THE HISTORY
OF THE
Bloody Massacres
OF THE
PROTESTANTS
IN FRANCE
IN THE
Year of our LORD, 1572.

WRITTEN
In Latin by the Famous HISTORIAN
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and faithfully rendered into English.

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A brief Introduction to the History of the MASSACRE.

THE Lords of the House of Guise, whether through the instigation of the Jesuites, whom they first introduced into France, and highly favoured, or through their emulation against the Princes of the Blood who favoured the Reformed Religion, or both, professing themselves great zealots for the Papal Authority, and irreconcilable enemies to the Hugonots, (as they called them of the Reformed Religion) especially after the dissensions grew high between them and the Princes, to whom they doubted not but the Protestants would adhere, as well upon the account of Religion as of the Right of the Princes, having by force gotten the young King Charles 9. into their hands, endeavoured by all means to raise in his mind as great prejudice and hatred against the Protestants and the chief men of their
their party as possible. The young King thus trained up in prejudice against them, and moreover from his youth inured to cruelty, and the slaughters of his Subjects even in cold blood, whereof by the D. of Guise he had been early made a spectator, was scarce out of his minority when he was invited by the Pope, the K. of Spain, and the D. of Savoy to joyn in a holy League for the extirpation of the Hereticks: but being by nature of an Italian genius, and well instructed by his Mother in the policies of her Country, he chose as a more safe and surer way to attempt that rather by secret stratagems and surprize than by open hostility. And therefore at an interview at Bayonne between him with his Mother, and his Sister the Queen of Spain accompanied with the D. of Alva, having by the way had secret conference at Avignon with some of the Pope's trusty Ministers (the Pope having perswaded that meeting, and earnestly pressed the King of Spain himself to be present at it) it was concluded to cut off the chief heads of the Protestants, and then, in imitation of the Sicilian Vespers, to slaughter all the rest to the last man. But the des-
sign being discovered to the Prince of Conde, Colinius and others of the Nobility, when they perceived such preparations made for the execution of it, as, unless timely prevented, they were likely suddenly to be all destroyed, they put themselves into a posture of defence, whereupon broke out a Civil War. But that being contrary to the design to effect the business by stratagem and surprize, it was in few months composed for the present; but shortly after, when the same design was again perceived to be carried on, and the like inevitable danger approached as near as before, was again renewed in the former manner, and continued somewhat longer and hotter than before. Whereupon the King perceiving that the greatest difficulty was to beget and confirm in the Protestant Nobility a trust and confidence in himself, used all arts imaginable to do that; and to that purpose in all solemn manner granting and confirming to the Protestants in France very fair terms of peace and security, he at the same time pretended a resolution to make a war with Spain, entred into a League with the Queen of England, and with the Protestant Prin-
The Introduction.

Princes of Germany; and, which was the principal part of the policy, proposed a match between the Prince of Navar, the first Prince of the Blood, and chief of the Protestant Party, and his Sister Margaret, as that which would not only serve his purpose to beget a confidence in the Protestants of his sincerity and good intention, but moreover afford him a fair opportunity at the solemnization of the Marriage, of effecting his design at last, which had been so often and so long disappointed. All which having managed with wonderful art and dissimulation, he at last obtained what he desired, as in the following History is more particularly related.
THE HISTORY OF THE MASSACRES OF THE Protestants at PARIS, and many other places in FRANCE, in the Year of our Lord, 1572.

