEVOUS** than **BENEFICIAL** to them. Nay, 'tis manifest that (in their opinion) the reading of the Gospel of our Blessed Saviour *Jesus Christ*, in a vulgar Tongue, would be more destructive of their Religion (as indeed it would) for Divine Truth is more destructive of Error, than one Error is of another) than the reading of the *Turkish Alcoran* in the same Tongue:

(b) Vid. *Regulas de libris prohibitis, per Patres à Trident. Synodo delectas concinnatas, & à Pio Pap. 4. comprobatas. Regul. 4. in calce Concilii Tridentini per Phil. Labbe. Paris. 1667. pag. 233.*

(c) John 20.

30, 31.
(d) *PLUS INDE DETRIMENTI, QUAM UTI- LITATIS ORIRI.*
Verba sunt dictæ Regulæ 4.

(d) Vid. *Indicem Librorum Prohibitorum Alexandri 7. jussu editum in quarto. Romæ 1664. verbo Alchoranus.*

Tongue: whence it is, that the Pope lately & publicly damn'd their own Mistake in *French*, and as publicly allow'd and approv'd the reading of the *Alcoran* in the same Language.

2. When he rails at, and reviles the King and Parliament, calling them *Heretiques* and *Schismaticques*; I desire to know, what Law, or Reason, or Religion, he has to warrant such reviling the Supreme (or any inferiour) Power, or Ruler of the People. His *Roman* Law and Religion (which allows the Depositing and Murdering Kings by Poyson, Pistol, War, or Powder Plots) may be his Warrant; but sure I am, that such reviling of Kings and Ruling Powers, is wholly condemned by the Laws of *England*, and the Laws of God too. To call his King an *Heretique* (by our Law) is High (^a) Treason, or such a Crime, as brings upon the Criminal an incapacity (^b) to have or hold any Place, Office or Promotion

(a) Vid. *Status. 13. Elizabeth. cap. 1.* where 'tis High Treason to call the Queen *Heretick*.

(b) *Statutum 13. Caroli 2. cap. 1.* and *Croke's Reports, part 2. pag. 88.*

motion Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Military; and besides, renders him obnoxious to such other punishments, (as by the Common-Law) may be inflicted. And for the Divine Laws, God (by Moses) commands, (c) *Thou shalt not curse the Ruler of thy People.* (d) *No not in thy Heart,* (says Solomon.) St. Paul cites the same Mosaical Law (as obligatory, under the Gospel, so that we may be sure, it is a natural and moral Law) and (in other words) tells us, what is meant by *Cursing* in that place, to wit, *Blaspheming, or evil Speaking*; for so he renders that place in *Exodus.* (c) *Thou shalt not speak evil of the Ruler of thy People.* St. Peter (though his pretended Vicar does not) reckons *them who* (f) *speak evil of Dignities,* amongst greater Sinners: So does St. Jude, Ver. 8, 9. and tells us, that *Michael the Arch-Angel DURST NOT bring any RAILING Accusation against THE DEVIL.*

But

(c) Exod. 22. 28.

(d) Eccl. 10. 20.

(c) Ἐπιβλασφημία
ἐν ἑσπέραις καὶ ἡμέραις
Acts 23. 5.

(f) 2 Pet. 2. 10.

(g) See the Excommunication of *Henry VI.* by *Pope Paul* the III. and of *Elizabeth* by *Pius V.* where *Luther's* called, *PERDITIO-*
NIS *alumnus*. Our

English Clergy, *IMPROBOS, IMPIETATUM MINISTROS*. King *Henry VIII.* *Hereticus & INSTIGANTE DIABOLO SACRILEGUS*; for alienating Abby Lands; and yet *Pope Julius III.* Queen *Mary*, her Popish Parliament and Convocation confirm'd that Sacrilege. Vid. *Statutum* 1. & 2. *Mariae*. cap. 8. If the Alienation of those Lands was Sacrilege in the King, what was the confirmation of it for ever, by the Pope and a Popish Parliament. *Urbanus VIII.* calls *Luther*, *Monstrum terrimum, & detestabilis pestis*. Bulla Canonizationis *Ignatii Loyala*. Data Romae 8. Idus Augusti 1623. Sect. 1.

But now, not only (g) the *Pope*, but every little Popish Priest and Scribler, dare, and do that to Christian Kings, and Protestant Divines, which the Arch-Angel durst not do to the Devil.

I do not think that any (who have not strong delusion, to believe a Lie) can possibly believe, that the Protestant Religion is (what they call it) *HERESIE, HEATHENISME, RIDICULOUS* and *IDOLATROUS*. Or that the Protestant Bishops and Clergy are *ANTICHRISTIAN, MINISTERS of SATAN, ENEMIES of GOD, and PRIESTS of BAAL*. Yet I do think, that those who (against the greatest Evidence of Sense and Reason in the World) can believe
Tran-

Transubstantiation and Manifest Contradictions; may also (by a strong Roman-Catholique Faith) believe all the aforesaid Untruths: and by that (though most erroneous) belief, be encouraged to murder and utterly destroy all such, who (in their opinion) are *Ministers of Satan, Heretiques, Enemies of God, and PRIESTS of BAAL*; as also to believe, that Action to be Just and Innocent, and (upon their own Belief and Principles) have a concluding Argument to prove it thus; The *Jews*, by the approbation and encouragement of *Elijah*, justly slew all *Baal's* Priests in the Old ^(a) Testament; and therefore Roman-Catholiques, by the approbation and encouragement of the Pope, and a General ^(b) Council, may destroy *Baal's* Priests, (for so they call all the Protestant Clergy) in the New. As the Authority of *Elijah* (he being a Prophet, and divinely Inspired) did both encourage and warrant the *Jews*; so the authority of the Pope and Council (being, as they pretend, ^(c) assist-

(a) 1 Kings 18.

40.

(b) Concil. Lateranum 4. sub Innocentio 3. Anno 1215. Can. 3. de Hereticis.

(c) Synodo quem admodum Spiritus

sanctus suggestit, decrevit. Concil. Trident. Sess. 15. Principio. *Sancta Synodus, à Spiritu sancto edocta, declarat.* Ibid. Sess. 21 cap. 1. &c. *Pesumari Spiritus sancti ducta.* Sess. 13. in Principio.

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ed by the Holy Ghost and Infallible) may, and will encourage, Roman-Catholiques (who believe the Pope and Council to be so assisted) and be (to them) a sufficient Warrant to kill and destroy Heretiques, (and all those they call *Enemies of God*, and *Priests of Baal*. For what greater or surer Warrant can they have, of the lawfulness and justice of such Designs and Actions, than the Synodical Decree of the Pope and Council, whose Authority they believe Supreme, and their Judgment infallible? Sure I am, that they are (d) taught to give an absolute obedience to all such Commands and Decrees of their Church, without debating or doubting of their Justice or Legality: they are not to dispute, but readily execute them; and if they be repugnant (as many times they are) to their private Judgment and Senses too, yet they must renounce and reject their Reason, and the evidence of their Senses too, captivate both to the obedience of their Church, and without all scruple or doubting) do what She decrees. Amongst the Directions and Rules given them, that they

(d) Vid. *Exercitia, spiritualia*
Regimii Loyala An-
versp. 1635. pag.
 238. & *ibid. Re-*
gulas aliquot ser-
vandas ut cum Ec-
clesia vere sentia-
mur.

they may believe as the Church believes, these are (c) **TWO**.

NI JUDICIO proprio, tenendus est SEMPER paratus animus ad obediendum vera Ecclesie. (The Church of Rome they mean) pag. 138. Regula 13. pag. 141. Sic habet-- *Deceque ut ipsi Ecclesie Catholicae OMNINO unanimes conformesque simus, si quid, quod oculis nostris apparet esse ALBUM, NIGRUM esse ILLA DEFINIERIT, DEBEMUS itidem, QUOD SIT NIGRUM PRONUNTIARE.*

(c) Regula prima. *Sublato OM-*

I. They are to remove and reject **ALL THEIR PROPER JUDGMENT**, and **ALLWAYS** have a prepar'd and ready mind to **OBEY** the **CHURCH**.

II. And that we may be **ALTOGETHER** unanimous and conformable with the **Catholique Church**, if She define any thing **TO BE BLACK**, which **OUR EYES SEES WHITE**, we are in like manner **BOUND** to acknowledge that 'tis **Black**.

These Rules (together with (f) every thing contained in the **Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius**) are not only **Approved and Received** by the **Jesuits**; but being **referr'd** by the **Pope** to the **Cardinal of St. Clements** (a **Roman**

(f) *Omnia ac singula in eis contenta.* Bulla Pauli Papæ 3. dat. Romæ. 31 Jul. 1548. exercit. spiritual. Ignatii præfixa.

man

man Inquisitor) to the Popes Vicar General, and the Master of the Sacred Palace, these three great Men highly approve and commend them; (as the Pope & himself tells us) That they were **FULL** of **PIETY** and **SANCTITY**, and for **EDIFICATION**, and **SPIRITUAL PROFICIENCY** **VERY PROFITABLE**.

(g) *Pictate & sanctitate PLENA, & ad Edificationem & spirituales profectum fidelium VALDE, UTILIA.* dicte Bullæ pag. 5. Approbata & laudata ab Urbano Papa 8. In Bulla Canonizationis Ignatii. Sect. 22. Edit. 8. Idus Augusti Anno 1623.

In Bulla Canonizationis Ignatii. Sect. 22. Edit. 8. Idus Augusti Anno 1623.

This is much, but not all. The Pope himself, their Supreme, and (if the Jesuites and Canonists may be credited) infallible Judge, does (a) approve, commend, and confirm this doctrine, and that of his own certain knowledge; and earnestly exhorts all Catholics, of all Sexes, and in all Countries, that they would use these Documents, and be instructed by them.

(a) *OMNIA & SINGULA in eis contenta, ex certa scientia nostra approbamus, collaudamus ac communitimus: Hortantes PLURIMUM OMNES & singulos, utriusque sexus Christi fideles, ubi libet constitutos, ut tam Pii documentis uti, & illis instrui devote velint.* Verba sunt. Bullæ dicte, ib. pag. 5.

Verba sunt. Bullæ dicte, ib. pag. 5.

Now

Now this erroneous and impious (yet Roman Catholick) Doctrine, (so highly approved and commend- ed at *Rome*, even by the Pope him- self) being granted; it is no wonder, if the Jesuits and the Popish Party securely design and endeavour the extirpation and utter ruine of Prote- stants, (Kings or Subjects) and all those they call Hereticks, with Fire or Sword, Poison or Pistols, Guri- powder Plots, and any Conspiracies. For, although such actions (to all sober men, even honest Pagans) are, and ever have been justly accounted prodigious Impieties; yet to the Jesuits and Popish Party they are not so. For

1. They are so far from believing such actions sinful, that when they are done out of zeal for their Catho- lick Cause, and with the approbation of their Superiors, (which they ne- ver want) they are (in their esteem) *virtuous*, and (which is more) *merito- rious*, as will appear hereafter.
2. But if such actions should (to their own private judgments) appear to be (what indeed they are) impious; yet

C they

(b) Regula 13. paulo ante citata.

(c) *Ut obedientia sit perfecta, quicquid nobis injunctum fuerit, obeundo, OMNIA JUSTA ESSE, nobis persuadendo, OMNEM sententiam ac JUDICIUM NOSTRUM contrarium, CÆCA quadam OBEDIENTIA, abnegando.* Ita Constitutio-

nes cum Declarat: Societatis Jesu, Antverp. 1635. part. 6. cap. 1. pag. 233. & ibidem part. 3. cap. 1. sect. 23. pag. 123. And this obedience is to be given to their Superior, as to Christ himself— *Qui obedit, considerare debet vocem à Superiore egressam, UT SI A CHRISTO DOMINO EGREDERETUR, ut OMNINO DIVINÆ Majestati placere possit.* Ibid. In Exam. General. cum Declarat. cap. 4. pag. 37.

they have been taught and learn'd this Lesson, *That they must (b.) reject all their own reason (and sense too) and acquiesce in the judgment of their Superiors; who (when they say, White is Black, and enjoin Villanies for Virtues) must be submitted to, and (with (c) a BLIND OBEDIENCE) obey'd, and persuade themselves, that ALL THINGS ARE JUST and LAWFUL which are commanded by their Superiors.*

I know

I know that the Jesuits, to hide and palliate the error and impiety of that absolute and impious obedience, which (by their Rules and Constitutions) is required of their Inferiors: and to make us believe, that they expect obedience (and their Inferiors bound to give it) onely in things *just and lawful*: They do sometimes seem to give a sober Exposition and qualification of that *universal obedience* they require of their Inferiors, thus: *Inferiors must obey their Superiors IN ALL THINGS*; that is, *In all things in which there is*
 (d) *NO MANIFEST SIN.*

But these are onely Jesuitical frauds, and miserable shifts and Fig-leaves, which may for some time, and from some, conceal their sin and shame, but neither are, nor can be any just Apology to vindicate their Doctrine of Obedience, and justify and free it from that impiety wherewith it stands charged. For,

1. The Inferiors, according to
 C 2 their

(d) *Obediendum in OMNIBUS, in quibus NULLUM est MANIFESTUM PECCATUM.* Constit. Societatis Jesu cum Declarat. Antwerp. 1635. part. 6. cap. 1. pag. 233. *Et ubi desintri non possit aliquod peccati genus, intercedere.* Ibid. pag. 234.

(a) Vid. Regulas Servandas
ut cum Ecclesia vere sentiamus
(superius citatas). I. &
13.

their (a) Rules and received
Constitutions) that his obedi-
ence may be perfect, must
renounce and reject all his
own reason and sense, so far,
that if he see and know such a thing to
be black and impious, yet if his Su-
perior say, It is white and virtuous,
he in contradiction to his own sense

(b) Obedientia sancta &
perfecta, quod ad executionem
attinet, tunc præstat, cum
res iussa completur: quoad
voluntatem, cum ille qui obe-
dit, ID IPSUM VULT,
QUOD QUI JUBET:
quoad intellectum, cum ID
IPSUM SENTIT, quod
ILLE QUI JUBET. Con-
stit. dictæ cum Declarat. pag.
233.

(c) Valde necessarium est,
ut OMNES perfectæ obedi-
entiæ se dedant, Superiorem
(QUICUNQUE ille sit)
LOCO CHRISTI agno-
scentes, & quæ injungit,
INTEGRE, PROMPTE,
&c. Sine excusationibus &
omurmurationibus obediant.
Ibid. part. 3. cap. 1. pag.
123.

and reason) must both say
(b) and think so too. This is
that (c) perfect obedience,
which they commend to, and
require of all Inferiors, to be
paid to any, to every Superior;
and it must be intirely, per-
fectly, and readily performed,
without any excuse or mur-
muring. So that if the thing
commanded by the Superior
do appear sinful to the Inferi-
or, yet he must not believe
what he knows, but do what
he is commanded by his Su-
perior.

2. Those under command (by
the Constitutions of that Soci-
ety)

ety) must look upon their Superiors, as persons in the (d) place of Christ Jesus; *tanquam* (e) **CHRISTI VICARIOS, & (f) UNIVERSITIVICEM GERENTES, Christi partes agentes.**

By the way, the Reader may observe, that by this Jesuitical Divinity, or Royalty, (call it what you will, you cannot mis-call it, unless you call it just and true) every Superior in the whole series of that Society, is the Vice-gerent and **VICAR, OF CHRIST**, and to be obey'd by his Inferiours, as well as the Pope himself. How the Pope will like this, I neither know nor care; but sure I am, that a learned Spaniard, and (g) zealous Papist, has both said, and (by evident instances) proved, that (to gain the Monarchy of the World to themselves) the Jesuits are both Innovators in matters of Faith and Religion, rebellious and perfidious to the Pope as well as Secular Kings and Princes.

(d) *Ibid.* dicta pag. 123. & pag. 152. & part 4. cap. 10. pag. 183.

(e) *Epist. i. Ignatii de virtute obedientie ad Fratres. Lustranos. sect. 4.*

(f) *Ibid.* sect. 3. & sect. 11.

(g) Alphonse de Vargas Toleranus is the man I mean; and the Title of his Book is this, *Relatio ad Reges & Principes Christianos de Stragematis & Sophismatis Politicis Societatis Jesu, ad MONARCHIAM ORBIS terrarum S.I.B.I. consuevandam. In qua Jesuitarum ergo Reges ac populos INFIDELITAS, ergaque IPSUM PONTIFICEM PERFIDIA; contumelia, & in REBUS FIDEI novandi libido, IL-LUSTRIBUS DOCUMENTIS comprobatur.* Edita Anno 1636. & postea Anno 1642.

(h) Superior, cui nos, ut Dei vicem gerenti, & DIVINE VOLUNTATIS INTERPRETI, moderandos tradidimus. Ignatius Epist. 1. De Virtute Obedientiae, ad Lusitanos, sect. 11.

(i) Qui obedir, considerare debet vocem à Superiore quocunque egressam, ut si A CHRISTO DOMINO, NOSTRO egrederetur, CUR ORDINANO DIVINAE MENTIS FESTATI PLACERE possit. Ita Constitut. Societ. Jesu, & Examen cum Declarat. Antverp. 1635. cap. 2. sect. 3. pag. 37.

(k) Summarium Constit. Societ. Jesu. sect. 31. pag. 17. Antverp. 1635.

(l) Superiori non ideo obtemperandum, quod diuinitus donis ornatus sit, sed ob id solum quod vices gerat Dei. Si prudentia MINUS valeat, non ideo QUODQUAM DE OBEDIENTIA REMITTENDUM, quia Minus personam refert, cuius sapientia falli non potest; SUPPLEBIT enim IPSE QUICQUID MINISTRO DEFUERIT, siue PRONITATE, atque ORNAMENTIS CAREAT. Ignatius Epist. 1. De virtute Obedientiae ad Lusitanos. sect. 3. pag. 13.

3. And having declared their Superiors to be Gods Vice-gerents and Vicars of Christ, they further say, that their Superiors are (h) INTERPRETERS of the DIVINE WILL, to whose Government, they have given up themselves, and to obey their commands, as if (i) Christ himself had given them; so that the will and judgment of their Superiors is to be (k) THE RULE of theirs, and to be in all things obey'd. And this absolute, blind, and impious obedience to their Superiors, Ignatius, the founder of that Society, highly approves and commends to them, telling them, That whether their (l) Superiors be wise or foolish, honest or impious, yet they are equally to be obey'd, as they are GOD'S VICE-GERENTS, who is infallibly wise, and will supply their want of understanding AND HONESTY too. So that (by this

Di-

Divinity) let their Superiors be never so simple, sinful, and impious, yet their Inferiors may securely obey, and do *WHATSOEVER* they bid them. And this he thinks (which no wise man would) he has clearly proved out of express Scripture, *Matth.* 23. 2, 3. Our Saviour (saith he) when he had said, *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses chair*; he adds, *WHATSOEVER* therefore they say unto you, that observe and do. If the Jesuits say, they succeed those Jews (the Scribes and Pharisees) in *Moses Chair*, then they might (though without all sense and consequence) argue for themselves; as they usually do for the Pope, *jure successionis*, thus: *The Pope sits in Peters Chair, therefore he is as infallible as he; and whatsoever he says must be observed.* (Thus Pope *Agatho* argues, and tis by (b) *Gratian*) registred, and (c) by Pope *Gregory* the 13th confirmed for Law.) So they argue for the Pope; and so with equal reason (yet ridiculously) the Society might argue, (as *Ignarius* does, a bold Soldier;

(p) Sic OMNES Apostolicæ sedis SANCTIONES accipiendæ sunt, tanquam ipsius DIVINI PETRI ORE firmatæ sint. Can. Sic omnes. 2. Dist. 19.

(c) Bulla Romæ data 1 Jul. 1580. Juri Canonico præfixa.

but a very bad Disputer) for themselves, thus--- *We succeed the Scribes and Pharisees, and sit in Moses Chair: Therefore whatsoever we say must be observ'd.* But I suppose they will not say, that they succeed the Scribes and Pharisees, (whose corrupt Doctrine, and impious Manners, our Blessed Saviour so often, and so justly

(d) Matth. 16. 6, 12. & Matth. 23. 16, 17, 18.

(e) Matth. 23. 13, 14, 15, 16. 23. 25, 27, 29.

(d) condemns, and against whom he (e) pronounces many sad and deserved woes.)

And if they deny (as sure enough they will) that they succeed those impious and heretical Scribes and Pharisees; then their Founder's reason is worse, and (if that be possible) more ridiculous, being onely this--- **WHATEVER** those Jews

(f) They sat in Moses Chair (as Interpreters of his Law) and therefore whatever they taught the people, which was consonant to the Law and mind of Moses; was to be observed, otherwise not. And therefore our blessed Saviour bids his Disciples beware of their *Doctrine*; (as well as of their *Manners.*) Matth. 16.

12.

(Scribes and Pharisees) said, *sitting in Moses (f) Chair, was to be observed: Ergo, WHATEVER those Christians (the Superiors of the Jesuits) say, who do not sit in Moses Chair, must be observed; Sed apage nugas, Apinasque tricas.* Such stuff as this, is neither worthy to be proposed, nor seriously

con-

confuted: nor had I troubled the Reader (or my self) with any Answer to it, had not (in their esteem) so great a Saint and Soldier as *Ignatius*, so confidently urg'd it; and lest they might think or say, (as sometimes they do) That such Arguments, because they were not, could not be answered.

Well; but though *Ignatius* his Reasons are weak, yet his Faith is strong, and (without any good reason, or concluding premisses) he firmly believes his Position, (*That his Society must give blind and absolute obedience to all the commands of their Superiors.*) and earnestly (a) presseth all his Society to believe and practise it. And since his decease, (whether induc'd thereunto by his Authority, or their own Interest, for they neither have, nor can have any true Reason for a false Position, I know not) I say, since his decease, his Society have approved, (b) received, and industriously vindicated his Doctrine of Obedience. For

(a) Especially in his Epistle Ad Fratres Latinanos, *De Virtute obedientie*, (Dat. Romæ 7. Cal. Aprilis, Anno 1593).

(b) They have approved and received *Ignatius* his Epistles, his *Exercitia Spiritualia*, &c. in their *Instituta Societatis Jesu. Ant. 1635*.

(to

(to give you a short sum of what they say.)

1. He and they agree, that Inferi-
ors (to the end they may have that
perfect obedience which they re-
quire) must renounce and ut-

(c) Regula. 1. & 13. Superiuscitata. Necessè est, ut omnes perfecta obedientie se dedant, Superiori obediant, licet difficilia, & secundum sensualitatem (i.e. sensum) repugnantia jubeat: veram abnegationem propriae voluntatis & judicii habeant. Summarium Constitutionum, sect. 31. pag. 17.

terly reject all their own
(c) **WILLS, JUDGMENT,**
and **SENSES**; so far, that, if
their *Superiors* say, *Snow is*
black, they must believe, and
say it is so too, though their
Senses see it is white.

2. Nay, they must not
only renounce, but (as their
Founder *Ignatius* says) *kill,*
kill, and *slay* their own
Wills and *Judgments*, by their
obedience. (d) *Per obedientiam*

(d) *Ignatius* Epist. 2. (De)
Perfecta Religiosa Romæ, 4.
Non. Mart. 1547.

(e) *Sibi quisque* **PER-**
SUADEAT, se **FERRI** ac
REGI DIVINA PROVI-
DENTIA per Superiores; &
finere debet, ac si **CADAVER**
esset, quod **QUOCUNQUE**
versus ferri, **QUACUNQUE**
RATIONE, Tractari se sinit:
vel ut senis **BACULUS,** qui
UBICUNQUE, & **QUA-**
CUNQUE in re velit eo uti;
qui cum manu tenet, ei in-
servit. Constitut. cum Decla-
rat: part. 6. sect. 1. cap. 1,
pag. 234.

in voluntates vestras ac judi-
cia **MACTATE,** &c. So that
Inferiors. (e) *Must* **P E R**
SUADE themselves, that it is
DIVINE PROVIDENCE
which moves and rules them by
their **SUPERIORS.** And
therefore they must be like
DEAD CARCASSES, or as
SLAVES in the hand of their
Supe-

Superiors; which suffer themselves to be **MOVED, HANDLED, and CARRIED WHITHER, and WHAT WAY THEY PLEASE.** The Inferior is not permitted to consider, examine, or try, whether the commands be just, and (according to the Will of God) lawful; but they (f) must

execute and obey them; and that **WITRELY, READILY, and BOLDLY:**

and the commands of their Superiors, as to be

(g) **A TRUE RULE** both of their **WILLS** and **JUDGMENTS;** and they are bound

to believe, that (i) whatever the things enjoyn'd (be) **IN GODS COMMANDS** (h) **WELL,**

and that all the things enjoyn'd (be) **IN GODS** and so good, that

NOTHING BETTER could be done; nor God better pleas'd with any thing his own (i) **Will** than **Judg-**

ment, **QUANTIS,** quam

ratione ipsius, quam ve alia **QUANTIS,** quam

(f) *Quæ Superior injungit, INTEGRÉ, PROMPTÉ, & SINE EXCUSATIONIBUS OBEDIANT.* In Summario

Constitut: quæ AB OMNIBUS observandæ sunt, sect. 31. pag. 17. & Constitut. sect. 3. cap. 1. sect. 23.

(g) *Proposita voluntate & judicio Superioris, PRO REGULA suæ voluntatis & judicii Dicta, sect. 37. pag. 17.*

(h) *Quod jubetur, BENE JUBERI EXISTIMET.* Constitut. cum Declarat. part. 6. cap. 1. pag. 234.

(i) *QUICQUID nobis injunctum fuerit, obcundo, OMNIA JUSTA esse, NOBIS PERSUADENDO.* Ibid. pag. 143.

hic enim obediens rem QUAMCUNQUE, cui eum Superior velit impendere, seque sequi; PRO CERTO HABENS, quod ea ratione

PRESTARE POSSIT, propriè DIVINE VOLUNTATI

ment,

ment could suggest, different from the command of his Superior.

4. And lastly, it is all the reason in the world, that they should give such absolute obedience to their Superiors, were their Principles true, (which are indeed evidently erroneous and impious) for they say, (as is before observ'd and prov'd) that every Superior is a *VICE-GERENT*, and *VICAR OF CHRIST*; that his Inferiors are to look upon him as such, and obey his commands, as the commands

(1) of *JESUS CHRIST*.

The premisses considered, I think we have very much (too much) reason to believe, that while there are Jesuits in *England*, (Superiors (such as

the Pope, their General, Provincial, &c.) to command, (and Inferiors to obey, it is impossible our Gracious King, or his Protestant Subjects should be safe, unless they repent, and renounce their impious Principles, and bloody Practises, (which) is impossible, whilst they believe those true, and these just) or the good God of Heaven and Earth do (as hitherto

in

(1) *Ad Superioris VO-
GEM PERINDE, AG SI
A CHRISTO DOMINO E-
GREDERETUR, quom
promptissimi fanus, re quovis
religiosa. Dico Summario
Constitut. Sect. 34. pag. 18.*

in great mercy he has) by a powerful Providence discover and defeat their Conspiracies. For as it is notoriously known to this, and other Nations; that during the times of *Queen Elizabeth*, *King James*, *Charles the Martyr*, and our Gracious Sovereign now happily restored, they have impiously designed and indeavoured; by open War, by Poison and Pistol, Gun-powder Plots, and horrid Conspiracies, to destroy our Princes and our Religion; So we have little reason to doubt, but while there are such Persons, possess'd with a belief of such principles, they will continue to Design, and (when they have ability and opportunity) execute such damnable, and (to Protestant Princes and People) destructive Conspiracies. I would not wrong the meanest Jesuit (were it in danger) to save my life; nor will I conceal their principles (dangerous to our COUNTRY and Religion) though (what I do not fear) I lose it. For this were basely to betray my Religion and my COUNTRY too; things which are, and (to all good men) ever should (and will) be more valuable than a thousand

(c) *Jesuitas OMNES in universo terrarum orbe, FOEDUS, ad REGES Hereticos QUOVIS MODO TOLLENDOS, jam pridem iniisse, Quod (inquit) ad Societatem nostram attinet, velim scias, OMNES NOS, qui sumus de Societate Jesu, per totum terrarum orbem longe lateque diffusi, SANCTUM FOEDUS iniisse, vestras machinas facile superaturos, neque unquam desperaturos, quamdiu vel UNUS QUISPIAM à nobis supererit. Ita Campianus Jesuita, in Epist. ad Consiliarios Reginae Angliæ, Treveris Excusa Ann. 1583. pag. 22. And Hospinian, who cites it, in his Historia Jesuitica, pag. 264. (it should be 246.) adds what Creswel the Jesuit says in his Philopater, (I take it upon his word, for I have not my Books about me) Ita informandos QUOSCUNQUE CATHOLICOS, ut oblatâ CÆDIS OCCASIONE, NULLO IMPEDIMENTO se dimoveri patiantur. They must kill Kings (if Hereticks) when they have opportunity.*

and Lives. Give me leave therefore (courteous Reader) to add, not what I, but what the Jesuits say of themselves and Society. And here,

i. Father Campian (who though hang'd at Tyburn for High Treason, yet at Rome is reputed a famous Martyr) tells us, (c) That ALL THE JESUITS in the world have long since entered into Covenant, *ANT WAT TO DESTROY all Heretical KINGS; nor do they despair of doing it effectually, so long as any one Jesuit remains in the world.*

And Father Creswel (if Hospinian cite him right, for in this place and time I have not the Book about me) in his *Philopater*, tells us, That ALL CATHOLICKS are to be so instructed, that when they have an opportunity to kill Hereticks, they should not suffer any impediment to hinder them. So that if you say, *In facinus*

facinus iurasse putes; That the Jesuits are entred into a Covenant to kill and destroy all Heretical Kings; you wrong them not; for you say no more than they themselves in print and publickly confess.

2. And this we may the rather believe, because (according to their belief and principles) if they do this, if they murder a thousand Hereticks, (Kings or Subjects) it is no mortal sin in them. For they (a say, (and by that motive seduce many young Novices into their Society) that they cannot commit any mortal sin: For *Ignatius* their Founder, by his Prayers obtain'd that priviledge for them, that for an 100 years (beginning from the confirmation of his Order) none of his Society should commit any mortal sin; and their great Saint *Xaverius* procured the continuance of that priviledg for 200 years longer. So that (by this account) since the year

(a) Vulgo certe hoc Jesuitæ faciunt, ut cum in Societatem pueros alliciunt, in hoc meliorem Societatis suæ, quam aliorum Ordinum conditionem esse prædicent, quod Ignatius a Deo precibus obtinuerit, ut per 100 Annos inde ab eo die, quo Regulam ejus sedes Apostolica probavit, NEMO SOCIORUM IN LETHALE PECCATUM INCIDERE QUEAT. Cujus privilegii protogationem, Xaverium in alios 200 Annos a Deo Societati impetrasse, ab hinc triennium JESUITÆ IN ALSATIA PLENIS BUCCIS GLORABANTUR. Alphonf. de Vargas Toletanus in Relat. de Sfratag. Jesuitarum. cap. 14. pag. 39. Edit. 1636. & pag. 110, 111. Edit. 1642.

(b) The Bull of Pope Paul 3. which confirmed that Society, is dated 1 Cal. Oct. 1540. In magno Bullario Romano, Lugduni. 1655. Tom. 1. pag. 740.

(c) *Quominus autem apud pueros & adolescentes rerum imperitos, eos talia quis jactare admiretur, IPSO FRIDERICO BORROMÆO Cardinali non dubitarunt TALI SE PRIVILEGIO VENDITARE, &c.* Alphon. de Vergas. *ibid.* cap. 14. 'Tis true, the Cardinal did not believe them, (as certainly no wise man will.) *Borromæo non persuaserunt, verum etiam ita eum sibi alienarunt, ut in posterum nec visos, nec auditos vellet, quemadmodum Amicis non semel factus est, &c. Idem ibidem.*

of our Lord 1540. (when the Jesuits (b) Order was confirm'd) to the year 1840. the Jesuits neither have, nor can commit any mortal sin, if it be true that they have such a priviledg, which they publicly affirm, not onely to the common people, but to Cardinal *Francisco* (c) *Borromæo*, as a Learned Author tells me, and he no Hugonot or Lutheran, but a zealous Spanish and Romish Catholick. How great encouragement this may give them to kill all Hereticks, (it being so much for the Catholick cause, and their temporal interest, and no mortal sin) it will highly concern all Protestant Princes, and their good Subjects, seriously and timely to consider.

3. But as for this priviledg from all mortal sin, which Cardinal *Borromæus* did not, nor is it possible any (who has not strong delusion to believe a lie) should believe; yet to the Jesuits, who do believe it, and teach their

their Inferiors (who are bound to obey them) to do so too; it must of necessity be a great encouragement of them to commit any crime, how great soever, seeing that by that privilege (let them do or say what they will) they are secured from any Mortal sin; and for their Venial sins, (if there were any such) they may put them into Purgatory, but (if their own approved Principles be true) they cannot hinder them from Heaven and Eternal Happiness. But let this be as it will, there is another thing, which may give all Protestants just cause to fear, that the Jesuits will be very ready to design, and (when and where they are able) execute any villany; by Poison, Pistol, Gun-powder Plot, or any traitorous and black Conspiracy, for the destroying and extirpation of all Hereticks, (especially Protestants) and that thing is, the exceeding corruption of their Manners, and Personal impieties. For the world of men will be most willing (without fear or reluctance) to commit the greatest wickedness. Now as for the Personal

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wicked-

wickedness and impieties of the Jesuits; I neither do, nor can say any thing upon my own knowledge, (being not at all acquainted with their conversation) but I shall produce such

Witnesses, as are without exception, and may challenge and deserve credit; I mean, all the Universities of *Spain*, (Venerable Corporations and Bodies of Men, and they not Hereticks, but learned and zealous Roman Catholics) who in a Book (or Remonstrance against the Jesuits) printed and given to the King of *Spain*, give this Character of the Jesuits—(a) *That they are men notoriously covetous, insatiable, COZENERS, Thieves, and stealers of the Kings Revenue, arrogant, ambitious, flatterers of Princes, Courtiers, every where intangling themselves in secular businesses, fraudulent, liars, corrupters of truth, defamers of vertue, enemies of a Religious life, lovers of pleasure, impostors*

(a) *Academia Hispaniarum libello ad Regem missò, typisque descripto, Jesuitas sic describunt, ut homines palam avaros, insatiabiles, Eruscatores, Regiorum vectigalium fures, arrogantes, ambitiosos, Principum assentatores, Aulicos, & negotiis secularibus ubique se implicantes, fraudulentos, mendaces, veritatis interversores, infamatores virtutis, vitæ Religiosæ hostes, deliciarum amatores, Impositores pietatis velo operos, lupos in vestimentis ovium, Novitatum Amicos, Sanctorum Doctorum contemptores, Lutheri & Calvinii partiaros, ac de Hæresi suspectos, pacis publicæ perturbatores, Diabolicæ industriæ homines, Serpentes, ipsosque Cacodæmones, ac ab omnibus cavendos ac fugiendos. Alphon. de Vargas Toletanus de Stratagematis Jesuitarum, pag. 37, 38. Edit. 1642. & pag. 15. Edit. 1636.*

Wolves under a veil of piety, Wolves in Sheeps clothing, lovers of novelties, contemners of the holy Doctors, partners with Calvin and Luther, and suspected of Heresie, troublers of the publick peace, men of Diabolical industry, Serpents, and very Cacodæmons or evil Spirits, of whom all should be aware and fly from them.

This Character of the Jesuits is none of mine, it is a Spanish History, not my calumny of them: I do, and shall pray for them, that if they be guilty of all, or some of this, (as I fear they are) God Almighty would be graciously pleased to give them true penitence and pardon too. What Answer they have given (or can give) to this accusation (which has been publick, and in print above 40 years) I know not, I have not yet heard of any. In the mean time, I shall desire the Reader to consider the quality of the Witnesses, who charge them with so many and enormous crimes.

1. They are no Protestants, (or any they do or dare call Hereticks) but Papists. 2. Nor they simple Persons, but Corporations, and Bodies of men.

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3. Nor

3. Nor they Townsmen, and meet Laicks, so that it might be thought, they did it out of hatred or envy; according to the Gloss in their Canon Law, *Laici sunt Clericis oppido infesti*; but they are great and learned Bodies of men, Univerfities. 4. Nor some few of them, but many; All the Univerfities of a great Kingdom. 5. And that a most Catholick Kingdom, very zealous for the Pope and Popery, to wit, *Spain*. 6. Nor is it any private Testimony, given in some particular Court, but publick, exhibited to their King in print, and so to the World. 7. Lastly, they witness against persons they had great reason and opportunities to know, living amongst them, and having continual conversation with them; and so must needs be *Festes idonei*, most competent Witnesses against them. And therefore Protestants have very great reason and evidence to believe, that the Jesuits are such persons, as their own Party, by such Authentick Testimonies, prove them to be.

The premises considered, that is, the Principles, the Persons, and Encourage-

encouragements the Jesuits have to seek the ruine and destruction of all Protestants, (Princes and People) the advice of the Universities of Spain will (to all prudent men) seem very reasonable, That persons of such Principles (*Ab omnibus sunt cavendi, & fugiendi*, (I may add) *fugandique*) should be with all care and caution avoided, and banish'd out of all Protestant Countreys; it being morally impossible (as sad experience shews) they should enjoy peace and safety long, where such restless Spirits (encouraged and resolved to endeavour their ruine) do remain.

But besides these (peculiar to the Jesuits) there are more and greater encouragements (common to them and all the Popish Party) to design and endeavour the extirpation of all Hereticks (especially Protestants, who, in their account, (and truth) are most dangerous to their erroneous and superstitious Novelties) and the ruine of the Protestant Religion. For Pope Innocent the Third, (and his General Council) promised those Soldiers (*Cruce signati*, or *Crusado's*, as they call'd

call'd them) who having assum'd the Character of the Cross, were arm'd for the extirpation and destruction of Hereticks, with fire and sword, the

same (a) *priviledges* they had, who went to fight against the Turks and Sarazens, to recover the Holy Land. Now the *Priviledges* granted to those Soldiers sent against the Furks; (to omit several Temporal advantages granted them for that service) were especially and principally two.

(a) *Catholici qui crucis assumpto charactere, ad Hæreticorum EXTERMINIUM se accinxerint, illa gaudent Indulgentia, illoque Privilegio sint muniti, quod accedentibus ad terræ sanctæ subsidium conceditur.* Concil. Lateranum 4. Anno 1215. Can. 3. de Hæreticis.

(b) *Sacris approbante Concilio.* In Bulla Innocentii 3. dat. Romæ 19. Cal. Jan. 1215. In Bullario Romano Lugduni. 1655. pag. 88. Tom. 1.

(c) *Plenam suorum peccaminum veniam indulgentia.* Ibidem, dictæ Bullæ sect. 17. pag. 89.

(d) *In retributione justorum, salutis æternæ pollicemur AUGMENTUM.* Ibidem.

1. The Pope and (b) *General Council* grants them a (c) *plenary Indulgence; and Pardon of all their sins.* This they have bore, while they liv'd.

2. They promise those Soldiers, not onely *Heaven, and Glory in it, but a (d) greater degree and measure of it hereafter;*

And here I shall desire the Courteous Reader to consider, 1. The excellency

excellency of the Reward, *Grace here,* and *Glory hereafter.* 2. Who it is that promises all this; the Pope, and a great, and (by them) approved General Council. 3. The assurance and certainty they may have of enjoying what's promised, arising from the Authority and Infallibility of the Pope and Council, who make the Promise; whose Authority and Judgment is, and to all Papists, (unless they will deny their received Principles) Supreme and Infallible. 4. And seeing so glorious a reward is (by such Authority) promis'd for murdering Hereticks, they may be assured, that the doing it is (at least) innocent and lawful; unless they will confess (which would overthrow the foundation of their Religion) that the Pope and General Council may be guilty of so great an error and impiety, as to promise Heaven for impious and unlawful actions, which neither do nor can deserve any thing but Hell and Damnation. 5. Many things may be, and are lawful, which are not necessary, nor (in some times and circumstances)

stances) expedient. But this destroying Hereticks with Fire and Sword, (according to the Popish Principles) is not onely lawful, but a necessary duty, (which upon pain of Excommunication and a Curse) they are bound to do. For (by the Decree of Pope Innocent and his General Council) all

(e) *COMPELLANTUR* Potestates seculares cujuscunq; officii, ut præstent *PUBLICE* juramentum, quod de terris suæ jurisdictioni subjectis *UNIVERSOS* Hereticos ab Ecclesia denotatos, exterminare studeant: ita ut amodò quandocunq; quis fuerit in potestatem spiritualem seu temporalem assumptus, hoc tenetur capitulum affirmare. Concil. Lateran. 4. dicto. Can. 3.

(f) *Si dominus temporalis* requisitus ab Ecclesia, terram suam purgare *NEGLEXERIT* ab Heretica pravitate, excommunicationis Vincul innodetur; & si satisfacere neglexerit infra Annum, significetur summo Pontifici, ut ex tunc ipse vassallos suos ab ejus fidelitate denuntiet absolutos, & terram exponat Catholicis occupandam. Dictum Concil. dicto Can. 3.

Secular Supreme (e) Powers are to be *COMPELL'D* to take an Oath *PUBLICKLY* to extirpate all Hereticks; and not onely Supreme Powers; but all Inferiour Powers and Governours, Ecclesiastical and Civil, are to take such Oath: so that (being bound both by the Decree of the Council, and a Sacred Oath to do it) it must of necessity be a Duty; which they are bound to do; that is, to destroy all Hereticks: and that so necessary a duty, that if Kings were but (f) *NEGLENT*, and did not presently do it, they were to be Excommunicated; and if they did not give satisfaction with

in

in a year; it was to be signified, to the Pope, that he might presently depose them, and absolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, and give away their Kingdoms to Catholics, who would be bloody, obey the Pope, and destroy Hereticks.

By the premises it does (to me, and will, I believe, to many more) seem evident, that the murdering Heretical Protestant (for at Rome they are believ'd and declar'd Hereticks) Excommunicated Kings and Subjects, is not onely, 1. A *lawful Action*; but 2. in the judgment of the Church of Rome, a *necessary duty*, (at least in some times and cases) though to all other sober Christians a *damnable sin*. And 3. such a *meritorious duty*, as shall have *remission of sin here*, and a *higher degree of Glory hereafter*; 4. And the doers of it shall (in their Popish Calendars and Martyrologies) be re-nder'd to posterity, in illi-beration (what in deed they are) *impious Murderers*, but *glorious Martyrs*. Now how great in-couragement such sim-ple Principles and Promises may give those, who have faith enough to believe them;

to

to contrive and attempt any villany, for the Catholick Cause, and utter extirpation of all Protestants, (whether Princes or People) times past are, and (unless the gracious and powerful Providence of Heaven prevent it) future times may be sad witnessses. Certainly, traiterous and horrid Gun-powder Conspiracies, murdering innocent Christians, (even Kings and Princes) *causâ indictâ & inauditâ*, neither is, nor can be a just means to obtain Indulgences, Remission of sins, and the Crown of Martyrdom. Traitors may be Murderers, but surely no Martyrs: such villanies (however approv'd, and highly rewarded by the Pope and his Party) may be a Roman, but no Christian way to Heaven. However, all those unhappily deluded Souls, who believe (as all the through-pac'd Papists do and must) the Pope and Councils Infallibility, and power to make good their promises, will (as hitherto they have) be willing to design and endeavour the destruction of all Hereticks, (all Protestants to be sure, whether Kings or Subjects) either

either by raising Armies, open War and Rebellion, (when they have ability) or by Assassinations, by Pistol or Poison, or Gun-powder Conspiracies, when they have it not, (as I pray, and hope, they never will) I trust, that the infinitely wise and powerful Providence of God, which (for the time past) has graciously preserved our Princes and Religion, and discovered and defeated all the black and impious Conspiracies of their Popish Enemies, will (for the future, if our ingratitude and impenitence do not hinder it) continue that preservation, to the comfort of his Church, and confusion of her Enemies: Former favours thankfully received from God, being sure pledges and assurances of future.

To conclude; When the impious designs of Rome (which had been working ever since the Reformation) did not prosper; when they could not (though cunningly and constantly endeavour'd) either by Poison, Pistol, or open War, take away Queen Elizabeth, to bring in Mary Queen of Scotland; when they saw King James in

in-quiet possession of the Imperial Crown of *England*, and saw his Learning and Love to the truly Catholick and Apostolick Faith, of the Church of *England*, to be such, that they despaired (as well they might) ever to be able to seduce him into a belief of their new *Trent* Creed, and Popish Superstitions: they had no more patience, (*lesa patientia susceptor*) but resolv'd (by a new and unheard of Villany, a Gun-powder Conspiracy) to take away and murder him, that seeing he would not be for their Religion, he should not be able to be against it. But that which increased the despair of the Jesuits, and the Popish party, and their rage and fury against that good King, (their lawful Sovereign) was a solemn and pious Protestation, made by the King, before the Lords of his Court, and by them publicly declar'd to all the Judges, the Lord Chancellor of *England*, the Bishops and Great Officers of State, in the *Star-chamber*. By which they plainly perceived, that as their Religion was never like to have the King's personal

(*) He made that Protestation 12 Feb. Anno Jacobi 2. Anno Christi 1604.

(a) King, before the Lords of his Court, and by them publicly declar'd to all the Judges,

personal approbation, so he would never grant any *TOLERATION* of it to any others. That Protestation of that learned & wise King, because it is worthy of perpetual memory, (though now almost forgot) and the knowledge of this present Age, and all Posterity, I shall here faithfully set down, as I find it in our Authentick Records. The occasion of that Protestation was this, Some of the discontented Puritan party had set a foot a scandalous report of the King, *THAT HE MEANT TO GRANT A TOLERATION TO POPERY.* This highly offended his Majesty, and, in contradiction to it, and confutation of it, he publicly made this solemn *Protestation*, (a) *THAT HE NEVER INTENDED TO GIVE ANY TOLERATION TO POPERY; AND THAT HE WOULD SPEND THE LAST DROP OF BLOOD IN HIS BODY, BEFORE HE WOULD DO IT, &c.* That God Almighty would be graciously pleased to preserve and bless His Sacred Majesty, and the whole Royal Family; and

(a) See Judge Croke's Reports, London, 1659. Part 2. Anno Jac. 2. page 37. And before that Sir Fran. Moor's Reports, page 755. where (in Law-French) we are told, That the King's Protestation was made to the Lords at Court Feb. 12. and (by them) to all the Judges and Lords in the *Star-chamber* on the 13. of February, Jacobi 2.

discover,

discover, and (by his powerful Providence) defeat all the impious Conspiracies of their Enemies, that they may enjoy health and peace here, and Heaven hereafter; This is, and, (as in Duty and Loyalty I stand bound) while I live, ever shall be, the constant prayer of,

(*Courteous Reader*)

London, Cal. Febr.
M. DC. LXXVIII.

Thy faithful Friend and Servant,

T. L.

King

King *JAMES*

HIS

S P E E C H

To Both Houses of

Parliament,

On occasion of the

GUNPOWDER-TREASON:

With a Discourse of the manner of its
Discovery; and a perfect Relation of the
whole Proceedings against those horrid
Conspirators.

L O N D O N,

Re-printed by His Majesties Printers.

M. DC. LXXIX.

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White-ball, Decemb. 12. 1678.

By License from the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, this Book, containing *King James his Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on occasion of the Gun-powder Treason; with a Discourse of the manner of its Discovery, and a perfect Relation of the whole Proceedings against those horrid Conspirators: May be Re-printed.*

J. O. COOKE,

A
S P E E C H

*Made by King JAMES to
both Houses of Parliament, up-
on occasion of the discovery of
the Gunpowder PLOT; de-
signed to be executed on the 5 Nov^r
1605.*



Y Lords Spiritual and Tem-
poral, and you the Knights
and Burgeses of this Parlia-
ment; It was far from my
thoughts, till very lately, be-
fore my coming to this place,
that this Subject should have been ministred
unto me, whereupon I am now to speak.
But now it so falleth out, That whereas in
the preceding Session of this Parliament, the
principal occasion of my Speech was, to thank
and congratulate all you of this House, and
in you, all the whole Common-wealth (as
being the representative Body of the State)

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for

for your so willing, and loving receiving, and embracing of me in that place, which God and Nature by descent of Bloud, had in his own time provided for me : So now my subject is, to speak of a far greater Thanksgiving than before I gave to you, being to a far greater person, which is to GOD, for the great and miraculous Delivery he hath at this time granted to me, and to you all, and consequently to the whole Body of this Estate.

I must therefore begin with this old and most approved Sentence of Divinity, *Misericordia Dei supra omnia opera ejus.* For Almighty GOD did not furnish so great matter to his Glory, by the Creation, of this great World, as he did by the Redemption of the same. Neither did his Generation of the little World, in our old and first ADAM, so much set forth the praises of GOD in his Justice and Mercy, as did our Regeneration in the last and second ADAM.

And now I must crave a little pardon of you, That since Kings are in the word of GOD it self called Gods, as being his Lieutenants and Vicegerents on earth, and so adorned and furnished with some sparkles of the Divinity ; to compare some of the Works of GOD the Great King, towards the whole and general World, to some of his Works towards Me, and this little world of my Dominions, compassed and severed by the Sea from the rest of the Earth. For as GOD for the just punishment of the first great Sinner in the original world, when the Sons of GOD
went

went in to the Daughters of Men, and the cup of their iniquities of all sorts was filled, and heaped up to the full, did by a general deluge and overflowing of waters, baptize the World to a general destruction, and not to general purgation (only excepted *Noah* and his family, who did repent and believe the threatenings of God's Judgment:) So now, when the World shall wax old as a Garment, and that all the impieties and sins that can be devised against both the first and second Table, have, and shall be committed to the full measure; GOD is to punish the World the second time by Fire, to the general destruction and not purgation thereof. Although as it was done in the former to *Noah* and his Family by the Waters; So shall all we that believe be likewise purged, and not destroyed by the Fire. In the like sort, I say, I may justly compare these two great and fearful Dooms-days, wherewith GOD threatened to destroy me, and all you of this little World that have interest in me. For although I confess, as all mankind, so chiefly Kings, as being in the higher places, like the high Trees, or steepest Mountains, and steepest Rocks, are most subject to the daily tempests of innumerable dangers; and I amongst all other Kings, have ever been subject unto them, not only ever since my birth, but even as I may justly say, before my birth, and while I was yet in my Mothers belly: yet have I been exposed to two more special and greater dangers than all the rest.

The first of them, in the Kingdom where I was born, and passed the first part of my life: And the last of them here, which is the greatest. In the former, I should have been baptized in blood, and in my destruction, not only the Kingdom, wherein I then was, but ye also by your future interest, should have tasted of my ruine. Yet it pleased GOD to deliver me, as it were, from the very brink of death, from the point of the daggen, and so to purge me by my thankful acknowledgement of so great a benefit. But in this which did so lately fall out, and which was a destruction prepared not for me alone, but for you all that are here present, and wherein no rank, age, or sex should have been spared; This was not a crying sin of blood as the former, but it may well be called a roaring, nay, a thundering sin of Fire and Brimstone, from the which, God hath so miraculously deliivered us all. What I can speak of this, I know not, Nay rather, what can I not speak of it? And therefore I must for horror say with the Poet. *Vox faucibus heret.*

Three miraculous events to be observed in the Attempt.

I. The cruelty of the Plot.

In this great and horrible attempt, whereof the like was never either heard or read, I observe three wonderful, or rather miraculous events.

First, in the cruelty of the Plot it self, wherein cannot be enough admired the horrible and fearful cruelty of their Device, which was not only for the destruction of my Person, nor of my Wife and Posterity only, but of the whole Body of the State in general

tal; wherein should neither have been spared, or distinction made of young nor of old, of great nor of small, of man nor of woman; The whole Nobility, the whole Reverend Clergy, Bishops, and most part of the good Preachers, the most part of the Knights and Gentry; yea, and if that any in this Society were favourers of their Profession, they should all have gone one way: The whole Judges of the Land, with the most of the Lawyers and the whole Clerks: And as the wretch himself that is in the Tower, doth confess, it was purposely devised by them, and concluded to be done in this house; That where the cruel Laws (as they say) were made against their Religion, both place and persons should all be destroyed and blown up at once. And then consider therewithal the cruel form of that practice: for by three different sorts in general may mankind be put to death.

Three ways
how man-
kind may
come to
death.

The First, by other men, and reasonable creatures, which is least cruel: for then both defence of men against men may be expected, and likewise who knoweth what pity GOD may stir up in the hearts of the Actors at the very instant? besides the many ways and means, whereby men may escape in such a present fury.

1. By Man.

And the Second way more cruel than that, is by *Animal* and unreasonable creatures: for as they have less pity than men, so is it a greater horror, and more unnatural for men to deal with them: But yet with them both resistance may avail, and also some pity may

2. By unrea-
sonable
creatures.

be had, as was in the Lyons, in whose Den *Daniel* was thrown; or that thankful Lyon, that had the *Roman* slave in his mercy.

3. By insensible things.

But the Third, which is most cruel and unmerciful of all, is the destruction by insensible and inanimate things; and amongst them all, the most cruel are the two Elements of Water and Fire; and of those two the Fire most raging and merciless.

2. The small ground the Conspirators had to move them.

Secondly, How wonderful it is when you shall think upon the small, or rather no ground, whereupon the Practisers were enticed to invent this Tragedy. For if these Conspirators had only been bankrupt persons, or discontented upon occasion of any disgraces done unto them; this might have seemed to have been but a work of revenge. But for my own part, as I scarcely ever knew any of them. So cannot they alledge so much as a pretended cause of grief: And the wretch himself in hands doth confess, That there was no cause moving him or them, but meerly, and only Religion. And specially, that Christian men, at least so called, *Englishmen*, born within the Countrey, and one of the specials of them, my sworn Servant, in an Honorable place, should Practise the destruction of their King, his Posterity, their Countrey, and all: wherein their following obstinacy is so joyned to their former malice, as the fellow himself that is in hand, cannot be moved to discover any signes or notes of repentance; except only, that he doth not yet stand to avow, that he repents for not being able to perform his intent.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, The discovery hereof is not a little wonderful, which would be thought the more miraculous by you all, if you were as well acquainted with my natural disposition, as those are who be near about me. For as I ever did hold suspicion to be the sickness of a Tyrant, so was I so far upon the other extremity, as I rather contemned all advertisements or apprehensions of practises. And yet now at this time was I so far contrary to my self, as when the Letter was shewed to me by my Secretary, wherein a general obscure advertisement was given of some dangerous blow at this time, I did upon the instant interpret and apprehend some dark phrases therein, contrary to the ordinary Grammer construction of them, (and in another sort than I am sure any Divine, or Lawyer in any University would have taken them) to be meant by this horrible form of blowing us up all by Powder; and thereupon ordered, that search to be made, whereby the matter was discovered, and the man apprehended: whereas if I had apprehended or interpreted it to any other sort of danger, no worldly provision or prevention could have made us escape our utter destruction.

3. Miraculous event, the discovery.

And in that also, was there a wonderful providence of God; that when the party himself was taken, he was but new come out of his house from working, having his Firework for kindling ready in his pocket, where-with as he confesseth, if he had been taken but immediately before, when he was in the

House, he was resolved to have blown up himself with his Takers.

One thing for my own part have I cause to thank GOD in, That if GOD for our sins had suffered their wicked intents to have prevailed, it should never have been spoken nor written in ages succeeding, that I had died ingloriously in an Ale-house, a Stews, or such vile place, but mine end should have been with the most Honourable and best company, and in that most Honourable and fittest place for a King to be in, for doing the turns most proper to his Office; And the more have We all cause to thank and magnifie GOD for this his merciful Delivery. And specially I for my part, that he hath given me yet once leave, whatsoever should come of me hereafter, to assemble you in this Honourable place; And here in this place, where our general destruction should have been, to magnifie and praise him for Our general delivery; That I may justly now say of mine enemies and yours, as *David* doth often say in the *Psalm*, *Inciderunt in foveam, quam fecerunt*. And since *Scipio* an *Esquick*, led only by the light of Nature, That day when he was accused by the Tribunes of the people of *Rome*, for mispending and wasting in his *Punick* wars the Cities Treasure, even upon the sudden brake out with that diversion of them from that matter, calling them to remembrance how that day, was the day of the year, wherein GOD hath given them so great a victory
against

against *Hannibal*, and therefore it was fitter for them all, leaving other matters to run to the Temple to praise GOD for that so great delivery, which the people did all follow with one applause: How much more cause have we that are Christians to bestow this time in this place for Thansgiving to GOD for his great Mercy, tho we had had no other errand of assembling here at this time? where-in if I have spoken more like a Divine, than would seem to belong to this place, the matter it self must plead for mine excuse: for being here come to thank God for a Divine work of his Mercy, how can I speake of this deliverance of us from so hellish a practice, so well, as in language of Divinity, which is the direct opposit to so damnable an intention? And therefore may I justly end this purpose, as I did begin it with this Sentence, *The mercy of God is above all his works.*

It resteth now, that I should shortly inform you what is to be done hereafter upon the occasion of this horrible and strange accident. As for your part that are my faithful and loving Subjects of all degrees, I know that your hearts are so burnt up with zeal in this errand, and your tongues so ready to utter your dutiful affections, and your hands and feet so bent to concur in the execution thereof, (for which as I need not to spur you, so can I not but praise you for the same :) As it may very well be possible, that the zeal of your hearts shall make some of you in your speeches, rashly to blame such as may be innocent of this attempt ;

tempt; But upon the other part I wish you to consider, That I would be sorry that any being innocent of this practise, either domestical or foreign, should receive blame or harm, for the same. For although it cannot be denied, That it was the only blind superstition of their errors in Religion, that led them to this desperate devide; yet doth it not follow, That all professing that *Romish* Religion were guilty of the same. For as it is true, That no other sect of Heretiques, not excepting *Turk*, *Jew*, nor *Pagan*, no not even those of *Calicut* who adore the Devil, did ever maintain by the grounds of their Religion, That it was lawful, or rather meritorious (as the *Romish* Catholicks call it) to murder Princes or people for quarrel of Religion. And although particular men of all professions of Religion have been some Thieves, some Murderers, some Traitors, yet ever when they came to their end and just punishment, they confessed their fault to be in their nature, and not in their profession; (These *Romish* Catholicks only excepted :) Yet it is true on the other side, That many honest men blinded peradventure wish some opinions of Popery, as if they be not found in the questions of the *Real presence*, or in the number of the Sacraments, or some such School-question: yet do they either not know, or at least, not believe all the true grounds of Popery, which is indeed, *The mystery of iniquity*. And therefore do we justly confess, that many Papists, especially our fore-fathers, laying their only trust upon

Christ

Christ and his Merits at their last breath, may be, and oftentimes are saved; detesting in that point, and thinking the cruelty of Puritans worthy of Fire, that will admit no salvation to any Papist. I therefore thus do conclude this point, That as upon the one part many honest men, seduced with some errors of Popery, may yet remain good and faithful Subjects: So upon the other part, none of those that truly know and believe the whole grounds, and School-conclusions of their Doctrine, can ever prove either good Christians, or faithful Subjects. And for the part of forrain Princes and States, I may so much the more acquit them, and their Ministers, of their knowledge and consent to any such villainy, as I may justly say, that in that point I better know all Christian Kings by my self, that no King nor Prince of Honor will ever abase himself so much, as to think a good thought of so base and dishonourable a Treachery: wistling you therefore, that as GOD hath given me an happy peace and amity, with all other Christian Princes my neighbors (as was even now very gravely told you by my L. Chancellor) that so you will reverently judge and speak of them in this case. And for my part I would wish with those antient Philosophers, that there were a Chrystal window in my breast, wherein all my people might see the secretest thoughts of my heart, for then might you all see no alteration in my mind for this accident, further than in those two points. The first, caution and wariness in government:

to

to discover and search out the mysteries of this wickedness as far as may be: The other, after due trial, Severity of punishment upon those that shall be found guilty of so detestable and unheard of villany. And now in this matter, if I have troubled your ears with an abrupt Speech, undigested in any good method or order; you have to consider that an abrupt, and unadvised Speech doth best become in the relation of so abrupt and unorderly an accident,

And although I have ordained the Proroguing of this Parliament until after *Christmas* upon two necessary respects: whereof the first is, that neither I nor my Council can have leasure at this time both to take order for the apprehension and trial of these Conspirators, and also to wait upon the daily affairs of the Parliament, as the Council must do. And the other reason is, the necessity at this time of divers of your presences in your Shires that have Charges and Commandments there. For as these wretches thought to have blown up in a manner the whole world of this Island, every man being now come up here, either for publick causes of Parliament, or else for their own private causes in Law, or otherwise: So these Rebels that now wander through the Countrey, could never have gotten so fit a time of safety in their passage, or whatsoever unlawful Actions, as now when the countrey by the foresaid occasions is in a manner left desolate, and waste unto them. Besides that, It may be that I shall desire

fire you at your next Session, to take upon you the Judgment of this Crime: for as so extraordinary a Fact deserves extraordinary Judgment; So can their not I think (following even their own Rule) be a fitter Judgment for them, than that they should be measured with the same measure wherewith they thought to measure us: and that the same place and persons, whom they thought to destroy, should be the just avengers of their so unnatural a Parricide: Yet not knowing that I will have occasion to meet with you my self in this place at the beginning of the next Session of this Parliament (because if it had not been for delivering of the Articles agreed upon by the Commissioners of the Union, which was thought most convenient to be done in my presence, where both Head and Members of the Parliament were met together, my presence had not otherwise been requisite here at this time:) I have therefore thought good for conclusion of this Meeting, to discourse to you somewhat anent the true nature and definition of a Parliament, which I will remit to your memories, till your next sitting down; that you may then make use of it as occasion shall be ministred.

For albeit it be true, that at the first Session of my first Parliament, which was not long after mine Entry into this Kingdom, It could not become me to inform you of any thing belonging to Law or State here: (for all knowledge must either be infused, or acquired, and seeing the former sort thereof is now
with

with Propheſie, ceaſed in the World, it could not be poſſible for me, at my firſt Entry here, before Experience had taught it me, to be able to underſtand the particular Myſteries of this State:) yet now that I have reigned almoſt three years amongſt you, and have been careful to obſerve thoſe things that belong to the Office of a King, albeit that Time be but a ſhort time for experience in others, yet in a King may it be thought a reaſonable long time, eſpecially in me, who, although I be but in a manner a new King here, yet have been long acquainted with the office of a King in ſuch another Kingdom, as doth neareſt of all others agree with the Lawes and Cuſtomes of this State. Remitting to your conſideration to judge of that which hath been concluded by the Commiſſioners of the Union, wherein I am at this time to ſignifie unto you, That as I can bear witneſs to the foreſaid Commiſſioners, that they have not agreed nor concluded therein any thing, wherein they have not foreſeen as well the Weal and Commodity of the one Countrey, as of the other; So can they all bear me record, that I was ſo far from preſſing them to agree to any thing, which might bring with it any prejudice to this People; as by the contrary I did ever admoniſh them, never to conclude upon any ſuch Union, as might carry hurt or grudge with it to either of the ſaid Nations: for the leaving of any ſuch thing, could not but be the greateſt hinderance that might be to ſuch an Action, which GOD by the Lawes of Nature

Nature had provided to be in his own time, and hath now in effect perfected in my Person; to which purpose my Lord Chancellor hath better spoken, than I am able to relate. And as to the nature of this high Court of Parliament, it is nothing else but the Kings great Council, which the King doth assemble, either upon occasion of interpreting, or abrogating old Lawes, or making of new, according as ill manners shall deserve, or for the publick punishment of notorious evill doers, or the praise and reward of the virtuous and well-deservers; wherein these four things are to be considered.

First, Whereof this Court is composed. 1.

Secondly, What Matters are proper for it. 2.

Thirdly, To what end it is ordained. 3.

And *Fourthly*, What are the meanes, and wayes whereby this end should be brought to pass. 4.

As for the thing it self, It is composed of a Head and a Body. The Head is the King, the Body are the members of the Parliament. This Body again is subdivided into two parts; The Upper and Lower House: The Upper compounded partly of Nobility, Temporal men, who are heritable Councellers to the

the high Court of Parliament by the honor of their Creation and Lands: And partly of Bishops, Spiritual men, who are likewise by the virtue of their place and dignity Counsellors, Life-Renters, or *Ad vitam* of this Court. The other House is composed of Knights for the Shire, and Gentry, and Burgesses for the Towns. But because the number would be infinite for all the Gentlemen and Burgesses to be present at every Parliament, Therefore a certain number is selected and chosen out of that great Body, serving onely for that Parliament, where their persons are the representation of that Body.

Now the Matters whereof they are to treat ought therefore to be general, and rather of such matters as cannot well be performed without the assembling of that general Body, and no more of these generals neither, than necessity shall require: for as *in Corruptissima Republica sunt plurime leges*: So doth the life and strength of the Law consist not in heaping up infinite and confused numbers of Laws, but in the right interpretation and good execution of good and wholesome Laws. If this be so then, neither is this a place on the one side for every rash and harebrain fellow to propone new Laws of his own invention: nay rather I could wish these busie heads to remember that Law of the *Laocodemoniens*. That whosoever came to propone a new Law to the People, behoved publickly to present himself with a Rope about his neck, that in case the Law were not allowed, he should be hanged.

hanged therewith. So wary should men be of proponing Novelties, but most of all, not to propone any bitter or seditious Laws, which can produce nothing but grudges and discontentment between the Prince and his people: nor yet is it on the other side a convenient place for private men under the colour of general Laws to propone nothing but their own particular gain, either to the hurt of their private neighbours, or to the hurt of the whole State in general, which many times under fair and pleasing Titles, are smoothly passed over, and so by stealth procure without consideration, that the private meaning of them tendeth to nothing but either to the wreck of a particular party, or else under colour of publique benefit to pill the poor people, and serve as it were for a general Impost upon them for filling the purses of some private Persons.

And as to the end for which the Parliament is ordained, being only for the advancement of Gods glory, and the establishment and wealth of the King and his people: It is no place then for particular men to utter there their private conceipts, nor for satisfaction of their curiosities, and Least of all to make shew of their eloquence, by tyning the time with long studied and eloquent Orations. No, the reverence of God, their King, and their Countrey, being well settled in their hearts, will make them ashamed of such toys, and remember that they are there as sworn Councillors to their King, to give their best

B

advice

advice for the furtherance of his Service, and the flourishing Weale of his Estate.

And lastly, if you will rightly consider the means and wayes how to bring all your labors to a good end, you must remember, That you are here assembled by your lawful King to give him your best advices, in the matters proposed by him unto you, being of that nature, which I have already told, wherein you are gravely to deliberate, and upon your consciences plainly to determine how far those things propounded do agree with the Weale, both of your King, and of your Country, whose weales cannot be separated. And as for my self, the world shall ever bear me witness, That I never shall propone any thing unto you, which shall not as well tend to the Weale publick, as to any benefit for me: So shall I never oppone my self to that, which may tend to the good of the Commonwealth, for the which I am ordained, as I have often said. And as you are to give your advice in such things, as shall by your King be proposed: So is it on your part your duties to propone any thing that you can, after mature deliberation judge to be needful, either for these ends already spoken of, or otherwise for the discovery of any latent evil in the Kingdom, which peradventure may not have come to the Kings eare. If this then ought to be your grave manner of proceeding in this place, Men should be ashamed to make shew of the quickness of their wits here, either in taunting, scoffing, or detracting

tracting the Prince or State in any point, or yet in breaking jests upon their fellowes, for which the Ordinaries or Alehouses are fitter places, than this Honorable and high Court of Parliament.

In conclusion then, since you are to break up for the Reasons I have already told you, I wish such of you as have any charges in your Countries, to hasten you home for the relieving of the insolencies of these Rebels, and apprehension of their persons, wherein, as I heartily pray to the Almighty for your prosperous success; so do I not doubt, but we shall shortly hear the good News of the same; And that you shall have an happy return, and meeting here to all our comforts.

Here the Lord Chancellor spake touching the Provoking of the Parliament. And having done, his Majesty rose again, and said.

Since it pleased GOD to grant me two such notable Deliveries upon one day of the week, which was Tuesday, and likewise one day of the Moneth which was the fifth; thereby to teach me, That as it was the same Devil that still persecuted me: So it was one and the same GOD that still mightily delivered me; I thought it therefore not amiss, that the one and twentieth day of *January*, which fell to be upon Tuesday, should be the day of meeting of this next Session of Parliament, hoping and assuring my self, that the same GOD, who hath now granted me and you all so notable and gracious a Delivery,

shall prosper all our affairs at that next Session, and bring them to a happy conclusion. And now I consider God hath well provided it, that the ending of this Parliament hath been so long continued; For as for mine own part, I never had any other intention, but only to seek so far my weale, and prosperity, as might conjunctly stand with the flourishing State of the whole Common-wealth, as I have often told you: So on the other party I confess, if I had been in your places at the beginning of this Parliament (which was so soon after mine entry into this Kingdom, wherein ye could not possibly have so perfect a knowledg of mine inclination, as experience since hath taught you) I could not but have suspected, and mis-interpreted divers things: In the trying whereof, now I hope, by your experience of my behaviour and form of government, you are well enough cleared, and resolved.

A

DISCOURSE

*Of the Manner of the Discovery
of the Gunpowder-Plot, to-
gether with the Examinations
and Confessions of some of the
most notorious Conspirators
concern'd in it.*



*Here is a time when no man
ought to keep silence.
For it hath ever been
held as a general rule,
and undoubted Max-
ime, in all well govern-
ed Common-wealths,
(whether Christian,
and so guided by the*

*Divine Light of GOD'S Word; or Ethnick,
and so led by the glimmering twilight of
Nature) yet howsoever their profession was,
upon this ground have they all agreed, That
when either their Religion, their King, or
their Country, was in any extreme hazard;*

B 3

no

no good Countreyman ought then to withhold either his tongue or his hand, according to his calling and faculty, from aiding to repell the Injury, repress the Violence, and avenge the Guilt upon the Authors thereof. But if ever any people had such an occasion ministred unto them; it is surely this People now, nay this whole Isle, and all the rest belonging to this great and glorious Monarchy. For if in any Heathenish Republick, no private man could think his life more happily and gloriously bestowed, than in the defence of any one of these three, That is, either *pro Avis*, *pro Focis*, or *pro Patre patria*; and that the endangering of any of these, would at once stir the whole body of the Common-wealth, not any more as divided members, but as a solid and individual lump: How much more ought we, the truly Christian People, that inhabit this United, and truly happy Isle, under the wings of our gracious and religious Monarch? Nay, how infinitely greater cause have we to feel, and resent our selves of the smart of that wound, not only intended and execrated (not consecrated) for the utter extinguishing of our true Christian profession, nor jointly therewith onely for the cutting off of our Head and Father Politick; *Sed ut nefas istud & sacrilegium parricidium omnibus modis absolutum reddi possit?* And that nothing might be wanting for making this sacrilegious Parricide a pattern of mischief, and a crime (nay, a Mother or Storehouse of all

Insula fortunata.

all crimes) without example, they should have joined the destruction of the body to the head, so as *Great cum Rege, Arq cum focis, Lares cum Penatibus*, should all at one thunder-clap have been sent to Heaven together: The King our head, the Queen our fertile Mother, and those young and hopeful Olive Plants, not theirs, but ours: Our reverend Clergy, our honorable Nobility, the faithful Counsellors, the grave Judges, the greatest part of the worthy Knights and Gentry, as well as of the wisest Burgesses; The whole Clerks of the Crown, Council, Signet, Seals, or of any other principal Judgment Seat. All the Learned Lawyers, together with an infinite number of the Common People: Nay, their furious rage should not only have lighted upon reasonable and sensible creatures without distinction, either of degree, sex, or age; But even the insensible stocks and stones should not have been free of their fury. The Hall of Justice; The House of Parliament; The Church used for the Coronation of our Kings; The Monuments of our former Princes; The Crown, and other marks of Royalty; all the Records, as well of Parliament, as of every particular mans right, with a great number of Charters and such like, should all have been comprehended under that fearful *Chast*. And so the earth as it were opened, should have sent forth of the bottom of the *Stygian Lake*, such sulphered smoke, furious flames, and fearful thunder, as should have, by their diabolical

Domesday destroyed and defaced, in the
 twinckling of an eye, not onely our present
 living Princes; and People, but even our in-
 sensible Monuments reserved for future ages.
 So as not only our selves that are mortal, but
 the immortal Monuments of our antient
 Princes and Nobility, that have been so pre-
 ciously preserved from age to age, as the re-
 maining *Trophees* of their eternal glory, and
 have so long triumphed over envious time,
 should now have been all consumed together;
 And so not only we, but the memory of us
 and ours, should have been thus extinguished
 in an instant. The true horror therefore
 of this detestable devise, hath stirred me up
 to bethink my self, wherein I may best
 discharge my conscience in a cause so general
 and common, if it were to bring but one
 stone to the building, or rather with the
Widow, one mite to the common Box. But
 since so hateful and unheard of invention,
 there can be no greater enemy than the self,
 the simple truth thereof being once publicly
 known and divulged; and that there needs no
 stronger argument to bring such a Plot in
 universal detestation, than the certainty that
 so monstrous a thing could once be devised,
 hay concluded upon, wrought in, in full readi-
 ness, and within twelve houres of the execu-
 tion: My threefold zeal to those blessings,
 whereof they would have so violently made
 us all Widows, hath made me resolve to set
 down here the true Narration of that mon-
 strous and unnatural intended Tragedy, ha-
 ving

ving better occasion by the means of my service, and continual attendance in Court, to know the truth thereof, than others that per-adventure have it only by relation at the third or fourth hand. So that whereas those worse than *Catalines*, thought to have extirped us, and our memories; their infamous memory shall by these means remain to the end of the world, upon the one part; and upon the other, Gods great and merciful deliverance of his Anointed, and us all, shall remain in never-dying Records. And GOD grant that it may be in Marble Tables of Thankfulness engraven in our hearts.

WHile this Land and whole Monarchy flourished in a most happy and plentiful Peace, as well at home as abroad, sustained and conducted by those two main pillars of all good Government, Piety and Justice, no forreign grudge nor inward whispering of discontentment any way appearing; The King being upon His return from his Hunting exercise at *Royston*; upon occasion of the drawing near of the Parliament time, which had been twice Prorogued already, partly in regard of the season of the year, and partly of the Terme; As the winds are ever stillest immediately befor a storm; and as the Sun blenks often hottest to foretell a following shower: So at that time of greatest calm, did this secretly hatched thunder begin to cast forth the first flashes, and flaming lightnings of the approaching

A Letter delivered to the Lord Mountegle.

preaching tempest. For the Saturday of the week, immediately preceding the King's return, which was upon a Thursday (being but ten dayes before the Parliament) the Lord *Mountegle*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Morley*, being in his own Lodging, ready to go to Supper, at seven of the clock at night, one of his Footmen (whom he had sent of an errand over the street) was met by an unknown man, of a reasonable tall personage, who delivered him a Letter, charging him to put it in my Lord his Masters hands: which my Lord no sooner received, but that having broken it up, and perceiving the same to be of unknown, and somewhat unlegible hand, and without either Date or Subscription, did call one of his men unto him for helping him to read it. But no sooner did he perceive the strange Contents thereof, although he was somewhat perplexed what construction to make of it (as whether of a matter of consequence, as indeed it was, or whether some foolish devised Pasquil, by some of his Enemies to scare him from his attendance at the Parliament) yet did he, as a most dutiful and loyal Subject, conclude not to conceal it, whatever might come of it. Whereupon, notwithstanding the lateness and darkness of the night in that season of the year, he presently repaired to His Majesties Palace at *Whitehall*, and there delivered the same to the Earl of *Salisbury*, his Majesties Principal Secretary. Whereupon the said Earl of *Salisbury* having read the Letter, and heard the manner

Revealed to the Earl of *Salisbury*.

manner of the coming of it to his hands, did greatly encourage, and commend my Lord for his discretion, telling him plainly, that whatsoever the purpose of the Letter might prove hereafter, yet did this accident put him in mind of divers advertisements he had received from beyond the Seas, where-with he had acquainted, as well the King Himself, as divers of His Privy Counsellors; concerning some business the Papists were in, both at home and abroad, making preparations for some Combination amongst them against this Parliament time, for enabling them to deliver at that time to the King, some Petition for Tolleration of Religion: which should be delivered in some such order and so well back'd, as the King should be loth to refuse their requests; like the sturdy Beggars craving Alms with one open hand, but carrying a stone in the other, in case of refusal. And therefore did the Earl of *Salisbury* conclude with the Lord *Mountgale*, that he would, in regard of the Kings absence, impart the same Letter to some more of His Majesties Council; whereof my L. *Mountgale* liked well: only adding this request by way of protestation, That whatsoever the event hereof might prove, it should not be imputed to him, as proceeding from too light, and too sudden an apprehension, that he delivered this Letter, being only mooved thereunto for demonstration of his ready devotion, and care for preservation of His Majesty and the State. And thus did the Earl of *Salisbury* presently acquaint

Purpose of the Papists for delivering a Petition to His Majesty, to crave Tolleration of Religion.

The Lord Chamberlain made privy to the Letter by the Earl of Salisbury.

acquaint the L. Chamberlain with the said Letter. Whereupon they two in presence of the L. Mountegle, calling to mind the former intelligence already mentioned, which seemed to have some relation with this Letter: The tender care which they ever carried to the preservation of His Majesties Person, made them apprehend, that some perilous attempt did thereby appear to be intended against the same, which did the more nearly concern the said Lord Chamberlain to have a care of, in regard that it doth belong to the charge of his Office to oversee as well all places of Assembly where His Majesty is to repair, as his Highness own private Houses. And therefore did the said two Counsellors conclude, That they should joyn unto themselves Three more of the Councill, to wit, the Lord Admiral, the Earls of Worcester and Northampton, to be also particularly acquainted with this accident, who having all of them concurred together to the re-examination of the Contents of the said Letter, they did conclude, That how slight a matter it might at the first appear to be, yet was it not absolutely to be contemned, in respect of the care which it behoved them to have of the preservation of His Majesties Person: But yet resolved for two reasons; First, To acquaint the King himself with the same, before they proceeded to any further Inquisition in the matter, as well for the expectation and experience they had of His Majesties fortunate Judgment in clearing and solving of obscure Riddles and doubtful

Thought meet by the Counsellors to acquaint the King with the Letter.

ful Mysteries, as also, because the more time would in the mean while be given for the Practise to ripen, if any was, whereby the Discovery might be the more clear and evident, and the ground of proceeding thereupon more safe, just, and easie. And so according to their determination, did the said Earl of Salisbury, repair to the King in His Gallery upon Friday, being *Alballow* day, in the afternoon, which was the day after His Majesties arrival, and none but himself being present with His Highness at that time, where, without any other Speech or Judgment giving of the Letter, but only relating simply the form of the delivery thereof, he presented it to His Majesty. The Contents whereof follow.

Upon *Alballow*-day, the Earl of Salisbury shewed the Letter to the King.

MY Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and Man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this Time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire your self into your Countrey, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This
Counsel

Counsel is not to be contumned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past, so soon as you have burnt the Letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it. To whose Holy protection I commend you.

His Majesty's
judgment of
the Letter.

The King no sooner read the Letter, but after a little pause, and then reading it over again, he delivered his judgment of it in such sort, as he thought it was not to be contumned, for that the Style of it seemed to be more quick and pithy, than is usual to be in any Pasquil or Libel (the superfluities of idle brains :) But the Earl of Salisbury perceiving the King to apprehend it deeper than he looked for, knowing His Nature, told him that he thought by one Sentence in it, that it was like to be written by some foole or mad man, reading to him this Sentence in it. *For the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt the Letter;* which he said, was likely to be the saying of a fool: for if the danger was past so soon as the Letter was burnt, then the warning behoued to be of a little avail, when the burning of the Letter might make the danger to be eschewed. But the King by the contrary considering the former sentence in the Letter, *That they should receive a terrible Blow at this Parliament, and yet should not see who hurt them,* joyning it to the sentence immediately following, already alledged, did thereupon conjecture, That the danger mentioned should

should be some sudden danger by blowing up of Powder; For no other Insurrection, Rebellion, or whatsoever other private and desperate Attempt could be committed, or attempted in time of Parliament, and the Authors thereof unseen, except only if it were by a blowing up of powder, which might be performed by one base Knave in a dark corner; whereupon He was moved to interpret, and construe the latter sentence in the Letter (alleged by the Earl of *Salisbury*) against all ordinary sense and construction in Grammar, as if by these words, *For the danger is past as soon as you have burned the Letter*, should be closely understood the suddeny and quickness of the danger, which should be as quickly performed, and at an end, as that paper should be of blazing up in the fire; turning that word of *as soon*, to the sense of *as quickly*. And therefore wished, that before His going to the Parliament, the under rooms of the Parliament-house, might be well and narrowly searched. But the Earl of *Salisbury* wondring at this His Majesties Commentary, which he knew to be so far contrary to His ordinary and natural disposition, who did rather ever sin upon the other side, in not apprehending nor trusting due Advertisements of Practises and Perils when He was truly informed of them, where by he had many times drawn himself into many desperate dangers; and interpreting rightly, this extraordinary Caution at this time, to proceed from the vigilant care he had

His Majesties opinion for searching of the Under-rooms in the Parliament House.

had of the whole State, more than of His own Person, which could not but have all perished together, if this designment had succeeded: He thought good to dissemble still unto the King, that there had been any just cause of such apprehensions. And ending the purpose with some merry jest upon this subject, as his custom is, took his leave for that time. But though he seemed so to neglect it to his Majesty; yet his customable and watchful care of the King, and the State still boiling within him. And having with the Blessed Virgin *Mary* laid up in his heart the Kings so strange judgment and construction of it; He could not be at rest till he acquainted the foresaid Lords what had passed between the King and him in private, Whereupon they were all so earnest to renew again the memory of the same purpose to His Majesty, as it was agreed that he should the next day, being Saturday, repair to His Highness, which he did in the same Privy Gallery, and renewed the memory thereof, the *L. Chamberlain* then being present with the King. At what time it was determined; that the said Lord *Chamberlain* should, according to his custom and office, view all the Parliament Houses, both above and below, and consider what likelihood or appearance of any such danger might possibly be gathered by the sight of them: but yet, as well for staying of idle rumors, as for being the more able to discern any mystery, the nearer that things were in readines, his journey thither was ordained

The determination to search the Parliament House, and the rooms under it.

ordained to be deferred till the afternoon, before the sitting down of the Parliament, which was upon the Munday following. At what time he (according to this conclusion) went to the Parliament house, accompanied with my Lord *Montegle*, being in zeal to the King's service, earnest and curious to see the event of that accident, whereof he had the fortune to be the first discoverer: where having viewed all the lower rooms, he found in the Vault, under the Upper House, great store and Provisions of Billets, Faggots and Coals: And enquiring of *Whyneard*, Keeper of the Wardrobe, to what use he had put those lower Rooms and Cellars: he told him, That *Thomas Percy* had hired both the House, and part of the Cellar or Vault under the same, and that the Wood and Coal therein was the said Gentleman's own provision. Whereupon the Lord *Chamberlain*, casting his eye aside, perceived a fellow standing in a corner there, calling himself the said *Percy's* man, and keeper of that house for him, but indeed was *Guido Fawkes*, the owner of that hand, which should have acted that monstrous Tragedy.

Wood and
Coal found
By the L.
Chamberlain
in the Vault

The Lord *Chamberlain* looking upon all things with a heedful indeed, yet in outward appearance with but a careless and rackless eye (as became so wise and diligent a minister) he presently addressed himself to the King in the said Privy Gallery, where, in the presence of the Lord *Treasurer*, the Lord *Ad-*

Guido
Fawkes
bearing the
name of *Percy's*
man:

C

miral,

the L. Chamberlain's report and judgement of what he had observed in the search.

the Admiral, the Earls of Worcester, Northampton, and Salisbury, he made his report, what he had seen and observed there: noting, that Mountegle had told him; That he no sooner heard Thomas Percy named to be the possessor of that house, but considering both his backwardness in Religion, and the old dearthness in Friendship, between himself, and the said Percy, he did greatly suspect the matter, and that the Letter should come from him. The said Lord Chamberlain also told, That he did not wonder a little at the extraordinary great provision of Wood and Coal in that house, where Thomas Percy had so seldom occasion to remain: As likewise it gave him in his mind, that his man looked like a very tall and desperate fellow.

This could not but increase the Kings former apprehension and jealousy: whereupon he insisted (as before) that the House was narrowly to be searched, and that those Billets and Coals should be searched to the bottom, it being most suspicious that they were laid there only for covering of the Powder. Of the same mind also, were all the Counsellors then present. But upon the fashion of making of the search, was it long debated: for upon the one side they were all so jealous of the Kings safety, that they all agreed, that there could not be too much caution used for preventing his danger. And yet upon the other part, they were all extremely loth and dainty, that in case this Letter should prove

Disputations about the manner of the further search.

prove to be nothing but the evaporation of an idle brain; then a curious search being made, and nothing found, should not only turn to the general scandal of the King and the State, as being so suspicious of every light and frivolous toy, but likewise lay an ill savoured imputation upon the Earl of *Northumberland*, one of His Majesties greatest Subjects and Counselors; this *Thomas Percy* being his Kinsman, and most confident familiar. And the rather were they curious upon this point, knowing how far the King detested to be thought suspicious or jealous of any of His good Subjects, though of the meanest degree. And therefore, though they all agreed upon the main ground, which was to provide for the security of the Kings Person, yet did they much differ in the circumstances, by which this action might be best carried with least dinne and occasion of slander. But the King himself still persisting that there were divers shrewd appearances, and that a narrow search of those places could pre-judge no man that was innocent, he at last plainly resolved them, That either must all the parts of those rooms be narrowly searched, and no possibility of danger left unexamined, or else he and they all must resolve not to meddle in it at all, but plainly to go the next day to the Parliament, and leave the success to Fortune, which he believed they would be loth to take upon their consciences: for in such a case as this, an half doing

Agreed that the search should be under colour of seeking for Wardrobe-stuffe, missed by *Whyne-yard*.

Fawkes found at midnight without the House.

ing was worse than no doing at all. Whereupon it was at last concluded, That nothing should be left unsearched in those Houses: And yet for the better colour and stay of rumour, in case nothing were found, it was thought meet, that upon a pretence of *Whyneyards* missing some of the King's stuff or Hangings which he had in keeping, all those rooms should be narrowly ripped for them. And to this purpose was Sir *Thomas Knevet*, (a Gentleman of His Majestie's Privy Chamber) employed, being a Justice of Peace in *Westminster*, and one, of whose antient fidelity, both the late Queen, and our now Sovereign have had large proof: who according to the trust committed unto him, went about the midnight next after to the Parliament house, accompanied with such a small number, as was fit for that errand. But before his entry into the house, finding *Thomas Percy's* alledged man standing without the doors, his Cloaths and Boots on, at so dead a time of the night, he resolved to apprehend him, as he did, and thereafter went forward to the searching of the house, where after he had caused to be overturned some of the Biflets and Coals, he first found one of the small Barrels of Powder, and after all the rest, to the number of thirty six Barrels, great and small: And thereafter searching the fellow, whom he had taken, found three Matches, and all other instruments fit for blowing up the Powder, ready upon him, which made him

him instantly confess his own guiltiness, declaring also unto him, That if he had happened to be within the house when he took him, as he was immediately before (at the ending of his work) he would not have failed to have blown him up, house and all.

Thus after Sir *Thomas* had caused the wretch to be surely bound, and well guarded, by the company he had brought with him, he himself returned back to the Kings Palace, and gave warning of his success to the Lord *Chamberlain*, and Earl of *Salisbury*, who immediately warning the rest of the Council that lay in the house, as soon as they could get themselves ready, came, with their fellow-Counsellors, to the King's Bed-chamber, being at that time near four of the clock in the morning. And at the first entry of the Kings Chamber door, the Lord *Chamberlain*, being not any longer able to conceal his joy, for the preventing of so great a danger, told the King in a confused haste, that all was found and discovered, and the Traitor in hands, and fast bound.

Then, Order being first taken for sending for the rest of the Counsel, that lay in the Town, The prisoner himself was brought into the House, where, in respect of the strangeness of the accident, no man was stayed from the sight, or speaking with him. And within a while after, the Council did examine him; Who seeming to put on a *Roman* resolution, did both to the Council, and to every o-

Upon Sir
Tho. Knew-
er's return
the Council
warned.

ther person that spake with him that day, appear so constant and settled upon his grounds, as we all thought we had found some new *Mutius Scaevola*, born in *England*. For notwithstanding the horror of the Fact, the guilt of his conscience, his suddain surprizing the terror which should have been stricken in him, by coming into the presence of so grave a Council, and the restless, and confused questions that every man all that day did vex him with, yet was his countenance so far from being dejected, that he often smiled in scornful manner, not only avowing the Fact, but repenting only, with the said *Scaevola*, his failing in the execution thereof, whereof (he said) the Devil and not GOD was the Discoverer: answering quickly to every mans objection, scoffing at any idle questions, which were propounded unto him, and jesting with such as he thought had no authority to examine him. All that day could the Counsel get nothing out of him touching his Complices, refusing to answer to any such questions which he thought might discover the Plot, and laying all the blame upon himself; Whereunto he said, he was moved only for Religion and conscience sake, denying the King to be his lawful Sovereign, or the Anointed of GOD in respect he was an Heretick, and giving himself no other name than *John Johnson*, servant to *Thomas Percy*. But the next morning being carried to the *Tower*, he did not there remain

main above two or three days, being twice or thrice in that space re-examined, and the Rack only offered and shewed unto him, when the masque of his *Roman* fortitude did visibly begin to wear and slide off his face; And then did begin to confess part of the truth, and thereafter to open the whole matter, as doth appear by his depositions immediately following.

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TRUE COPY

Of the Declaration of Guido Fawkes, taken in the presence of the Counsellors, whose Names are under-written.

I Confess, that a practice in general was first broken unto me, against His Majesty for relief of the Catholique Cause, and not invented or propounded by my self. And this was first propounded unto me about *Easter* last was Twelve moneth, beyond the Seas, in the *Low Countreys* of the Arch-Duke's obeysance, by *Thomas Winter*, who came thereupon with me into *England*, and there we imparted our purpose to three other Gentlemen more, namely, *Robert Catesby*, *Thomas Percy*, and *John Wright*, who all five consulting together of the means how to execute the same, and taking a vow among our selves for secrecie; *Catesby* propounded to have it performed by Gunpowder, and by making a
Myne

Myne under the upper House of Parliament: which place we made choice of the rather, because Religion having been unjustly suppressed there, it was fittest that Justice and Punishment should be executed there.

This being resolved amongst us, *Thomas Percy* hired an house at Westminster for that purpose, near adjoyning to the Parliament House, and there we began to make our Myne about the 11 of December 1604.

The five that first entred into the work, were *Thomas Percy*, *Robert Gatesby*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Wright*, and my self: and soon after we took another unto us, *Christopher Wright*, having sworn him also, and taken the Sacrament for Secrecy.

When we came to the very foundation of the Wall of the House, which was about three yards thick, and found it a matter of great difficulty, we took unto us another Gentleman, *Robert Winter*, in like manner with Oath and Sacrament as aforesaid.

It was about Christmas when we brought our Myne unto the Wall, and about Candlemas we had wrought the Wall half through: And whilest they were in working, I stood as Sentinel, to descric any Man that came near, whereof I gave them warning, and so they ceased until I gave notice again to proceed.

All we seven lay in the House, and had Shot and Powder, being resolved to die in that place, before we should yield or be taken.

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As they were working upon the Wall, they heard a rushing in a Cellar of removing of Coales, whereupon we feared we had been discovered: and they sent me to go to the Cellar, who finding that the Coales were a selling, and that the Cellar was to be let, viewing the commodity thereof for our purpose, *Percy* went, and hired the same for yearly rent.

We had before this provided and brought into the House Twenty Barrels of Powder, which we removed into the Cellar, and covered the same with Billets and Faggots, which were provided for that purpose,

About *Easter*, the Parliament being Prorogued till October next, we dispersed ourselves, and I retired into the Low-Countries, by advise and direction of the rest, as well to acquaint *Owen* with the particulars of the Plot, as also least by my longer stay I might have grown suspicious, and so have come in question.

In the mean time *Percy* having the key. of the Cellar, laid in more Powder and Wood into it. I returned about the beginning of *September* next, and then receiving the key again of *Percy*, we brought in more Powder and Billets to cover the same again, and so I went for a time into the Countrey till the 30 of *October*.

It was further resolved amongst us, that the same day that this Act should have been performed, some other of our Confederates should have surpris'd the person of the Lady.

— ELIZABETH.

ELIZABETH, the Kings eldest Daughter, who was kept in *Warwickshire* at the Lord *Harington's* House, and presently have proclaimed her Queen, having a Project of a Proclamation ready for that purpose, wherein we made no mention of altering of Religion, nor would have avowed the deed to be ours, untill we should have had power enough to make our Party good, and then we would have avowed both.

Concerning Duke CHARLES the Kings second Son, we had sundry Consultations how to seise on his Person. But because we found no means how to compass it (the Duke being kept near *London*, where we had not Forces enough) we resolved to serve our turn with the Lady ELIZABETH,

The

The Names of other Principal
Persons, that were made privy
afterwards to this horrible Con-
spiracy.

Everard Digby Knight.

Ambrose Rookwood.

Francis Tresham.

John Grant.

Robert Keyes.

Commiss.

Nottingham.

Suffolke.

Northampton.

Marre.

Popham,

Worcester.

Devonshire

Salisbury,

Dunbar.

Edw. Coke.

W. Waad.

ANd in regard that before this discourse could be ready to go to the Press, *Thomas Winter* being apprehended, and brought to the Tower, made a Confession in substance agreeing with this former of *Fawkes*, onely larger in some circumstances: I have thought good to insert the same likewise in this place, for the further clearing of the matter, and greater benefit of the Reader.

Thomas

Thomas Winter's Confession,
 taken the xxiii. of *November* 1605. in the presence of
 the *Counsellors*, whose *Names*
 are under-written.

My most Honorable Lords,



Not out of hope to
 Obtain Pardon :
 for , speaking of
 my temporal part,
 I may say , The
 Fault is Greater
 than can be for-
 given; nor affect-
 ing hereby the Ti-
 tle of a good Sub-
 ject : for I must redeem my Countrey from
 as great a danger, as I have hazarded the
 bringing of Her into, before I can purchase
 any such opinion; Only at your Honors
 command I will briefly set down mine own
 Accusation, and how farr I have proceeded
 in this business; which I shall the faithfuller
 do, since I see such courses are not pleasing
 to Almighty God, and that all, or the
 most

most material parts have been already confessed.

I remained with my brother in the Countrey from Alhallontide untill the beginning of Lent, in the year of our Lord 1603. the first year of the Kings Reign: about which time Master *Catesby* sent thither, intreating me to come to *London*, where he and other my friends would be glad to see me. I desired him to excuse me: for I found my self not very well disposed; and (which had happened never to me before) returned the Messenger without my company. Shortly I received another Letter, in any wise to come. At the second summons I presently came up, and found him with Master *John Wright* at *Lambeth*, where he brake with me, how necessary it was not to forsake our Countrey (for he knew I had then a resolution to go over) but to deliver her from the servitude in which she remain'd, or at least to assist her with our uttermost endeavours. I answered, That I had often hazarded my Life upon far lighter termes, and now would not refuse any good occasion, wherein I might do service to the Catholick Cause; but for my self I know no man probable to succeed. He said that he had bethought him of a way at one instant to deliver us from all our Bonds, and without any forreign help to replant againe the Catholick Religion; and withal told me in a word, It was to blow up the Parliament-House with Gunpowder: for, said he, in that place have they done us all
the

the mischief, and perchance GOD hath designed that place for their punishment. I wondred at the strangeness of the conceipt, and told him, That true it was, this strake at the Root, and would breed a confusion fit to beget new alterations; But if it should not take effect (as most of this nature miscarried) the Scandal would be so great which Catholique Religion might hereby sustain, as not only our Enemies, but our Friends also would with good reason condemn us. He told me, The nature of the disease required so sharp a remedy, and asked me if I would give my consent. I told him, yes, in this or what else soever, if he resolved upon it, I would venture my life. But I proposed many difficulties, As want, of an House, and of one to carry the Myne, noise in the working, and such like. His answer was, Let us give an attempt, and where it faileth pass no further. But first, quoth he, Because we will leave no peaceable and quiet way untryed, you shall go over, and informe the Constable of the state of the Catholicks here in *England*, intreating him to sollicite His Majesty at his coming hither, that the Penal Lawes may be recalled, and we admitted into the rank of his other Subjects: withall, you may bring over some confident Gentleman, such as you shall understand best able for this business, and named unto me Mr. *Fawkes*. Shortly after, I passed the Sea, and found the Constable at *Bergen* near *Dunkirke* where, by help of Mr. *Owen* I delivered my message,

me flage, Whose answer was, That he had strict command from his Master, to do all good Offices for the Catholicks, and for his own part, he thought himself bound in Conscience so to do, and that no good occasion should be omitted, but spake to him nothing of this matter.

Returning to *Dunkirck* with Mr. *Owen*, we had speech whether he thought the Constable would faithfully help us, or no. He said he believed nothing less, and that they sought onely their own ends, holding small account of Catholicks. I told him, that there were many Gentlemen in *England*, who would not forsake their Countrey, until they had tried the uttermost, and rather venture their lives, than forsake her in this misery. And, to add one more to our number, as a fit man both for counsel and execution of whatsoever we should resolve, wished for M. *Fawkes*, whom I had heard good commendations of: he told me the Gentleman deserved no less, but was at *Brussels*, and that if he came not, as happily he might, before my departure, he would send him shortly after into *England*. I went soon after to *Ostend*, where Sir *William Stanley* as then was not, but came two dayes after. I remained with him three or four dayes, in which time I asked him, if the Catholiques in *England* should do any thing to help themselves, whether he thought the Archduke would second them? He answered, No, for all

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those parts were so desirous of peace with *England*, as they would endure no speech of other enterprize: neither were it fit, said he, to set any project afoot now the Peace is upon concluding. I told him there was no such resolution, and so fell to discourse of other matters, until I came to speak of *M. Fawkes*, whose company I wished over into *England*. I asked of his sufficiency in the Wars, and told him we should heed such as he, if occasion required; he gave very good commendations of him. And as we were thus discoursing, and I ready to depart for *Newport*, and taking my leave of *Sir William*, *Master Fawkes* came into our company, newly returned, and saluted us. This is the Gentleman, said *Sir William*, that you wished for, and so we embraced again. I told him, Some good friends of his wished his company in *England*, and that if he pleased to come to *Dunkirck*, we would have further conference, whither I was then going: so taking my leave of them both, I departed. About two dayes after came *Mr. Fawkes* to *Dunkirck*, where I told him, That we were upon a resolution to do something in *England*, if the Peace with *Spain* helped us not, but had as yet resolved upon nothing; such, or the like talke we passed at *Graveling*, where I lay for a wind, and when it served came both in one Passage to *Greenwich*, near which place we took apair of Oares, and so came up to *London*, and came to *Mr. Gatesby*, whom we found in his lodging; he welcomed us into

England

England, and asked me what newes from the Constable. I told him, good words, but I feared the deeds would not answer. This was the beginning of Easter Terme, and about the midst of the same Terme, (whether sent for by Master *Catesby*, or upon some business of his own) up came Mr. *Thomas Percy*. The first word he spake (after he came into our company) was, Shall we alwayes (Gentlemen) talke, and never do any thing? Mr. *Catesby* took him aside, and had speech about somewhat to be done, so as first we might all take an oath of secrecy, which we resolved within two or three dayes to do: so as there we met behind *St. Clements*, Mr. *Catesby*, Mr. *Percy*, Mr. *Wright*, Mr. *Guy Fawkes*, and my self; and having upon a Primer given each other the Oath of secrecy, in a chamber where no other body was, we went after into the next Room and heard Mass, and received the blessed Sacrament upon the same. Then did Mr. *Catesby* disclose to Mr. *Percy*, and I together with *Jack Wright*, tell to Mr. *Fawkes* the business for which we took this Oath, which they both approved. And then was Mr. *Percy* sent to take the House, which Mr. *Catesby* in myne absence had learned did belong to one *Ferris*, which with some difficulty in the end he obtained, and became as *Ferris* before was, Tenant to *Whynniand*. Mr. *Fawkes* underwent the name of Mr. *Percy*'s Man, calling himself *Johnson*, because his face was the most unknown, and received the keyes of the House, untill we heard that the Parliament was

Thomas Winter's *Confession*

Adjourned to the seventh of *February*. At which time we all departed several wayes into the Countrey, to meet again at the beginning of *Michaëlmass*-Terme. Before this time also it was thought convenient to have a house that might answer to Mr. *Percies*, where we might make provision of Powder and Wood for the Myne, which being there made ready, should in a night be conveyed by boat to the House by the Parliament, because we were loth to foyle that with often going in and out. There was none that we could devise so fit as *Lambeth*, where Mr. *Catesby* often lay, and to be keeper thereof (by Mr. *Catesbies* choice) we received into the number, *Keyes*, as a trusty honest Man: this was about a Month before *Michaëlmass*.

Some fortnight after, towards the beginning of the Terme, Mr. *Fawkes* and I came to Mr. *Catesby* at *Morecrofts*, where we agreed, That now was time to begin and set things in order for the Myne. So as Mr. *Fawkes* went to *London*, and the next day sent for me to come over to him: when I came, the cause was, for that the Scottish Lords were appointed to sit in conference of the Union in Mr. *Percies* house. This hindered our beginning until a fortnight before *Christmass*, by which time both Mr. *Percie* and Mr. *Wright* were come to *London*, and we against their coming had provided a good part of the Powder: so as we all five entred with tooles fit to begin our work, having provided our

our selves of Baked-meates, the less to need sending abroad. We entred late in the night, and were never seen, save onely Mr. *Percy's* Man, until *Christmas-Eve*. In which time we wrought under a little Entry to the Wall of the Parliament-House, and under-propped it as we went with Wood.

Whilest we were together, we began to fashion our business, and discoursed what we should do after this deed was done. The first question was, How we might surprise the next heir? the Prince haply would be at the Parliament with the King his Father; how should we then be able to seize on the Duke? This burthen Mr. *Percy* undertook, that by his acquaintance, he, with another Gentleman would enter the Chamber without suspition, and having some dozen others at several doors to expect his coming, and two or three on horseback at the Court-Gate to receive him, he would undertake (the Blow being given, until which he would attend in the Dukes Chamber) to carry him safe away: for he supposed most of the Court would be absent, and such as were there not suspecting, or unprovided for any such matter. For the Lady *ELIZABETH*, it were easie to surprise her in the Countrey, by drawing Friends together at an hunting near the Lord *Haringtons*, and *Ashby*, Mr. *Caterbyes* house, being not far off was a fit place for preparation.

The next was for Money and Horses, which if we could provide in any reasonable measure

sure (having the Heir apparent) and the first knowledge by four or five days, was odds sufficient.

Then what Lords we should save from the Parliament; which was first agreed in general as many as we could that were Catholics, or so disposed: but after we descended to speak of particulars.

Next what Forreign Princes we should acquaint with this before, or joyn with after. For this point we agreed, that first we could not enjoyn Princes to that secrecie, nor oblige them by Oath, so to be secure of their promise: besides, we knew not, whether they will approve the Project, or dislike it. And if they do allow thereof, to prepare before might beget suspition; and not to provide until the business were acted, the same Letter that carried newes of the thing done, might as well intreate their help and furtherance. *Spain* is too slow in his preparations, to hope any good from in the first extremities, and *France* too near and too dangerous, who with the shipping of *Holland* we feared of all the world might make away with us.

But while we were in the middle of these discourses, we heard that the Parliament should be anew Adjourned until after *Michaelmas*, upon which tidings we broke off both discourse and working until after *Christmas*. About *Candlemas* we brought over in a boat the Powder, which we had provided at *Lambeth*, and laid it in *Mr. Percies*

ies house, because we were willing to have all our danger in one place.

We wrought also another fortnight in the Myne against the stone Wall, which was very hard to beate thorough; at which time we called in *Kit Wright*, and near to *Easter*, as we wrought the third time, opportunity was given to hire the Cellar, in which we resolved to lay the Powder, and leave the Myne.

Now, by reason that the charge of maintaining us all so long together, besides the number of several Houses, which for several uses had been hired, and buying of Powder, &c. had layn heavy on *Mr. Catesby* alone to support; it was necessary for him to call in some others to ease his charge, and to that end desired leave, that he, with *Mr. Percy*, and a third, whom they should call, might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the business: for many, said he, may be content that I should know, who would not therefore that all the company should be acquainted with their names., to this we all agreed.

After this *Master Fawkes* laid into the Cellar (which he had newly taken) a thousand of Billets, and Five hundred of Faggots, and with that covered the Powder, because we might have the House free, to suffer any one to enter that would. *Mr. Catesby* wished us to consider, whether it were not now necessary to send *Mr. Fawkes* over, both to absent himself for a time, as also to acquaint Sir

Wil. Stanly and *Mr. Owen* with this matter. We agreed, that he should (provided that he gave it them with the same oath that we had taken it before) *videlicet*, to keep it secret from all the world. The reason why we desired *Sir William Stanley* should be acquainted herewith, was, to have him with us so soon as he could: And for *Mr Owen*, he might hold good correspondency after with forreign Princes.

So *Mr. Fawkes* departed about *Easter* for *Flanders*, and returned the latter end of *August*. He told me, that when he arrived at *Brussels*, *Sir William Stanley* was not returned from *Spain*, so as he uttered the matter only to *Owen*, who seemed well pleased with the business, but told him, that surely *Sir William* would not be acquainted with any Plot, as having business now afoot in the Court of *England*: but he himself would be always ready to tell it him, and send him away so soon as it were done.

About this time did *Mr. Percy*, and *Mr. Catesby* meet at the *Bath*, where they agreed that the company being yet but few, *Mr. Catesby* should have the others authority to call in whom he thought best; By which authority he called in after *Sir Everard Digby*, though at what time I know not, and last of all *Mr. Francis Tresham*. The first promised, as I heard *Master Catesby* say, Fifteen hundred pounds; The second Two thousand pounds; *Mr. Percy* himself promised all that he could get of the *Earl of Northumberland's Rents*, which was about four thousand pounds, and

to.

to provide many galloping Horses, to the number of ten.

Mean while Mr. *Fawkes* and my self alone bought some new Powder, as suspecting the first to be dank, and conveyed it into the Cellar, and set it in order, as we resolved it should stand. Then was the Parliament anew prorogued until the Fifth of *November*, so as we all went down, until some ten days before, when Mr. *Catesby* came up with Mr. *Fawkes*, to an house by *Enfield-Chace*, called *White-Webbs*, whither I came to them, and Mr. *Catesby* willed me to enquire, whether the young Prince came to the Parliament: I told him, that I heard that his Grace thought not to be there. Then must we have our Horses, said Mr. *Catesby*, beyond the water, and provision of more company to surprize the Prince, and leave the Duke alone.

Two days after, being Sunday at night, in came one to my chamber, and told me that a Letter had been given to my Lord *Mountegle* to this effect, That he wished his Lordships absence from the Parliament, because a Blow would there be given; which Letter he presently carried to my Lord of *Salisbury*.

On the morrow I went to *White-webbs*, and told it to Mr. *Catesby*, assuring him withal, that the matter was disclosed: and wishing him in any case to forsake his Countrey. He told me, he would see further as yet, and resolved to send Mr. *Fawkes* to try the uttermost, protesting, if the part belonged to himself, he would try the same adventure.

On

On Wednesday Mr. *Fanckes* went, and returned at night, of which we were very glad.

Thursday I came to *London*, and Friday Mr. *Catesby*, Mr. *Tresham* and I met at *Barnet*, where we questioned how this Letter should be sent to my Lord *Mowntegle*, but could not conceive, for Mr. *Tresham* forswore it, whom we only suspected.

On Saturday night I met Mr. *Tresham* again in *Lincolns-Inn Walks*. Wherein he told such speeches, that my Lord of *Salisbury* should use to the King, that I gave it lost the second time, and repeated the same to Mr. *Catesby*, who hereupon was resolved to be gone, but staid to have Mr. *Percy* come up, whose consent herein we wanted. On Sunday Mr. *Percy* being dealt with to that end, would needs abide the uttermost trial.

This suspicion of all hands, put us into such confusion, as Mr. *Catesby* resolved to go down into the Countrey, the Munday that Mr. *Percy* went to *Sion*, and Mr. *Percy* resolved to follow the same night, or early the next morning. About five of the clock being Tuesday, came the younger *Wright* to my Chamber, and told me, that a Nobleman, called the Lord *Mowntegle*, saying, Arise, and come along to *Essex-house*, for I am going to call up my Lord of *Northumberland*, saying withal, The matter is discovered. Go back Mr. *Wright* (quoth I) and learn what you can about *Essex Cate*. Shortly he returned and said, surely al is lost: for *Lepton* is got on horseback at *Essex doer*, and as he parted, he

he asked if their Lordships would have any
 more with him: and being answered No, is
 rode fast up *Fluss-Street* as he can ride. Goe
 you then (quoth I) to Mr. *Percy*, for sure
 it is for him they seek, and bid him be gone,
 I will stay and see the uttermost. Then I
 went to the Court-Gates, and found them
 straightly guarded, so as no body could enter.
 From thence I went down towards the Par-
 liament-house, and in the middle of *King-Street*
 found the Guard standing, that would not let
 me pass, And as I returned, I heard one say,
 There is a Treason discovered, in which the
 King and the Lords should have been blown
 up. So then I was fully satisfied that all was
 known; and went to the Stable where my Gel-
 ding stood, and rode into the Countrey. Mr.
Catesby had appointed our meeting at *Dun-*
church, but I could not overtake them, untill
 I came to my brothers, which was Wednes-
 day night. On Thursday we took the Armor
 at my Lord *Windsors*, and went that night
 to one *Stephen Littleton's* house, where the
 next day (being Friday) as I was early abroad
 to discover, my man came to me, and said,
 That an heavy mischance had severed all the
 company, for that Mr. *Catesby*, Mr. *Rookwood*,
 and Mr. *Grant*, were burned with Gunpow-
 der, upon which sight, the rest dispersed. Mr.
Littleton wished me to flee, and so would he. I
 told him, I would first see the Body of my
 friend, and bury him, whatsoever befel me.
 When I came, I found Mr. *Catesby* reasonable
 well, Mr. *Percy*, both the *Wrights*, Mr. *Rook-*
wood,

wood, and Mr. *Grant*. I asked them what they resolved to do? they answered, we mean here to die. I said again, I would take such part as they did. About eleven of the clock came the company to beset the house, and as I walked into the Court, I was shot into the shoulder, which lost me the use of mine arm: with the next shot was the elder *Wright* stricken dead, after him the younger *Mr. Wright*, and fourthly *Ambrose Rookwood*. Then said *Mr. Catesby* to me (standing before the door they were to enter) Stand by me *Tom*, and we will die together. Sir (quoth I) I have lost the use of my right arm, and I fear that will cause me to be taken. So as we stood close together, *Mr. Catesby*, *Mr. Percy*, and my self, they two were shot (as far as I could guess with one Bullet) and then the company entred upon me, hurt me in the belly with a Pike, and gave me other wounds, until one came behind, and caught hold of both mine arms.

And so I remain yours, &c.

Commiss.

<i>Nottingham,</i>		<i>Salisbury,</i>
<i>Suffolk,</i>		<i>Marr,</i>
<i>Worcester,</i>		<i>Dunbar,</i>
<i>Devonshire,</i>		<i>Popham.</i>
<i>Northampton</i>		

Edw. Cokg. W. Waad.

The

The Names of those that
were first in the Treason,
and laboured in the Myne.

Robert Catesby,
Robert Winter. } Esquires.

Thomas Percy,
Thomas Winter,
John Wright,
Christopher Wright,
Guido Fawkes. } Gentlem.

And Bates Catesbie's man.

Those that were made ac-
quainted with it, though not per-
sonally labouring in the Myne,
nor in the Cellar.

Everard Digby, Kt
Ambrose Rookwood. } Esquires.
Francis Tresham. }
John Graunt, Gent.
Robert Keys.

But

BUt here let us leave *Fawkes* in a Lodging fit for such a Guest, and taking time to advise upon his conscience; and turn our selves to that part of History, which concern's the fortune of the rest of his partakers in that abominable Treason. The news was no sooner spread abroad that morning, which was upon a Tuesday, the Fifth of *November*, and the First day designed for that Session of Parliament; The news (I say) of this so strange and unlooked for accident, was no sooner divulged, but some of those Conspirators, namely, *Winter*, and the two Brothers of *Wrights* thought it high time for them to hasten out of the Town (for *Catesby* was gone the night before, and *Percy* at four of the clock in the morning the same day of the Discovery) and all of them held their course, with more haste than good speed, to *Warwick-shire*, toward *Coventry*, where the next day morning, being Wednesday, and about the same hour that *Fawkes* was taken in *Westminster*, one *Graunt*, a Gentleman having associated unto him some others of his opinion, all violent Papists' and strong Recusants, came to a Stable of one *Beack*, a Rider of great Horses, and having violently broken up the same, carried along with them all the great Horses that were therein, to the number of seven or eight, belonging to divers Noblemen and Gentlemen of that Country, who had put them into the Riders hands to be made fit for their service. And so both that company of them which fled out of *London*, as also *Graunt* & his compli-

The taking of the Horses out of the Stable at *Warwick* by *Graunt* and others.

ces met all together at *Dunburch* at *Sir Everard Digby* his lodging the Wednesday at night after the discovery of this treacherous Attempt: The which *Digby* had likewise for his part appointed a match of hunting to have been hunted the next day, which was Wednesday, though his mind was *Nimrod*-like, upon a farr other manner of hunting, more bent upon the blood of reasonable men, than brute beasts.

The hunting match appointed by *Sir Everard Digby*.

This company, and hellish society thus convened, finding their purpose discovered, and their treachery prevented, did resolve to run a desperate course, and since they could not prevail by so private a Blow, to practise by a publick Rebellion, either to attain to their Intents, or at least to save themselves in the throng of others. And therefore gathering all the company they could unto them and pretending the quarrel of Religion, having intercepted such provision of Armour, Horses, and Powder, as the time could permit, thought by running up and down the Countrey both to augment peece and peece their number (dreaming to themselves that they had the vertue of a Snow-ball, which being little at the first, and tumbling down from a great hill groweth to a great quantity, by encreasing it self with the Snow that it meeteth by the way) and also that they beginning first this brave shew in one part of the Countrey, should by their Sympathy and example stir up and incourage the rest of their Religion in other parts of *England* to rise, as they

Their going into Arms after the Plot discovered.

Their number never above Four-score.

they had done there. But when they had gathered their Force to the greatest, they came not to the number of Four-score, and yet were they troubled all the hours of the day to keep and contain their own servants from stealing from them; who (notwithstanding of all their care) dayly left them, being far inferior to *Gideons* Hoste in number, but far more in faith; or justness of Quarrel.

Their flight.

And so after that this Catholique Troop had wandered a while through *Warwickshire* to *Worcester-shire*, and from thence to the edge and borders of *Stafford-shire*, this gallantly armed Band had not the honor at the last, to be beaten with a Kings Lieutenant, or extraordinary Commissioner sent down for the purpose, but only by the ordinary Sheriff of *Worcester-shire* were they all beaten, killed, taken and dispersed. Wherein ye have to note this following circumstance so admirable, and so vively displaying the greatness of Gods justice, as it could not be concealed without betraying in a manner the glory due to the Almighty for the same.

Although divers of the Kings Proclamations were posted down after these Traitors, with all the speed possible, declaring the odiousness of that bloody attempt, the necessity to have *Percy* preserved alive; if it had been possible, and the assembly together of that rightly damned crew, now no more damned Conspirators, but open and avowed Rebels: yet the far distance of the way (which
was

was above an hundred miles) together with the extreme deepness thereof, joyned also with the shortness of the day, was the cause that the hearty and loving affections of the Kings good Subjects in those parts prevented the speed of His Proclamations. For upon the third day after the flying down of these Rebels, which was upon the Friday next after the discovery of their Plot, they were most of them all surprized by the Sheriff of Worcester-shire at *Holbeach*, about the noon of the day, and that in manner following.

Graunt, of whom I have made mention before for taking the great Horses, who had not all the preceding time stirred from his own house till the next morning after the attempt should have been put in execution, he then laying his account without his Host (as the proverb is) that their Plot had, without failing, received the day before, their hopes for success; took, or rather stole out those horses (as I said before) for enabling him, and so many of that soulless society that had still remained in the Countrey near about him, to make a suddain surprize upon the Kings elder Daughter, the Lady *ELIZABETH*, having her residence near by that place, whom they thought to have used for the colour of their treacherous designe (His Majesty her Father, her Mother, and male Children being all destroyed above) And to this purpose also had that *Nimrod Digby*, provided his hunting match against that same time, that num-

Overtaken
at *Holbeach*
in *Stafford-*
shire. at
Stephen Lita-
leton's
house.

Graunt at-
tempt to
surprize the
Lady *Eliza-*
beth.

bers of people being flock'd together upon the pretence thereof, they might the eassier have brought to pass the suddain surprize of her Person.

Now the violent taking away of those horses long before day, did seem to be so great a riot in the eyes of the Common people, that knew of no greater Mystery; And the bold attempting thereof, did ingender such a suspicion of some following Rebellion in the hearts of the wiser sort, as both great and small began to stir and arm themselves, upon this unlooked for accident. Among whom, Sir *Fulke Grevil* the elder, Knight, as became one both so antient in years, and good reputation, and by his Office being Deputy-Lieutenant of *Warwickshire* tho' unable in his Body, yet by the zeal and true fervency of his mind, did first apprehend this foresaid Riot, to be nothing but the Sparkles and sure indices of a following Rebellion; whereupon both stoutly and honestly he took order to get into his own hands, the Munition and Armor of all such Gentlemen about him, as were either absent from their own houses, or in doubtful guard; And also sent such direction to the Towns about him, as thereupon did follow the striking of *Winter* by a poor Smith, who had likewise been taken by those vulgar people, but that he was rescued by the rest of his company, who perceiving that the Countrey before them, had notice of them, hastened away

away with the loss in their own sight, Sixteen of their followers being taken by the Townsmen, and sent presently to the Sheriff at Warwick, and from thence to London.

But before Twelve or Sixteen hours past, *Catesby, Perry the Winters, Wrights, Rookwood*, and the rest, bringing them the assurance, that their main Plot was failed and betrayed, whereupon they had builded the golden Mountains of their glorious hopes: They then took their last desperate resolution to flock together in a Troop and wander, as they did, for the reasons afore-told. But as upon the one part, the zealous duty to their God and their Sovereign was so deeply imprinted in the hearts of all the meanest and poorest sort of the people (although then knowing of no further mystery than such publick misbehaviours, as their own eyes taught them) as notwithstanding of their fair shews and pretence of their Catholick cause, no creature, Man or Woman through all the Countrey, would once so much as give them willingly a cup of drink, or any sort of comfort or support, but with execrations detested them: So on the other part, the Sheriffs of the Shires, where through they wandred, convening their people with all speed possible, hunted as hotly after them, as the evilness of the way, and the unprovidedness of their people upon that sudden could permit them. And so at last after *Sir Richard Verney*, Sheriff of *Warwick*

Warwick-shire, had carefully and straightly been in chase of them to the confines of his County; part of the meaner sort being also apprehended by him: Sir Richard Wylsh Sheriff of Worcester-shire did likewise dutifully and hotly pursue them thorow his Shire; and having gotten sure trial of their taking harbor at the house above-named, he did send Trumpeters and Messengers to them, commanding them in the Kings name to render unto him, His Majesties Minister; and knowing no more at that time of their guilt, than was publickly visible, did promise, upon their dutiful and obedient rendring unto him to intercede at the Kings hands, for the sparing of their lives: Who received only from them this scornful answer (they being better witnesses to themselves of their inward evil consciences) *That he had need of better assistance, than of those few numbers that were with him, before he could be able to command or controul them.*

The prepara-
tion to as-
sault the
house.

But here fell the wondrous work of Gods Justice, That while this message passed between the Sheriff and them, The Sheriff's and his people's zeal being justly kindled and augmented; by their arrogant answer, and so they preparing themselves to give a furious assault; and the other party making themselves ready within the house to perform their promise by a defence as resolute; It pleased GOD, that in the mending of the fire in their chamber, one small sparkle should

flie

lie out, and light among less than two pound
 weight of Powder, which was drying a little
 from the chimney; which being thereby
 blown up, so maimed the faces of some of
 the principal Rebels, and the hands and sides
 of others of them (blowing up with it also a
 great bag full of Powder, which notwithstanding
 never took fire.) as they were not only
 disabled, and discouraged hereby from any
 further resistance, in respect *Catesby* himself,
Rookwood, *Grant*, and divers others of greatest
 account, among them were thereby made
 unable for defence: but also wonderfully
 stricken with amazement in their guilty con-
 sciences, calling to memory, how GOD had
 justly punished them with that same Instru-
 ment, which they should have used for the ef-
 fectuating of so great a sin, according to
 the old *Latine* saying, *In quo peccamus, in eodem*
plectimur, as they presently (see the won-
 derful power of Gods Justice upon guilty
 consciences) did all fall down upon their
 knees, praying GOD to pardon them for
 their bloody enterprize; And thereafter gi-
 ving over any further debate, opened the
 Gate, suffered the Sheriffs people to rush in
 furiously among them, and desperately sought
 their own present destruction; The three
 specials of them joining backs together,
Catesby, *Percy*, and *Winter*, whereof two with
 one shot, *Catesby*, and *Percy* were slain, and
 the third, *Winter*, taken and saved alive.

Catesby, who
 was the first
 inventor of
 this Treason
 in general,
 and of the
 manner of
 working the
 same by
 Powder, in
 special, him-
 self now
 first maimed
 with the
 blowing up
 of Powder,
 and next he
 and *Percy*
 both killed
 with one
 shot pro-
 ceeding
 from Pow-
 der.

And thus these resolute and high aspi-
 ring

King Catholicks, who dreamed of no less than the destruction of Kings and Kingdomes, and promised to themselves no lower estate than the Government of great and antient Monarchies; were miserably defeated, and quite overthrown in an instant, falling in the pit which they had prepared for others; and so fulfilling that sentence which his Majesty did in a manner prophesse of them, in his Oration to the Parliament: some presently slain, others deathly wounded, stripped of their Clothes, left lying miserably naked, and so dying rather of cold, than of the danger of their wounds; and the rest that either were whole, or but lightly hurt, taken and led prisoners by the Sheriff, the ordinary Minister of Justice, to the Gaole, the ordinary place even of the basest Malefactors, where they remained till their sending up to London, being met with a huge confluence of people of all sorts, desirous to see them, as the rarest sort of Monsters; fools to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiser sort to satisfy their curiosity, in seeing the outward eases of so unheard of a villany: and generally all sorts of people, to satiate and fill their eyes with the sight of them, whom in their hearts they so far admired and detested: Serving so for a fearful and publick spectacle of Gods fierce wrath and just indignation.

What hereafter will be done with them, is to

to be left to the Justice of His Majesty and the State. Which as no good Subject needs to doubt will be performed in the own due time by a publick and an exemplary punishment: So have we all that are faithful and humble Subjects, great cause to pray earnestly to the Almighty, that it will please him who hath the hearts of all Princes in his hands, to put it in his Majesties heart to make such a conclusion of this Tragedy to the Traytors, but Tragicomedy to the King and all his true Subjects; as thereby the glory of God and his true Religion may be advanced, the future security of the King and his estate procured and provided for, all hollow and dishonest hearts discovered and prevented, and this horrible attempt (lacking due Epithites) to be so justly avenged, That where they thought by one Catholick indeed, and Universal blow, to accomplish the wish of that Roman Tyrant, who wished all the bodies in Rome to have but one neck, and so by the violent force of Powder to break up as with a Pettard our triple locked peaceful Gates of Janus, which (God be thanked) they could not compass by any other meanes; they may justly be so recompensed for their truly viperous intended Parricide, as the shame and infamy that otherwise would light upon this whole Nation, for having unfortunately hatched such Cockatrice egges, may be repaired by the execution of famous and honorable Justice upon the Offenders,

and

As *Jean Sylvain* doth notably Write concerning the Murther of King James the First of Scotland, and the following punishment of the Traytors, whereof himself was an Eyewitness. *Hist. de Europe, cap. 46.*

and for the Kingdom purged of them, may hereafter perpetually flourish in peace and prosperity, by the happy conjunction of the hearts of all honest and true Subjects; with their just and Religious Sovereign.

- And thus, whereas they thought to have effaced our memories, the memory of them shall remain (but to their Perpetual Infamy) and we (as I said in the beginning) shall, with all thankfulness, eternally preserve the memory of so great a benefit. To which let every good Subject say, **AMEN.**

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The Brief of the Matters whereupon *Robert Winter*, Esq. *Thomas Winter*, Gent. *Guy Fawkes*, Gent. *John Graunt*, Esq. *Ambrose Rookwood*, Esq. *Robert Keyes*, Gent. *Thomas Bates*, were Indicted, and whereupon they were Arraigned.

That whereas our Sovereign Lord the King had, by the advise and assent of his Council, for divers weighty and urgent occasions, concerning his Majesty, the State, and defence of the Church and Kingdom of England, appointed a Parliament to be holden at his City of Westminster: That *Henry Garnet*, Superior of the Jesuits within the Realm of England, (called also by the several names of *Wally*, *Darcy*, *Roberts*, *Farmer*, and *Henry Philips*) *Oswald Tesmond Jesuit*, otherwise called *Oswald Greenwel*; *John Gerrard Jesuit*, (called also by the several names of *Lee* and *Brook*) *Robert Winter*, *Thomas Winter*, Gentlemen, *Guy Fawkes*, Gent. otherwise called *Guy Johnson*; *Robert Keyes* Gent. and *Thomas Bates* Yeoman, late Servant to *Robert Catesby* Esq. together with the said *Robert Catesby* and *Thomas Piercy*, Esquires;

The effect of the indictment after the Legal forms of the Common Law of England.

John

John Wright and Christopher Wright, Gent. in open Rebellion and Insurrection against his Majesty, lately slain, and Francis Tresham Esq. lately dead, as false Traitors against our said Sovereign Lord the King, did Traiterously meet and assemble themselves together; and being so met, the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits, did maliciously, falsely, and traiterously move and perswade as well the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates; as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham; That our said Sovereign Lord the King, the Nobility, Clergy, and the whole Commonalty of the Realm of England (Papists excepted) were Hereticks, and that all Hereticks were accursed and Excommunicate; and that no Heretick could be a King, but that it was lawful and meritorious to kill our said Sovereign Lord the King; and all other Hereticks within this Realm of England, for the advancing and enlargement of the pretended and usurped Authority and Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, and for the restoring of the Superstitious Romish Religion within this Realm of England. To which Traiterous perswasions, the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traiterously did yield their assents: And that whereupon the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and divers other Jesuits; Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates; as also the said Robert Catesby,

Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traitterously among themselves did conclude and agree, with Gun-powder, as it were with one blast, suddenly, traitterously, and barbarously to blow up and tear in pieces our said Sovereign Lord the King, the Excellent, Virtuons, and Gracious Queen Anne his dearest Wife, the most Noble Prince Henry their Eldest Son, the future Hope and Joy of England, and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal; the Reverend Judges of the Realm, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses of Parliament, and divers other faithful Subjects and Servants of the King in the said Parliament; for the causes aforesaid, to be assembled in the House of Parliament; and all of them, without any respect of Majesty, Dignity, Degree, Sex, Age, or Place, most barbarously, and more than beastly; traitterously and suddenly, to destroy and swallow up. And further did most traitterously conspire and conclude among themselves, That not onely the whole Royal Issue Male of our said Sovereign Lord the King should be destroyed and tooted out, but that the Persons aforesaid, together with divers other false Traitors, traitterously with them to be assembled, should surprize the Persons of the Noble Ladies, Elizabeth and Mary, Daughters of our said Sovereign Lord the King, and falsly and traitterously should Proclaim the said Lady Elizabeth to be the Queen of this Realm of England; and thereupon should publish a certain traitterous Proclamation in the Name of the said Lady Elizabeth, wherein it was especially agreed, by and between the said. Conspirators, That no mention should be made

at the first of the alteration of Religion established within this Realm of England; neither would the said false Traitors therein acknowledge themselves to be Authors, or Actors, or Devisors of the foresaid most wicked and horrible Treasons, untill they had got sufficient power and strength for the assured execution and accomplishment of their said Conspiracy and Treason, and that then they would avow and justify the said most wicked and horrible Treasons, as Actions that were in the number of those, Quæ non laudantur nisi peracta, which be not to be commended before they be done. But by the said feigned and traitorous Proclamation they would publish, That all and singular abuses and grievances within this Realm of England, should, for satisfying of the People, be reformed. And that as well for the better concealing, as for the more effectual accomplishing of the said horrible Treasons, as well the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates; as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Piercy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, by the traitorous advice and procurement of the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerard, and other Jesuits, traitorously did further conclude and agree, That as well the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Piercy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, thereupon severally and traitorously should receive several corporal Oathes upon the holy Evangelists, and the Sacrament of the Eucharist, That they the Treasons aforesaid would traitorously conceal and keep

Keep secret, and would not reveal them directly nor indirectly, by words nor circumstances; nor ever would desist from the execution and final accomplishment of the said Treasons, without the consent of some three of the foresaid false Traitors first in that behalf Traiterously had. And that thereupon, as well the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Piercy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, did traiterously take the said several corporal Oathes severally; and did receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist aforesaid by the hands of the said Henry Garnet, John Gerrard, Oswald Tesmond, and other Jesuits. And further, that the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates; together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Piercy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, by the like traiterous advise and counsel of the said Henry Garnet, John Gerrard, Oswald Tesmond, and other Jesuits, for the more effectual compassing and final execution of the said Treasons, did traiterously amongst themselves conclude and agree, to dig a certain Mine under the said House of Parliament, and there secretly under the said House to bestow and place a great quantity of Gun-powder; and that according to the said traiterous conclusion, the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates; together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Piercy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, afterwards secretly, not, without great labour and difficulty, did dig and make the said Mine under the midst of the

foundation of the wall of the said house of Parliament, the said foundation being of the thickness of three yards, with a traiterous intent to bestow and place a great quantity of Gunpowder in the Mine aforesaid, so as aforesaid traiterously to be made for the traiterous accomplishing of their traiterous purposes aforesaid, and that the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, finding and perceiving the said work to be of great difficulty by reason of the hardness and thickness of the said wall, and understanding a certain Cellar under the said house of Parliament, and adjoining to a certain house of the said Thomas Percy then to be letten to farm for a yearly Rent, the said Thomas Percy, by the traiterous procurement as well of the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard and other Jesuits, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as of the said Robert Catesby, John Wright and Christopher Wright, traiterously did hire the Cellar aforesaid for a certain yealy Rent and term; then those Traitors did remove twenty barrells full of gunpowder out of the said house of the said Thomas Percy, and secretly and traiterously did bestow and place them in the Cellar aforesaid under the said House of Parliament, for the traiterous effecting of the Treason, and traiterous purposes aforesaid, And was afterwards the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes and Thomas Bates, together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright and Christopher Wright, traiterously did meet

with Robert Winter, John Grant and Ambrose Rookwood and Francis Tresham Esquires, and traiterously did impart to the said Robert Winter, John Grant, and Ambrose Rookwood and Francis Tresham, the Treasons, traiterous intentions and purposes aforesaid, and did require the said Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood and Francis Tresham, to jayn themselves as well with the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keys and Thomas Bates, as with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright and Christopher Wright, and in the Treasons, traiterous intentions, and purposes aforesaid, and traiterously to provide horse, armour, and other necessaries, for the better accomplishment and effecting of the said Treasons; To which traiterous motion and request, the said Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood and Francis Tresham, did traiterously yield their Assents, and as well with the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keys, and Thomas Bates, as with the said Robert, Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, in the said Treasons, traiterous intentions and purposes aforesaid, traiterously did adhere and unite themselves; And thereupon several corporal Oathes in form abovesaid Traitrously did take; and the Sacrament of the Eucharist by the hand of the said Jesuits did receive, to such intent and purpose as is aforesaid; And horses, armour, and other necessaries, for the better effecting of the said Treasons, according to their traiterous assents aforesaid trait-

trously did provide; And that afterwards all the said false Traitors did traiterously provide and bring into the Cellar aforesaid, ten other barrels full of Gunpowder newly bought, fearing least the former Gunpowder so as aforesaid bestowed and placed there, was become Dankish, and the said several quantities of Gunpowder aforesaid, with Billets and Fagots, lest they should be spied, secretly and traiterously did cover; And that afterwards the said Traitors traiterously provided and brought into the Cellar aforesaid, four Hogsheds full of Gunpowder, and layed divers great Iron Bars, and stones upon the said four Hogsheds, and the foresaid other quantities of Gunpowder; And the said quantities of Gunpowder, Bars and stones, with Billets and Fagots, lest they should be espied, secretly and traiterously did likewise cover; And that the said Guy Fawkes afterwards for a full and final accomplishment of the said Treasons, traiterous intentions and purposes aforesaid, by the traiterous procurement as well of the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits, Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, John Grant, and Ambrose Rookwood, as of the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traiterously had prepared, and had upon his person Touchwood and Match, therewith traiterously to give fire to the several Barrels, Hogsheds and quantities of Gunpowder aforesaid, at the time appointed for the execution of the said horrible Treasons; And further, that after the said horrible Treasons were by the great favour and mercy of God in a wonderful manner discovered, not many hours before it should

have been executed as well the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerard, Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, John Grant, and Ambrose Rookwood, as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, Traiterously did flie and withdraw themselves, to the intent Traiterously to stir up, and procure such Popish persons as they could, to joyn with them in actual, publick and open Rebellion, against our said Sovereign Lord the King, and to that end did publish divers fained and false rumors, that the Papists throats should have been cut: And that thereupon divers Papists wer in Arms, and in open publick and Actual Rebellion against our said Sovereign Lord the King, in divers parts of this Realm of England.

To this Indictment, they all pleaded *Noe Guilty*; and put themselves upon God and the Countrey.

Then did Sir Edward Philips Knight, his Majesties Sergeant at Law, open the Indictment to this effect as followeth.

THe matter that is now to be offered to you, my Lords the Commissioners, and to the Trial of you the Knights and Gentlemen of the Jury, is matter of Treason; but of such hor-
 rour, and monstrous nature, that before now,
 The Tongue of Man never delivered,
 The Ear of Man never heard,
 The Heart of Man never conceived,

Nor the Malice of Hellish or Earthly
 Devil ever practis'd,
 For, if it be abominable to murder the least;
 If to touch Gods Anointed, be to oppose them-
 selves against God,
 If (by blood) to subvert Princes, States, and
 Kingdoms, be hateful to God and Man, as
 all true Christians must acknowledge;
 Then, how much more than too too monstrous
 shall all Christian hearts judge the horror
 of this Treason, to murder and subvert,
 Such a King,
 Such a Queen,
 Such a Prince,
 Such a Progeny,
 Such a State,
 Such a Government,
 So compleat and absolute;
 That God approves:
 The World admires:
 All true English Hearts honor and re-
 verence:
 The Pope and his Disciples onely envies
 and maligns,

*The Proceeding wherein is properly to be di-
 vided into three general Heads.*

1. First; Matter of Declaration.
2. Secondly, Matter of Aggravation.
3. Thirdly Matter of Probation.

My self am limited to deal onely with the
 matter of Declaration, and that is contained
 within the compass of the Indictment onely.

For the other two, I am to leave to him to
 whose place it belongeth.

*The Substance of which Declaration consisteth
in four parts.*

1. First, in the Persons and Qualities of the Conspirators.
2. Secondly, in the matter conspired.
3. Thirdly, in the mean and manner of the proceeding and execution of the Conspiracy.
4. And Fourthly, of the end and purpose why it was so conspired.

As concerning the first, being the Persons

They were { Garnet, } Jesuits not then
 { Gerrard, } taken,
 { Tesmond, }

Thomas Winter, }
Guy Fawkes, }
Robert Keys, } At the
Thomas Bates, } Bar,
Everard Digby, }
Anabrose Rackwood, }
John Graunt, }
Robert Winter, }

Robert Catesby, }
Thomas Piercy, } Slain in
John Wright, } Rebellion,
Christopher Wright.

Francis Tresham, Lately dead.

All grounded *Romanists*, and corrupted Scholars of so Irreligious and Traiterous a School.

As concerning the second, which is the Matter Conspired, it was,

1. First, to deprive the King of his Crown.
2. Secondly, to murder the King, the Queen, and the Prince.
3. Thirdly, to stir Rebellion and Sediton in the Kingdom.
4. Fourthly, to bring a miserable destruction among the Subjects.
5. Fifthly, to change, alter, and subvert the Religion here established.
6. Sixthly, to ruinate the state of the Commonwealth, and to bring in Strangers to invade it.

As concerning the third, which is the mean and manner how to compass and execute the same.

They did all conclude,

1. First, that the King and his People (the Papists excepted) were Hereticks.
2. Secondly, that they were all cursed, and Excommunicated By the Pope.
3. Thirdly, that no Heretick could be King.
4. Fourthly, that it was lawful and meritorious to kill and destroy the King, and all the said Hereticks.

The mean to effect it, they concluded to be,
That

1. The King, the Queen, the Prince, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Knights and Burgeses of the Parliament, should be blown up with Powder.
2. That the whole Royal Issue Male should be destroyed.
3. That they would take into their custody *Elizabeth* and *Mary*, the Kings Daughters, and proclaim the Lady *Elizabeth* Queen.
4. That they should feign a Proclamation in the Name of *Elizabeth*, in which no mention should be made of alteration of Religion, nor that they were parties to the Treason, until they had raised power to perform the same, and then to proclaim, All grievances in the Kingdom should be reformed.

That they also took several Oathes, and received the Sacrament; first, for secrecie; secondly, for prosecution, except they were discharged thereof by three of them.

That after the destruction of the King, the Queen, the Prince, the Royal Issue Male, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Knights and Burgeses; they should notify the same to Foreign States; and thereupon Sir *Edmund Baynam*, an attainted person of Treason, and stiling himself prime of the damned Crew, should be sent, and make the same known to the Pope, and crave his aid: An Ambassador fit, both for the Message and Person, to be

be sent betwixt the Pope and the Devil.
 That the Parliament being Prorogued till the
 7th. of February, they in December made
 a Mine under the House of Parliament,
 purposing to place their Powder there : but
 the Parliament being then further Ad-
 journed till the 3d. of October, they in Lent
 following hired the Vault, and placed
 therein twenty barrels of powder.

That they took to them *Robert Winter, Graunt,*
 and *Rockwood*, giving them the Oathes
 and Sacrament as aforesaid, as to provide
 Munition.

20 Julii. they laid in more ten Barrels of powder,
 laying upon them divers great Bars of
 Iron, and pieces of Timber, and great
 massie Stones, and covered the same with
 Fagots, &c.

20 Septemb. they laid in more four Hohlheads of
 Powder, with other Stones and Bars of
 Iron thereupon.

4 Novem. (the Parliament being Prorogued
 to the 5th.) at eleven a clock at night,
Fawkes had prepared (by the procure-
 ment of the rest) Touch-wood and Match,
 to give fire to the Powder the next day.

That the Treason being miraculously dis-
 covered, they put themselves, and pro-
 cured others to enter into open Rebellion;
 and gave out most untruly, It was, for that
 the Papists throats were to be cut.

The Effect of that which Sir Edward Coke, Knight, his Majesties Attorney General, said at the former Arraignment, so near to his own words as it could be taken.

IT appeareth to your Lordships, and the rest of this most Honourable and Grave Assembly, even by that which Mr. Sergeant hath already opened, that these are the greatest Treasons that ever were plotted in *England* and concern the greatest King that ever was of *England*. But when this Assembly shall further hear, and see discovered the Roots and Branches of the same, not hitherto published, they will say indeed: *Quis hæc posteris sic narrare poterit, ut facta non ficta esse videantur?* That when these things shall be related to Posterity, they will be reputed matters feigned, not done. And therefore in this so great a cause, upon the carriage and event whereof the eye of all Christendom is at this day bent, I shall desire that I may with your patience be somewhat more copious, and not so succinct as my usual manner hath been, and yet will I be no longer than the very matter it self shall necessarily require. But before I enter into the particular Narration of this cause, I hold it fit to give satisfaction to some, and those well-affected amongst us, who have not only marvelled, but grieved, that no speedier expedition hath been used in these proceedings, considering the monstrousness and coninnal horror of this so desperate a cause.

It

1. It is *Ordo Nature*, agreeable to the order of Nature, that things of great weight and magnitude should slowly proceed, according to that of the Poet, *Tarda solet magnis rebus adesse fides*. And surely of these things we may truly say, *Nunquam ante dies nostros talia acciderunt*, Neither hath the eye of man seen, nor the ear of man heard the like things to these.

2. *Veritas Temporis filia*, Truth is the daughter of Time especially in this case; wherein by timely and often Examinations, First, matters of greatest moment have been lately found out. Secondly, some known Offenders, and those capital, but lately apprehended. Thirdly, sundry of the principal and Arch-traytors before unknown now manifested, as the Jesuits. Fourthly, Heretical, Treasonable, and damnable Books lately found out, one of Equivocation, and another *De officio Principis Christiani*, of Francis Treham's.

3. There have been already twenty and three several days spent in Examinations.

4. We should otherwise have hanged a man unattainted, for *Guy Fawkes* passed for a time under the name of *John Johnson*: So that if by that name greater expedition had been made, and he hanged, though we had not missed of the man, yet the proceeding would not have been so orderly or justifiable.

5. The King out of his wisdom and great moderation, was pleased to appoint this Trial in time of Assembly in Parliament, for that it concerned especially those of the Parliament:

Now touching the offences themselves, they are so exorbitant and transcendent, and aggregat-

ted of so many bloody and fearful crimes, as they cannot be aggravated by any inference, argument or circumstance whatsoever, and that in three respects: First, because this offence is *Præme impressio*; and therefore *sine Nomine*, without any name which might be *adequatum*, sufficient to express it, given by any Legist; that ever made or writ of any Laws. For the highest Treason that all they could imagine, they called it only *Crimen læsæ Majestatis*, the violating of the Majesty of the Prince. But this Treason doth want an apt name, as tending not only to the hurt, but to the death of the King; and not the death of the King only, but of his whole Kingdom; *Non Regis sed Regni*, that is, to the destruction and dissolution of the frame and Fabrick of this Ancient, Famous, and ever-flourishing Monarchy, even the deletion of our whole Name and Nation: *And therefore hold not thy tongue, O God, keep not stil silence, refrain not thy self, O God: for loe thine enemies make a murmuring, and they that hate thee have lift up their heads; They have said; Come, and let us root them out; that they be no more a people, and that the Name of Israel may be no more in remembrance.* Secondly, it is *Sine exemplo*, beyond all examples, whether in fact or fiction, even of the Tragick Poets, who did beat their wits to represent the most fearful and horrible murders. Thirdly, it is *Sine modo*, without all measure or stint of iniquity, like a Mathematical line, which is *Divisibilis in semper divisibilis*, infinitely divisible: It is Treason to imagine or intend the death of the King, Queen, or Prince.

For Treason is like a Tree, whose root is full

of poyson, and lieth secret and hid within the earth, resembling the imagination of the heart of man, which is so secret as God only knoweth it. Now the wisdom of the Law provideth for the blasting and nipping both of the leaves, blossoms and buds which proceed from this root of Treason, either by words which are like to leaves, or by some overt-act, which may be resembled to buds or blossoms, before it cometh to such fruit and ripeness as would bring utter destruction and desolation upon the whole State.

It is likewise Treason to kill the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, or any Justice of the one Bench or other, Justices of Assise, or any other Judge mentioned in the Statute of 25 Edw. 3. sitting in their Judicial places, and exercising their Offices. And the reason is, for that every Judge so sitting by the King's Authority, representeth the Majesty and person of the King, and therefore it is *Crimen lesa Majestatis*, to kill him, the King being always in Judgment of Law present in Court. But in the High Court of Parliament, every man by vertue of the King's Authority by Writ under the Great Seal, hath a Judicial place, and so, consequently the killing of every of them had been a several Treason, and *Crimen lesa Majestatis*. Besides, that to their Treasons were added open Rebellion, Burglary, Robbery, Horse-stealing, &c. So that this offence is such as no man can express it, no example pattern it, no measure contain it.

Concerning Foreign Princes, there was here a protestation made for the clearing of them from all imputation or aspersion whatsoever. First, for that whilst Kingdoms stood in hostility

hostile

hostile Actions are holden honorable and just. Secondly it is not the King's Serjeant, Attorney, or Solicitor, that in any sort touch or mention them: for we know that great Princes and Personages are reverently and respectfully to be spoken of, and that there is *Lex in Sermone tenenda*. But it is *Paux*, *Winter*, and the rest of the Offenders, that have confessed so much as hath been said; and therefore the King's Council learned doth but repeat the Offenders Confession, and charge or touch no other person. They have also slandered unjustly our great Master King *James*, which we only repeat, to shew the wickedness and malice of the Offenders. Thirdly, so much as is said concerning Foreign Princes, is so woven into the matter of the charge of these Offenders, as it cannot be severed or singled from the rest of the matter. So as it is inevitable, and cannot be pretermitted.

Now as this Powder-Treason is in it self prodigious and unnatural, so is it in the Conception and Birth most monstrous, as arising out of the dead ashes of former Treasons. For it had three Roots, all planted and watered by Jesuits, and English Romish Catholicks: The first Root in *England*, in *December* and *March*; the second in *Flanders*, in *June*; the third in *Spain*, in *July*. In *England* it had two Branches; One in *December* was twelve months, before the death of the late Queen of blessed memory: Another in *March* wherein she died.

First, in *December*, *Anno Dom. 1601*. do *Henry Garnet*, Superior of the Jesuits in *England*; *Robert Tesmond*, Jesuit; *Robert Catesby*, who was (*homo subdito et versuto ingenio, &*

profunda perfidia) together with *Fraucis Tresham*, and others; in the names, and for the behalf of all the English Romish Catholicks, employ *Thomas Winter* into *Spain*, as for the general good of the Romish Catholick cause: And by him doth *Garret* write his Letters to Father *Creswell*, Jesuit, residing in *Spain*, in that behalf. With *Thomas Winter* doth *Tesmond*, alias *Greeneway* the Jesuit go, as an Associate and Confederate in that Conspiracy. The Message (which was principally committed unto the said *Winter*) was, that he should make a proposition and request to the King of *Spain*, in the behalf and names of the English Catholicks, that the King would send an Army hither into *England*, and that the Forces of the Catholicks in *England* should be prepared to joyn with him, and do him service. And further, that he should move the King of *Spain* to bestow some Pensions here in *England*, upon sundry Persons Catholicks, and devoted to his service: And moreover to give advertisement, that the said King of *Spain*, making use of the general discontentment that young Gentlemen and Soldiers were in, might, no doubt, by relieving their necessities, have them all at his devotion.

And because that in all attempts upon *England*, the greatest difficulty was ever found to be the transportation of Horses; the Catholicks in *England* would assure the King of *Spain*, to have always in readiness for his use and service 1500 or 2000 Horses, against any occasion or enterprise. Now *Thomas Winter* undertaking this Negotiation, and with *Tesmond* the Jesuit coming into *Spain*, by means of Father *Creswell* the

the Legior Jesuit there, as hath been said, had readily speech with *Don Pedro Franceca*, second Secretary of State, to whom he imparted his Message as also to the Duke of *Lerma*; who assured him, that it would be an office very grateful to his Master, and that it should not want his best furtherance.

Concerning the place for landing of the King of *Spain's* Army, which from the English Romish Catholicks he desired might be sent to invade the Land, it was resolved, That if the Army were great, that *Essex* and *Kent* were judged fittest. (Where note by the way, who was then Lord Warden of the *Cinque Ports*.) If the Army were small, and trusted upon succour in *England*, then *Milford-Haven* was thought more convenient.

Now there being at that time Hostility betwixt both Kingdoms, the King of *Spain* willingly embraced the motion, saying, That He took the message from the Catholicks very kindly, and that in all things he would respect them with as great care as his proper *Castilians*. But for his further Answer, and full dispatch, *Thomas Winter* was appointed to attend the Progress. In the end whereof, being in Summer-time, Count *Miranda* gave him this Answer in the behalf of his Master, That the King would bestow a hundred thousand Crowns to that use, half to be paid that year, and the rest the next Spring following. And withall required, that we should be as good as our promise; for the next Spring he meant to be with us, and set foot in *England*. And lastly, he desired on the King's behalf of *Winter*, that he

might have certain advertisement and intelligence, if so it should in the meantime happen that the Queen did die. *Thomas Winter*, laden with these hopes, returns into *England* about a month before *Christmas*, and delivered answer of all that had passed to *Henry Garnet*, *Robert Catesby*, and *Francis Tresham*. But soon after Set that Glorious Light, her Majesty died. *Mitra cano: Sol occubuit, Nox nulla secuta est.*

Presently after whose death was *Christopher Wright*, another Messenger, sent over into *Spain* by *Garnet*, (who likewise did write by him to *Creswel* for the furtherance of the Negotiation) *Catesby* and *Tresham*, in the name and behalf of all the Romish Catholics in *England*, as well to carry news of her Majesties death, as also to continue the aforesaid Negotiation for an Invasion and Pensions, which, by *Thomas Winter*, had before been dealt in. And in the Spanish Court, about two moneths after his arrival there, doth *Christopher Wright* meet with *Guy Fawkes*, who upon the two and twentieth of *June* was employed out of *Flanders* from *Bruxels*, by *Sir William Stanley*, *Hugh Owen*, (whose finger had been in every Treason which hath been of late years detected) and *Baldwyn* the Leger Jesuit in *Flanders*; from whom likewise the said *Fawkes* carried Letters to *Creswel* in *Spain*, for the countenancing and furtherance of his affairs.

Now the end of *Fawkes* his employment was, to give advertisement to the King of *Spain*, how the King of *England* was like to proceed rigorously with the Catholics, and to run the same course which the late Queen did;

did; and withall to entreat that it would please him to send an Army into *England* to *Milford Haven*, where the Romish Catholicks would be ready to assist him; and then the Forces that should be transported in *Spinola's* Gallies, should be landed where they could most conveniently. And these their severall messages did *Christopher Wright* and *Guy Fawkes* in the end intimate and propound to the King of *Spain*. But the King as then very honorably answered them both, that he would not in any wise further listen to any such motion, as having before dispatched an Embassage into *England* to Treat concerning Peace, Therefore this course by Foreign Forces failing, they fell to the Powder-plot, *Catesby* and *Tresham* being in at all, in the Treason of the Earl of *Essex*, in the Treason of *Watson* and *Clarke*, Seminary Priests, and also in this of the Jesuits, Such a greedy appetite had they to practise against the State.

The rest of that which Master Attorney then spake continuedly, was by himself divided into three general parts. The first containing certain considerations concerning this Treason. The second observations about the same. The third a comparison of this Treason of the Jesuits, with that of the Seminary Priests, and that other of *Rawley* and others. For the considerations concerning the Powder-Treason, they were in number eight: that is to say, 1. The persons by whom, 2. The persons against whom, 3. The time when, 4. The place where, 5. The means, 6. The end, 7. The secret contriving, And lastly, The admirable discovery thereof.

1. For the persons offending, or by whom,

they are of two sorts: either of the Clergy, or Laity, and for each of them there is a several objection made. Touching those of the Laity. it is by some given out, that they are such men as admit just exception, either desperate in estate, or base, or not settled in their wits, such as are *Sine Religione, Sine Sede, Sine Fide, Sine Re, & Sine Spe,* without Religion, without habitation, without credit, without means, without hope; But (that no man, though never so wicked, may be wronged) true it is they were Gentlemen of good houses, of excellent parts, howsoever most perniciously seduced, abused, corrupted; and Jesuited, of very competent fortunes and States; Besides that *Percy* was of the house of Northumberland, *Sir William Stanley*, who principally employed *Fawkes* into Spain, and *John Talbot* of *Grafton*, who at the least is in case of misprision of High Treason, both of great and honorable Families. Concerning those of the Spirituality, it is likewise falsely said, that there is never a Religious Man in this action. For I never yet knew a Treason without a Romish Priest: but in this there are very many Jesuits, who are known to have dealt, and passed through the whole action: three of them are Legiers and States men, as *Henry Garnet, alias Waley*, the Superiour of the Jesuits, Legier here in England, *Father Creswell*, Legier Jesuit in Spain, *Father Baldwin* Legier in *Flanders*, as *Parsons* at *Rome*, besides their Cursory men, as *Gerard, Oswald, Tesmond, alias Greenway, Hamond, Hall* and other Jesuits: So that the principal offenders are the seducing Jesuits, men that use the reverence of Religion, yea even the most Sacred and

and Blessed name of JESUS as a mantle to cover their impiety, blasphemy, treason, and rebellion, and all manner of wickedness, as by the help of Christ shall be made most apparent to the glory of God, and the honour of our Religion. Concerning this Sect, their Studies and practises principally consist in two Degrees, to wit, in Depositing of Kings, and Disposing of Kingdoms: their profession and doctrine is a Religion of distinctions, the greatest part of them being without the text, and therefore in very deed, idle and vain conceits of their own brains, not having *Membra dividenda*, that is all the parts of the division warranted by the word of God, and *Ubi Lex non distinguit, nec nos distinguere debemus*. And albeit that Princes hold their Crowns immediately of and from God, by right of lawful Succession and inheritance inherent by Royal Blood, yet think these Jesuits with a Goose quill, within four distinctions to remove the Crown from the head of any King christened, and to deal with them as the old Romans are said to have done with their Viceroyes, or petty Kings, who in effect were but Lieutenants unto them, to crown and uncrown them at their pleasures. Neither so onely, but they will proscribe and expose them to be butchered by vassals, which is against their own Canons, for Priests to meddle in cause of Blood. And by this means they would make the condition of a King far worse than that of the poorest creature that breatheth.

First saith *Simanca*. *Heretici omnes ipso Jure sunt excommunicati, & à Communione fidelium diris proscriptionibus seperati, & quotannis in eana Domini excommunicantur à Papa:* | So then every

De Excom.
tit. 27. Sect.
1. fol. 116.
b.

every Heretick stands and is reputed with them
 excommunicated and accursed, if not *de facto*,
 yet *de jure*, in Law and right to all their interests
 and purposes; therefore may he be deposed, pro-
 scribed and murdered. I but suppose he be not
 a professed Heretick, but dealeth reservedly, and
 keepeth his conscience to himself, how stands he
 then? *Simonda* answers, *Quare autem solum An*
Hereticus occultus excommunicatus sit ipse Jurid,
& in illis dicitur pena incidat contra Hereticos
statutum? Cui questioni simpliciter Jurisprudenti
respondent, Quod etsi haereticus occultus sit, nihil
ominus occultus Hereticus incidit in illas penas.
 Whether he be a known or a secret Heretick all is
 one, they thunder out the same Judgment and
 Curse for both: Whereas Christ saith, *Nolite*
Judicare, Judge not, which is, saith *Augustine*,
Nolite Judicare de occultis, of those things which
 are secret. But suppose that a Prince thus ac-
 cursed and deposed, will estfoons return and
 conform himself to their Romish Church, shall
 he then be restored to his State, and again receive
 his Kingdom? Nothing less: For saith *Simonda*,
Si Reges aut alii Principes Christiani facti sint
Heretici, protinus subditi & vasalli ab eorum do-
minio liberantur, Nec fit hoc recuperabunt, quan-
vis postea reconcilientur Ecclesia. O But *Sancta*
Mater Ecclesia nunquam claudit gremium rede-
anti, Our holy Mother the Church never shuts
 her bosom to any Convert. It is true, say they,
 but with a distinction, *Quoad Animam*; There-
 fore so he may, and shall be restored, that is, spi-
 ritually, in respect of his souls health. *Quoad*
Animam he shall again be taken into the Holy
 Church, but not *Quoad Regnum*, in respect of
 his

De occultis
tit. 42.
Sec. 2. fol.
 193.

his Kingdom or State temporal he must not be restored. The reason is, Because all hold only thus far, *Modo non fit ad damnationem Ecclesie*: So that the Church receive thereby no detriment. I but suppose that such an unhappy deposed Prince have a Son, or lawful and right Heir, and he also not to be touched or spotted with his Fathers crime, shall not he at the least succeed and be invested in that Princely estate? Neither will this down with them: Heresie is a leprosie, an hereditary disease. *Et ex leprosis parentibus leprosi generantur filii*. Of leprous parents come leprous children. So that saith *Simeon*, *Propter Heresim Regis, non solum Rex Regno privatur, sed et ejus filii à Regni Successione pelluntur, ut noster Lupus, (who is indeed *Vir faciendum Nomen ejus*, a Wolf as well in nature as name,) luculenter probat*. Now if any man doubt whom they here mean by an Heretick, *Creswell* in his Book called *Philopater*, gives a plain resolution; *Regnandè Jus amittit (saith he) qui Religionem Romanam deserit*, He is the Heretick we speak of, even whosoever forsakes the Religion of the Church of Rome, he is accursed, deprived, proscribed, never to be absolved but by the Pope himself, never to be restored either in himself or his posterity.

One place amongst many out of *Creswell's Philopater* shall serve to give a taste of the Jesuitical spirits and doctrine, which is *Señ. 2. pag. 109*. *Hinc etiam infert universa Theologorum de Jurisconsultorum Ecclesiasticorum secula, (Et est certum Et de fide) quemcumque Principem Christianum, si à Religione Catholica manifestò deflexerit, Et alios advocare voluerit, excidere statim omni potestate*

potestate ac dignitate, ex ipsa vi Juris tam huma-
ni tum divini, hocque ante dictam sententiam Su-
premi Pastoris ac Judicis contra ipsum prolatam,
& subditos quoscunq; liberos esse ab omni Jura-
menti obligatione, quod de obedientia tanquam
Principi legitimo prestitissent: posseq; & debere,
(si vires habeant) istius modi hominem tanquam
Apostatam, Hereticum, ac Christi Domini deser-
tores, & reipub. sue Inimicum hostemq; ex-
bonitum Christianorum dominatu ejicere, ne
alios inficiat, vel suo exemplo aut Imperio à
fide avertat; atq; hac certa, definita & indu-
bitata virorum doctissimorum sententia. That
 is, this inference also doth the whole School both
 of Divines and Lawyers make, (and it is a Posi-
 tion certain, and to be undoubtedly believed)
 that if any Christian Prince whatsoever, shall
 manifestly turn from the Catholick Religion,
 and desire or seek to reclaim other men from the
 same, he presently falleth from all Princely
 Power and Dignity, and that also by vertue and
 force of the Law it self, both Divine and Hu-
 mane, even before any sentence pronounced
 against him by the Supreme Pastor and Judge.
 And that his Subjects, of what estate or con-
 dition soever, are freed from all Bond of Oath
 of Allegiance, which at any time they had
 made unto him as to their lawful Prince. Nay,
 that they both may and ought (provided
 they have competent strength and force) cast
 out such a man from bearing rule amongst
 Christians, as an Apostate, an heretick, a
 backslider, and revolter from our Lord Christ,
 and an enemy to his own State and Common-
 Wealth, least perhaps he might infect others, or
 by

by his example or command turn them from the Faith. And this is the certain, resolute, and undoubted Judgment of the best learned men. But *Iresban* in his Book *De Officio Principis Christiani*; goeth beyond all the rest; for he plainly concludeth and determineth, that if any Prince shall but favour, or shew countenance to an Heretick, he presently loseth his Kingdom. In his fifth Chapter he propoundeth this Problem, *An aliqua possit secundum Conscientiam Subditis esse Ratio, cur legitimo suo Regi, bellum sine scelere moveant?* Whether there may be any lawful cause, justifiable in Conscience, for Subjects to take Arms, without sin, against their lawful Prince and Sovereign? The resolution is, *Si Princeps hereticus sit, & obstinatè ac pertinaciter intolerabilis, summi Pastoris divina potestate deponatur, & aliud caput constituatur, cui Subditi se jungant, & legitimo ordine & auctoritate tyrannidem amoveant. Princeps indulgendo hereticos non solum Deum offendit, sed perdit & Regnum, & gentem.* Their conclusion therefore is; that for heresie, as above is understood, a Prince is to be deposed, and his Kingdom bestowed by the Pope at pleasure; and that the people, upon pain of damnation, are to take part with him whom the Pope shall so constitute over them. And thus whilst they imagine with the wings of their light-feathered distinctions to mount above the Clouds and level of vulgar conceits, they desperately fall into a Sea of gross absurdities, blasphemy and impiety. And surely the Jesuits were so far engaged in this Treason, as that some of them stick not to say, that if it should miscarry, that they were utterly undone.

undone, and that it would overthrow the State of the whole Society of the Jesuits: And I pray God that in this they may prove true Prophets, that they may become like the Order of *Templarii*, so called, for that they kept near the Sepulcher at *Jerusalem*, who were by a general and universal Edict in one day throughout Christendom quite extinguished, as being *Ordo impietatis*, an Order of impiety. And so, from all Sedition and privy Conspiracy; from all false Doctrines and Heresie; from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy Word and Commandment, Good Lord deliver us. Their protestations and pretences, are to win souls to God, their proofs weak, light, and of no value; their conclusions false, damnable, and damned heresies: The first mentioneth God, the second favoureth of weak and frail Man, the last of the Devil, and their practise easily appeareth out of the dealing of their holy Father.

Henry the Third of France, for killing a Cardinal, was Excommunicated, and after murdered by *James Clemens* a Monk: That Fact doth *Sixtus Quintus*, then Pope, instead of orderly censuring thereof, not only approve, but commend in a long Consistory Oration: That a Monk, a Religious man, saith he, hath slain the unhappy *French King* in the midst of his Host; It is *rarum, insigne, memorabile facinus*; a rare, a notable, and a memorable Act; yea further, It is *Facinus non sine Dei Optimi Maximi particulari providentia & dispositione, &c.* A Fact done not without the special Providence and appointment of our good God, and the suggestion and assistance of his holy Spirit; yea, a far greater

greater work than was the slaying of *Holofernes* by holy *Judith*.

Vernus Monachus sibi occidit, A true Monk had killed the false Monk, for that, as was reported, *Henry* the Third sometimes would use that habit when he went in Procession. And for *France*, even that part thereof which entertaineth the Popish Religion, yet never could of ancient time brook this usurped Authority of the See of *Rome*. Namely, that the Pope had power to Excommunicate Kings, and Absolve Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance. Which Position is so directly opposite to all the Canons of the Church of *France*, and to all the Decrees of the King's Parliament there, as that the very Body of *Sermons*, and the whole University of *Paris* condemned it as a most schismatical, pestilent, and pernicious Doctrine of the Jesuits, as may appear in a Treatise made to the *French King*, and set out 1602. Entitled, *La France Discours*. But to return to the Jesuits, *Catesby* was resolved by the Jesuits, that the Fact was both lawful and meritorious, and herewith he persuaded and seduced the rest, as any seemed to make doubt.

Concerning *Thomas Bates*, who was *Catesby's* man, as he was wound into this Treason by his Master, so was he resolved, when he doubted of the harmfulness thereof, by the Doctrine of the Jesuites. For the manner, it was after this sort; *Catesby* noting that his man observed him extraordinarily, as suspecting somewhat of that which he the said *Catesby* went about, called him to him at his Lodging in *Ruddle-Wharf*, and in the presence of *Thomas Winter*, asked him what he thought

thought the business was they went about, for that he of late had so suspiciously and strangely mark'd them. *Bates* answered, that he thought they went about some dangerous matter, whatsoever the particular were: whereupon they asked him again, what he thought the business might be? and he answered, that he thought they intended some dangerous matter about the Parliament-House, because he had been sent to get a Lodging near unto that place. Then did they make the said *Bates* take an Oath to be secret in the Action, which being taken by him, they then told him that it was true, that they were to execute a great matter; namely, to lay Powder under the Parliament-House to blow it up. Then they also told him that he was to receive the Sacrament for the more assurance, and thereupon he went to Confession to the said *Tismond* the Jesuit; and in his confession told him, that he was to conceal a very dangerous piece of work, that his Master *Catesby* and *Thomas Winter* had imparted unto him, and said he much feared the matter to be utterly unlawful; and therefore therein desired the counsel of the Jesuit, and revealed unto him the whole intent and purpose of blowing up the Parliament-House upon the first day of the Assembly, at what time the King, the Queen the Prince, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Judges, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, should all have been there Convented, and met together. But the Jesuit being a Confederate therein before resolved and encouraged him in the Action, and said that he should be secret in that which his Master had imparted unto him, for that it was for

for

For a good cause. Adding moreover, that it was not dangerous unto him, nor any offence to conceal it : And thereupon the Jesuit gave him Absolution, and *Bates* received the Sacrament of him, in the company of his Master *Robert Catesby*, and *Thomas Winter*. Also when *Rookwood*, in the presence of sundry of the Traitors, (having first received the Oath of Secresie) had, by *Catesby*, imparted unto him the Plot of the blowing up of the King and State, the said *Rookwood* being greatly amazed thereat, answered, That it was a matter of Conscience to take away so much Blood. But *Catesby* replied, That he was resolved, and that by good Authority, (as coming from the Superiour of the Jesuits) that in Conscience it might be done, yea, though it were with the destruction of many Innocents, rather than the Action should quail. Likewise Father *Hammond* absolved all the Traitors at *Robert Winters* house, upon *Thursday* after the Discovery of the Plot, they being then in open Rebellion: And therefore, *Hos, O Rex, magne caveo*, and let all King's take heed how they either favour, or give allowance or connivance unto them.

2. The second Consideration respecteth the persons against whom this Treason was intended, which are, 1. The King, who is Gods Anointed; nay, it hath pleased God to communicate unto him his own name, *Dixi Dii estis*, not Substantially or Essentially so; neither yet on the other side *Usurpative*, by unjust Usurpation, as the Devil and the pope; but *Preestative*, as having his power derived from God within his Territories. 2. Their Natural Liege

Lord and Dread Sovereign, whose just Interest
 and Title to his Crown may be drawn from
 before the Conquest ; and if he were not a King
 by Descent , yet deserved he to be made one
 for his rare and excellent Endowments and Or-
 naments both of Body and Mind. Look into
 his true and constant Religion and Piety, his
 Justice, his Learning above all Kings Christned,
 His *Acumen*, his Judgment, his Memory ; and
 you will say that he is indeed , *Solus præteritis
 major, meliorque futuris*. But because I cannot
 speak what I would , I will forbear to speak
 what I could. Also against the Queen, a most
 gracious and graceful Lady, a most virtuous,
 fruitful , and blessed Vine , who hath happily
 brought forth such Olive Branches , as that
in benedictione erit memoria eius , her memory
 shall be blessed of all our posterity. Then
 against the Royal Issue Male , next under God,
 and after our Sovereign, the future hope, com-
 fort , joy , and life of our State. And as for
 preserving the good Lady *Elizabeth* , the King's
 daughter , it should only have been for a time,
 to have served their purposes, as being thought
 a fit project to keep others in appetite for their
 own further advantage ; and then, God know-
 eth what would have become of her. To con-
 clude , against all the most honourable and
 prudent Counsellors , and all the true-hearted
 and worthy Nobles , all the Reverend and
 Learned Bishops, all the grave Judges and Sa-
 ges of the Law, all the principal Knights, Gen-
 try, Citizens, and Burgesses of Parliament, the
 Flower of the whole Realm. *Horret Animus*,
 I tremble even to think of it. Miserable deso-
 lation !

lation! no King, no Queen, no Prince, no Issue Male, no Counsellors of State, no Nobility, no Bishops, no Judges. O barbarous, and more than *Scythian* or *Ibracian* cruelty! No mantle of Holiness can cover it, no pretence of Religion can excuse it, no shadow of good intention can extenuate it; God and Heaven condemn it, Man and Earth detest it, the Offenders themselves were ashamed of it, wicked people exclaim against it, and the Souls of all true Christian Subjects abhor it. Miserable, but yet sudden had their Ends been, who should have dyed in that fiery Tempest, and storm of Gun-Powder: but more miserable had they been that had escaped. And what horrible effects the blowing up of so much Powder and Stuff would have wrought, not only amongst Men and Beasts, but even upon insensible Creatures, Churches and Houses, and all places near adjoining, you who have been Martial men best know. For my self, *Vox faucibus haret*: so that the King may say with the Kingly Prophet *David*, *O Lord, the proud are risen against me, and the congregation, even Synagoga, the Synagogue of naughty men have sought after my soul, and have not set thee before their eyes.* And as it is, *Psal. 140.5.* *The proud have laid a snare for me, and spread a net abroad, yea, and set traps in my way. But let the ungodly fall into their own nets together, and let me ever escape them.* We may say, *If the Lord himself had not been on our side, yea, if the Lord himself had not been on our side, when men rose up against us, they had swallowed us up quick, when they were so wrathfully displeas'd at us. But praised be*

Psal. 86. 24.

Psal. 141.

11.

Psal. 124. 2.

the Lord, Which hath not given us over for a prey unto their teeth. Our soul is escaped even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; the snare is broken, and we are delivered. Our help standeth in the name of the Lord, which hath made heaven and earth.

3. The third Consideration respects the time when this Treason was conspired: wherein note, that it was *Primo Jacobi*, even at that time when his Majesty used so great lenity towards Recufants, in that by the space of a whole year and four months, he took no Penalty by Statute of them. So far was his Majesty from severity, that besides the benefit and grace before specified, he also honoured all alike with advancement and favours; and all this was continued untill the Priests Treason by *Watson* and *Clark*. But as there is *Misericordia puniens*, so is there likewise *Crudelitas parcens*; for they were not noly by this not reclaimed, but (as plainly appeareth) became far worse. Nay, the Romish Catholiks did at that very time certifie, that it was very like, the King would deal rigorously with them; and the same do these Traitors now pretend as the chiefeft motive: whereas indeed they had Treason on foot against the King before they see his face in *England*. Neither afterwards for all the lenity he used toward them, would any whit desist or relent from their wicked attempts. Nay (that which cometh next to be remembered in this part of their Arraignment) they would pick out the time of Parliament for the execution of their hideous Treasons, wherein the flour of the land being assembled, for the honor of God,

the good of his Church, and this commonwealth, they might, as it were, with one blow, not wound, but kill and destroy the whole State. So that with these men, *Impunitas continuum affectum tribuit peccandi*, Lenity having once bred a hope of Impunity, begat not only Insolency, but Impenitency and increase of sin

4. We are to consider the place, which was the Sacred Senate; the House of Parliament. And why there? For that, say they, unjust Laws had formerly been there made against Catholics; therefore that was the fittest place of all others to revenge it, and to do Justice in. If any ask, who should have executed this their Justice, it was Justice *Fawkes*, a man like enough to do according to his name. If by what Law they meant to proceed? It was Gun-powder Law, fit for Justices of Hell. But concerning those Laws which they so calumniate as unjust, it shall in few words plainly appear, that they were of the greatest, both moderation and equity that ever were any: For from the year 1 *Eliz.* untó 11. all Papists came to our Church and Service without scruple. I my self have seen *Cornwallis*, *Beddingfield*, and others, at Church. So that then, for the space of ten years, they made no conscience nor doubt to Communicate with us in Prayer: But when once the Bull of Pope *Pius Quintus* was come and published, wherein the Queen was accursed and deposed, and her Subjects discharged of their Obedience and Oath, yea, cursed if they did obey her; then did they all forthwith refrain the Church, then would they have no more

society with us in Prayer. So that Recusancy in them is not for Religion, but in an acknowledgment of the Popes Power, and a plain manifestation what their judgment is concerning the right of the Prince in respect of Regal Power and Place. Two years after, *viz. Anno 13 Eliz.* was there a Law made against the bringing in of Bulls, &c. *Anno 18.* came *Mayne* a Priest to move sedition. *Anno 20.* came *Campion* the first Jesuit, who was sent to make a party here in *England*, for the execution of the former Bull. Then follow Treasonable Books. *Anno 23 Eliz.* after so many years sufferance, there were Laws made against Recusants and seditious Books. The penalty or Sanction for Recusancy was not loss of Life, or Limb, or whole Estate; but only a pecuniary Mulct and penalty, and that also until they would submit and conform themselves, and again come to Church, as they had done for ten years before the Bull. And yet afterwards the Jesuits and Romish priests, both coming daily into, and swarming within the Realm, and infusing continually this poison into the Subjects hearts, that by reason of the said Bull of *Pius Quintus*, her Majesty stood Excommunicated and deprived of her Kingdom, and that her Subjects were discharged of all obedience to her, endeavouring by all means to draw them from their Duty and Allegiance to her Majesty, and to reconcile them to the Church of *Rome*. Then *27 Eliz.* a Law was made, That it should be Treason for any (not to be a priest and an Englishman, born the Queens Natural Subject) but for any being so born her Subject, and made a Romish priest, to come into

into any of her Dominions, to infect any her Loyal Subjects with their treasonable and damnable persuasions and practises: Yet so, that it concerned only such as were made priests, since her Majesty came to the Crown, and not before.

Concerning the execution of these Laws, it is to be observed likewise, that whereas in the Quinquenny, the five years of Queen Mary, there were cruelly put to death about 300 persons for Religion; In all her Majesties time, by the space of 44 years and upwards, there were for treasonable practises executed in all not 30 priests, nor above five receivers and harborers of them; and for Religion, not any one. And here by the way, I desire those of parliament to observe, that it is now questioned and doubted Whether the Law of Recusants and reconciled persons do hold for Ireland also, and the parts beyond the Seas; that is, Whether such as were there reconciled, be within the compass of the Statute or not, to the end it may be cleared and provided for.

Now against the Usurped power of the See of Rome, we have of former times about thirteen several Acts of parliament: So that the Crown and King of England is no ways to be drawn under the Government of any Foreign power whatsoever; neither oweth duty to any, but is immediately under God himself. Concerning the popes, for thirty three of them, namely, unto Sixtus, they were famous Martyrs; but, *Quisquis desiderat primatum in terris, inveniet confusionem in calis*: He that desires primacy

every upon Earth, shall surely find confu-
sion.

The fifth consideration is of the end
was, to bring a final and fatal confusio-
the State. For howsoever they sought
draw their Impiety with the Cloak of Re-
yet they intended to breed a confu-
page: new Alterations; for they went
with Romish Catholicks, and disce-
perious.

Now the sixth point, which is the
compass and work these designs, were da-
by Mining, by six and thirty Barrels of
being Crows of Iron, Stones, and W
the Barrels, to have made the B
Lord, what a Wind, what a F
and Commotion of Earth
ere have been! But, as it
Kings, what was in th
was calle
ould a mig
, and
was, bu
and after

7. The next consideration is the secret contriving and carriage of this Treason, to which purpose there were four means used. First, *Catesby* was commended to the Marquis for a Regiment of horse in the Low-Countreys, (which is the same that the Lord *Arundel* now hath) that under that pretence he might have furnished this Treason with Horses without suspition. The Second means was an Oath, which they solemnly and severally took, as well for secrecie, as perseverance and constancy in the execution of their Plot. The form of the Oath was as followeth,

*Y*ou shall swear by the Blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose directly nor indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret, nor desist from the execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave,

The Oath was by *Gerrard* the Jesuit given to *Catesby*, *Piercy*, *Christopher Wright*, and *Winter* at once, and by *Greenwel* the Jesuit to *Bates* at another time, and so to the

rest was the Sacrament, which they used and devillishly prophan'd to this end. It was their perfidious and perjurious Oath, abetted, allowed, and justified by them not only simply to conceal or debase the truth, but Religiously to aver, to protest

protest upon Salvation, to sweare that which
 themselves know to be most false; and all
 this, by reserving a secret and private sense in-
 wardly to themselves, whereby they are by their
 Ghostly Fathers perswaded, that they may safely
 and lawfully delude any question whatsoever.
 And here was shewed a Book written not long
 before the Queens death, at what time *Thomas*
Winter was employed into *Spain*, intituled, *A*
Treatise of Equivocation; which Book being
 seen and allowed by *Garnet*, the Superior of
 the Jesuits, and *Blackwel* the Arch-priest of
England, in the beginning thereof, *Garnet*,
 with his own hand, put out those words in the
 Title of *Equivocation*, and made it thus, *A Trear-*
tise against Lying, and Fraudulent Dissimulation;
 whereas in deed and truth it makes for both,
Speciosaque nomina Culpa Imponis Garnete tue.
 And in the end thereof, *Blackwel* besprinkles it
 with his Blessing, saying, *Tractatus iste, valde*
doctus & verè pius, & Catholicus est. Certe S.
Scripturarum, Patrum, Doctorum, Scholastico-
rum, Canonistarum & optimarum Rationum
presidiis plenissimè firmat equitatem equivo-
cationis. Ideoque dignissimus est qui Typis propaga-
tur, ad consolationem afflictorum Catholicorum,
& omnium piorum instructionem. That is, This
 Treatise is very Learned, Godly, and Catholick;
 and doth most fully confirm the Equity of Equi-
 vocation, by strong proofs out of holy Scri-
 ptures, Fathers, Doctors, School-men, Gan-
 nists, and foundest reasons, and therefore wor-
 thy to be published in Print, for the comfort of
 afflicted Catholicks, and instruction of all the
 godly.

Now in this Book there is, *Propositio mentalis, verbalis, scripta*, and *mixta*, distinguishing of a mental, a verbal, a written, and a mixt Proposition, a very labyrinth to lead men into error and falsehood. For example, to give you a little taste of this Art of cozening.

A man is asked upon Oath this question, Did you see such an one to day? he may by this Doctrine, answer No, though he did see him, *viz.* reserving this secret meaning not with purpose to tell my Lord Chief Justice. Or I see him not, *Visiono beatifica*, or not in *Venice, &c.* Likewise, to answer thus, I was in the company, reserving and intending secretly, as added, this word Not: as *Strange* the Jesuit did to my Lord Chief Justice and my self; Take one or two of these out of that very Book, as for purpose. A man cometh unto *Coveentry* in time of a suspicion of Plague, and at the Gates the Officer's meet him, and upon his Oath examine him, whether he came from *London* or no, where they think certainly the Plague to be: This man knowing for certain the Plague not to be at *London*, or at least knowing that the Air is not there infectious, and that he only rid through some secret place of *London*, not staying there, may safely swear he came not from *London*, answering to their final intention in their demand, that is, whether he came so from *London*, that he may indanger their City of the Plague, although their immediate intention were to know whether he came from *London* or no. That man (saith the Book) the very light of nature would clear from Perjury. In like manner, one being Convented in the Bishop's Court, because

he

he refuseth to take such a one to his Wife, as he had contracted with *per verba de presenti*, having contracted with another privily before, so that he cannot be Husband to her that claimeth him, may answer, that he never contracted with her *per verba de presenti*, understanding that he did not so contract that it was a Marriage, for that is the final intention of the Judge, to know whether there were a sufficient Marriage between them or no. Never did Father *Cranmer*, Father *Latimer*, Father *Ridley*, those blessed Martyrs, know these shifts, neither would they have used them to have saved their lives. And surely let every good man take heed of such Jurors or Witnesses, there being no Faith, no bond of Religion or Civility, no Conscience of Truth in such men, and therefore the conclusion shall be that of the Prophet *David*: *Domine, libera Animam meam à labiis iniquis & à lingua dolosa; Deliver me, O Lord, from lying lips, and from a deceitful tongue.*

S. P. Q. R. was sometimes taken for these words, *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, the Senate and people of *Rome*, but now they may truly be expressed thus, *Stultus populus querit Romam*: A foolish people that runneth to *Rome*. And here was very aptly and delightfully inserted and related the Apologue or Tale of the Cat and the Mice. The Cat having a long time preyed upon the Mice, the poor creatures at last, for their safety, contain'd themselves within their holes; but the Cat finding his prey to cease, as being known to the Mice, that he was indeed their enemy, and a Cat, deviseth this course following, *viz.* changeth his hue, getteth on a Re-

ligious habit, shaveth his crown, walks gravely by their holes: And yet perceiving that the Mice kept their holes, and looking out, suspected the worst, he formally, and Father-like said unto them, *Quod fueram non sum, frater, caput aspice tonsuram*: Oh Brother, I am not as you take me for, no more a Cat, see my habit, and shaven crown. Hereupon some of the more credulous and bold among them, were again by this deceit snatched up; and therefore when afterwards he came as before to entice them forth, they would come out no more, but answer'd, *Cor tibi restat idem, vix tibi presto fidem*; Talk what you can, we will never believe you, you have still a Cats heart within you: you do not watch and pray, but you watch to prey. And so have the Jesuits, yea, and Priests too; for they are all joined in the tails like *Sampson's Foxes*, *Ephraim* against *Manasses*, and *Manasses* against *Ephraim*, but both against *Juda*.

8. The last Consideration is, concerning the admirable discovery of this Treason, which was by one of themselves, who had taken the Oath and Sacrament, as hath been said, against his own will: The means was, by a dark and doubtful Letter sent to my Lord *Montegle*. And thus much as touching the Considerations; the Observations follow, to be considered in this Powder-Treason, and are briefly thus.

1. If the Cellar had not been hired, the Mine-work could hardly, or not at all, have been discovered; for the Mine was neither found, nor suspected, until the danger was past, and the capital Offenders apprehended; and by themselves, upon Examination, confessed.

2. How the King was Divinely Illuminated by Almighty God, the only Ruler of princes, like an Angel of God, to direct and point as it were to the very place, to cause a search to be made there, out of those dark words of the Letter concerning a terrible Blow.

3. Observe a miraculous accident which befel in *Stephen Littleton's* house, called *Holbach* in *Staffordshire*, after they had been two days in open Rebellion, immediately before the apprehension of these Traitors: For some of them standing by the fire-side, and having set 2 l. and 6 s. of powder to drie in a platter before the fire, and under-set the said platter with a great linnen bag, full of other powder, containing some fifteen or sixteen pounds; it so fell out, that one coming to put more wood into the fire, and casting it on, there flew a coal into the platter, by reason whereof, the powder taking fire and blowing up, scorched those who were nearest, as *Catesby*, *Grant*, and *Kookerwood*, blew up the roof of the house, and the linnen-bag which was set under the platter being therewith suddenly carried out through the Breach, fell down in the Court-yard whole and unfired; which if it had took fire in the room, would have slain them all there, so that they never should have come to this Trial. And *Lex justior ulla est, Quam necis artifices arte perire sua?*

4. Note, That Gun-powder was the invention of a Friar, one of that Romish Rabble; as Printing was of a Soldier.

5. Observe the sending of *Rainham*, one of the damned Crew, to the High priest of Rome, to give

give signification of this blow, and to crave his direction and aid.

6. That for all their stirring and rising in open Rebellion, and notwithstanding the false Rumors given out by them, that the throats of all Catholicks should be cut; such is His Majesties blessed Government, and the Loyalty of his Subjects, as they got not any one man to take their parts besides their own company.

7. Observe, the Sheriff, the ordinary Minister of Justice, according to the duty of his Office, with such power as he on a sudden by Law collected, suppressed them.

8. That God suffered their intended mischief to come so neer the period, as not to be discovered but within few hours before it should have been executed.

9. That it was in the entering of the Surr into the Tropick of *Capricorn*, when they began their Mine; noting, that by Mining they should descend, and by Hanging ascend.

10. That there never was any Protestant Minister in any Treason and Murder, as yet attempted within this Realm.

I am now come to the last part, which I proposed in the beginning of this discourse, and that is, touching certain Comparisons of this Powder-Treason of the Jesuits, with that of *Raleigh*, and the other of the Priests, *Watson* and *Clark*. 1. They had all one end, and that was the Romish Catholick Cause. 2. The same means, by Popish and discontented persons, Priests and Lay-men. 3. They all plaid at hazard; the Priests were at the By; *Raleigh* at the

Compari-
sons.

Main, but these in at all, as purposing to destroy all the King's Royal Issue, and withall the whole Estate. 4. They were all alike obliged by the same Oath and Sacrament, 5. The same Proclamations were intended (after the fact) to be published for reformation of abuses. 6. The like Army provided for invading, to land at *Milford-Haven*, or in *Kent*. 7. The same Pensions of Crowns promised. 8. The agreeing of the times of the Treason of *Raleigh* and these men, which was, when the Constable of *Spain* was coming hither, and *Raleigh* said, there could be no suspicion of any invasion, seing that the Constable of *Spain* was then expected for a Treaty of peace; and the Navy might be brought to the *Groine* unde pretence of the Service in the *Low-Countreys*. And *Raleigh* further said, That many more were hanged for words than for deeds. And before *Raleigh's* Treason was discovered, it was reported in *Spain*, That *Don Raleigh* and *Don Cobham* should cut the King of *England's* throat. I say not that we have any proofs, that these of the Powder-plot were acquainted with *Raleigh*, or *Raleigh* with them: but as before was spoken of the Jesuits and Priests, so they all were joyned in the ends, like *Samson's* Foxes in the tails, howsoever severed in their heads.

Conclusion.

The Conclusion shall be, from the admirable clemency and moderation of the King, in that howsoever these Traitors have exceeded all others their Predecessors in mischief, and so *Crescente malitia, crescere debuit & Poena*; yet neither will the King exceed the usual punishment of Law, nor invent any new torture or

torment

torment for them, but is graciously pleased to afford them as well an ordinary course of Trial, as an ordinary punishment, much inferiour to their offence. And surely worthy of observation is the punishment by Law provided and appointed for high Treason, which we call *Crimen læsæ Majestatis*. For first, after a Traitor hath had his just Trial, and is convicted and attainted, he shall have his judgment to be drawn to the place of Execution from his Prison, as being not worthy any more to tread upon the face of the earth, whereof he was made: Also for that he hath been retrograde to Nature, therefore is he drawn backwards at a Horse-tail. And whereas God hath made the head of man the highest and most supreme part, as being his chief grace and ornament; *Pronaque cum spectent Animalia cætera terram, Os homini sublime dedit*; he must be drawn with his head declining downward, and lying so near the ground as may be, being thought unfit to take benefit of the common Air: for which cause also he shall be strangled, being hanged up by the neck between Heaven and Earth, as deemed unworthy of both, or either; as likewise, that the eyes of men may behold, and their hearts contemn him: Then is he to be cut down alive, and to have his Privy parts cut off, and burnt before his face, as being unworthily begotten, and unfit to leave any generation after him. His bowels and inlay'd parts taken out and burnt, who inwardly had conceived and harboured in his heart such horrible Treason. After, to have his head cut off, which had imagined such mischief. And lastly, his body to be quartered, and the quarters set up in

some high and eminent place, to the view and detestation of men, and to become a prey for the Fowls of the Air. And this is a reward due to Traitors, whose hearts be hardned: for that it is Physick of State and Government, to let out corrupt blood from the heart. But, *Penitentia vera nunquam sera, sed penitentia sera raro vera.* True repentance is indeed never too late, but late repentance is seldom found true; which yet I pray the merciful Lord to grant unto them, that having a sense of their offences, they may make a true and sincere Confession, both for their Souls health, and for the good and safety of the King and this State. And for the rest that are not yet apprehended, my prayer to God is, *Ut aut convertantur ne pereant, aut confundantur ne noceant*; that either they may be converted, to the end they perish not, or be confounded that they hurt not.

After this, by the direction of M^{ay} General, were their several (subscribed by themselves) shew'd unto them, and acknowledged their own, and true, wherein they confessed the Treason. The Attorney desire, that albeit that already done and confessed is all-sufficient for the Declaration of the course of Justice seeing we have *Reos contra* own voluntary Confession further satisfaction to be had in Audience, and their best advantage of these Treasons Confessions of all the

writing, subscribed with their own proper hands, and acknowledged at the Bar by themselves to be true, were openly and distinctly read. By which, amongst other things, it appeareth, that *Barr* was resolved for what he undertook concerning the Powder-treason, and being therein warranted by the Jesuits. Also it appeared, that *Hammond* the Jesuit, after that he knew the Powder-treason was discovered, and that these Traitors had been in actual Rebellion, Confessed them, and gave them Absolution; and this was on *Thursday* the 7th. of *November*. Here also was mention made by *Master Attorney*, of the Confessions of *Watson* and *Clark*, Seminary Priests, upon their apprehension, who affirmed, That there was some Treason intended by the Jesuits, and then in hand, as might appear; First, by their continual negotiating at that time with *Spain*, which they assured themselves tended to nothing, but a preparation for a Foreign commotion.

2. By their collecting and gathering together such great sums of Money, as then they had done, therewith to levy an Army when time should serve.

3. For that fundry of the Jesuits had been tampering with Catholicks, as well to dissuade them from acceptance of the King at his first coming, saying, That they ought rather to die, than to admit of any Heretick (as they continually termed his Majesty) to the Crown: And that they might not, under pain of Excommunication, accept of any but a Catholick for their Sovereign; as also to dissuade Catholicks from their Loyalty, after the State was settled.

Lastly, in that they had both bought up store of great Horses throughout the Countrey, and conveyed Powder, and Shot, and Artillery secretly to their Friends, wishing them not to stir; but keep themselves quiet until they heard from them.

After the reading of their several Examinations, Confessions, and Voluntary Declarations, as well of themselves, as of some of their dead Confederates, they were all, by the Verdict of the Jury, found guilty of the Treasons contained in their Indictment; and then being severally asked what they could say, wherefore Judgment of Death should not be pronounced against them, there was not one of these (except *Rookwood*) who would make any continued Speech, either in defence or extenuation of the fact. *Thomas Winter* onely desired, that he might be hanged both for his Brother and himself. *Guy Fawkes* being asked why he pleaded *Not Guilty*, having nothing to say for his excuse, answered, That he had so done in respect of certain conferences mentioned in the Indictment, which, he said, that he knew not of; which were answered to have been set down according to course of Law, as necessarily presupposed before the resolution of such a design. *Keyes* said, That his Estate and Fortunes were desperate, and as good now as another time, and for this cause rather than for another, *Bates* craved mercy. *Robert Winter* mercy. *John Grant* was a good while mute, yet after sibilantly said, He was guilty of a Conspiracy intended, but never effected, But *Ambrose Rookwood* first excused his denial of the Indictment,

for that he had rather lose his life than give it. Then did he acknowledge his offence to be so heinous, that he justly deserved the indignation of the King, and of the Lords, and the hatred of the whole Common-wealth, yet could he not despair of Mercy at the hand of a Prince, so abounding in Grace and Mercy: And the rather, because his offence, though it were incapable of any excuse, yet not altogether incapable of some extenuation, in that he had been neither Author nor Actor, but onely perswaded and drawn in by *Catesby*, whom he loved above any worldly man: and that he had concealed it, not for any malice to the Person of the King, or of the State, or for any ambitious respect of his own, but onely drawn with the tender respect, and the faithful and dear affection he bare to Mr. *Catesby* his Friend, whom he esteemed more dear than any thing else in the world. And this mercy he desired not for any fear of the image of death, but for grief that so shameful a Death should leave so perpetual a blemish and blot unto all Ages upon his Name and Blood. But howsoever that this was his first Offence, yet he humbly submitted himself to the Mercy of the King, and prayed, that the King would herein imitate God, who sometimes doth punish *corporaliter, non mortaliter*; corporally, yet not mortally.

Then was related, how that on *Friday* immediately before this Arraignment, *Robert Winter* having found opportunity to have conference with *Fawkes* in the Tower, in regard of the nearness of their Lodgings, should say to *Fawkes*, as *Robert Winter* and *Fawkes* confessed, That he and

Catesby had Sons, and that Boys would be Men, and that he hoped they would revenge the cause: nay, that God would raise up Children to *Abraham* out of stones. Also that they were sorry, that no body did set forth a Defence or Apology of their Action; but yet they would maintain the cause at their deaths.

Here also was reported *Robert Winters* Dream, which he had before the blasting with Powder in *Littletons* house, and which he himself confessed, and first notified, viz. That he thought he saw Steeples stand awry, and within these Churches strange and unknown faces. And after, when the foresaid blast had, the day following, scorched divers of the Confederates, and much disfigured the faces and countenances of *Grant*, *Rookwood*, and others; then did *Winter* call to mind his Dream, and to his remembrance thought, that the faces of his Associates so scorched, resembled those which he had seen in his Dream: And thus much concerning the former Indictment.

Sir *Everard Digby* Indicted.
Look the Indictment

Then was Sir *Everard Digby* Arraigned, and after his Indictment was read, wherein he was charged, not only to have been acquainted with the Powder-treason, and concealed it, and taken the double Oath of Secrecie and Constancy therein, but likewise to have been an Actor in this Conspiracy. And lastly, to have exposed, and openly shewed himself in the Rebellion in the Country, amongst the rest of the Traitors. All which, after he had attentively heard and marked, knowing that he had freely confessed it, and the strength and evidence of the proofs against him, and convicted with the testimony

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line 19.

of his own Conscience, shewed his disposition to confess the principal part of the said Indictment, and so began to enter into a Discourse. But being advertised, that he must first plead to the Indictment directly, either Guilty, or Not Guilty, and that afterwards he should be licensed to speak his pleasure, he forthwith confessed the Treason contained in the Indictment, and so fell into Speech, whereof there were two parts, *viz.* Motives and Petitions. The first Motive which drew him into this action, was not ambition, nor discontentment of his Estate, neither malice to any in Parliament, but the friendship and love he bare to *Catesby*, which prevailed so much, and was so powerful with him, as that for his sake he was ever contented and ready to hazard himself and his Estate. The next Motive was, the cause of Religion, which alone, seeing (as he said,) it lay at the stake, he entred into a resolution, to neglect in that behalf his Estate, his Life, his Name, his Memory, his Posterity, and all worldly and earthly felicity whatsoever, though he did utterly extirpate and extinguish all other hopes, for the restoring of the Catholick Religion in *England*. His third Motive was, That promises were broken with the Catholicks. And lastly, That they generally feared harder Laws from this Parliament against Recusants, as, That Recusants Wives, and Women, should be liable to the Malt as well as their Husbands, and Men. And further, that it was supposed, that it should be made a *Premunire*, to only to be a Catholick.

Sir Everard Digby's
Speech.

His Petitions were, That sithence his offence was confined and contained within himself, that the punishment also of the same might extend onely to himself, and not be transferred either to his Wife, Children, Sisters, or others: and therefore for his Wife he humbly craved, that she might enjoy her Joynture, his Son the benefit of an Entail made long before any thought of this action; his Sisters, their just and due Portions which were in his hands; his Creditors, their rightful Debts; which that he might more justly set down under his hand, he requested, that before his death, his Man (who was better acquainted both with the Men, and the Particulars, than himself) might be licensed to come unto him. Then prayed he pardon of the King and Ll. for his guilt. And lastly, he entreated to be beheaded, desiring all men to forgive him, and that his death might satisfie them for his trespass.

Mr. Attorney.

To this Speech forthwith answered Sir *Edw. Coke*, Attorney General, but in respect of the time (for it grew now dark) very briefly. 1. For his friendship with *Catesby*, that it was mere folly, and wicked conspiracy. 2. His Religion, Error and Heresie. 3. His promises, idle and vain presumptions; as also his fears, false alarms. Concerning Wives that were Recusants, if they were known so to be before their Husbands (though they were good Protestants) took them, and yet for outward and worldly respects whatsoever, any would match with such, great reason there is, that he or they should pay for it, as knowing the penalty and burthen before; for, *Volenti & scienti non fit Injuria,*

Injuria, No man receives injury in that, to which he willingly and knowingly agreeth and consenteth. But if she were no Recusant at the time of Marriage, and yet afterwards he suffer her to be corrupted and seduced, by admitting Priests and Romanists into his house, good reason likewise that he, be he Papist or Protestant, should pay for his negligence and misgovernment.

4. Concerning the Petitions for Wife, for Children, for Sisters, &c. O how he doth now put on the bowels of Nature and Compassion in the peril of his private and domestical estate! But before, when the publick state of his Country, when the King, the Queen, the tender Princes, the Nobles, the whole Kingdom, were designed to a perpetual destruction; where was then this piety, this Religious affection, this care? All Nature, all Humanity, all respect of Laws both Divine and Humane, were quite abandoned; then was there no conscience made to extirpate the whole Nation, and all for a pretended zeal to the Catholick Religion, and the justification of so detestable and damnable a Fact.

Here did Sir *Everard Digby* interrupt Mr. Attorney, and said, That he did not justify the fact, but confessed, that he deserved the vilest death, and most severe punishment that might be; but he was an humble Petitioner for mercy, and some moderation of Justice. Whereupon Mr. Attorney repli'd, That he should not look by the King to be honoured in the manner of his death, having so far abandon'd all Religion and Humanity in his Action; but

that he was rather to admire the great moderation and mercy of the King, in that, for so exorbitant a crime, no new torture answerable thereunto was devised to be inflicted upon him. And for his Wife and Children, whereas he said, That for the Catholick Cause he was content to neglect the ruine of himself, his Wife, his Estate, and all; he should have his desire, as 'tis in the Psalm, *Let his Wife be a widow, and his Children vagabonds; let his posterity be destroyed, and in the next generation let his name be quite put out.* For the paying of your Creditors, it is equal and just, but yet fit the King be first satisfied and paid, to whom you owe so much, as that all you have is too little: yet these things must be left to the pleasure of his Majesty, and the course of Justice and Law.

My

My Lord of Northampton's Speech, as
it was taken at the Arraignment of
Sir Everard Digby, by T. S.

YOU must not hold it strange, Sir Everard Digby, though at this time, being pressed in Duty, Conscience, and Truth, I do not suffer you to wander in the Labyrinth of your own idle conceits without opposition, to seduce others, as your self have been seduced, by false Principles, or to convey your selves by charms of imputation, by clouds of error, and by shifts of lately devised Equivocation, out of that strait wherein your late secure and happy fortune hath been unluckily entangled; but yet justly surprised, by the rage and revenge of your own rash humours. If in this crime (more horrible than any man is able to express) I could lament the estate of any person upon earth, I could pity you, but thank your self and your bad Counsellors, for leading you into a Crime of such a kind; as no less blemishes in all faithful, but true and honest men, the tenderness of affection, than it did in you the sense of all humanity.

That you were once well thought of, and esteemed by the late Queen, I can witness, having heard her speak of you with that grace, which might have encouraged a true Gentleman to have run a better course: Nay, I will add further, that there was a time, wherein you were as well affected to the King our Master's expectation, though perhaps upon false rumors and reports, that he would have yielded satisfaction to your improbable and vast desires; but the seed that wanted

moisture

moisture (as our Saviour himself reporteth) took no deep roots: that zeal which hath no other end or object than the pleasing of it Self, is quickly spent: and Trajan, that worthy and wise Emperor, had reason to hold himself discharged of all debts to those, that had offended more by prevarication, than they could deserve by industry.

The grace and goodness of his Majesty in giving honour at his first coming, unto many men of your own affection, and (as I think) unto your self; his facility in admitting all, without distinction of Trojan or of Tyrian, to his Royal Presence, upon just occasions of access; his integrity, in setting open the gate of Civil Justice unto all his Subjects equally and indifferently, with many other favours that succeeded by the progression of Peace, are so palpable and evident to all men, that have either eyes of understanding, or understanding of capacity, as y^e self and many others, have been driven of late to excuse and countenance your execrable ingratitude, with a false and scandalous report of some further hope and comfort yielded to the Catholicks for Toleration or Connivency, before his coming to the Crown, than since hath been performed, made good, or satisfied.

I am not ignorant, that this seditious and false alarm hath awak'd and incited many working spirits, to the prejudice of the present State, that might otherwise have slept as before with silence and sufferance: it hath served for a shield of wax against a Sword of power: it hath been used as an Instrument of Art to shadow false approaches, till the Trojan Horse might be brought within the walls of the Parliament, with a belly stuffed, not as in old time with armed Greeks, but with bel-

lish Gun-powder. But howsoever God had blinded you and others in this action, as he did the King of Egypt and his Instruments, for the brighter evidence of his own powerful glory; yet every man of understanding could discern, that a Prince, whose Judgment had been fixed by experience of so many years, upon the Poles of the North and the South, could not shrink upon the sudden: no nor since with fear of that combustion which Catesby that Arch-traitor, like a second Phaeton, would have caused in an instant in all the Elements. His Majesty did never value fortunes of the world, in lesser matter than Religion, with the freedom of his thoughts: he thought it no safe policy (professing as he did, and ever will) to call up more Spirits into the Circle than he could put down again: he knew, that omne Regnum in se divisum desolabitur. Philosophy doth teach, That whatsoever any man may think in secret thought, that where one doth hold of Cephas, another of Apollo, openly dissension ensues, Quod in fitum alieno solo est, in id quo alitur, natura vertente, degenerat: and the world will ever apprehend, that Quorum est commune symbolum, facillimus est transitus.

Touching the point it self of promising a kind of Toleration to Catholicks, as it was divulged by these two limbs of Lucifer, Watson and Percy, to raise a ground of practise and conspiracy against the State and Person of our dear Sovereign: let the Kingdom of Scotland witness for the space of so many years before his coming hither, whether either flattery or fear (no not upon that enterprise of the 17th. of November, which would have put the patience of any Prince in

Europe to his proof) could draw from the King the least inclination to this dispensative indifference, that was onely believed, because it was eagerly desired.

Every man doth know how great art was used, what strong wits sublimed, and how many Ministers suborned and corrupted many years, both in Scotland and in Foreign parts, to set the Kings teeth an edge, with fair promises of future helps and supplies, to that happy end of attaining his due right in England, when the Sun should set, to rise more gloriously in the same Hemisphere, to the wonder both of this Island, and of the world: But all in vain: for *jacta erat alea*, the Kings compass had been set before, and by a more certain rule; and they were commonly cast off as forlorn hopes in the Kings favour, that ran a course of ranking themselves in the foremost front of Foreign correspondency.

Upon notice given to his Majesty from hence, some years before the death of the late Queen, that many men were grown suspicious of his Religion, by rumors spread abroad, that some of those in Foreign parts, that seemed to be well affected to his future expectation, had used his name more audaciously, and spoken of his favour to the Catholics, more forwardly than the Kings own Conscience, and unchangeable Decree could acknowledge or admit (either with a purpose to prepare the minds of Foreign Princes, or for a practise to estrange and alienate affections at home) not onely utterly renounced and condemned those encroachments of blind zeal, and rash proceedings, by the voices of his own Ministers, but was careful also for a caution to succeeding

hopes, so far as lay in him, that by the disgraces of the Delinquents in this kind, the minds of all English Subjects chiefly might be secured, and the world satisfied.

No man can speak in this case more confidently than myself, that received in the Queens time for the space of many years, directions and warnings to take heed, that neither any further comfort might be given to Catholics concerning future favours, than he did intend, which was, to bind all Subjects in one Kingdom to one Law, concerning the Religion established; howsoever in civil matters he might extend his favour as he found just cause: nor any seeds of jealousy and diffidence sown in the minds of Protestants by Semeis and Achitophels, to make them doubtful of his constancy, to whom he would confirm with his dearest blood that faith which he had sucked from the breast of his Nurse, apprehended from the Cradle of his Infancy, and maintained with his uttermost endeavour, affection, and strength, since he was more able out of reading and dispute to give a reason of those Principles which he had now digested, and turned to Nutriment.

He that wrote the Book of Titles before the late Queens death, declares abundantly, by seeking to possess some Foreign Princes of the Kings Hereditary Crowns, when the cause should come to the proof, and may witness in stead of many, what hope there was of the Kings favour or affection to Catholics, in the case of Toleration or Dispensation with exercise of Conscience. For every man may guess, that it was no slight or ordinary degree of despair, that made him and
other

other of his Saies renounce their portion in the Son and Heir of that renowned and rare Lady, Mary Queen of Scotland, a Member of the Roman Church, as some did in David, Nulla nobis pars in David, nec hæreditas in filio Isai. For hereof, by Letters intercepted in their passage into Scotland; the Records and Proofs are evident. His Majesty, so long as he was in expectation of that, which by the work and grace of God he doth now possess, did ever seek to settle his establishment upon the Faith of Protestants in generality, as the most assured Shoot-Anchor. For though he found a number on the other side, as faithful and as well affected to his Person, Claim, and Interest, as any men alive, as well in respect of their dependency upon the Queen his Mother, as for the taste which they had of the sweetness of himself; yet finding with what strength of blood many have been over-carried, out of a fervency in zeal in former times, observing to what censures they were subject, both in points of Faith, and limitation of Loyalty; and last of all, forecasting to what end their former Protestation would come, when present satisfaction should shrink, he was ever fearful to embark himself for any further voyage and adventure in this Streight, than his own compass might steer him, and his Judgment level him.

If any one green leaf for Catholicks could have been visibly discerned by the eye of Catesby, Winter, Garnet, Fawkes, &c. they would neither have entered into practise with Foreign Princes during the Queens time, for prevention of the Kings Lawful and Hereditary Right, nor have renewed the same both abroad and at home, by

Missions

Missions and Combinations, after his Majesty was both applauded and entred:

It is true, that by Confessions we find that false Priest Watson, and Arch-Traitor Percy, to have been the first devisers and divulgers of this scandalous report, as an accursed ground, whereon they might with some advantage, as it was conceived, build the Castles of their Conspiracy.

Touching the first, no man can speak more soundly to the point than my self; for being sent into the Prison by the King to charge him with this false Alarm, onely two days before his death, and upon his Soul to press him in the presence of God, and as he would answer it at another Bar, to confess directly, whether at either of both these times he had access unto his Majesty at Edinburgh, his Majesty did give him any promise, hope or comfort of encouragement to Catholicks concerning Toleration; he did there protest upon his Soul, that he could never win one inch of ground, or draw the smallest comfort from the King in those degrees, nor further than that he would have them apprehend, that as he was a Stranger to this State, so till he understood in all points how those matters stood, he would not promise favour any way, but did protest, that all the Crowns and Kingdoms in this world, should not induce him to change any Iote of his Profession, which was the pasture of his Soul, and earnest of his eternal Inheritance. He did confess, that in very deed, to keep up the hearts of Catholicks in love and duty to their King, he had imparted the Kings words to many in a better tune, and a higher kind of descant, than his Book of Plainsong did direct; because he knew that others,

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like *ſlie* Barge-men, looked that way, when their ſtroke was bent another way. For this he craved pardon of the King in humble manner, and for his main Treasons of a higher nature than theſe Figures of Hypocriſie; and ſeemed penitent, as well for the borrow of his crime, as for the falſhood of his whiſperings.

It hindred not the ſatisfaction which may be given to Percy's Shadow (the moſt deſperate Bouteſeu in the pack) that as he died impenitent, for any thing we know, ſo likewise he died ſilent in the particulars: For firſt it is not ſtrange, that ſuch a Traitor ſhould deviſe ſo ſcandalous a ſlander out of the malice of his heart, intending to deſtroy the King by any means, and to advance all means that might remove obſtructions and impediments to the plot of Gun-powder. The more odious that he could make him to the Party Male-content, and the more ſharply that he could ſet the Party Male-content upon the point and humour of revenge, the ſtronger was his hope at the giving of the laſt blow, to be gloriſ'd and juſtiſ'd. But touching the truth of the matters, it will be witnessed by many, that this Traitor Percy, after both the firſt and ſecond return from the King, brought to the Catholicks no ſpark of comfort, of encouragement, of hope; whereof no ſtronger proof of argument doth need, than that Fawkes and others were employed both into Spain and other parts, for the reviving of a pracliſe ſuſpended and covered, after Percy's coming back, as in likelihood they ſhould not have been, in caſe he had returned with a branch of Olive in his mouth, or yielded any ground of comfort to reſolve upon.

Therefore I thought it thus far needful to proceed for the clearing of those scandals that were cast abroad by those forlorn Hopes and graceless Instruments. It onely remains; that I pray for your repentance in this world for the satisfaction of many, and forgiveness in the next world for the saving of your self; having had by the Kings favour so long a time to cast up your Accompt, before your appearance at the seat of the great Auditor.

H. Northampton.

Then spake the Earl of *Salisbury*, especially The Earl of Salisbury to that point of his Majesties breaking of promise with Recusants, which was used and urged by Sir *Everard Digby*, as a motive to draw him to participate in this so hideous a Treason: *Wherein his Lordship, after acknowledgment, that Sir Everard Digby was his Ally; And having made a zealous and Religious protestation, concerning the sincerity and truth of that which he would deliver; shortly and clearly defended the honour of the King herein, and freed his Majesty from all imputation and scandal of Irresolution in Religion, and in the constant and perpetual maintaining thereof; as also from having at any time given the least hope, much less promise of Toleration. To which purpose he declared, how his Majesty, as well before his coming to this Crown, as at that very time, and always since, was so far from making of promise, or giving hope of Toleration, that he ever*

professed he should not endure the very motions thereof from any.

And here his Lordship shewed what was done at Hampton-Court at the time of Watson's Treason, where some of the greater Recusants were convented; and being found then not to have their fingers in Treason, were sent away again with encouragement to persist in their dutiful carriage, and with promise onely of thus much favour, That those mean profits which had occurred since the Kings time to his Majesty for their Recusancy, should be forgiven to the principal Gentlemen, who had both at his Entry shewed so much Loyalty, and had kept themselves so free since from all Conspiracies.

Then did his Lordship also (the rather to shew how little truth Sir Everard Digby's words did carry in anything which he had spoken) plainly prove, That all his protestations, wherein he denied so constantly to be privy to the Plot of Powder, were utterly false, by the testimony of Fawkes (there present at the Bar) who had confessed, That certain moneths before that Session, the said Fawkes being with Digby at his house in the Countrey, about what time there had fallen much wet; Digby taking Fawkes aside after Supper, told him, That he was much afraid that the Powder in the Cellar was grown dank, and that some new must be provided, lest that should not take fire.

Next, the said Earle did justly and greatly commend the Lord Mounteagle, for his Loyal and honourable care of his Prince and Countrey, in the speedy bringing forth of the Letter sent into him, wherein he said, That he had shewed

both

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both his discretion and fidelity. Which Speech being ended; Digby then acknowledged, That he spake not that of the breach of promise out of his own knowledge, but from their Relation whom he trusted, and namely from Sir Tho. Tresham.

Now were the Jury returned, who having returned their Verdict, whereby they joyntly found those seven Prisoners, Arraigned upon the former Indictment, Guilty, Serjeant Philips craved Judgment against those seven upon their Conviction; and against Sir Everard Digby upon his own Confession.

Then the Lord Chief Justice of England, after a grave and prudent Relation and Defence of the Laws made by Queen Elizabeth against Recusants, Priests, and Receivers of Priests, together with the severall occasions, progresse, and reasons of the same; and having plainly demonstrated and proved, that they were all necessary, mild, equal, moderate, and to be justified to all the world, pronounced Judgment.

Upon the rising of the Court, Sir Everard Digby bowing himself towards the Lords, said, If I may but hear any of your Lordships say, you forgive me, I shall go more cheartfully to the Gallows. Whereunto the Lords said, God forgive you, and we do.

And so according to the Sentence, on Thursday following, execution was done upon Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Graunt, and Thomas Bates, at the West end of Pauls Church; and on the Friday following, upon Thomas Winter, Ambrose Rookwood, Robert Keyes, and Guy Fawkes, within the old Palace-yard at Westminster, not far from the Parliament-house, K 3 The

THE
ARRAIGNMENT
OF
HENRY GARNET,

Superiour of the *Jesuits* in *England*, on *Friday* the 28th day of *March*, 1696. at *Guild-hall* in the *City of London*, before the *Lords Commissioners* there present.

Sir Leonard Holiday, Lord Mayor.

The Earl of *Nottingham*.

The Earl of *Suffolk*.

The Earl of *Worcester*.

The Earl of *Northampton*.

The Earl of *Salisbury*.

The Lord Chief Justice of *England*.

The Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*.

Sir Christopher Telverton Knight, one of his Majesties Justices of the *Kings Bench*.

The substance and effect of the Indictment of *Henry Garnet*, Superior of the Jesuits in *England*, appeareth before in the Relation of the former Arraignment, and therefore unnecessary to be repeated again; which Indictment was summarily and effectually repeated by Sir *John Croke*, Knight, his Majesties Serjeant at Law, in this manner.

THis Person and Prisoner here at the Bar, this place, and this present Occasion and Action, do prove that true, which the Author of all Truth hath told us, that, *Nihil est occultum quod non manifestabitur, & nihil est secretum, quod non revelabitur, & in palam veniet.* There is nothing hid that shall not be made manifest, there is nothing secret that shall not be revealed, and come in publick; and that God by whom Kings do reign, *Consilium pravorum dissipat, datq; scater and bring to nought the counsel of the wicked.*

That he spake with fear and trembling, and with horror and amazement, against that rotten root of that hideous and hateful Tree of Treason, and of that detestable and unheard of wickedness, he did crave pardon for it; affirming, that no flesh could mention without astonishment.

He shewed, that *Henry Garnet*, of the profession of the Jesuits, otherwise *Wally*, otherwise

Darcy, otherwise Roberts, otherwise Farmer, otherwise Philips, (for by all those names he called himself) stood indicted of the most barbarous and damnable Treasons, the like whereof were never heard of, that he was a man, Multorum Nominum, but not boni Nominis, of many names, as appeared by the Indictment, but of no good name; adorned by God and Nature with many gifts and graces, if the grace of God had been joyned with them; but that wanting, quanto ornatior in other gifts, tanto nequior.

That this Garnet (his Majesty summoning his Parliament to be holden at Westminster, the 19th. of March, in the first year of his Reign, and by divers Prorogations continuing it till the third of October last) together with Catesby, lately slain in open Rebellion, and with Oswald Tesmond, a Jesuit, otherwise Oswald Greenwell, as a false Traitor against the most mighty and most renowned King, our Sovereign Lord King James, the 9th. of June last, traitorously did conspire and compass,

To depose the King, and to deprive him of his Government.

To destroy and kill the King, and the Noble Prince Henry his eldest Son: Such a King, and such a Prince, such a Son of such a Father, whose vertues are rather with amazed silence to be wondred at, than able by any speech to be expressed.

To stir sedition and slaughter throughout the Kingdom.

To subvert the true Religion of God, and whole Government of the Kingdom.

To overthrow the whole State of the Commonwealth.

The manner how to perform these horrible Treasons, the Serjeant said, Horreo dicere, his lips did tremble to speak it, but his heart praised God for his mighty deliverance. The practise so inhumane, so barbarous, so damnable, so detestable, as the like was never read nor heard of, or ever entered into the heart of the most wicked man to imagine. And here he said, he could not but mention that Religious observation, so Religiously observed by his Religious Majesty, wishing it were engraven in Letters of Gold, in the hearts of all his people, The more Hellish the Imagination, the more Divine the Preservation.

This Garnet, together with Catesby and Fesmond, had speech and conferences together of these treasons, and concluded most traiterously and devillishly.

That Catesby, Winter, Fawkes, with many other Traitors lately attainted of high Treason, would blow up with Gun-powder in the Parliament house, the King, the Prince, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Judges of the Realm, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, and many other Subjects and Servants of the King assembled in Parliament, at one blow, traiterously and devillishly to destroy them all, and peace-meal to tear them insunder, without respect of Majesty, Dignity, Degree, Age, or Place.

And for that purpose great quantity of Gun-powder was traiterously and secretly placed, and hid by these Conspirators under the Parliament-house.

This being the substance and the effect of the

Indictment, Garnet did plead Not guilty to it: and a very discreet and substantial Jury, with allowance of Challenges unto the Prisoner, were sworn at the Bar for the trial of him.

To whom the Serjeant shewed, that they should have Evidences to prove him guilty, that should be Luce clariores, that every man might read them running.

They should have Testimonia Rerum, and Loquentia signa, Witnesses and Testimonies of the things themselves.

Reum confitentem, or rather, Reos confitentes & accusantes invicem.

That every one may say unto him, Serve nequam, thou wicked Subject, thou wicked Servant, Ex ore te judico, of thine own mouth I judge thee, of thine own mouth I condemn thee.

And this shall be made so manifest by him that best can do it, as shall stop the mouth of all contradiction.

The effect of that which Sir Edward Coke, Knight, His Majesties Attorney General, said at the Arraignment of Henry Garnet, Superior of the Jesuits in England, as near to his own words as the same could be taken.

Your Lordships may perceive by the parts of the Indictment, which have been succinctly opened, that this is but a latter Act of that heavy and woful Tragedy, which is commonly called the Powder-treason, wherein some have already played their parts, and, according to their demerits, suffered condign punishment and pains of death. We are now to proceed against this Prisoner for the same Treason, in which respect, the necessary repetition of some things before spoken, shall at the least seem tolerable: for that *Nunquam nimis dicitur, quod nunquam satis dicitur*; It is never said too often, that can never be said enough: Nay, it may be thought justifiable to repeat in this case, for that in respect of the confluence and access of people, at the former Arraignment, many could not hear at that time. And yet because I fear it would be tedious, for that most of all my Lords Commissioners, and of this Honourable and Great Assembly, were present at that Arraignment, and for that I am now to deal with a man of another

other quality, I will onely touch, and that very little, of the former Discourse or Evidence, and that little also shall be mingled with such new matter as shall be worth the hearing, as being indeed of weight and moment; and all this with very great brevity.

But before I further proceed to the opening of this so great a Cause, I hold it fit and necessary to give satisfaction to two divers and adverse sorts of men, who according to the divers affections of their hearts, have divined and conjectured diversly of the cause of the procrastination and delay of proceeding, especially against this person, the matter where-with he stands charged being so transcendent and exorbitant as it is. The first sort of these, out of their hearty love and loyalty to their Natural Liege Lord and King, and to their dear Countrey, and this State, have feared the issue of this delay, lest that others might be animated by such protraction of Judgment, to perpetrate the like: For they say (and it is most true) *Quis non profertur cito contra malos sententia, absq; timore ullo filii hominum perpetrunt mala.* Because speedy justice is not executed against wicked men, the people without all fear commit wickedness: And pity it were that these good men should not be satisfied. The other sort are of those, who in respect no greater expedition hath been used against this Prisoner at the Bar, fall to excusing of him, as gathering these presumptions and conjectures: First, that if he, or any of the *Jesuits*, had indeed been justly to be touched with this most damnable and damned Treason, surely they should have been brought

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forth and tried before this time. Secondly, that there was a Bill exhibited in Parliament concerning this Treason, and this Traitor, but that it was deferred, and proceeded not for want of just and sufficient proofs. Nay, thirdly, there was a particular Apology spread abroad for this man, and another general for all *Jesuits* and *Priests*, together with this imputation, That King-killing, and Quen-killing was not indeed a Doctrine of theirs, but onely a Fiction and Policy of our State, thereby to make Popish Religion to be despised, and in disgrace. Now for these men, pity it were, that the eye of their understanding should not be enlightned and cleared, that so being by demonstrative and luculent proofs convinced, they may be to their Prince and Countrey truly converted. First therefore concerning the delay, (though it be true, *Quod flagellatur in corde, qui laudatur in ore*) yet must I remember the great pains of my Lords the Commissioners of his Majesties Privy Council, in this cause for *Garnet*, being first examined upon the 13th. of the last moneth, hath since been again examined and interrogated above twenty several times, which lasted unto the 26th. of *March*, within two days of this Arraignment. Touching the Bill in Parliament, it was indeed exhibited before *Garnet* was apprehended: but his Majesties gracious pleasure was, that albeit this Treason be without all presedent and example, yet they should quietly and equally be indicted, Arraigned, publickly heard, and proceeded withall in a moderate, ordinary, and just course of Law. Concerning their Apologies, and the Fictions

of State (as they term them) answer shall be made, by Gods grace, in the proper place, when I come to lay open the plots and practises of the Jesuits, to the satisfaction of all this Honourable and Great Assembly. But first I have an humble Petition to present to your Lordships, and the rest of this grave Auditory, for my self, in respect that I am necessarily to name great Princes; yet with protestation and caution, that no blot is intended to be laid upon any of them. I know there is *Lex in sermone tenenda*, a Law and Rule to be observ'd in speaking, especially in this kind; and that Kings and great Princes, and the mighty Men of this earth, are to be reverently and respectfully dealt withall. And therefore I humbly recommend unto you these Considerations, concerning this point of mentioning these Foreign States. First, That the Kingdoms were at those times in open enmity and hostility, and that might be honourable at one time which was not so at another; so that hostile actions were then justifiable and honourable, as being in times of Hostility and War. Secondly, in these things it is not the Kings Attorney that speaks, but *Garnet* the *Jesuit*: as also, that it proceedeth from an inevitable necessity, for that the Examinations as well of this, as of the rest of the Traitors, cannot otherwise be opened and urged against them: so is the mention of great men by the impudency of these wicked Traitors, woven into their Confessions, as they cannot be severed.

And with this comfort I conclude the Preface, That I hope in God, this days work, in the judgment of so many as shall be attentive

and well disposed, shall tend to the glory of Almighty God, the honour of our Religion, the safety of his most Excellent Majesty and his Royal Issue, and the security of the whole Commonwealth.

For Memory and Method, all that I shall speak may be contracted to two general Heads: First, I will consider the Offences, together with certain Circumstances,

Precedent before the offence.

Concurrent with the offence.

Subsequent after the offence.

Secondly, I will lay down some observations concerning the same.

For the proper name of this offence, because I must speak of several Treasons, for distinction and separation of this from the other, I will name it the Jesuits Treason, as belonging to them, both *ex congruo & condigno*, They were the Proprietaries, Plotters, and Procurers of it; and in such crimes, *plus peccat Author quam Actor*, the Author or Procurer offendeth more, than the Actor or Executor, as may appear by Gods own judgment given against the first sin in Paradise, where the Serpent had three punishments inflicted upon him, as the Original Plotter; the Woman two, being as the immediate Procurer; and *Adam* but one, as the Party seduced.

Circumstances precedent and subsequent, so termed here, are indeed in their proper natures all high Treasons, but yet in respect of the magnitude, nay, monstrousness of this Treason, may comparatively, without any discountenance to them in this case, be used as Circumstances.

stances. And because I am to deal with the Superiour of the Jesuits, I will only touch such Treasons, as have been plotted and wrought by the Jesuits, of whom this man was Superiour, and those Treasons also sithence this Garnet his coming into *England*, whereof he may truly say, *Et quorum pars magna fuit.*

The coming of this Garnet into *England*, (which very act was a Treason) was about twenty years past, *viz.* in *July*, 1586. in the 28th. year of the Reign of the late Queen of famous and blessed memory; whereas the year before, *namely* the 27th. year of *Eliz.* there was a Statute made, whereby it was Treason for any, who was made a Romish Priest by any Authority from the See of *Rome*, sithence the first year of her Reign, to come into her Dominions. Which Statute the Romanists caluminate as a bloody, cruel, unjust, and a new upstart Law; and abuse that place of our Saviour, *O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the Prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, &c.* to that purpose. But indeed it is both mild, merciful, and just, and grounded upon the ancient fundamental Laws of *England*. For (as hath already in the former Arraignments been touch'd) before the Bull of *Impious Pius Quintus*, in the 15th. year of the Queen, wherein her Majesty was Excommunicated and Deposed, and all they accursed who should yield any obedience unto her, &c. there were no Recusants in *England*, all came to Church, (howsoever Popishly inclined, or persuaded in most points) to the same Divine Service we now use; but thereupon presently they refused to assem-

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ble in our Churches, or joyn with us in publick Service, not for conscience of any thing there done; against which they might justly except out of the Word of God, but because the Pope had Excommunicated and Deposed her Majesty, and cursed those who should obey her: and so upon this Bull ensued open Rebellion in the North, and many Garboils. But see the event: Now most miserable in respect of this Bull was the state of Romish Recusants, for either they must be hanged for Treason, in resisting their lawful Sovereign, or cursed for yielding the due obedience unto her Majesty. And therefore of this Pope it was said by some of his own favourits, that he was *Homo Pius & doctus, sed nimis credulus*, A holy and a learned man, but over credulous; for that he was informed and believed, that the strength of the Catholicks in *England* was such, as was able to have resisted the Queen. But when the Bull was found to take such an effect, then was there a Dispensation given, both by *Pius Quintus* himself, and *Gregory* the 13th. That all Catholicks here might shew their outward obedience to the Queen, *ad redimendam vexationem, & ad ostendendam execrnam obedientiam*; but with these cautions and limitations: 1. *Rebus sic stantibus*, things so standing as they did. 2. *Donec publica Bullæ executio fieri possit*; that is to say, They might grow into strength, until they were able to give the Queen a Mute, that the publick execution of the said Bull might take place. And all this was confessed by *Garnet* under his own hand, and now again openly confessed at the Bar.

In the 20th. year of *Queen Elizabeth*, came *Campion* the Jesuit, and many others of his Profession with him, purposely to make a party in *England* for the Catholick cause, to the end that the Bull of *Pius Quintus* might be put in execution. And though all this while Recusancy being grounded upon such a disloyal Cause, were a very dangerous and disloyal thing; yet was there no Law made in that behalf until the 23d. year of her Majesties Reign. And that also imposing onely a Mulct or Penalty upon it, until conformity were offered and shewed. *Anno 26 Elix.* came *Parry* with a resolution from Cardinal *de Como* and others, that it was lawful to kill her Majesty, as being Excommunicated and Deposed. Whereupon her Majesty entring into consultation how (together with her safety, and the protection of her Subjects) she might avoid the imminent dangers, and yet draw no blood from these Priests and Jesuits, found out this moderate and mild course, as the best means to prohibit their coming at all into her Land, there never being any King who would endure, or not execute any such persons within their Dominions, as should deny him to be lawful King, or go about to withdraw his Subjects from their Allegiance, or incite them to resist or rebel against him. Nay, the bringing in of a Bull by a Subject of this Realm against another, in the time of *Edward* the first, was adjudged Treason. But by the way, for that *Garnet* hath exclaimed, saying, Shew us where was your Church before *Luther*, design the place, name the persons, and so forth; it is answered, by a comparison of a Wedge of

pure Gold, which coming into the hands of Impostors, is by their sophistications and mixtures, for gain and worldly respects, increased and augmented into a huge body and mass, and retaining still an outward fair shew and tincture of Gold. Where is now the pure Gold, saith one? shew me the place. I answer, In that mass, but for the extracting thereof, and purifying it from dross, that must be done by the Art of the Workman, and the Trial of the Touch-stone. So the true Religion and Service of Almighty God, being for humane respects, and worldly pomp, mixed and over-laden with a number of Superstitious Ceremonies and Inventions of man; yet ever had God his true Church holding his truth, which hath been by skilful Workmen, with the Touch-stone of the Word of God, refined and separate from the Dross of mans Inventions.

But to proceed. In the 28th. year of Queen *Elizabeth*, being the year of our Lord 86. in *June*, came *Garnet* into *England*, breaking through the Wall of Treason, being in truth, *Totus compositus ex proditiōe*. And this was at that time, when the great Armada of *Spain*, which the Pope blessed and Christened by the name of, *The Invincible Navy*, was, by the instigation of that high Priest of *Rome*, preparing and collecting together of many parcels, out of divers parts, where they could be bought, or hired, or borrowed, and therefore may be called, A compounded Navy, having in it 158 great Ships. The Purveyors and Fore-runners of this Navy and Invasion, were the Jesuits, and *Garnet* among them, being a Traitor even

in his very entrance and footing in the Land. But the Queen, with her own Ships, and her own Subjects, did beat this Armado, God himself (whose cause indeed it was) fighting for us against them, by Fire, and Seas, and Winds, and Rocks, and Tempests, scattering all, and destroying most of them. For, *Offenso Creatore, offenditur omnis creatura*, the Creator being offended, every Creature is readily armed to revenge his quarrel ; in which respect he is called, The Lord of Hosts. So that of 158, scarce 40 of their Ships returned to the Bar of their own Haven ; and it is reported, most of them also perished. Insomuch that in this respect, we may say of Queen *Elizabeth*, as the Poet writeth of the Christian Emperor,

*O nimium dilecta Deo, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.*

Observe here, that about the time of this Invasion, there being in *Spain* met in consultation about that business, the Cardinal of *Austria*, the Duke of *Medina*, Count *Fuentes*, two *Irish* Bishops, with sundry Military men, and amongst others, *Wimslade* an *Englishman* ; The *Irish* Bishops perceiving that they expected a Party of Catholicks in *England*, resolved, that true it was, that it was not possible to do any good here in *England*, unless there were a Party of Catholicks made before-hand. But such, said they, was the policy of *England*, as that could never be effected ; for if any suspicion or fear arose, the Catholicks should quickly be either shut up, or quite cut off. Oh, saith an old Soldier,

dier, there present, *Hoc facit pro nobis*, that makes for us; for by that means their Souls shall go to Heaven for their Religion, their Bodies to the Earth for their Treason, and their Lands and Goods to us as Conquerors: and this was that indeed they principally aimed at. Note here, that sithence the Jesuits set foot in this Land, there never passed four years without a most pestilent and pernicious Treason, tending to the subversion of the whole State. After that hostile Invasion in 88. the Jesuits fell again to secret and treasonable practices; for then, in the year 92. came *Patrick Cullen*, who was incited by *Sir William Stanley*, *Hugh Owen*, *Jaques Fraunces*, and *Holt* the Jesuit, and resolved by the said *Holt* to kill the Queen; to which purpose he received Absolution, and then the Sacrament at the hands of the said Jesuit, together with this ghostly counsel, That it was both lawful and meritorious to kill her. Nay, said *Jaques*, that base Landres Son, (who was a continual practiser both with this *Cullen* and others, to destroy her Majesty) The State of *England* is, and will be so settled, that unless *Mistris Elizabeth* be suddenly taken away, all the Devils in Hell will not be able to prevail against it, or shake it.

Now *Cullen's* Treason was accompanied with a Book called *Philopater*, written for the abetting and warranting of such a devilish act in general, by *Croswel* the Legier Jesuit in *Spain*, under the name of *Philopater*. Anno 94. came *Williams* and *York* to the same end, viz. to kill the Queen, being wrought to undertake so vile and detestable a fact by *Father Holt* the

Jesuit, and other his complices ; And thereupon the said *Williams* and *York*, in the Jesuits Colledge received the Sacrament together of father *Holt*, and other *Jesuits*, to execute the same. And that Treason likewise was accompanied with a Book written by the legier *Jesuit* and *Rector* at *Rome*, *Parsons*, under the name of *Doleman*, concerning Titles, or rather tittles: a lewd and a lying book, full of falshood, forgery and malediction. *Anno* 97. came *Squire* from *Spain*, to poyson her Majesty, incited, directed, and warranted by *Walpole* a *Jesuit*, then residing there : at whose hands likewise, after absolution, he received the Sacrament, as well to put the practice in execution, as to keep it secret. All these Treasons were freely and voluntarily confessed by the parties themselves, under their own hands, and yet remain extant to be seen.

In the year 1601. when practices failed, then was Force again attempted ; For then (as in the former Arraignment hath been declared) was *Thomas Winter* employed to the King of *Spain*, together with *Tesmond* the *Jesuit*, by this *Garnet*, who wrote his Letters to *Arthur* alias *Joseph Creswell*, (the only man whom I have heard of to change his Christian name) the legier *Jesuit* in *Spain*, for the furtherance of that negotiation, which was, as hath been said, To offer the services of the *English* Catholicks to the King, and to deal further concerning an Invasion, with promise from the Catholicks here, of forces, both of men and horses, to be in a readiness to joyn with him. This negotiation by the means of *Creswel*, to whom *Garnet* wrote, took such effect, that the two Kingdoms standing

then in hostility, the proposition of the *English Romish* Catholicks was accepted and entertained; an Army to invade (as hath been specified in the former Arraignment) promised, and 100000 Crowns to be distributed amongst *Romains* and discontented persons, making of a party in *England*, and for the furtherance of the said service granted. In the mean time the King earnestly desired, That if the Queen of *England* should happen to die, he might receive present and certain Advertisement thereof.

Now this Treason was accompanied with the Pöpes own writing. For now doth the Holy Father cause to be sent hither to *Garnet* two Briefs or Bulls, one to the Clergy, and another to the Laity: wherein observe the Title, the Matter, the Time. The Title of the one was, *Dilectis filiis, Principibus, & Nobilibus Catholicis Anglicanis, Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem*: that is, To our beloved sons the Nobles and Gentlemen of *England*, which are Catholicks, Greeting, and Apostolical benediction. The Title of the other was, *Dilectis filiis Archipresbytero, & reliquo Clero Anglicano; &c.* To our beloved sons, the Archpriest, and the rest of the Catholick Clergy. The matter was, that after the death of her Majesty, whether by course of Nature or otherwise, whosoever should lay claim or Title to the Crown of *England*, though never so directly & nearly interested therein, by Descent and Blood Royal, yet unless he were such an one as would not onely tolerate the Catholick (*Romish*) Religion, but by all his best endeavours and force promote it, and according to the ancient custom, would by a

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solemn and sacred Oath religiously promise and undertake to perform the same, they should admit or receive none to be King of *England*: His words are these, *Quantumcunque propinquitate sanguinis niterentur, nisi ejusmodi essent, qui fidem Catholicam non modo tolerarent, sed omni ope ac studio promoverent, & more Majorum Furejurando se id prestituras susciperent, &c.*

As for King *James* (at whom the Pope aimed) he hath indeed both *Propinquitatem*, and *Antiquitatem Regalis sanguinis*, Propinquity and Antiquity of blood Royal, for his just Claim and Title to this Crown both before and since the Conquest. To insist upon the declaration and deduction of this point, and pass along through the *Series* and course of so many Ages and Centuries, as it would be over long for this place, so further I might herein seem as it were to guild gold: Onely in a word, His Majesty is lineally descended from *Margaret* the *Saint*, daughter of *Edward*, son of King *Edmund*, Grandchild of Great *Edgar* the *Britain* Monarch: which *Margaret*, sole Heir of the *English* Saxon King, was married to *Malcolme* King of *Scotland*, who by her had issue *David* the *Holy* their King, from whom that Race Royal at this day is deduced, and *Maud* the *Good*, wife of the first and learned *Henry* King of *England*, from whom his Majesty directly and lineally proceedeth, and of whom a Poet of that time wrote.

*Sancta
Margareta
Regina
Scotorum
in Calendario
Romano.*

David hath
the Epit.
of *Pius* in
Hector Boetius
Major, and
Scoticronicon.

Maud is
stiled *Bona*
by the stories
of those
times.

*Nec decor effecit fragilem, non sceptrum superbam,
Sola potens humilis, sola pudica decens.*

And lastly, his Majesty cometh of *Margaret* also the eldest daughter of *Henry* the 7th. who was descended of that famous Union of those two fair Roses, the White and the Red, *York* and *Lancaster*, the effecting of which union cost the effusion of much *English* blood, over and besides fourscore or thereabouts of the Blood-Royal. But a more famous Union is, by the goodness of the Almighty, perfected in his Majesties Person, of divers Lions, two Famous, Ancient, and Renowned Kingdoms, not onely without blood, or any opposition, but with such an universal acclamation and applause of all sorts and degrees, (as it were with one voice) as never was seen or read of. And therefore, most Excellent King, for to him I will now speak,

*Cum triplici fulcrum conjunge Leone Leonem,
Ut varias Atavus junxerat ante Rosas.
Majus opus varios sine pugna unire Leones,
Sanguine quam varias consociasse Rosas.*

These four Noble and Magnanimous Lions, so firmly and undividually united, are able, without any difficulty or great labour, to subdue and overthrow all the Letters and Bulls (and their Calves also) that have been, or can be sent into *England*.

Now for the Time observe, that these Bulls or Briefs came upon the aforesaid Negotiation of *Thomas Winter* into *Spain*, at what time an Army should shortly after have been sent to invade the Land: and this was to be put in execution, *Quandocunque contingeret miseram illam scaminam ex hac vita excedere.* Whensoever it

should happen, that that miserable Woman
 (for so it pleased the High Priest of Rome to
 call Great Queen *Elizabeth*) should depart this
 life. Was Queen *Elizabeth* miserable? It is
 said, that *Misera constat ex duobus contrariis,*
scilicet, Copia, & Inopia: Ex copia tribulationis,
& inopia consolationis. Was she, I say, misera-
 ble, whom Almighty God so often and so mira-
 culously protected, both from the arrow that
 flieth by day, their great Armado; and from
 the Pestilence that walketh in the darkness, their
 secret and treacherous Conspiracies? That did
 beat her most potent Enemy? That set up a
 King in his Kingdom? That defended Na-
 tions, and harboured and protected distressed
 People? That protected her Subjects in peace
 and plenty, and had the hearts of the most and
 the best of her Subjects? That Reigned Religi-
 ously and Gloriously, and died Christianly and
 in peace? Oh blessed Queen, our late dear So-
 vereign, *Semper bono's nomenque tuum laudesque*
manebunt. But Queen *Elizabeth* of famous me-
 mory, (for *memoria ejus semper erit in benedi-*
ctiōe) as a bright Morning-Star, in the fulness
 of time, lost her natural light, when the great
 and glorious Sun appeared in our Horizon.
 And now sithence the coming of great King
James, there have not passed, I will not say four
 years, but not four, nay, not two months, with-
 out some Treason. First, in *March* 1603. up-
 on the death of her Majesty, and before they
 had seen his Majesties face, was *Christopher*
Wright employed into *Spain* by *Garnet*, *Catesby*,
 and *Tresham*, to give advertisement of the Queens
 death, and to continue the former Negotiaton

of *Thomas Winter*. And by him also doth this *Garnet* write to *Creswel* the Jesuit in commendation, and for assistance and furtherance of his business.

As also in the 22^d. of *June* following, was *Guy Fawkes* sent out of *Flanders*, by *Baldwin* the Jesuit, by *Sir William Stanley*, and *Hugh Owen*, about the same Treason; and by Letters from *Baldwin*, directed and commended to *Creswel* the Legier Jesuit in *Spain*, for the procuring of his dispatch, as in the former Arraignment hath been declared. In the same *June* doth *Garnet* the Superiour, together with *Gerrard*, and other Jesuits; and Jesuited Catholicks, labour, not onely in providing of Horses, which, by *Thomas Winter* and *Christopher Wright*, upon their several negotiations, they, in the names of all the Catholicks in *England*, had promised the King of *Spain* to assist and do him service withal, at such time as the said King should send Forces to invade, either at *Milford-haven*, or in *Kent*, as hath before been shewed: But also did, by force of the said two Bulls or Briefs, dissuade the Romish Catholicks from yielding their due obedience to his Majesty, for that he was not of the Roman Religion, contrary to the practice of the true Church and Churchmen, that undergo Wars, *Ferendo, non feriendo*, with patience, not with strokes, their Weapons being properly *Orationes & Lacryme*, Prayers and Tears.

In the same *June* 9. which was 1603. *Primo Jacobi*, brake out likewise the Treason of the Romish Priests, *Watson* and *Clark*; as also that other of *Sir Walter Raleigh* and others. But the

Jesuits seeing that the Peace was now in great forwardness ; and having advertisement also, that the King of *Spain* did now distaste their Propositions, so that there was no further hope left for force , then fell they again to secret practice. As for the Bulls or Briefs before mentioned , when *Catesby* had informed *Garnet*, that King *James* was proclaimed, and the State settled ; they were by *Garnet* , as himself hath affirmed, burnt. But to proceed. In *March*, 1603. *Garnet* and *Catesby* (a pestilent Traitor) confer together, and *Catesby* in general telleth him, (though most falsely) that the King had broken promise with the *Catholicks*, and therefore assuredly there would be stirs in *England* before it were long. In *September* following meets *Catesby* and *Thomas Piercy*, and after an unjust, but a grievous complaint made by *Catesby* of the Kings proceedings, for that contrary to their expectations, his Majesty both did hold, and was like continually to run the same course which the *Queen* before had held , *Piercy* presently breaks forth into this devilish speech, That there was no way but to kill the King, which he the said *Piercy* would undertake to do. But *Catesby*, as being *Versuto ingenio & profunda perfidia*, a cunning, a wily, and a deep Traitor, intending to use this so furious and fiery a Spirit to a further purpose, doth, as it were, stroke him for his great forwardness ; yet with sage and stayed counsel tells him, No, *Tom*, thou shalt not adventure thy self to so small purpose ; If thou wilt be a Traitor, there is a Plot to greater advantage, and such a

one as can never be discovered, viz. the Powder-Treason.

In *January*, in the first year of his Majesty, *Garnet* took out a General Pardon under the Great Seal of *England*, of all Treasons, which Pardon, his Majesty, of his Grace, granted to all men at his first entrance into his Kingdom, under the name of *Henry Garnet of London*, Gent. but therein he never used any of his *alias dictus Walley, Farmer*, or any other of his feigned names. But *Catesby* fearing lest of any of those whom he had or should take into Confederacy, being touched in Conscience with the horreur of so damnable a fact, might give it over, and endanger the discovery of the Plot, seeks to *Garnet*: (as being the Superior of the Jesuits, and therefore of high estimation and authority amongst all those of the Romish-Religion) to have his judgment and resolution in Conscience, concerning the lawfulness of the fact, that thereby he might be able to give satisfaction to any who should in that behalf make doubt or scruple to go forward in that Treason. And therefore *Catesby* coming to *Garnet*, propoundeth unto him the Case, and asketh whether for the good and promotion of the Catholick cause against Hereticks (the necessity of time and occasion so requiring) it be lawful or not, amongst many *Nocents*, to destroy and take away some *Innocents* also. To this question *Garnet* advisedly and resolvedly answered, That if the advantage were greater to the Catholick part by taking away some *Innocents* together with many *Nocents*, then doubtless it should be lawful to kill and destroy them all: And to this purpose

he alledged a comparison of a Town or City which was possessed by an Enemy, If at the time of taking thereof there happen to be some few friends within the place, they must undergo the fortune of the Wars in the general and common destruction of the Enemy. And this resolution of *Garnet* the Superior of the Jesuits, was the strongest, and the onely bond, whereby *Catesby* afterwards kept and retained all the Traitors in that so abominable and detestable a Confederacy. For in *March* following, *Catesby*, *Thomas Winter*, and others, resolve upon the Powder-plot, and *Fawks*, as being a man unknown, and withall a desperate person, and a Soldier, was resolved upon, as fit for the executing thereof; to which purpose he was, in *April* following, by *Thomas Winter* sought and fetched out of *Flanders* into *England*. In *May*, in the second year of his Majesty, *Catesby*, *Percy*, *John Wright*, *Thomas Winter*, and *Fawks* meet, and having upon the holy Evangelists taken an Oath of secrecie and constancy to this effect;

Y*ou shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret, nor desist from the execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave.*

They all were Confessed, had Absolution, and received thereupon the Sacrament, by the hands of *Gerrard* the Jesuit then present. In

In *June* following *Catesby* and *Greenwel* the Jesuit confer about the Powder-treason. And at *Midsummer* *Catesby* having speech with *Garnet* of the Powder-treason ; they said that it was so secret, as that it must prevail, before it could be discovered. Then *Garnet* seemed to desire that the Popes consent might be obtained ; But *Catesby* answered, that he took that as granted by the Pope in the two Bulls or Briefs before ; For that said he, if it were lawful not to receive, or to repel him, as the said Bulls or Briefs did import, then it is lawful also to expel or cast him out. Upon the 7th. of *July* 1604, was the Parliament Prorogued until the 7th. of *February* ; and in *November* following, *Thomas Bates*, being (as hath been declared more at large in the former Arraignment) fetched in by *Catesby* his master, to participate in the Powder-treason, for better assurance of his secrecy, and prosecution thereof, is by *Greenwel* the Jesuit confessed encouraged and told, that being for a good cause, he might and ought not onely conceal it, as committed unto him in secret by his master, but further said, that it was no offence at all, but justifiable and good. About this time was *Robert Keyes* taken into the Confederacy, and by *Catesby* resolved of the lawfulness thereof from the Jesuits.

In the 11th. of *December* they entred the Mine : and in *March* following, which was in 1605, was *Guy Fawks* sent over to Sir *William Stanley* with Letters from *Garnet*, to *Baldwine* the Legier Jesuit there, to take order that against the time of the Blow, the forces might be brought near to the Sea side, to the end that
they

they might suddenly be transported into *England*. And there doth *Fawks* by consent of the confederates, give *Owen* the Oath of secrecy and perseverance, and then acquaints him with the whole Treason: Who having been a most malicious and inveterate Traitor, greatly applauded it, and gave his consent and counsel for the furthcrance thereof. In *May* 1605, fell out certain Broils in *Wales* by the Romish Catholicks, at what time also *Rookewood* was by *Catesby* acquainted with the Powder-treason, and resolved of the lawfulness of the fact by him as from the Jesuits. Now doth *Garnet* write to the Pope, that commandment might come from his Holiness, or else from *Aquaviva* the General of the Jesuits, for the staying of all commotions of the Catholicks here in *England*, intending indeed to set their whole rest of the Catholick Romish cause, upon the Powder-plot, and in the mean time to lull us asleep in security, in respect of their dissembled quietness and conformity, as also least impediment might be offered to this main Plot by reason of any suspicion of the stirring of Papists, or of inquiry after them upon occasion of any petty commotions or broils. But when he further desired, that it might be so enjoyned upon censures, that latter request was not granted, least it might indeed be an impediment to the Powder-plot.

In *June* following doth *Greenwel* the Jesuit consult with *Garnet* his Superior, of the whole course of the Powder-treason at large. Wherein observe the politick and subtil dealing of this *Garnet*. First he would not (as he saith) confer of it with a lay man (other than *Catesby* whom

whom he so much trusted (Why so? because that might derogate from the reverence of his Place, That a Jesuit, and a Superior of them, should openly joyn with Laymen in cause of so much blood; And therefore secondly, as he would consult of it with a Priest, and a Jesuit, one of his own order and his subject; so for his further security, he would consult thereof with *Greenwel* the Jesuit, as in a disguised confession. And being informed, that the discourse would be too long to repeat kneeling, he answered that he would consult with him of it in confession walking; and so accordingly in an ambulatory confession, he at large discoursed with him of the whole Plot of the Powder-treason; And that a Protector (after the Blow given) should be chosen out of such of the Nobility as should be warned and reserved.

In this Moneth likewise was there a great conference and consultation betwixt *Garnet*, *Catesby*, and *Francis Tresham*, concerning the strength of the Catholicks in *England*, to the end that *Garnet* might by Letters send direct Advertisement thereof to the Pope; for that his Holiness would not be brought to shew his inclination concerning any Commotion or rising of the Catholick part, until such time as he should be certainly informed that they had sufficient and able Force to prevail.

And in *August* following, *Garnet*, in a conference had about acquainting of the Pope with the Powder-treason, named and appointed *Sir Edmund Baynam* for to carry that message to the Pope, yet not to him as Pope, but to him as a temporal Prince, and by him doth *Garnet*

M

write

write Letters in that behalf; as also for staying of Commotions, under pain of Censures, well knowing that before his Letters could be answered, the House of Parliament (according to their designs) should have been blown up, and the whole state overthrown. But this trick he used like a thief, that going to steal and take Partridges with a setting dog, doth rate his dog for questing or going too near, until he have laid his net over them, for fear the game should be sprung, and the purpose defeated:

In this Moneth also doth *Garnet* write to *Baldwin* the Legier Jesuit in the Low-Countries, in the behalf of *Catesby*, that *Owens* should move the *Marquess* for a Regiment of horses for him the said *Catesby*, not with any intent, as it was agreed, that *Catesby* should undertake any such charge, but that under colour of it, horses and other necessaries might be provided without suspicion to furnish the Traitors.

In *September* following doth *Parsons* the Jesuit write to *Garnet*, to know the particulars of the *Project* in hand, for the journey to *Saint Winifrides Well* in this Moneth. It was but a Jargon, to have better opportunity by colour thereof, to confer and retire themselves to those parts.

In *October* doth *Garnet* meet the other Traitors at *Coughton* in *Warwickshire*, which was the place of *Rendezvous*, whither they resorted out of all Countreys.

Upon the first of *November*, *Garnet* openly prayeth for the good success of the great Action, concerning the Catholick cause in the beginning

ning of the Parliament ; and prayer is more then consent. For, *Nemo orat sed qui sperat & credit.* He in the prayer used two verses of a Hymn, *Gentem auferite perfidam credentium de finibus, ut Christo laudes debitas persolvamus alacriter.*

Now was the Letter with the Lord Mountegle, whose memory shall be blessed, on the fourth of November, by the providence of the Almighty, not many hours before the Treason should have been executed, was it fully discovered.

On the 5th. of November, being the time when the Traitors expected that their devilish practise should have taken effect, they convented at *Dunchurch* under colour of a great hunting match, appointed by Sir *Everard Digby*, as being a man of quality and accompt thereabout, purposing by this means to furnish themselves with company for their intended Insurrection and Rebellion ; for that men being gathered together, and a tumult suddenly raised, the Traitors thought, that every or most of them would follow the present fortune, and be easily persuaded to take part with them, and that they might easily surprisethe person of the Lady *Elisabeth*, then being in those parts, in the Lord *Harringtons* house.

Upon the 6th. of November, early in the Morning, *Catesby* and the said Confederates dispatched *Thomas Bates* with a Letter to *Garnet* the superior of the Jesuits, who was (as they well knew) then ready at *Coulton* near unto them, earnestly intreating his help and assistance, for the raising of *Wales*, and putting so many as he could into open Rebellion. At what time *Garnet*, and *Greenwel* (who then of purpose was there

with *Garnet*,) then certainly perceiving that the Plot was indeed discovered, and knowing themselves to be the chiefest Authors thereof, prophesied the overthrow of the whole order of the Jesuits, saying that they feared that the discovery and miscarrying of this practise, would utterly undo and overthrow the whole Society of the Jesuits. But *Greenwel* the Jesuit being carried with a more violent and fiery spirit, posteth up and down, to incite such as he could to rise up in open Rebellion. And meeting in Master *Abingtons* house with *Hall* another Jesuit, adviseth him the said *Hall* likewise to loose no time, but forthwith to seek to raise and stir up so many as he could. But *Hall* seeing to deliberate thereof, whether seeing no end of so rash an attempt, or fearing by that means to be himself apprehended, *Tesmond* told him that he was a Flegmatick fellow, and said, A man may herein see the difference betwixt a Flegmatick man (such as he meant *Hall* was) and a Cholerick, as he said himself was; and further added, that he was resolved to do his best endeavors for the raising of a Rebellion, under this false pretext and colour, That it was concluded that the throats of all the Catholicks in *England* should be cut. So persuading himself to incite them to take Arms for to stand upon their Guard and Defence; and with this advice he posted away into the County of *Lancaster*: afterwards *Hall* the Jesuit, otherwise called *Oldcorn*, being urged by *Humphrey Littleton* with the evil success of their intended Treason, that surely God was displeas'd and offended with such bloody and barbarous courses, in stead of an humble

acknowledgment of the Justice of God, and a sense of the wickedness of the Treason, fell rather Satanically to argue for the justification of the same, and said, Ye must not judge the cause by the event: for the eleven Tribes of *Israel* were by God himself commanded to go and fight against *Benjamin*, yet were they twice overthrown. So *Lewes* of *France* fighting against the *Turk*, his Army was scattered, and himself died of the Plague. And lastly, the Christians defending the *Rhodes*, were by the *Turks* overcome. And these he applyed to the Powder-treason, and perswaded *Littleton* not to judge it ungodly or unlawful by the event.

Observe here a double consequent of this Powder-treason: 1. Open Rebellion, as hath been shewed both immediately before, and more at large in the former Arraignment: and since that blasphemy in *Garnet*, the Superior of the Jesuits: for he having liberty in the Tower to write, and sending a Letter (which Letter was openly shewed in the Court before him) to an acquaintance of his in the Gatehouse, there was nothing therein to be seen but ordinary matter, and for certain necessaries: but in the Margent, which he made very great and spacious, and underneath where there remained clean paper, he wrote cunningly with the Juice of an Orange, or of a Lemmon, to publish his Innocency, and concerning his usage, and there denieth those things which before he had freely and voluntarily confessed, and said, that for the *Spanish* Treason, he was freed by his Majesties Pardon, and as for the Powder-treason, he hoped for want of proof against him,

to avoid that well enough: but concludeth blasphemously, applying the words which were spoken of our blessed Saviour, to himself in this damnable Treason, and faith, *Necesse est ut unus homo moriatur pro populo*, It is necessary that one man die for the people; which words *Caiphaz* spake of Christ. Wherein note his Prevarication and Equivocation; for before the Lords Commissioners, he truly and freely confessed his Treasons, being (as himself under his own hand confessed) overwhelmed *tanta nube testium*, and yet *ad faciendum populum*, in his Letters which he wrote abroad, he clearth himself of the Powder-Treason. And thus much concerning the two Circumstances subsequent, which were Rebellion and Blasphemy.

The Circumstances concurring, are concerning the Persons offending, and offended. For the principal Person offending here at the Bar, he is, as you have heard, a man of many names, *Garnet, Wallye, Darcy, Roberts, Farmer, Phillips*: and surely I have not commonly known or observed a true man, that hath had so many false Appellations. He is by Countrey an Englishman, by Birth a Gentleman, by Education a Scholar, afterwards a Corrector of the Common Law Print, with Mr. *Tottle* the Printer, and now is to be corrected by the Law. He hath many Gifts and Endowments of Nature, by Art Learned, a good Linguist, and by Profession a Jesuit, and a Superior, as indeed he is Superior to all his Predecessors in devillish Treason; a Doctor of Jesuits, that is, a Doctor of five *Dd.* as, Dissimulation, Deposing of Princes, Disposing of Kingdoms, Daunting and deterring of Subjects,

Subjects, and Destruction. Their Diffimulation appeareth out of their Doctrine of Equivocation. Concerning which it was thought fit to touch something of that, which was more copiously delivered in the former Arraignment, in respect of the presence of *Garnet* there, who was the Superior of the Jesuits in *England*, concerning the Treatise of Equivocation, seen and allowed by *Garnet*, and by *Blackwell* the Arch Priest, wherein under the pretext of the lawfulness of a mixt proposition, to express one part of a mans mind, and retain another, people are indeed taught not only simple lying, but fearful and damnable Blasphemy. And whereas the Jesuits ask why we convict and condemn them not for Heresie; it is for that they will Equivo- cate, and so cannot that way be tryed or judged according to their words.

Now for the antiquity of Equivocation, it is indeed very old, within little more than 300 years after Christ, used by *Arrius* the Heretick, Socrat. Hist. who having in a general Counsel been condemned, and then by the commandment of *Constantine* the Emperor sent into Exile, was by the said Emperor upon instant intercession for him, and promise of his future conformity to the *Nicene* faith, recalled again: who returning home, & having before craftily set down in writing his Heretical belief, & put it into his bosom, when he came into the presence of the Emperor, and had the *Nicene* faith propounded unto him, and was thereupon asked, whether he then did indeed, and so constantly would hold that faith; he (clapping his hand upon his bosom where his paper lay) answered and vowed, that he did, and

so would constantly profess and hold that Faith (laying his hand on his bosom where the paper of his Heresie lay) meaning fraudulently (by the way of Equivocation) that faith of his own, which he had written and carried in his bosom. For these *Jesuits*, they indeed make no vow of speaking truth, and yet even this Equivocating and lying, is a kind of unchastity, against which they vow and promise : For as it hath been said of old, *Cor linguae fœderat naturæ sanctio, veluti in quodam certo Connubio : Ergo cum dissonent cor & loquutio, Sermo concipitur in Adulterio*, that is, The law and Sanction of Nature, hath (as it were) married the heart and tongue, by joyning and knitting of them together in a certain kind of marriage ; and therefore when there is discord between them two, the speech that proceeds from them, is said to be conceived in Adultery ; and he that breeds such bastard children, offends against Chastity. But note the heavy and woful fruit of this Doctrine of Equivocation. *Francis Tresham* being near his natural death in the Tower, had of charity his wife permitted (for his comfort) to come unto him : who understanding that her husband had before directly and truly accused *Garnet* of the Spanish Treason, lest belike her husband should depart this life, with a conscience, that he had revealed any thing concerning the Superior of the *Jesuits*, a very little before he died, drew him to this, that his own hand being so feeble, as that he could not write himself, yet he caused his servant then attending on him, to write that which he did dictate, and therein protested upon his salvation, that he had not

seen the said *Garnet* of 16 years before, and thereupon prayed, that his former confession to the contrary might in no wise take place. And that this paper of his Retraction, which he had weakly, and dyingly subscribed, might after his death be delivered to the Earl of *Salisbury*: Whereas Master *Garnet* himself hath clearly confessed the *Spanish* Treason, and now acknowledged the same at the Bar; and he and Mistress *Vaux* and others directly confess and say, that *Garnet* and *Tresham* had within two years space been very often together, and also many times before. But *Qualis vita, finis ita*. And *Garnet* himself being at the Bar afterwards, urged to say what he thought of such the departure of *Francis Tresham* out of this life, answered only this, I think he meant to Equivocate. Thus were they stained with their own works, and went a whoring with their own Inventions, as it is in the Psalm. So that this is indeed *Gens perfida*, according to the Hymn, a perfidious people, and therefore *Furat? crede minus, non Furat? credere noli. Furat, non Furat hostis, ab hoste cave*.

For their Doctrine of Deposing of Princes, *Simanca* and *Philopater* are plain (as hath in the former Arraignment been more amply declared, and was now again at large to *Garnet's* face repeated.) If a Prince be an Heretick, then he is Excommunicated, Cursed, and Deposed, his children deprived of all their Right of Succession, himself not to be restored to his Temporal Estate upon repentance; and by an Heretick they profess that he is intended and meant, namely, whosoever doth not hold the Religion of the Church of *Rome*. Nay, there is an easier

and a more expedite way than all these, to fetch off the Crown from off the head of any King Christened whatsoever, which is this, That *Princeps indulgendo hæreticis, amittit Regnum*, If any Prince shall but tolerate or favour Hereticks, he loseth his Kingdom: Nay whereas Garnet in defence of this usurped power of the high Priest of Rome, alledged, *Nos Sanctorum, &c.* out of the Decretals, in the very next Title before that, there is another Decree that passeth all we have recited, wherein it is shewed, that Zachary the Pope deposed *Childerick of France*, for nothing else there specified, *Sed quia Inutilis*, but onely for that he was reputed unprofitable to Govern.

Now as concerning their daunting and deterring of Subjects, which is a part of the Jesuits profession: It were good that they would know & remember, how that the most Noble & famous Kings of *England*, never were afraid of Popes Bulls, no not in the very midnight of Popery, as *Edward the Confessor, Hen. 1. Edw. 1. Ric. 2. Hen. 5. Hen. 4. &c.* And in the time of *Henry the seventh*, and in all their times, the Popes Legate never passed *Calis*, but stayed there, and came not to *England*, until he had taken a solemn Oath to do nothing to the detriment of the Crown or State.

For the persons offended, they were these: First, the King, of whom I have spoken often, but never enough: A King of High and most Noble ancient Descent, as hath been briefly declared, and in himself full of all Imperial Vertues; Religion, Justice, Clemency, Learning, Wisdom, Memory, Affability, and the rest.

Then the Queen, and she in respect of her happy fruitfulness, is a great blessing, in so much that of her in that respect, may be said that she is, *Ortu magna, viro major, sed maxima Prole,* Great in Birth, Greater in her Marriage, but to all posterity greatest in the blessed fruit of her Womb, as having brought forth the greatest Prince that ever *England* had. 3. The Noble Prince, of whom we may say with the Poet, *Quæ te tam læta tulere secula? qui tanti talem genuere parentes?* Never Prince, true Heir Apparent to the Imperial Crown, had such a Father, nor ever King had such a Son. Then the whole Royal Issue, the Council, the Nobility, the Clergy, nay our Religion it self; and specially this City of *LONDON*, that is famous for her Riches, more famous for her People, (having above five hundred thousand souls within her and her Liberties) most famous for her Fidelity, and more than most famous of all the Cities in the World for her true Religion and service of God. Hold up thy head (Noble City) and advance thy self, for that never was thy Brow blotted with the least taint or touch, or suspicion of Disloyalty: Thou mayest truly say with the Prophet *David*, *I will take no wicked thing in hand, I hate the sin of unfaithfulness, there shall no such cleave unto me:* Therefore for thy Fidelity thou art honoured with the Title of *THE KINGS CHAMBER*, as an inward place of his greatest safety: And for thy comfort and joy this day, hath *BRITAINS* great King honoured thee with the proceeding upon this great and Honourable Commission, after the heavy and doleful Ru-
mours

mours this other day, when it was certainly known that King *JAMES* was in safety, well did the fidelity of this City appear, (whereof I was an eye-witness) *Una voce conclamaverunt omnes, Salva Londinum, salva Patria, salva Religio; Jacobus Rex noster salvus*: Our City, our Countrey, our Religion is safe, for our King *JAMES* is in safety.

The observations are many, and only in a word to be touched. The first is, that in the *Spanish* Treason before mentioned, and this Powder-treason, there was the same order, cause, and end. The order was, first to deal by secret practice and Treason, and then by force and invasion. The cause which they pretend, was the Romish Catholick Religion. The end was the final destruction of the Royal succession, yea even *Occidere Regnum*, to overthrow and dissolve the whole Kingdom.

2. Note, that even the Enemy hath acknowledged that our State is so settled and established, as neither strength nor Stratagem can prevail, unless there be a party made in *England*.

3. We shall never have Bull more to come from *Rome* to *England*, because they shall never have a party strong enough to encounter with so many Lions.

4. All their Canons, Decrees, and new-found Doctrines, tend to one of these two ends: either worldly pride, or wicked policy, for the amplitude and enlargement of the Popes authority, and for the safety of the Jesuits, Priests, &c.

5. Observe that *Baynam*, a Layman, and one of the damned Crew, and so naming himself, was sent to inform the Pope as a temporal Prince.

6. I conceive their fall to be near at hand, both by Divinity and by Philosophy. For the first, there are now in *England* about 400 Priests: so many were there in *Israel* in the days of *Achab*. Who, saith God, shall go and deceive *Achab*, that he may fall? a lying spirit in the mouths of his 400 Prophets undertook and effected it; their fall was near, when once a lying Spirit had possessed the Priests, according to the vision of *Micah*, as now it hath possessed the Jesuits. 2. The imitation of good for the most part comes short of the pattern: but the imitation of evil ever exceeds the example. Now no imitation can exceed this fact, and therefore their time is at an end.

7. Many condemn it now, that would have commended it, if it had taken effect, for this, say they, is *Enumero eorum quæ non laudantur nisi paratâ*.

8. They and their adherents spread abroad false rumors; as that the King should have broken promise with them concerning toleration: which mixture of Gods service rather than he would suffer, he would lose Children, Crown, Life, and all. Nay, they may see there is no such hope left, for that his Majesty bringeth up his Royal Issue in the true Religion and service of the Almighty.

Lastly observe the wonderful providence of God in the admirable discovery of this Superior Jesuit to be party to this Treason, and that in two respects.

First, in respect of the means of secrecy used by him in conference only with *Catesby* of the Laity.

Secondly, They had a strong and a deep Oath given them both for secrecy and perseverance.

Thirdly, They thereupon received the holy Sacrament.

Fourthly, They were allowed and taught by the Jesuits, to equivocate upon Oath, salvation or otherwise, and how then should it be discovered?

Fifthly, their secret intelligence was such, as that it was impossible by the wit of man to be found out. And therefore the second thing is, how this Treason, being long since plotted, the providence of God did continually from time to time divert and put off the executing thereof, by unexpected putting off the times of Assembly in Parliament. For the Parliament begun the 19th. of *March* in the first year of his Majesties Reign, and continued till the 7th. of *July* following, before which time the Conspirators could not be ready; from thence it was prorogued until the 7th. of *February*, against which time, they could not make the Mine ready, in respect that they could not dig there, for that the Commissioners of the Union sat near the place, and the wall was thick, and therefore they could not be provided before the 7th. of *February*; and on the 7th. of *February* the Parliament was prorogued until the 5th. of *October*. After this they found another Course, and altered the place from the Mine to the Cellar. O blessed Change of so wicked a work! Oh but those fatal Engineers are not yet discovered, and yet all things are prepared! Oh prorogue it once more: and accordingly God put it into his Majesties

heart (having then not the least suspicion of any such matter) to prorogue the Parliament, and further to open and enlighten his understanding, out of a mystical and dark Letter, like an Angel of God to point to the Cellar, and command that to be searched, so that it was discovered thus miraculously, but even a few hours before the Design should have been executed.

The Conclusion therefore shall be this, *Qui cum Jesu itis, non itis cum Jesuitis*: for they courage themselves in mischief, and commune among themselves secretly, how they may lay snares, and say, that no man shall see them. But God shall suddenly shoot at them with a swift arrow, that they shall be wounded; In so much, that who so seeth it, shall say, *This hath God done*; for they shall perceive that it is his work.

Then were repeated the proofs for every of the particular accusations aforesaid, by the express and voluntary confessions of Garnet, and of his Complices themselves, and of two credible witnesses sworn at the Bar, and openly heard *in voce*, and acknowledged by Garnet himself to be men without exception.

Then

Then Mr. Garnet having licence of the Court to answer what he could for himself, spake, and divided all which had been objected, to his remembrance, into 4 parts, viz.

Containing matter of

}	1	Doctrinē.
	2	Recusants.
	3	Jesuits in general.
	4	Himself in particular.

In doctrine be remembered two points.

1. Concerning Equivocation, whereunto be answered, that their Church condemned all lying, but especially if it be in cause of Religion and faith, that being the most pernicious lye of all others, and by St. Augustine condemned in the Priscillianists: Nay, to lie in any cause is held a sin, and evil, Howsoever of 8 degrees which St. Augustine maketh, the lowest indeed is to lie, for to procure the good of some without hurting of any: So then our Equivocation is not to maintain lying, but to defend the use of certain Propositions. For a man may be asked of one, who hath no Authority to interrogate, or examined concerning something which belongeth not to his cognisance who asketh, As what a man thinketh, &c. So then no man may Equivocate, when he ought to tell the truth, Otherwise he may; And so St. Augustine upon John saith, That Christ denied he

knew

knew the day of Judgment, viz. with purpose to tell it to his Disciples; and so St. Thomas and others, who handle this matter. Chiefly under the Title of Confession. 2. For the second Point, which was the Power of the Pope in deposing of Princes, his Answer was threefold. 1. That therein he onely propounded and followed the general Doctrine of the Church. 2. That this Doctrine of the Power of the Pope, was by all other Catholick Princes tolerated without grievance. 3. That yet for his own part, he always made a difference in the matter of Excommunicating and Deposing of Princes, betwixt the condition and state of our King, and of others, who having sometimes been Catholicks, did, or shall afterwards fall back. As for Simanca and other Writers, whatsoever they set down of the Deposing of Hereticks, it is to be understood of those Princes, who having sometimes professed the Faith of the Church of Rome, do afterwards make a defection from the same.

2. For Recusants. 1. I desire them not to impute any offence or crime of mine, to the prejudice of the cause of Religion. 2. Concerning their not going to Church, whereas it was urged by Mr. Attorney, that the grounds of their not going to Church, was the Excommunication and Bull of Pius Quintus, and that now they may go, for that his Majesty is not denounced Excommunicate; I answer, That it followeth not; for the Arrians and Catholicks had the same Service in their Churches, yet came they not together. And I know divers my self, who before that Bull, refused to go to Church all the time of Queen Elizabeth, though perhaps most Catholicks did in-

deed go to Church, before it was about the end of the Council of Trent, where this matter was discussed by twelve learned men, and concluded not lawful. And this was occasioned, for that Calvin himself held it not lawful for any Protestant to be present, not onely at our Mass, wherein perhaps they may say there is Idolatry, but not at our Even-song, being the same with theirs.

3. Concerning the Jesuits, he saith, That if any were privy to such horrible Treasons, it was impious, especially in men of their profession: But said, That he talked with some of them about it, and that they denied it.

4. Touching my self, The Negotiation into Spain was indeed propounded unto me, and I was also acquainted with the Negotiation for Money, but ever intending it should be bestowed for the relief of poor Catholicks: But when they were there, they moved for an Army; which when they afterwards acquainted me withall, I mistiked it, and said, It would be much disliked at Rome. Onely I must needs confess, I did conceal it, after the example of Christ, who commands us, when our Brother offends, to reprove him, for if he do amend, we have gained him. Yet I must needs confess, that the Lawes made against such concealing are very good and just, for it is not fit the safety of a Prince should depend upon any other mans Conscience. So that I am verily perswaded, if they yielded to me, it had been good. But what their intent and meaning was in desiring an Army, I knew not; and I was charged not to meddle therein, no not with the Money which was to be sent for Pensions, though it was to maintain the Title of the King.

The

The Earl of *Salisbury* then demanded, To Earl of maintain whose Title? Salisbury.

Garnet, answered, *The Title of the King of* Garnet.
Spain.

The Earl of *Northampton* asked him, Why Earl of he did not oppose himself against it, and forbid Northam. it, as he might have done? For, *Qui cum possit non prohibet, jubet.*

Whereupon *Garnet* answered, *That he might* Garnet.
not do it; and for sending of Letters, and commending some Persons thereby, he confessed he did it often, as they were commended to him, without knowing either their Purposes, or some of these Persons: for he never knew Mr. Wright for whom he writ.

The Earl of *Salisbury* then replied to *Garnet*, Earl of I must now remember you, how little any of Salisbury, your Answers can make for your purpose, when you would seek to colour your dealing with *Baynham*, by professing to write to *Rome* to procure a countermand of Conspiracies. And yet you know, when he took his journey towards *Rome*, the blow must needs have been passed before the time he could have arrived to the Popes presence, (such being your zeal and his haste for any such prevention) as it was about the 20th. of our *October* when he passed by *Florence* towards *Rome*.

To which *Garnet* made no great answer, but Garnet.
let it pass. And then went on with his defence of sending Letters in commendation of many of those with which he had been formerly charged; and so confessed, that he had written in commendation of *Fawks*, thinking that he went to serve as a Soldier, not knowing then of any other pur-

pose he had in hand. And as for Sir Edmond Baynham, what he or Mr. Catesby intended, he knew not in particular; onely Mr. Catesby asked him in general the question, of the lawfulness to destroy Innocents with Nocents, as had been before objected against him; which at first, I thought, said Garnet, had been an idle question, though afterwards I did verily think, he intended something that was not good. Whereupon having shortly after this received Letters from Rome, to prohibit all Insurrections intended by Catholicks, which might perturb this State, Garnet informed Catesby thereof, and told him, That if he proceeded aginst the Pope's will, he could not prevail. But Catesby refused, and said, He would not take notice of the Pope's pleasure by him. Notwithstanding he shewed to Catesby the general Letter which he had received from Rome; but said, he would inform the Pope, and tell Garnet also in particular what attempt he had in hand, if he would bear it: which afterwards he offered to do, but Garnet refused to hear him, and at two several times requested him to certifie the Pope what he intended to do.

And when Sir Edmond Baynham (as he pretended) was to go over into Flanders for a Soldier, Garnet thought good to send him to the Popes Nuncio, and to commend him to other friends of his, That they should send him to inform the Pope of the distressed estate of the Catholicks in England: the rather, that the Pope having a Lay-man there, might be acquainted with all their proceedings: And that Baynham might then learn of the Pope, what course he

would advise the Catholicks in England to take for their own good ; but wished Baynham in no case to use Garnet's name to the Nuncio in that behalf.

Then were the two Witnesses called for, both of them Persons of good estimation, that overheard the Interlocution betwixt Garnet and Hall the Jesuit, viz. Mr. Fauset, a man learned, and a Justice of Peace ; and Mr. Lockerfon. But Mr. Fauset being not present, was sent for to appear ; and in the meantime Mr. Lockerfon, who being deposed before Garnet, delivered upon his Oath, that they heard Garnet say to Hall, " They will charge me with my Prayer for the good success of the great Action, in the beginning of the Parliament ; and with the Verses which I added in the end of my Prayer,

" Gentem auferte perfidam
 " Credentium de finibus,
 " Ut Christo laudes debitas.
 " Perfolvamus alacriter.

" It is true indeed (said Garnet) that I prayed for the good success of that great Action ; but I will tell them, that I meant it in respect of some sharper Laws, which I feared they would then make against Catholicks : And that Answer shall serve well enough.

Here Garnet replied, That for the two Gentlemen that heard the Interlocution, he would not charge them with Perjury, because he knew them to be honest men ; yet he thought they did mistake some things, though in the substantial parts he confessed, he could not deny their relation. And for the main Plot, he confessed, that he was

therewithal acquainted by Greenwell particularly, and that Greenwell came perplexed unto him to open something, which Mr. Catesby with divers others intended: To whom he said, He was contented to hear by him what it was, so as he would not be acknowen to Mr. Catesby, or to any other, that he was made privy to it. Whereupon Father Greenwell told him the whole Plot, and all the particulars thereof, with which he protested that he was very much distempered, and could never sleep quietly afterwards, but sometimes prayed to God that it should not take effect.

Earl of
Salisbury.

To that the Earl of Salisbury replied, That he should do well to speak clearly of his devotion in that point; for otherwise he must put him in remembrance, that he had confessed to the Lords, That he had offered Sacrifice to God for stay of that Plot, unless it were for the good of the Catholick Cause; and in no other fashion (said his Lordship) was this State beholding to you for your Masses and Oblations. Adding thus much further, That he wondred why he would not write to his Superiour *Aquaviva*, as well of this particular Powder-Treason, as to procure prohibition for other smallet matters.

Garnet.

Garnet faintly answered, He might not disclose it to any, because it was matter of secret Confession, and would endanger the life of divers men.

Earl of
Northam.

Whereunto the Earl of Northampton replied, That that matter of Confession, which before he refused to confess, because he would save lives, he confessed it now to endanger his

own life; and therefore his former Answer was idle and frivolous.

Then Garnet told the Lords, *That he com-^{Garnet.}manded Greenwell to dissuade Catesby, which he thought he did; and if Catesby had come to him upon Allhallow-day, he thought he could so far have ruled him, as he would have been persuaded to desist.*

Then said the Earl of *Salisbury*, Why did ^{Earl of Sa-}you refuse to hear *Catesby* tell you all the par-^{lisbury.}ticulars, when he would have told you, if you had been desirous to prevent it?

Garnet replied, *That after Greenwell had^{Garnet.} told him what it was which Catesby intended, and that he called to mind what Catesby said to him, at his first breaking with him in general terms, his Soul was so troubled with mislike of that particular, as he was loath to bear any more of it.*

Well then (said the Earl of *Salisbury*) you see ^{Earl of Sa-}his heart. And then turning to the Lords Com-^{lisbury.}missioners, he desired leave of them, that he might use some speech concerning the proceeding of the State in this great cause, from the first beginning until that hour; and so began to this effect, *That although the Evidence had been so well distributed and opened by Mr. Attorney, as he had never heard such a mass of matter better contracted, nor made more intelligible to the Jury, to whom it was not his part to speak, nor his purpose to meddle with Mr. Garnet in Divinity, or in the Doctrine of Æquivocation, in which latter he saw how he had plaid his Master-prise: yet because he had been particularly used in this service, with other of the*

Lords Commissioners, by whom, nothing was more desired, next the glory of God, than to demonstrate to the World with that sincerity and moderation his Majesties Justice was carried in all points, he would be bold to say somewhat of the manner of this Arraignment, and of the place where it was appointed. For the first; he said, That seeing there was nothing to which this State might more attribute the infinite goodness and blessings of God, than to the protection of the true Religion, which had groaned so long under the bitter persecutions of men of his profession; he confessed, that he held himself greatly honoured to be an assistant amongst so many great Lords, at the Seat of Justice, where Gods cause should receive so much honour, by discrediting the person of *Garnet*, on whom the common Adversary had thought to confer the usurpation of such an eminent Jurisdiction: For otherwise, who did not know, that the quality of poor *Henry Garnet* might have undergone a more ordinary form of Trial, and happily in some other place of less note and observation? And so his Lordship took an occasion to declare, That the City of *London* was so dear to the King, and his Majesty so desirous to give it all honour and comfort, as when this opportunity was put into his hands, whereby there might be made so visible an Anatomy of Popish Doctrine, from whence these Treasons have their source and support, he thought he could not chuse a fitter Stage than the City of *London*, which was not onely rightly termed, *The Chamber of his Empire*, but was by his Majesty esteemed as his greatest and safest

Treasury, who accounteth no riches comparable to his Subjects hearts; and acknowledgeth, that such a Circuit did never contain so many faithful Subjects within the Walls: a matter well appearing to his own eyes amongst others, upon the decease of the late Queen of precious memory, when he attending most of the Peers and Privy Counsellors of this Kingdom, who were accompanied with no small number of Noble and Faithful Gentlemen, had seen them all staid from entry within the Gates of this City, until they had publickly declared with one voice, That they would live and die with the King our Sovereign Lord. To you therefore, Mr. Garnet, (said the Earl of Salisbury) must I address my self, as the man in whom it appeareth best what horrible Treasons have been covered under the Mantle of Religion, which heretofore had been Petty-Treason for a Protestant to have affirmed: such hath been the iniquity of false tongues, who have always sought to prove the Truth a Lyar: of which impudent calumnies the State is so tender, as you do best know (Mr. Garnet) that since your apprehension even till this day, you have been as Christianly, as courteously, and as carefully used, as ever man could be, of any quality, or any profession: Yea, it may truly be said, that you have been as well attended for health or otherwise, as a Nurse-child. Is it true or no, said the Earl?

It is most true, my Lord, (said Garnet) I confess it. Garnet.

Well then (said the Earl) if your strange Doctrine of Equivocation be observed, and your Earl of Salisbury.
hardiness Google

hardiness of heart to deny all things ; let it not be forgotten, that this Interlocution of yours with *Hall*, overheard by others, appears to be *Digitus Dei* ; for thereby had the Lords some light and proof of matter against you, which must have been discovered otherwise by violence and coercion, a matter ordinary in other Kingdoms, though now forborn here ; but it is better as it is for the Honour of the State, for so were your own words, that you thought it best to tell the truth at last, when you saw you were confounded, *tanta nube testium*. In which I protest, that I do confidently assure my self, that you would as easily have confessed your self to be Author of all the Action, as the Concealer, but that his Majesty, and my Lords, were well contented to draw all from you without Racking, or any such bitter torments. Then speaking to *Garnet*, he said, I pray you, Mr. *Garnet*, what encouraged *Catesby* that he might proceed, but your resolving him in the first Proposition ? What warranted *Fawkes*, but *Catesby's* Explication of *Garnet's* Arguments ? as appears infallibly by *Winter's* Confession, and by *Fawkes*, that they knew the point had been resolved to Mr. *Catesby*, by the best Authority.

Garnet.

Then *Garnet* answered, *That Mr. Catesby was to blame to make such application.*

Earl of Salisbury.

To that the Earl replied, That he must needs be bold with him, to drive him from the trust he had, to satisfy the world by his denials, by putting him in mind, how after the Interlocution betwixt him and *Hall*, when he was called before all the Lords, and was asked, not

what he said, but whether *Hall* and he had conference together, desiring him not to equivocate; how stiffly he denied it upon his Soul, reiterating it with so many detestable execrations, as the Earl said, it wounded their hearts to hear him; and yet as soon as *Hall* had confessed it, he grew ashamed, crying the Lords mercy, and said, he had offended, if Equivocation did not help him.

To this Garnet answered, *That when one is* Garnet.
asked a question before a Magistrate, he was not bound to answer before some Witnesses he produced against him, Quia nemo tenetur prodere seipsum. Then Garnet falling into some professions of his well-wishing to his Majesty, and being put in mind of the answer he had made concerning the Excommunication of Kings, wherein he referred himself to the Canon of Nos Sanctorum, he answered, That his Majesty was not yet Excommunicated.

Then the Earl of *Salisbury* bad him deal Earl of Salisbury.
 plainly, for now was the time, Whether in case the Pope, *per sententiam Orthodoxam*, should Excommunicate the Kings Majesty of *Great Britain*, his Subjects were bound to continue their obedience?

To this he denied to answer, by which the hearers might see his mind.

From that matter he began to make request, that where he had confessed the receiving of two Brieves or Bulls from the Pope, in the Queens time, by which all Catholicks were forbidden to adhere to any Successor that was not obedient to the Church of *Rome*; his Majesty would be pleased to make a favourable

interpretation, because he had shewed them to very few Catholicks in *England*, in the *Queens* time; and when he understood that the *Pope* had changed his mind, then he burnt the *Bulls*.

To that it was said, That belike the *Pope* changed his mind, when the *King* was so safely possessed of his *Estate*, and *Garnet* with his *Accomplices* began to feel their own impiety; and so, as *Catesby* said to *Percy*, did resolve roundly of that *Treason*, which would speed all at once.

Garnet. Then *Garnet* began to use some speeches, that he was not consenting to the *Powder-treason*.

Earl of Salisbury. Whereupon the *Earl of Salisbury* said, *Mr. Garnet*, give me but one *Argument* that you were not consenting to it, that can hold in any indifferent mans ear or sense, besides your bare *Negative*. But *Garnet* replied not.

Mr. Attor. Then *Mr. Attorney General* spake in Answer of *Garnet* more particularly to this effect. 1. For *Equivocation*, it is true indeed, that they do outwardly to the world condemn lying and perjury, because the contrary were too palpable, and would make them odious to all men: But it is open and broad lying and forswearing, not secret and close lying and perjury, or swearing a falsehood which is most abominable, and without defence or example. And if they allow it not generally in others, yet at least in themselves, their confederates and associates in treasonable practices, they will both warrant and defend it, especially when

it may serve their turn, for such purposes and ends as they look after. 2. Concerning the usurped power of the Pope in deposing of Princes, neither is it the general Doctrine of the Church, as he falsely said, neither allowed or tolerated by all Princes, who are otherwise of their Religion, as may appear out of the *French* discourse written to the *French* King against the re-admitting of the Jesuitical Faction. And whereas he would pick a thank, in seeming to spare and exempt King *James* our Sovereign; it is not possible to avoid their distinction of being Excommunicated *de jure*, if not *de facto*; howsoever if it be true also, that the Pope doth, *de facto*, every year once curse all Hereticks. For Recusants not going to Church, the example of the Catholics not joyning in service and prayer with the *Arrians*, who denied a main Article of the Christian Creed, doth no ways hold, neither can it agree to us, of whom no such impious blasphemy can be shewed or imagined. That *Garnet* said, He knew some, who before the Bull came, went not to Church, it may be true perhaps in some one or two perverted and perverse men like himself: But whereas he produced the Council of *Trent*, as if there the matter had been determined, and thereupon inferreth, that after that all Romish Catholics refused to meet with us at Church in time of prayer, it is a gross error; for the last Session of that Council was in the year of our Lord 1563, which was in the fifth year of Queen *Elisabeth*; whereas I shewed, and am able to justify and prove, That their Romish

English Catholicks came to our Service in our Churches until the nineteenth year of her Majesty, which was many years after that Council was ended.

Concerning Garnet himself: First, for that answer of his, that he knew of the Powder-Treason by Confession; it is true which before was spoken, that such Acts as this is, *Non laudantur nisi peracta*, are then onely commended when they are performed; but otherwise, first, *Greenuel's* was no Sacramental Confession, for that the Confitent was not penitent: nay, himself hath clearly delivered under his hand, That the Powder-Treason was told him, not as a fault, but by way of consultation and advice. 2. It was a future thing to be done, and not already then executed. 3. *Greenuel* told it not of himself that he should do it, but of *Fariks, Percy, Catesby, Winter*, and others; and therefore he ought to have discovered them, for that they were no Confitents. 4. He might and ought to have discovered the mischief, for preservation of the State; though he had concealed the persons. 5. *Catesby* told it unto him *extra confessionem*, out of Confession; saying, They might as well turn him out, as have kept him out. Lastly, by the Common Law, howsoever it were (it being *crimen laese Majestatis*) he ought to have disclosed it. Now for that *Garnet* denied, that he was a principal Author and Procurer of this Treason, but onely that he had received knowledge thereof; the contrary is clear and manifest, both out of his own Confessions, by himself acknowledged, and apparently proved, in that

he resolved *Catesby* concerning the lawfulness and merit thereof, and that he prayed for the good success of the Powder-treason, which is more than either consultation or consent. Besides, he must remember him of the old Verse, *Qui non prohibet quod prohibere potest, consensire videtur.* *Garnet* might have commanded *Greenwel*, that told him of the Powder-treason, to have desisted, but did not; but *Greenwel* went still on with the Treason, and when it was disclosed, went into the Country to move Rebellion, which doubtless he would never have done, if *Garnet* had forbidden him: therefore he said, he might say with the Orator *Tully*, *Cui adjunct testimonia rerum, quid opus est verbis?* Moreover Mr. Attorney added, how *Garnet* writ first for *Thomas Winter*, then for *Kit Wright*, after that for *Guy Fawkes*, then for *Sir Edward Bainham*, and afterwards for *Catesby* for a Regiment of Horse; and that *Garnet* was for the *Infanta*, and by his Breves intended to keep out the King, except he should tolerate and swear to maintain the Romish Religion. Then Mr. Attorney spake of the Interlocution betwixt *Garnet* and *Hall*, and said, That in all their speeches they never named God, nor confessed their innocency, but as soon as they spake together, *Hall* spake first, and then *Garnet* said, He suspected one, whose name, they that were set to over-hear them, could not hear, to have disclosed something against them. But it may be otherwise, for he said, he was much subject to that frailty of suspicion. He said, He received a Note from *Rookwood*, that *Greenwell* was gone over-

Seas; and another, that *Gerard* was gone to *Father Parsons*, and that *Mistress Anne* was in *Town* (meaning *Mrs. Anne Vaux*) and many other things were by them uttered in that conference.

By this time came in *Mr. Forset*, who being deposed, affirmed likewise, that their examination, and the matter therein contained, were true; saying further, That both of them took Notes of that which they took of *Garnet* and *Hall*, as near as possibly they could, and set down nothing in their examinations, but those things, wherein both their Notes, and perfect Memories agreed and assented; and that many things that were very material, and of great moment, were left out of their Examinations; because both their Notes and Memories did not perfectly agree therein.

And now one of the Lettets, which were written with *Sack*, was shewed to the Court, by which appeared, that *Hall* and *Garnet* had interlocution together. *Mr. Attorney* here inferred, that the necessary end of Justice was, *Ut parva ad paucos, metus ad omnes perveniat*, and urged the examination of *Garnet*, wherein he confessed, that when *Tesmond, alias Greenwel*, made relation to him of the great blow by the Powder-treason, who should have the protection, *Greenwel* said, The Lords that should be left alive should choose a Protector. And further, *Mr. Attorney* urged the writing of another Letter, written with *Sack* to *Sayer, alias Rookwood*, a Priest in the *Gate-house*. But of this point, much is formerly mentioned.

Here *Mr. Attorney* ending, my Lord of

Nor-

Northampton. spake to the Prisoner this speech following.

THOUGH no man alive can be less apt or willing than my self, to add the least grain or scruple of improvement to the weight of any mans calamity, that groans under the heavy burthen of a distressed state, *Vel gravatis addere gravamina*, whereof I have as many witnesses as the world hath eyes: yet as the case stands now in this trial, Mr. Garnet, between my dear Sovereign, *ex cujus spiritu*, as one of *Alexander* said, *nos omnes spiritum ducimus*, and you that were so well content to let the course of conspiracy run forward to the stopping of this breath before the time, which God by nature doth prescribe between his honour, and your error, his just proceedings and your painted shews, his sincerity and your hypocrisy; I could wish it possible that in a person of some other quality, you might hear the Ecchoes of your unperfect and weak answers, and thereupon judge more indifferently and evenly of the true state of your cause than you have done hitherto, being distracted with fear, or forestalled by prejudice, or, to borrow your own phrase, which is more proper to the point than any I can use, oppressed *tanta nube testium*, with so thick a cloud of witnesses, as concur with one voice, heart and spirit, for the conviction of your audacity.

I confess that never any man in your state gave less hold or advantage to examiners, than you have done in the whole course of proceeding, to us that were in Commission: sometime by forswearing, as upon the confession of *Hall*

O

your

your fellow: sometime by dissembling, as about the places of your *Rendez-vous*, which was the lapwings nest: sometimes by earnest expostulation: sometime by artificial Equivocation: sometime by Sophisticating true substances: sometime by adding false qualities: yet *sat superest*, as may appear, to the defeat of your inventions, and the defence of the Kings Majesty, *quia magna est veritas, & praevalet*.

Your parts by nature simply considered, and in another person, would rather move compassion, than exasperate humanity: for whom would not the ruine of such a person touch, as is in appearance temperate, and in understanding ripe? But our end at this time is the same with *Decius* in *Livie*, *ut quem vos obrutum reliquistis, ignem &c.* that we may quench that fire by prevention, which you have only raked up in ashes, *ut novum daret incendium*, that it might cause a new combustion so soon as it might hit upon matter that were fit and suitable. Wherefore I must rather draw your answers to the true touch for discharge of rumors, than *verberare aërem*, beat the air: For the substance of all your evasions and lye shifts, is as the Inn-keepers of *Chalcis* confessed: of his dishes to his guests, admiring *tantam ferculorum diversitatem*, that they were only compounded of pork, howsoever your fine cookery may vary them.

The two Buis that in the late Queens time entred the land (with a purpose by their lowd lowing to call all their calves together, for the making of a strong party, at the shutting up of the evening against our dead Sovereign) were grafted in your pastures, Mr. *Garnet*, or to speak more

more properly (because they durst neither endure the light, nor admit the air) they were staul-fed at your crib, as your self confess, and therefore, *Serve nequam, ex ore tuo te judico*. And what answer make you to this? mary that the purpose was imparted to very few: so much the worse: For out of publication grows discovery; and yet experience hath justified, that those very few were the very souls and spirits of that pack of Conspirators, and such as for want of patience and temperance to tary the time, when the game had been brought to bearing, should have played the chiefest parts in the late smoaking Tragedy. You say the Buis were after sacrificed in the fire by your self. But not before the Kings good Angel had cut their throats, and the best part of their proof were past, and your hopes dead of that good which in likelihood they should have brought with them. For to what use could these dumb beasts serve in seeking to prevent that lawful and undoubted right, which heaven had now proclaimed, and earth acknowledged? But let the proof be what it will, I look into the root. I wonder Mr. Garnet, what Apostle warrants you in undertaking wicked Plots, in hope that good may follow; neglecting what all Laws (and the Laws of *England* above all) what all States and Nations conclude of men, that slyly practise, and combine for anticipation of the future rights of lawfull Successors.

In excuse of Letters written with your own hand by *Thomas Winter* to father *Creswell*, when he was employed about the procurement of an Army to Invade, with supplies of Treasure pro-

portionable for the quicker execution of so desperate an Enterprize, you answer, that the Persons were commended in your Letters, not the Plot: *spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?* as though the minister had any other errand or instruction, than the main Plot it self: as though you, Mr. Garnet, being then *Magister in Israel*, and *Rector chori*, could or would be ignorant of their prefixed end; as though so grave a Person as your self, were likely to set his hand to Blancks like a baby, and to leave the rest to the disposition of a man wholly transported with fiery humors: Or as though in this very point other mens confession in particular, beside your own in generality, had not left us marks and traces evident and plain enough to descry doubleness with diversity. You confess privity to a practice, but not for an Army: foreknowledge of a course for getting Treasure, but with a purpose, as you conceived, to employ it wholly for the relief of Catholicks. So as the reason of the reservedness of *Catesby*, *Winter* and the rest toward you, must be undoubtedly their suspicion of your over great affection and duty to the Queen; For otherwise it is certain they would have trusted you as well with their intention, as with their means: with their hopes, as with their instruments: especially considering how hard it was for them to compass their own vast desires, without help both of your credit, and of your industry.

Wright was in like manner, and with like expedition commended by you afterward for the quickening of *Winters* project, if any life were in it, upon the slackning of the passions of *Spain*,

with

with the propositions of peace, that no time might be lost, no stone left unremoved, that might give a knock to the peace of our policy: your head wrought upon all offers, your hand walked in all Regions, your spirit steered all attempts and undertakings: and yet if protestations, qualified and protected by Equivocations, may carry weight; all this while your mind was, as good pastors to be, patient, your thoughts were obedient, and your counsels innocent. But now to search your cunning somewhat nearer to the quick, we must observe, that when your hopes of Invasion began to cool by likelihood of peace, your desires of supplies by the cold answers that came from *Spain*, your expectation of new mischief to be wrought at home without Complots abroad: when malice it self was cast into so desperate a swoon, as neither *Rosa solis* when *Spain* relented, nor *Isobah* when *Tyrone* submitted, nor dissention within the Kingdom when discontentments ended, could put it by any fresh adventure into life, when you for your own part, Mr. Garnet, having bin once washed and regenerated in the fountain of the Kings free Pardon, from the leprous spots of former Treasons, were determined to begin upon another stock, and return as a dog to the vomit (though washing can avail no man (as the Preacher warns) that *iterum tangit mortuum*, toucheth the dead the second or third time after he hath been made clean:) for secretly *Catesby* resorts to you, as *Mahomet* might to *Sergius*; (for now I speak according to the matter, and not the men) to enquire whether it were lawful, considering the necessity of the

time, to undertake an enterprize, for the advancement of the Catholick Religion, though it were likely that among many that were nocent, some should perish that were innocent. A man that is Religious in any kind, or but morally honest in his own kind, would expect that a Priest, a *Jesuit*, (which title doth imply salvation, and not destruction, nay, the Superior of English *Jesuits*) upon this rash demand, should have resorted for a safe resolution to Gods own Book, where he should have found, that God was pleased to withdraw his wrathful hand from *Sodom*, so as there had been only *decem justi*, ten just men within that Town, and for their sakes; that the wise householder in St. *Matthew*, marking how hard it would be, when the corn was ripe, to make separation, gave order to his servants to abstain from plucking up the tares, *ne simul eradicarent triticum*, least withall they plucked up the wheat by the Roots. Ye should have found in the stories of the Church, that the godly Bishops in the first spring of Religion, suspended process against the *Priscillian* Hereticks, *ne Catholici cum illis perirent*, least the Catholicks might also perish with them. And the Church of *Millain* taxed *Theodosius* the Emperour, *quod insontes una cum fontibus trucidasset*, that he had proceeded both against the guilty, and the guiltless with one stroke, and with one measure of severity. But far beside the Holy writ, or holy precedents, your answer, Mr. *Garnet*, was such, as I both abhor to think, and quake to utter, that if any great advantage were to grow to the Church this way, they might destroy them all.

Tantæ ne animis caelestibus iræ? O Mr. Garnet, be not offended though I ask of you, as a worthy Emperor did once of a Traitor, in a case by many degrees inferior to this, *Quid facit in pectore humano lupi feritas, canis rabies, serpentis venenum?* But that which ought most to torture and afflict the spirit (if you be the child of him, whose Name and Badge you bear) is, that your Doctrine was confidently delivered; and so speedily digested, and converted to nutriment from such a mouth as yours, considering that (according to the Prophet) knowledge should depend upon the lips of the Priest, as *Rookwood, Bates* and others, that did shrink at the horror of the Project when it was first laid down, received satisfaction upon the very sound of your assent, though masked with the title of a man as grave and learned, as any in the land. And *Catesby* doubting of the fickleness of mens affections, in cases that concern the soul, used your admittance as a charm or spell, to keep quick spirits within the circle of combined faith, which otherwise perhaps when Hell brake loose, would have sought liberty. Your Charter only (whereupon I beseech you for your own souls health, to meditate for the time you tarry in this world) was the Base whereon some grounded their bad conscience in proceeding with this Plot, not only to the destruction of their bodies, but to the perill of their souls, without sound and true repentance, which by the merit of Christs passion, will serve in *quacunq; hora peccator ingemuerit*. For though Christ were joyfull that he had not lost one of

those whom his father gave him in charge, and came to save, and not to destroy; yet your advice was to destroy them all: Such was your burning charity.

Some man surpris'd with a question upon the sudden, might answer sharply and shrewdly at some time, I confess, without thinking or intending ill: But this man, Mr. *Garnet*, cannot be you, that having confessed clearly under your own hand, your suspicion and fear of some mischief purpos'd and intended in their hearts, by this quick question of *Nocents* and *Innocents*: and therefore *quod dubitas ne feceris*. It seems the heart of *Catesby* was a fertile soil for sprouting of stinking weeds hastily, into which the seed of your securing confidence was cast. For the *Powder-plot* which in *January* was barly *embryo*, became *formatus fœtus* in the *March* next following, it quickened the next *December*, when the *Pioneers* began to dig in the thick wall: *Catesby* not long after imparted his conceipt secretly to you, of the great likelihood he foresaw of a lucky time of birth, and thereupon was *Guy Fawks* sent over by your knowledge and encouragement, to deal with Sir *William Stanley*, about the drawing down of Forces somewhat nearer to the Sea side for speedy transport, which if need were, might carry torches at the solemnity. But what is your answer to this employment of *Guy Fawks*? Forsooth that your purpose was only, to commend him as a Souldier, but not as a Conspirator. O unlucky *Treason*, that comes to be excus'd by so poor an Advocate! when *Fawks* himself meant nothing else than to be a Souldier, having

so strange a part to play soon after in the Powder-train, but used this retreat as a colour to disguise the secret purpose that did onely tarry time, and to eschew those watchful eyes, that nearer hand would have observed both his inlets and his outlets in that place more narrowly. The point is clear, the confessions are direct, the purpose is palpable. All the lines of your level are drawn to the centre of the Powder-mine. All Letters are either drawn or enterlined *manu Scorpionis*, to use the word of *Hierome*; and yet under pain of censure we must believe, that all this while you were in charity, because all this while (which it grieves me to remember) you were not afraid to communicate.

But now to weigh your Answers that concern the Powder-plot it self, which is *paramount* in respect of the Longitude and Latitude to all that have been, or shall ever be: Your self cannot deny, Mr. Garnet, that *Green-wel's* overture, as you say in Confession, coming after the notice which you took of *Catesbies* question about Innocents, was but a fruit of your own Doctrine, an effect of your own instruction, and a conclusion drawn wholly out of your own propositions and principles. Now when we press to know what reason drew you to the concealment of a Project so pernicious both to Prince and State, without revealing it either to the King himself, *tanquam præcellenti*, to use *St. Peter's* term, or to his Ministers subordinate; you start to the shift of Confession for a formal help, which comes too short in respect of *Catesby's* first discovery, which your own words aver plainly to have wrought with you. I will not

argue

argue in this place what course a Confessor should take, or how far he ought to strain for the securing of a Princes life, that otherwise is sure to perish by the rage and ignorance invincible of a base Villain, (whose life answers not in value the least hair of a Princes head) because time suffers not: But I am sure, that for a matter of less weight than this, and a crime of less importance than the life both of Prince and State, Confession received a deep wound for a long time, more than a thousand years past, in the Church of *Constantinople*: For God forbid that matters of such weight should hang by such feeble threads. But to this excuse of tenderness in the point of Confession, I would answer by making a great doubt, Whether this course of conference were a Confession or not: for against your bare words, which Equivocation supports, I object some likelihood, That since you kneeled sometimes, and sometimes walked up and down; since matter of conspiracy were interlaced with matter of Confession; not for ease of conscience, as should appear, but for advice in execution; since *Greenwel* was absolved instantly, which excludes the shift of reference; and *Greenwel* should be found to lie to the holy Ghost, in case this were a true Confession, in promising (*Mr. Garnet*) as you say, to dissuade the project, which he prosecuted even to the last point, as is evident: and after the Powder Camp brake up, I conclude, that though this discovery were by confession, yet it was no *Superfedeas* to your former knowledge from *Catesby*, your trusty friend: and if it were none, then it can be no

Protection for faith putrified. What need we seek light through cobweb-lawns, when the drift of your whole device in seeking to conclude from one what you learned of another, and from all what you affected and abetted in your heart; doth evidently prove your counsels to have been carried along with such a temper of reservedness, as whensoever mischief should be brought to light, the world might rather wonder at your caution, than commend your fidelity.

By shaping such weak answers to demonstrations so manifest, you must either work by the Ring of Giges, in making your audacity and presumption invisible; or hold a very weak conceit of our capacities, in supposing that they can be either dazled or deluded by such poor Sophistry: For though you pretend to have received a deep wound in Conscience at the first revealing of the plot, to have lost your sleep with vexation of spirit, to have offered and prayed to God for his preventing grace, to have required *Greenwel's* help and furtherance in crossing and diverting the design; yet all this while you suffered the project to proceed, you helped and assisted their endeavours that were labourers, you wrote earnestly Letters both to *Baldwin* and to *Creswel* for their furtherance of ordinary means, you gave order for a prayer to be said by Catholicks for their prosperous success, you kept measure with the two first dimensions of Frier *Bacon's* Brasen Head, *Time is, Time was*, till (thanks be to God) the *third time was past*; you had ever an ear open to listen for the crack, and were in the

same agony for the Powder-plot, that *Charles* the Fifth was for the Popes dures, giving order in all his Dominions, that Prayers should be made for his release, when in the mean time he kept and held him in his own hand prisoner: the least word of your mouth, or labour of your pen, might have secured both Prince and State; while you pretend to have broken both your sleeps and your brains, and that with a greater advantage to the cause which you would advance, than can ever grow by combustion and conspiracy. But your tenderness herein was suitable with another dutiful desire of yours to dissuade *Catesby* from the Plot; at his coming into *Warwickshire*, who never meant to come thither, but as to the Rendezvous when the Parliament had been blown up, and the storm had been blown over. It may be that your mind was perplexed and disquieted upon the meditation of strange events, for so was the mind of *Cain*, *Achitophel*, and *Judas* that betray'd his Master: the reason is very pregnant in the Word of God it self, that *cum sit timida nequitia, dat testimonium condemnationis*, since wickedness is cowardly and timorous, it gives evidence of condemnation against it self: *Et semper præsumit sæva perturbata conscientia*; but Sathan prevailing, his Angels execute.

I will now conclude this address to you, *Mr. Garnet*, by observing some special points, how strangely and preposterously the Devil, in this last project of Powder, hath altered his old properties. For the curse that God laid upon the Serpent, after the first transgression, was, *Ut gradiretur super pectus suum*, to creep upon his breast;

breast; but now we find him mounted upon the wings of an *Espray*, to the highest Region of the Air, and among the Fire-works. The other part of his curse was, that he should eat *Pulverem*, that is, dust or powder: But now since *Sodom* was destroyed by *Sulphure*, and the Wife of *Lot* transmuted into Salt, the proper materials of that mean by which Satan wrought in this hot fire; it appears that the Serpent from eating powder- (which was a plain devise) fell, for a worse purpose, to snuff Gun-powder. Then the Serpent did *insidiari calcaneo*, now *capiti*, from which the body draweth both sense and influence. Then he began to *Eve* with a modest question, *Cur præcepit Deus*, Why hath God commanded? now with a resolution, *Præcepit Deus*, God hath commanded. His words in those carried a flourish of great comfort, *Nequaquam moriemini*; but now terror, *Moriemini*, for a great advantage destroy them all. The Devil at that time did onely nibble about the Text of holy Writ; *tanquam mus ponticus*, as *Tertullian* terms *Martian*; but now he draws the grounds of Equivocation concerning Princes lives: Out of the very Scripture, and by Scholastical Authority, Sathan tempted Christ with a fair offer, *Dandi omnia*, of giving all upon the top of the Pinnacle: . But now he sets upon the great Lieutenant of Gods Authority and Dignity, with an *auferam tibi omnia*, both Life and Crown, *ex penetralibus ubi Christus non est*, as we are taught by his Evangelist. The Dragons ambition extended no further, than the sweeping away with his tail of the third part of the Stars in the Firmament: But now the

plot

plot of him and his Disciples was, to sweep away the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, both out of Star-Chamber and Parliament, that no light be given in this Kingdom to the best Labourers. In the time of *Saul*, the Devil was so modest as to suspend his Illusions and Oracles, till the Visions of the Prophets began to cease: But now though we have both *Moses* and the Prophets, & *firmiorem sermonem propheticum*, yet he ruffles among the robes, & *inaudita fundit oracula*. In the beginning of the Christian Church, the very name of Christ was sufficient to make Satan pack, and to quit the possession of tormented men; but he hath learned a more cunning trick of late, under the banner of Christ, to fight against the Lieutenants of his Imperial Majesty. In one point I find no change, that is, in labouring and working by all means, to draw men from their trust in Gods direction, to a tickle kind of confidence in themselves, and their own weak knowledge of good and ill. And as that error was the cause of *Adams* exile from Paradise, which was *hortus conclusus*; so had such another almost divided us and our heirs both from our lives and Estates, *Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*.

I have stood the longer on this point, to let you know how idly, and yet how wilfully you strive against both the Providence of God, and the Justice of the Land; *Quæ tuo te jugulavit gladio*. The more you labour to get out of the Wood, having once lost the right way, the further you creep in. For the wisdom of the world is folly before God; and impossible it is, that those counsels or proceedings should either

have good proof in this world, or reward in the next, that are embrued with blood, and pursued with tyranny. If then there be no other way to Heaven than by the destruction of Gods Anointed and their Heirs, I will conclude with you, Mr. Garnet, as *Constantius* did with *Asceſius*, *Erigito tibi ſcalam, & in cælum ſolus aſcendito*; ſet up a Ladder for your ſelf, and climb up to Heaven alone, for Loyal minds will not ſute themſelves with ſuch bad company. The worſt I wiſh to your perſon ſtanding now to be convicted at the Bar, is remorse and repentance, for the ſafeguard of your Soul; and for the reſt, *Fiat juſtitia, currat lex, & vincat Veritas*.

Hereunto Garnet ſaid, *That he had done more than he could excuſe, and he had dealt plainly with them; but he was bound to keep the ſecrets of Confeſſions, and to diſcloſe nothing that he heard in Sacramental Confeſſion.* Garnet.

Whereupon the Earl of *Nottingham* asked him, if one confeſſed this day to him, that to morrow morning he meant to kill the King with a dagger, if he muſt conceal it? Earl of Nottingham.

Whereunto Garnet answered, *That he muſt conceal it.* Garnet.

Then the Earl of *Salisbury* deſired liberty of him to ask him ſome queſtions of the nature of Confeſſions. Earl of Salisbury.

Garnet ſaid, *His Lordſhip might, and he would answer him as well as he could.* Garnet.

Why then (ſaid he) muſt there not be Confeſſion and Contrition before Abſolution? Earl of Salisbury.

Yes, (ſaid Garnet.)

Garnet.

Earl of
Salisbury.

Then he demanded, Whether *Greenwel* were absolved by him or no?

Garnet.

Garnet said, *He was.*

Earl of
Salisbury.

The Earl then asked him, What *Greenwel* had done, to shew that he was sorry for it, and whether he did promise to desist?

Garnet.

Garnet answered, that *Greenwel* said, *He would do his best.*

Earl of
Salisbury.

To that the Earl replied, That it could not be so; for as soon as *Catesby* and *Percy* were in Arms, *Greenwel* came to them from *Garnet*, and so went from them to *Hall* at Mr. *Abington's* house, inviting them most earnestly to come and assist those Gentlemen in that action. Hereby (saith he) it appears, that either *Greenwel* told you out of Confession, and then there needs no secrecie; or if it were in Confession, he professed no penitency, and therefore you could not absolve him. To which the Earl added, That this one circumstance must still be remembered, and cannot be cleared, That when *Greenwel* told you what *Catesby* meant in particular, and you then called to mind also what *Catesby* had spoken to you in the general before, if you had not been so desirous to have the Plot take effect, you might have disclosed it out of your general knowledge from *Catesby*: but when *Catesby* offered to deliver you the particulars himself, as he had done to *Greenwel*, you refused to hear him, lest your tongue should have betrayed your heart.

Garnet.

To this *Garnet* weakly replied, That he did what he could to dissuade it, and went into Warwickshire with a purpose to dissuade Mr. *Catesby*, when he should have come down. And

for

for Mr. Greenwel's going to Father Hall, to persuade him to joyn, Garnet said, he did very ill in so doing.

To that the Earl of Salisbury replied, That his first answer was most absurd, seeing he knew *Catesby* would not come down till the 6th. of November, which was the day after the blow should have been given; and Garnet went into the Countrey ten days before. And for the second, he said, That he was onely glad, that the world might now see, that Jesuits were condemned by Jesuits; and Treason and Traitors laid naked by the Traitors themselves; yea, Jesuits by that Jesuit, that governs all Jesuits here, and without whom, no Jesuit in England can do any thing.

Garnet (as it should seem) being here mightily touched with remorse of his offence, prayed God and the King, that other Catholicks might not fare the worse for his sake.

Then the Earl of Salisbury said, Mr. Garnet, is it not a lamentable thing, that if the Pope, or *Claudius Aquaviva*, or your self, command poor Catholicks any thing, that they must obey you, though it be to endanger both body and soul? And if you maintain such Doctrine amongst you, how can the King be safe? Is it not time therefore the King and the State should look to you, that spend your time thus in his Kingdom?

Garnet said very passionately, My Lord, I would to God I had never known of the Powder-Treason.

Hereupon the Lord Chief Justice of England said, Garnet, you are Superior of the Jesuits;

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suits;

suits; and if you forbid, must not the rest obey? Was not *Greenwel* with you half an hour at Sir *Everard Digby's* house, when you heard of the discovery of your Treason? and did you not there confer and debate the matter together? Did you not send him to *Hall*, to Mr. *Abington's* house, to stir him up to go to the Rebels, and encourage them? Yet you seek to colour all this, but that's but a meer shift in you; and notwithstanding all this you said, No man living but one did know that you were privy to it; then belike some that are dead did know it. *Catesby* was never from you, (as the Gentlewoman that kept your house with you confessed) and by many apparent proofs, and evident presumptions, you were in every particular of this action, and directed and commanded the Actors; nay, I think verily, you were the chief that moved it.

Garnet. *Garnet* said, No, my Lord, I did not.

Then it was exceedingly well urged by my Lord Chief Justice, how he writ his Letters for *Winter*, *Wright*, *Fawkes*, *Baynham*, and *Catesby*, principal Actors in this matchless Treason. Besides, his Lordship told him of his keeping the two Bulls to prejudice the King, and to do other mischief in the Realm; which, when he saw the King peaceably to come in, then being out of hope to do any good, he burnt them.

Here Mr. Attorney caused to be read the Confession of *Hall*, alias *Oldcorn* the Jesuit, under his own hand, (which, he said, was *Omni exceptione majus*) against him, wherein he confessed, That *Humfrey Littleton* told him, That *Catesby* and others were fore hurt with Powder,

Powder; and said that he was exceeding sorry that things took no better effect; whereat *Hall* wished him not to be discouraged, nor to measure the cause by the event: For though the xi. Tribes of Israel went twice by the special commandment of God against the Tribe of Benjamin, yet they both times received the overthrow. So *Lewis* the French king in his voyage into the Holy-land against the Infidels, was overthrown, and his whole Army discomfitted, though his cause were good. And so likewise the Christians when they defended *Rhodes* against the Turks, lost the City, and the Turks had the upper hand. And this he confessed, and applied to the fact of *Catesby* and others for the Powder-treason, and said, It would have been commendable when it had been done, though not before.

After this Mr. Attorney opened, how *Francis Tresham*, a delinquent Romanist, even in *articulo mortis* (a fearful thing) took it upon his salvation, That he had not seen *Garnet* in sixteen years before, when *Garnet* himself had confessed he had seen him often within that time: and likewise, that *Garnet* knew not of the Spanish Invasion, which *Garnet* himself confessed also, and which two things *Tresham* himself had formerly confessed to the Lords; yet for a recantation of these two things upon his death bed, he commanded *Vavasor* his man, (whom I think (said Mr. Attorney) deeply guilty in this Treason) to write a Letter to the Earl of *Salisbury*: And to shew this his desperate recantation, Mr. *Treshams* Letter was offered to be read.

Earl of
Salisbury.

But before the reading thereof, my Lord of *Salisbury* said, Because there was matter incident to him, and to that which should be read, he thought fit to say something. To which purpose he said his desire was, truly to lay open what cause there was for any faith to be given to these mens protestations, when they, to colour their own impieties, and to slander the Kings Justice, would go about to excuse all Jesuits, how foul soever, out of an opinion that it is meritorious so to do, at such time as they had no hope of themselves. Such is it to be doubted that Sir *Everard Digbies* protestations might be at the Bar, who sought to clear all Jesuits of those practices, which they themselves have now confessed *ex ore proprio*. That such was also *Treshams* labour, who being visited with sickness, and his wife in charity suffered to come to him, this Letter was hatched by them, and signed by himself some few hours before his death, wherein he taketh that upon his salvation, which shall now by *Garnet* be disproved.

Then the Letter was read, being to this effect, That whereas since the Kings time he had had his pardon, and that to satisfy the Lords who heretofore examined him, he had accused *Garnet*; that now, he being weak, desired that his former examinations might be called in, because they were not true: and set down upon his salvation, that he had not seen *Garnet* in sixteen years before,

Earl of
Salisbury.

Then my Lord of *Salisbury* shewed and said, It was a lamentable thing: for within three hours after he had done this, he died; and asked

ed Garnet what interpretation he made of this testamental protestation ?

Garnet answered, *It may be, my Lord, be Garnet. meant to Equivocate. Here was the examination and confession of Mrs. Anne Vaux offered to be read also, to confirm Treshams perjury, who confessed that she had seen Mr. Tresham with Garnet at her house, three or four times since the Kings coming in, and divers times before; and that he had dined with him, and that Garnet always gave him good counsel, and would say, sometimes to him, and others, Good Gentlemen, be quiet: for we must obtain that which you desire by prayer. She confessed also, that they were at Erith together the last Sommer.*

After all this, Garnet being demanded, if these examinations were true, he affirmed they were. And then were his own examinations likewise read to the same effect, wherein he both confessed the seeing of Mr. Tresham, and his sending into Spain about an Invasion.

Here my Lord of Salisbury concluded, Earl of Salisbury. That that which was said of Mr. Tresham, and others, was not done against charity to the dead, but upon inevitable necessity, to avoid all their slanderous reports and practises: for he said, That even now there was currant throughout the Town, a report of a Retraction under Bates his hand, of his accusation of Greenwel; which are strange and grievous practises to think upon. But this day shall witness to the world, that all is false, and your self condemned not by any but by your self, your own confessions and actions. Alas, Mr. Garnet, why should we be troubled all this day with you, poor

man, were it not to make the cause appear as it deserveth? wherein, God send you may be such an example, as you may be the last Actor in this kind.

Hereupon my Lord Admiral said to *Garnet*, that he had done more good this day in that Pulpit which he stood in (for it was made like unto a Pulpit wherein he stood) than he had done all the days of his life time in any other Pulpit.

Then was another examination of Mrs. *Anne Vaux* read, wherein she confessed that Mr. *Garnet* and she were not long since with Mr. *Fresham*, at his house in *Northamptonshire*, and stayed there.

Earl of
Salisbury.

After this, my Lord of *Salisbury* said, Mr. *Garnet*, if you have not yet done, I would have you to understand that the King hath commanded, that whatsoever made for you, or against you, all should be read, and so it is, and we take of you what you will. This Gentlewoman that seems to speak for you in her confessions, I think would sacrifice her self for you to do you good, and you likewise for her: Therefore, good Mr. *Garnet*, whatsoever you have to say, say on a Gods name, and you shall be heard.

Garnet.

Then Garnet desired the Jury, that they would allow of, and believe those things he had denied, and affirmed, and not to give credit unto those things, whereof there was no direct proof against him, not to condemn him by circumstances or presumptions.

Earl of
Salisbury.

The Earl of *Salisbury* demanded of him, saying, Mr. *Garnet*, is this all you have to say?

if it be not, take your time, no man shall interrupt you.

To whom Garnet answered, Yea, my Lord. Garnet.

Mr. Attorney humbly desired all the Lords Mr. Atwor.
Commissioners, that if he had forgotten to speak of any thing material, that their Lordships would be pleased to put him in mind of it: Who was assured by my Lord of *Salisbury*, that he had done very well, painfully, and learnedly.

Then Mr. Attorney desired the Jury might go together, who upon his motion going together forth of the Court, within less than a quarter of an hour returned, and found *Henry Garnet* guilty.

Whereupon Mr. Sergeant *Crook* prayed judgment. Serjeant Crook.

Then Mr. *Waterhouse* the Clerk of the Crown demanding what he could say for himself, why judgment should not be given against him? Mr. Waterhouse.

Garnet made answer, that he could say nothing, but referred himself to the mercy of the King, and God Almighty. Garnet.

After this, the Earl of *Northampton* made a Learned Speech, which in it self was very copious; and the intention being to contract this Volume as much as might be, and to keep onely to matter of Fact, it was thought convenient to omit the same.

Then the Lord Chief Justice making a pithy preamble of all the apparent proofs and presumptions of his guiltiness, gave Judgment, that he should be drawn, hanged, and quartered. Lord Chief Justice.

Earl of Salisbury. And my Lord of Salisbury demanded, if Garnet would say any thing else?

Garnet. Garnet answered, No, my Lord. But I humbly desire your Lordships all, to commend my life to the Kings Majesty, saying, That at his pleasure he was ready either to die or live, and do him service.

And so the Court arose.

*A true Relation of all such things
as passed at the Execution of
Mr. Garnet, the Third of May,
Anno 1606.*

ON the Third of May, Garnet, according to his Judgment, was executed upon a Scaffold, set up for that purpose, at the West end of St. Paul's Church. At his arise up the Scaffold, he stood much amazed, (fear and guiltiness appearing in his face.) The Deans of Pauls and Winchester being present, very gravely and Christianly exhorted him to a true and lively faith to Godward, a free and plain acknowledgment to the World of his offence; and if any further Treason lay in his knowledge, to unburthen his Conscience, and shew a sorrow and detestation of it. But Garnet impatient of perswasions, and ill pleased to be exhorted by them, desired them not to trouble him; he came prepared, and was resolved. Then the Recorder of London

don (who was by his Majesty appointed to be there) asked *Garnet* if he had any thing to say unto the people before he died; it was no time to dissemble, and now his Treasons were too manifest to be dissembled; therefore if he would, the world should witness, what at last he censured of himself, and of his fact; it should be free to him to speak what he listed. But *Garnet* unwilling to take the offer, said, His voice was low, his strength gone, the people could not hear him, though he spake to them; but to those about him on the Scaffold, he said, The intention was wicked, and the fact would have been cruel, and from his Soul he should have abhorred it, had it effected. But he said, He only had a general knowledge of it by Mr. *Catesby*, which in that he disclosed not, nor used means to prevent it, herein he had offended; what he knew in particulars was in Confession, as he said. But the Recorder wished him to be remembered, That the Kings Majesty had under his hand-writing these four points amongst others:

1. That *Greenway* told him of this, not as a fault, but as a thing which he had intelligence of, and told it him by way of consultation.

2. That *Catesby* and *Greenway* came together to him to be resolved.

3. That Mr. *Jesmond* and he had conference of the particulars of the Powder-Treason in *Essex* long after.

4. *Greenway* had asked him, who should be the Protector? But *Garnet* said, That was to be referred till the blow was past.

These prove your privity besides Confession;

and

and these are extant under your hand. *Garnet* answered, Whatsoever was under his hand was true. And for that he disclosed not to his Majesty the things he knew, he confessed himself justly condemned, and for this did ask forgiveness of his Majesty. Hereupon the Recorder led him to the Scaffold to make his Confession publick.

Then *Garnet* said, Good Countrey-men, I am come hither this blessed day of *The Invention of the holy Cross*, to end all my crosses in this life: The cause of my suffering is not unknown to you; I confess I have offended the King, and am sorry for it, so far as I was guilty, which was in concealing it, and for that I ask pardon of his Majesty. The Treason intended against the King and State was bloody, my self should have detested it had it taken effect; and I am heartily sorry, that any Catholicks ever had so cruel a design. Then turning himself from the people to them about him, he made an Apology for Mrs. *Ann Vaux*, saying, There is such an honourable Gentlewoman, who hath been much wronged in report; for it is suspected and said, that I should be married to her, or worse; but I protest the contrary, she is a vertuous Gentlewoman, and for me a perfect pure Virgin. For the Popes Breeves, Sir *Edmond Baynams* going over Seas, and the matter of the Powder-treason, he referred himself to his Arraignment, and his Confessions; for whatsoever is under my hand in any of my Confessions, said he, is true.

Then addressing himself to Execution, he kneeled at the Ladder foot, and asked if he might

might have time to pray, and how long? It was answered, he should limit himself, none should interrupt him. It appeared, he could not constantly or devoutly pray, fear of death, or hope of pardon, even then so distracted him; for oft in those Prayers he would break off, turn and look about him, and answer to what he over-heard, while he seemed to be praying. When he stood up, the Recorder finding in his behaviour as it were an expectation of a Pardon, wished him not to deceive himself, nor beguile his own Soul; he was come to die, and must die; requiring him not to equivocate with his last breath, if he knew any thing that might be danger to the King or State, he should now utter it. Garnet said, it is now no time to equivocate; how it was lawful, and when, he had shewed his mind else-where. But, saith he, I do not now equivocate, and more than I have confessed, I do not know. At his ascending up the Ladder, he desired to have warning before he was turned off. But it was told him, He must look for no other turn but death. Being upon the Gibbet, he used these words, I commend me to all good Catholicks, and I pray God preserve his Majesty, the Queen, and all their Posterity, and my Lords of the Privy Council, to whom I remember my humble duty, and I am sorry that I did dissemble with them; but I did not think they had had such proof against me, till it was shewed me: but when that was proved, I held it more honour for me at that time to confess, than before to have accused. And for my Brother *Greenway*, I would the truth were known; for the false reports that are, make

him more faulty than he is. I should not have charged him, but that I thought he had been safe. I pray God the Catholicks may not fare the worse for my sake; and I exhort them all to take heed they enter not into any Treasons, Rebellions, or Insurrections against the King. And with this, ended speaking, and fell to praying: and crossing himself, said, *In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus sancti* and prayed, *Maria mater Gratiae, Maria mater misericordiae, Tu me à malo protege, & hora mortis suscipe.* Then, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.* Then, *Per crucis hoc signum,* (crossing himself) *fugiat procul omne malignum. Infige crucem tuam in corde meo Domine.* Let me always remember the Cross. And so returned again to *Maria mater Gratiae*, and then was turned off, and hung till he was dead.

Papers

PAPERS
OR
LETTERS
OF
S^r EVERARD DIGBY,

Chiefly relating to the *Gun-
powder-Plot*, and written by him
during his Imprisonment in the
Tower.

Never before Published.

Licensed,

William Jane.

Jan. 31. 167⁸/₉

TO THE
READER.



Here and when the Originals of the following Papers or Letters of Sir Everard Digby were found, will appear by the Certificate at the end of this Preface.

It is thought fit to publish them all just as they were found, though all of them do not concern the Plot; that it may not be pretended, that any thing tending either to his Vindication or Honour is omitted or suppress'd. His Letter to his Sons is full of good counsel, proper for a dying Father: And the Verses, though they be not excellent, yet have a good tincture of Piety and Devotion in them.

The rest seem most of them to be written with juice of Limons, or some such

thing,

thing, and are not made up and directed in the form of Letters, but several of them written in small pieces of Paper, that so they might the more easily be conveyed away without suspicion, by those who were permitted to come to him.

Where any words are worn out, or so decayed, that they could not be read, there is a space left: Where any Letters or Words were doubtfull and obscure, the Transcriber hath conjectured as well as he could, and Printed them in a different Character.

This unfortunate Gentleman, Sir Everard Digby, who from a mistaken Zeal, was engaged in this horrible Conspiracy, was not, as I have been credibly informed, above 24 years of age, at the time of his death.

As for the Papers themselves, whoever shall diltgently peruse them, may receive abundant satisfaction in these following particulars.

First, That this Gentleman was verily perswaded of the lawfulness of this Design, and did engage in it out of a sincere, but ignorant zeal, for the advancement, as he thought, of the true Religion.

Secondly, That although, after his Imprisonment, when he heard it was censured

sured by those of his Religion as a great sin, he call'd in question the lawfulness of it, yet he was never fully convinced that it was so great a sin.

*He says indeed, * That the censure of* Paper 1.
*this Action by some of his Religion, call'd his Conscience in doubt of it; but withall, that** Ibid.
*this doubt which he had of his good estate proceeded onely from the censure of others; and that** Ibid.
for some good space he could do nothing, but with tears ask pardon at Gods hands for all his errours, both in actions and intentions, in this business, and in his whole life; which the censure of this, contrary to his expectance, had caused him to doubt. So that here was no clear conviction of the heinousness of this horrible crime; onely if it were a sin, which, from the opinion of others concerning it, he had some doubt it might be, he asks forgiveness of God for it among the other errors of his life: But had he been fully convinc'd, he would not onely have declared his repentance for it after another manner, but have made a full discovery of this wicked Plot, and of those that were engaged in it, which it is plain from these Letters, he declin'd to do to the last: And surely that cruel

Q expression,

Paper 9. expression, upon supposition that the Plot had taken effect, * I do not think there would have been three worth the saving that should have been lost, is but a very ill sign of his repentance.

Paper 4. Thirdly, That it is very probable, that afterwards, before his death, he received satisfaction of the lawfulness of it, and that from his Brother, or one whom he calls so, as may appear by these passages: * I give (saith he) my Brother many thanks for his sweet comforts, and assure him, that now I desire death; for the more I think of Gods merey, the more I hope in my own case, though others have censured our intentions otherwise than we understood them to be: And though the Act be thought so wicked by those of judgment, yet I hope my understanding it otherwise, with my sorrow for my error, will find acceptance at Gods hands. *Ibid.* And towards the end of that Letter, he seems to be yet much better satisfi'd, when he says, * that he onely owed 200l. which he had kept in his hands for the good of the BEST CAUSE. Which plainly shews what opinion he had of it himself, though out of regard to the opinion of others he begg'd Gods

mercy if it were an error: And in the conclusion of the next Letter (which must be written afterwards, because he says, that then * he had not been ask'd the Priests name, concerning which, he had desir'd his Brothers advice in the former Letter) he * intreats his friends to pray for his not sufficient striving against Temptations, since this business was undertook. Where by Temptations he doth in all probability mean, the doubtings he had entertain'd about it. But that which is more then all this, is, that in his long Letter to his Sons; though he do earnestly recommend his own Religion to them, yet he gives them not one word of caution against such Practises and Conspiracies upon account of Religion, as that for which he was to suffer: Which it cannot be imagin'd he would have omitted to do, had he been thoroughly convinced of the impiety of such Practises.

Fourthly, That he thought it lawful to deny anything upon his Examination, that was to be disadvantage of his Religion, or might bring others into danger, without any regard to truth: which is a strange liberty for a conscientious man to take, or to think Religion doth

allow: and yet he owns it so frankly, that no man can think he had the least doubt concerning it, as is evident from these Passages.

Paper 1. * My Lord Chief Justice asked me, if I had taken the Sacrament to keep secret the Plot, as others did? I said, that I had not, because I would avoid the question, At whose hands it were?

Paper 4. * If I be called in question for the Priest in my Letter, I propose to name him *Winscombe*, unless I be advised otherwise. *And speaking of the same Priest,*

Paper 5. *he saith,* * I have not been asked his name; which if I had, should have been such a one as I knew not any of.

Paper 6. *And in the next Letter,* * You forgot to tell me whether *Winscombe* be a fit name; I like it, for I know none of it. *By all which it appears, that he made no manner of scruple, to give in a false name upon examination.*

Fifthly, That this was a real Plot, wherein several Popish Priests and Jesuites, and other Persons of Quality of that Religion were engaged: And not onely so, but that if it had taken effect,

Paper 9. * *an Association of Foreign Princes of that Religion, by a Solemn Oath, like that of the Holy League in France, was design'd,*

sign'd, to have assur'd the business afterwards.

And is it not strange, that after all this, men should have the face to disclaim a thing so notorious to all the world? and to lay it upon the Kings Ministers, as a State-Contrivance, on purpose to make the Papists odious?

Why was not this said before, by those who were likely, and most concern'd to know it? This Gentleman seems not to have had the least suspicion of any such matter: None of the Conspirators either at their Examination, or Trial, or Execution, complained of it, that they were deceiv'd and drawn in; and if they had, they had nevertheless been Traitors: None of the Apologists of that time for this black Conspiracy, neither Bellarmine, nor Eudæmon Johannes, nor any other that I have seen, do suggest any such thing, which they would most certainly have done, had they known the least ground for it. Nay, the late History of the English Jesuites, written by More, a Jesuite, and publish'd at St. Omers in 1660, * doth fully own this horrid Con-
 spiracy of the Papists, and chargeth it solely upon them; onely he endeavours to clear the Jesuites of the contrivance of

Hist. Pro-
vinc. An-
glic. Soc.
Jesu. l. 7.
pag. 310.

this Design, acknowledging they were guilty of the concealment of it.

But now to come threescore years after, and to think to baffle all the Records and Histories of that Time, by a bold and groundless surmise, that all this was a Contrivance of Secretary Cecil, without the least proof or evidence produced for it, is a confidence only becoming such a Church, and such a Cause. To conclude this matter, Though the Priests of the Roman Church are able to impose so far upon the easy credulity of their People, as to persuade them every day to deny their Senses, and to believe contrary to what they plainly see: yet have they no reason to expect the same civility and compliance from us, whom they know to have, above an hundred years ago, taken up an obstinate resolution to believe our own Senses, against the confidence and presumption of any Church in the World.

J. T.

The

T*He several Papers and Letters of Sir Everard Digby, which are (as we have been credibly informed) the Original Papers and Letters written by him, concerning the Gun-powder Treason, were found by us Sir Rice Rudd Barronet, and William Wogan of Grays-Inn Esq; in the presence of Mrs. Ursula Giles, and Mr. Thomas Hughes, about the month of September, 1675. at the House of Charles Cornwallis Esq; who was Executor of Sir Kenelm Digby, (Son and Heir to the said Sir Everard) tied up in two Silk Bags, amongst the Deeds, Evidences, and Writings of the said Sir Kenelm Digby.*

Rice Rudd,

William Wogan.

J E S U S.

1: **I** Have not named any either living or ^{Paper 1.} dead, that should have hurt my Lord Salisbury: and only intended these General Informations to procure me access of some Friend, that I might inform my knowledge, for I never intended to hurt any Creature though it would have gained me all the world. As yet they have not got of me the affirming that I know any Priest particularly, nor shall ever do to the hurt of any but my self. At my first examination the Earl of Salisbury told me, that some things should be affirmed against me, by Gerrard the Priest, who, saith he, I am sure you know well. My Answer was, that if I might see him, I would tell him whether I knew him or no, but by that name I did not know him, nor at Mrs. Vauxe's, as he said I did, for I never saw a Priest there. Yesterday I was before Mr. Attorney and my Lord Chief Justice, who asked me if I had taken the Sacrament to keep secret the Plot as others did. I said that I had not, because I would avoid the question of at whose hands it were. They told me that five had taken it of Gerrard, and that he knew of the Plot, which I said was more than I knew.

Now for my Intention let me tell you, that if I had thought there had been the least sin in the Plot, I would not have been of it for all the world: and no other cause drew me to hazard

my Fortune and Life, but Zeal to Gods Religion. For my keeping it secret, it was caused by certain belief, that those which were best able to judge of the lawfulness of it, had been acquainted with it, and given way unto it. More reasons I had to perswade me to this belief than I dare utter, which I will never, to the suspicion of any, though I should to the Rack for it, and as I did not know it directly that it was approved by such, so did I hold it in my Conscience the best not to know any more if I might.

I have before all the Lords cleared all the Priests in it for any thing that I know, but now let me tell you, what a grief it hath been to me, to hear that so much Condemned which I did believe would have been otherwise thought on by Catholicks; there is no other cause but this, which hath made me desire Life, for when I came into Prison death would have been a Welcome Friend unto me, and was most desired; but when I heard how Catholicks and Priests thought of the matter, and that it should be a great sin that should be the Cause of my end, it called my Conscience in doubt of my very best Actions and Intentions in question: for I knew that my self might easily be deceived in such a Business, therefore I protest unto you that the doubts I had of my own Good State, which only proceeded from the censure of others, caused more bitterness of grief in me than all the miseries that ever I suffered, and only this caused me wish Life till I might meet with a Ghostly friend. For some good space I could do nothing, but with Tears ask pardon at Gods hands for all my Errors, both in Actions and

and Intentions in this Business, and in my whole life, which the censure of this contrary to my expectation caused me to doubt: I did humbly beseech that my Death might satisfy for my Offence, which I should and shall offer most gladly to the Giver of Life. I assure you as I hope in God that the love of all my Estate and worldly happiness did never trouble me, nor the love of it since my imprisonment did ever move me to wish life. But if that I may live to make satisfaction to God and the world where I have given any Scandal, I shall not grieve if I should never look Living Creature in the face again, and besides that deprivation endure all worldly misery. I shall not need to clear any living body either private or publick, for I never named any body; but reported that those that are dead did promise, that all Forces in those parts about Mr. Falbot would assist us, but this can hurt nothing, for they openly spoke it. You must be careful how you send, for Mr. Leiftenant hath stayed the *

Book; but take no notice of it. Let my Brother see this, or know the Contents, tell him I love his sweet comforts as my greatest Jewel in this Place, if I can I will Convey in the Tables a Copy of a Letter which I sent yesterday; it is as near as I can understand the meaning of the Instruction. I perceive it works with the Lords; for I shall be sent to them. Oh how full of Joy should I I dye if I could do any thing for the Cause which I love more than my Life! Farewell my

I think it is Paper Book, but the letters are almost worn out.

Paper 2. 2. **B**ESIDES the Trunk of Armour which was sent to Mr. Catesbyes, I did carry but one other Trunk with me, which had in it Cloathes of mine, as; a White Sattin Dublet cut with Purple, a Jerkin and Hoase of De-roy colour Sattin laid very thick with Gold-lace, there were other Garments in it of mine, with a new black Winter Gown of my Wifes, there was also in the Trunk 300*l.* in Money, and this Trunk did I see safe at Mr. Littletons House after the blowing up of the Powder
 Since that Mr. Adis cannot spare time from his business to sell such goods as shall be necessary to defray the expence of my Wife, Children and Family, and my own Charges, my desire therefore is that one Andrew Knight of Newport, dwelling near the house where these goods are, should have power given him to make sale of such things as shall be thought necessary for these purposes.

by me *Everard Digby.*

W. Waad.

Locum ten. Turris.

Paper 3. 3. **S**INCE the Writing of the other which I send you, I have been with the Lords, whose chiefest questions were what I meant by the Message, which I should send you to Coughton, about laying up that which I delivered, which, said the Lords, were either a Priest or Money: but I denyed the sending of any such Message, they

they asked me of Father Wallies being there which I denied: also they asked me what Letter Mr. Catesby did send to him, but could tell them of none: it seemeth that Bate hath confessed thus much, whether he hath been tortured or no, I know not: they asked me what Company I kept the Sunday Sevenight before the day: to which I could not answer, for I did not remember; but they told me that I was in the Company of Father Walley, Father Greenway, and Father Gerrat at Mrs. Vauxe's: I told them that I had been in their Companies, but not there, or any where else with others but my self; they said Mr. Greenway came to Huddington when we were there, and had speech with Mr.

but I told them it was more than I took note of, and that I did not know him very well, that he would be very carefull of himself; my Lord of Salisbury told me he had received my letter, but if the King should propose such a course he had no need of me. I was not much pressed in these matters, and so they dismissed me for this time. Farwell my Dearest.

4. **S**ince my late writing, I have been examined about the knowledge of Foster and Hamon. I give my Brother many thanks for his sweet comforts, and assure him that now I desire death; for the more I think on Gods mercy the more I hope in my own case: though others have censured our Intention otherwise than I understood them to be, and though the Act be thought so wicked by those of Judgment, yet I hope that my understanding it otherwise,

with my Sorrow for my Error, will find acceptance at Gods hands. I have not as yet acknowledged the knowledge of any Priest in particular, nor will not do to the hurt of any but my self, whatsoever betide me. I could give unanswerable reasons both for the good that this would have done for the Catholick Cause, and for my being from Home, but I think it now needless, and for some respect unfit. I do perceive the Lords will come hither no more, which caused me to write, which Coppy I send you. I have some guesses that it worketh, but the Lieutenant maketh all shew to me of the contrary; for, saith he, the Catholicks are so few in number as they are not to be feared on any terms, for on his knowledge there were not above 4000. in all England. Besides he said they were easily pacified, I would not at all argue the matter with him, but if the number should be objected by the Lords unto me, why may I not Answer it thus, that it is certain there is at least 400 Priests in England, therefore by all Consequence there must be more Catholicks: if there be inconvenience in it let me know and I have done. If I be called to question for the Priest, in my Letter I purpose to name him Winscombe, unless I be advised otherwise. I do desire my Brothers advise for Sir Oliver, for his Rents I never received any, and only owe 200*l.* which I kept in my hands for the good of the best Cause, out of which I had paid 30*l.* There is one hundred pounds yet to be paid by my Cousin John to him, and the Bonds for that and three more he hath paid, are in my Guilt Box, at least there I left them: I durst not make a

perfect note for his Estate, because I know not his course, and whether it would be hurtful for me to put it from my self to him, as

5. **I** Do not well conceive my brother, for I did *Paper 5.*
 never say that any other told me but Mr. Catesby about the Lords particulars: and for affirming that a Priest in general said something of Intentions of redress, I did understand Tar: Notice to give approbation, I have not been asked his name, which if I had should have been such a one as I knew not of. Howsoever my Brother is informed, I am sure they fear him for knowledge of the Plot, for at every examination I am told that he did give the Sacrament to five at one time, who they say have confessed it I do not know who they be; sure I am that I never yet did confess to know him nor any of the three. I do it not in regard of my self, as it shall appear at the Barr, for whatsoever I could do for him or any of his, I would do it though it cost me never so much sufferance: but I have been sparing in that, because I may do more in publick, which will I think be best; as you wish I will do, and what else may clear me from Scandal, not with any hopes or desire of favour; my little friends Curtesie is very comfortable, intreat them to pray for the pardoning of my not sufficient striving against temptations since this business was undertook. Farwell, God send you can read.

Paper 6. 6. **Y**OU forgot to tell me whether Win-
 scombe be a fit name: I like it, for I
 know none of it. You need not fear this *Lord*
 for he never looks in the *tables* nor dare shew
 them to any. Tell my brother I do honour him
 as befits me, but I did not think I could have
 increased in so much, loving him more as his
 charitable Lessons *would* make me. Your in-
 formation doth much comfort me, but I pray
 you after my Death, let me not want good Pray-
 ers, for my need is great though my trust in God
 is not small, as occasions falls out you will know.
 Farewell.

Paper 7. 7. **I** Have found your pennywares but
 never that in the *Wascoat* till this
 night. The substance of my last writing was
 strictly examined about Mr. Darcy, who they
 said the first time was Blackwell, but after they
 told me it was Wallee or Garnet, I told them it
 was more than I knew, for I did not take him
 to be a Priest: they also urged me with Brook,
 Fisher and Browne, and said they were Priests,
 and that Brook was Gerratt, but I answered I did
 not know so much, they told me that I had been
 at Mrs. Vauxe's with this Company, and that I
 knew Gerratt there, but I denied it. They did in a
 Fashion offer me the tortur, which I wil rather in-
 dure than hurt any body, as yet I have not tried it
 the next time I will write
 more. I could scarce

8. **Y**OU shall find in this the Paper with *Paper 8.*
 the Reasons of my not acquainting an inward friend with the Business, was not for any particular wilfulness; or ill end; but I thought it not best for the Cause, nor did not think it ill, which was to be done, since necessity compelled, as I thought somewhat to be done. I saw the Principal point of the Case, judged in a Latin Book of M. D. my brothers Father in Law, I neither can nor will draw in suspect for a world, but if he were deceived in that point by a prefixed day, let him think that I had more cause than he

9. **M**Y Dearest the *Paper 9.* I take at
 the uncharitable taking of these matters, will make me say more than ever I thought to have done. For if this Design had taken place, there could have been no doubt of other Success: for that night, before any other could have brought the News, we should have known it by Mr. Catesby, who should have proclaimed the Heir Apparent at Charing-Cross, as he came out of Town; to which purpose there was a Proclamation Drawn; if the Duke had not been in the House, then was there a certain way layd for the possessing him; but in regard of the assurance, they should have been there, therefore the greatest of our business stood in the possessing the Lady Elisabeth, who lying within Eight Miles of Dunchurch, we would have easily surpris'd before the knowledge of
 R any

any doubt: this was the Cause of my being there. If she had been in Rutland, then Stoaks was near, and in either place we had taken sufficient Order to have been possessed of her; there was also course taken for the satisfying the people if the first had taken effect, as the speedy notice of Liberty and Freedom from all manner of Slavery, as the ceasing of Wardships and all Monopolies, which with Change would have been more plausible to the people, if the first had been, than it is now. There was also a course taken to have given present notice to all Princes, and to *Associate* them with an Oath answerable to the League in France. I have not uttered any of these things, nor ever thought to do; for my going from Dunchurch I had this Reason. First I knew that Faux could reveal me, for I must make choice of two besides Mr. Catesby, which I did of him and Mr. Winter. I knew he had been employed in great matters, and till torture sure he carried it very well. Secondly, we all thought if we could procure Mr. Talbot, to rise that party at least to a Composition

that was not little, because we had in our Company his Son in Law, who gave us some hope of, and did not much doubt it. I do answer your speech with Mr. Brown thus. Before that I knew any thing of this Plot, I did ask Mr. Farmer what the meaning of the Popes Brief was; he told me that they were not (meaning Priests) to undertake or procure starts: but yet they would not hinder any, neither was it the Popes mind they should, that should be undertaken

taken for Catholick good: I did never utter thus much, nor would not but to you; and this Answer with Mr. Catesbyes proceedings with him and me; gave me absolute belief that the matter in general was approved, though every particular was not known. I dare not take that course that I could, to make it appear less Odious; for divers were to have been brought out of the danger, which now would rather hurt them than otherwise. I do not think there would have been three worth Saving that should have been lost; you may guess that I had some Friends that were in danger, which I had prevented, but they shall never know it. I will do as much as my Partner wisheth, and it will then appear, that I have not hurt or accused one man, and howsoever I might in general possess them with fear, in hope to do the Cause good, yet my care was ever to lose my own Life, rather than hurt the unworthiest Member of the Catholick Church. Tell Her I have ever loved Her and Her House, and though I could never shew it, I will not live to manifest the Contrary: Her Go: I hope will remember me, who I am in temporal respects indebted to: your Sister salute from me, whose noble mind to me in this misery, I will never
 my Lord of Arundell may do much with the Lord and the Queen. One that you write of which dearly loveth him, and is dearly loved of him again, can tell him that I love him, and did manifest it in his sight, and he might have found it; last time as I saw him, was in his Company; as I think: I am sure when

this was, he was there. If your Mother were
in Town you should do it to her.
Farewell, and where you cannot understand,
send to me by your next, and I will Ex-
plain.

Jesus

+

Jesus Maria.

THere be many reasons (my dear-Children) that might dissuade me from putting Pen to Paper in this kind, and onely one which urgeth me to undertake this poor and fruitless pains. Wherefore to tell you what inciteth me to it, is my want of other means to shew my Fatherly affection to each of you: (which is so far from uttering, as my mind is willing to accept of poor means, rather than none to bewray my disposition) if I would have been checked from the performance of these lines, by number and probabilities of reasons ; I might then have called to mind the unlikelihood, that these would ever have come to your view ; with the malice of the world to me, which (I do imagine) will not fail to endeavour to possess you with a loathness to hear of any thing that comes from me: as also I might, and do think, on my own disability in advising, with many other dissuasive reasons, which my former recited single stirrer-up hath banished.

Wherefore to begin with both and each of you, I send you by these my Fatherly and last blessing; which I have not failed to ask at Gods hands on my knees, that he will grant to descend so effectually on you (that his holy grace accompanying it) it may work in you the performance (on your part) of Gods sweet

and just commandments; and on his part to you, the Guerdon that his mercy enricheth his Servants withall.

Let this end (Gods Service I mean) be the chief and onely contentious strife between you, which with all vehemency and desire each of you may strive to attain soonest. Let this be the mark which your thoughts and actions may still level at; for here is the chiefest Prize, to recompense the best deservert. Believe me in this (my Sons) that though my unripe years afford me not general experience, yet my variety of courses in the world (and Gods grace to illumine me) may sufficiently warrant the verity of this principle. If you make this your chief business, (as you ought to do, and for which end onely you were sent into the world) I doubt not but God will send you better means for your particular directions, than either the brevity of a Letter, or my ability can discharge. So that in this I will say no more, but pray that you may live as I hope to die, which is in the perfect obedience of the Catholick and onely saving Church.

I cannot but a little touch, what I could wish you did, and I hope will do to all sorts of people; it is a lesson I could never learn well my self, but perhaps see more what is convenient for others, than that I were ever able to shew the force of wholesome counsell, and good instructions in my own life.

Above all things in the world, seek to obey and follow your Mothers will and pleasure; who as she hath been the best wife to me that ever man enjoyed, so can she not fail to shew her

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her self equal to the best Mother, if you deserve not the contrary. If it please God to send her life, (though you have nothing else) I shall leave you enough : And on the contrary, if I could leave you ten times more than my self ever had, yet she being taken from you, I should think you but poor. It is not (my Sons) abundance of riches that makes a man happy, but a virtuous life; and as they are blessings from God, and cause of happiness to a man that useth them well, so are they cause of misery to most men even in this world.

You may read of divers men, who whiles they lived in private state, deserved the fame of all that knew them; but so soon as prosperous fortune, and higher degrees, had taken possession of them, they seemed not to be the same men, but grew into scorn of all the world. For example, *Galba*, whiles he lived in *Spain* as a private man, and, as it were, banished his Countrey, by a Charge that procured in him great pains and care; he was so well liked, that upon the death of *Nero* the Emperor, he was Elected in his room; but was no sooner in that Place, than he was plucked out of it again by violent death, as a man unfit for such a Charge, by reason of his alteration which that Dignity wrought in him.

You may see also in *Otho*, who succeeded him, that all the while of his prosperity, he lived a most dissolute life, and odious to all men; but he was no sooner touched with adversity, but he grew to a brave and worthy resolution, making choice rather (not out of de-

speration) of his own death, than that by his life the Common-weal should be disturbed. And though I cannot but disallow the manner of his death, (by reason he knew not God truly) yet is it plain, that adversity brought him to that worthy mind, which contemned life in regard of his Countreys good; and which was so contrary to that mind that prosperity had misled in him. If then adverse Fortune were so powerful, more than prosperity, in Pagans and Misbelievers, to procure in them worthy minds; what may we expect the force of it should be in Christians, whose first Captain (not out of necessity, but free choice) made manifest to the world, by his own painful footsteps, that there is no other perfect and certain way to true happiness.

He hath not onely staid here in demonstration of his verity, but hath sent to all those (who, the world knows, he highliest esteemed, and best loved) nothing but variety of misery in this life, with cruel and forced death; the which thing truest wisdom esteems as the best tokens of Love from so powerful a Sender, and as the best and certaintest way to bring a man to perfect happiness.

I speak not this to conclude, that no man is happy but those which run this strict and best course. But to tell you (my Children) that if the world seek and prevail to cut you off from enjoying my Estate and Patrimony in this world, yet you should not think your selves more unhappy therein: for God, it may be, doth see, that there is some other course more fit for you; or that this would give great hazard to your Souls

Souls health, which he taketh away, by removing the occasion.

But howsoever you find your selves in fortunes of this world, use them to Gods best pleasure, and think your selves but Bailiffs of such things for an uncertain time. If they be few or poor, your fear of making a good account may be the lesser; and know, that God can send more and richer, if it be requisite for his glory and your good: if they be many or great, so much the more care you ought to take in governing your selves, lest God, as holding you unworthy such a charge, by taking them from you, or you from them, do also punish you with eternal misery, for abusing his benefits. You shall the better learn to make true use and reckoning of these vanities, if with due obedience you do hearken to your Mothers wholesome counsel; and what want you shall find in my instructions, you may see better declared to you by looking on her life, which though I cannot give assurance for any thing to be done in future times, yet can I not but very stedfastly believe, that the same Lord will give perseverance in vertue, where he hath laid so strong a foundation for his Spiritual building, and where there is such an humble and resigned will to the pleasure of her Lord and Maker.

The next part of my Charge shall be, in your mutual carriage the one to the other; in which, all reasons to move you to perfect accord, and entire love, do present themselves unto you, as the obligation of Christianity, the tie of natural and nearest Consanguinity, and the equality, or

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very small difference of Age. There is in none of these any thing wanting, that may be an impediment to truest Friendship, nor any thing to be added to them (for procuring your mutual and heartiest love) but your own consent and particular desert each to other. Since then there is all cause in each of you for this love, do not deprive your selves of that earthly happiness, which God, Nature, and Time offereth unto you: but if you think that the benefit which accord and friendship bringeth, be not sufficient to enkindle this love, (which God forbid you should) yet let the consideration of the misery which the contrary worketh in all degrees, stay your mind from dislike.

As no man in any Age, but may see great happiness to have been attained by good agreement of Friends, Kinsmen, and Brethren; so wanteth there not too many examples of such, as by hate and discord have frustrated strong hopes sowed in peace, and brought to nothing great Fortunes; besides the incurring Gods displeasure, which still comes accompanied with perpetual misery. If you look into Divine Writ, you shall find, that this was the cause of *Abel* and *Cain's* misery, which the least hard hap that came to either of them, was to be murdered by his Brother.

If you look into Humane Stories, you need search no further to behold a most pitiful object, than the two Sons of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whose dislike each to other was so deeply rooted, that at length it burst forth to open complaints, the one of the other, to good old
Philip;

Philip; who seeing it, could not be put off from a publick hearing; called both his Sons, (*Demetrius* and *Perseus*) and in both their hearing made a most effectual speech of concord unto them; but finding that it would not take effect, gave them free leave to wound his heart with their unnatural accusations, the one against the other; which staid not there, by the unjust hastning of their Fathers sudden death, but caused the murder of one of them, with the utter overthrow of that Commonwealth, and the misery of the Survivor. These things (I hope) will not be so necessary for your use, as they are hurtless to know, and effectual where need requires.

Besides these examples, and fore-recited obligations, let me joyn a Fathers charge, which ought not to be slightly esteemed in so just a cause. Let me tell you, my Son *Kenelm*, that you ought to be both a Father and a Brother to your unprovided for Brother, and think, that what I am hindred from performing to him by short life, and voluntary tie of my Land to you; so much account your self bound to do to him, both in Brotherly affection to him, and in natural duty to me. And you, my Son *John*, know I send you as Fatherly a Blessing, as if I had also given you a great Patrimony; an that if my life had permitted, I would have done my endeavour that way. If you find any thing in that kind to come from your Brother, take it the more thankfully; but if that you do not, let it not lessen your love to him, who ought not

not to be loved by you for his Fortune or Bounty, but for himself. I am sorry that I am cut off by time from saying so much as I did intend at the first; but since I may not, I will commend in my Prayers your instruction and guidance to the Giver of all goodness, who ever bless and keep you.

*From my Prison this
23. of Jan. 1605.*

Your affectionate
Father,

Eve. Digby.

Come



Come grief, possess that place thy Harbingers have seen,
 And think most fit to entertain thy self;
 Bring with thee all thy Troops, and sorrows longest Teem
 Of followers, that wail for worldly pelf:
 Here shall they see a Wight more lamentable,
 Than all that Troop that seem most miserable.

For here they may discry, if perfect search be made,
 The substance of that shadow causing woe:
 An unkind Frost, that caused hopeful Sprouts to fade;
 Not onely mine, but others grief did grow
 By my misdeed, which grieves me most of all,
 That I should be chief cause of others fall.

For private loss to grieve, when others have no cause
 Of sorrow, is unmeet for worthy mind;
 For who but knows, that each mans sinful life still draws
 More just revenge, than he on earth can find.
 But to undo desert and innocence,
 Is, to my mind, griefs chiefeest pestilence.

I grieve not to look back into my former state,
 Though different that were from present case;
 I moan not future haps, though forced death with hate
 Of all the world were blustred in my face.
 But Oh I grieve to think that ever I
 Have been a means of others misery.

When on my little Babes I think, as I do oft,
 I cannot chuse but then let fall some tears:
 Me-thinks I hear the little Prater, with words soft,
 Ask, Where is Father that did promise Pears,
 And other Knacks, which I did never see,
 Nor Father neither, since he promis'd me.

'Tis true, my Babe, thou never saw'st thy Father since,
 Nor art thou ever like to see again :
 That stopping Father into mischief which will pinch
 The tender Bud, and give thee cause to plain
 His hard dysaster; that must punish thee,
 Who art from guilt as any Creature free.

But Oh! when she that hure thee, Babe, comes to my mind;
 Then do I stand as drunk with histereft woe,
 To think that she, whose worth were such to all, should find
 Such usage hard, and I to cause the blow,
 Of her such sufferance, that woth pierce my heart,
 And gives full grief to every other part.

Hence comes the cause, that each tear striveth to be first,
 As if I meant to hint them of their course.
 No salted meats: that done, you know my heart would burst
 With violent assaults of your great force :
 But when I stay you, 'tis for that I fear,
 Your gushing so will leave me ne'er a tear.

But ah! this doubt, Grief says, I never need to fear,
 For she will undertake & afford me store;
 Who in all her knowledge never cause of woe did hear
 That gall'd her deeper, or gave witness more
 Of earths hard usage, that does punish those;
 That guiltless be, with Fortunes cruellest blows:

Though further cause of more than utterable grief;
 As others loss, I could dilate at large,
 Which I am cause of, yet her suffering being chief
 Of all their woes, that sail in this deep Barge
 Of sorrows Sea: I cannot but reflect
 Hereon more deeply, and with more respect.

On which dear object when I look with griev'd mind,
 Such store of pitie see I plead her case,
 As hardest hearts cause of compassion there would find,
 To hear what could be said before that face,
 Which I have wrong'd in causing so to weep,
 The grief whereof constrains my Pen to sleep.