THE day of the Nuptials [between Henri, King Lib. 5. of Navar and Margaret Sisiter to the King of France] drawing on; which was appointed the *15th. of the Kalends of September; the *August 18th. King by Letters solicits Coligni, that he should come to Paris, having before given in charge to Claudius Marcilus Provost of the Merchants, that he should see to it, that no disturbance did arise upon Colignie's coming to Paris.
The History of ris. Likewise Proclamation was published the third of the Nones of July, when he was at Castrum Bononiae, about two miles from the City, wherein it was forbidden, that any of what condition soever should dare to renew the memory of things past, give occasion of new quarrels, carry pistols, fight duels, draw their swords, especially in the King's retinue at Paris, and in the Suburbs, upon pain of death. But if any difference should arise among the Nobles concerning their Honour or Reputation, they should be bound to bring their plaint to the Duke of Anjou, the King's Deputy throughout the whole Kingdom, and to pray justice of him: if they were of the Commons, they should betake themselves to the High Chancellor de l'Hospital: if it shall happen among those that shall not be in the Court, but in Paris, they shall go before the ordinary Magistrate. It was also provided by the same Proclamation, that those who were not of the Courts of any of the Princes or Nobles, or of the Retinue of others, or were not detained upon some necessary business, but were of uncertain abode and habitation about Paris or the Suburbs, should depart from the Court & City within 24 hours after the publication of this Edict, upon the same pain of death. This was published for three days together, with the sound of Trumpet in the Court, and through the City, and it was ordered that the publication should be repeated week by week upon the Sabbath-day. Also there was adjoin'd to the guards of the King's body for his greater security, a guard of 400 choice Soldiers; all which Coligni full of confidence and good assurance so interpreted, as if the King desirous of the publick Peace, did (only) prepare a contrary strength against those which were seditious, and movers of troubles. Therefore he comes into the City, though many were greatly disturbed at it: to whom, when they importunately dehorted him both by letter and word of mouth, he, after he had given them thanks, answered in one word; "That he was resolved "now that Peace was concluded, and things past forgotten, "to rely upon the faith of the King, and that he had rather "be dragged through the streets of Paris, than to take up "Civil Arms again.

2. Among
2. Among other letters there was one brought to him being now come to Paris, written very smartly after this manner.

Remember that it is an established Decree of the Papists, upon the account of Religion, and confirmed by the authority of Councils, that Faith is not to be kept with heretics; in the number of which Protestants are accounted. Remember also that Protestants upon the account of the former Wars, do lie under an eternal odium; so that it is not to be doubted but this is the Queen's resolution, that Protestants be rooted out by any means whatsoever. Add to this that it cannot be, but that a woman that is a stranger, and an Italian, descended of the race of the Popes, (whom they oppose) and of a Florentine and guileful nature, should study all extremities against her enemies. Consider moreover in what School the King was educated, in which he drew in with his milk under his good Tutors this Doctrine; that he should make it a sport to swear and forswear, to use the name of God profanely, to defile himself with Whoredomes and Adulteries, to dissemble his Faith, Religion, Counsels, to set his countenance (according to occasion).

And that he might be accustomed to the effusion of the bloud of his Subjects, he was taught from his childhood to behold the slaughters and butcheries of beasts; that he is settled in this persuasion to suffer no Religion in his Kingdom but that which may uphold his state, (according to the opinion of his Master Machiavel) otherwise it would never be at Peace, so long as two Religions flourished in it, and that it was instilled into his ears that the Protestants did decree to spoil him of his Life and Empire. And therefore he would never suffer the Protestants who had once, whether upon a just or unjust cause, taken up Arms against him, to enjoy the benefit of his Edict, but that he would with Arms revenge what was done with Arms against him; nor would he look upon himself obliged to keep his Covenants which he had entred into with his armed Subjects. These are the Arts of Princes, the Elements of Policy, the Arcana Imperii. So Commodus of old commanded Julian, whom he owned and embraced as his Father, to be slain. Thus
Antonius Caracalla, under pretence of mustering, slew the prime youth of the City. So Lydander cut the throats of eight hundred Milicians called together under pretence of friendship and society. So Sergius Galba raged upon six thousand Spaniards: and lately by the command of Antonius Spinola, the chief men of the Isle of Corsica were called together to a Feast, and slain. In our memory did Christiern a King of a barbarous nature use the same arts in the Massacre of Stockholm. So heretofore Charles 7, though reconciled to the Duke of Burgundy, yet abstained not from killing him, though he begged for his life. Nor are the discourses that the King lately had with his mother at Blois unknown. For when in a jocular manner profanely using, as his custom is, the name of God, he asked her whether he had not acted his part handsomely at the coming of the Queen of Navar? the Queen answered that he had begun well, but these beginnings would little advantage him unless he proceeded; But I, said he, with often repeated oaths, will bring them all into your toils. From these words, the truth whereof you may be assured of, you ought to take counsel, and if you are wise get out of the City, and so from the Court, as from a most filthy link, with all the speed as may be.

3. Coligni having read this letter, though he was not a little troubled at it, yet that he might not seem altogether to neglect the admonitions and intreaties of his friends, made answer; That there was no place left for these suspicions, that he could never persuade himself that so great perfidiousness could enter into so good a King, than whom France for this many years never had a better. That Anjou indeed was more averse to the Protestant party, but that hatred would now cease, even out of respect to the affinity contracted with the King of Navar. For the rest, the League entered into with England, and that which the King was now making with the Protestant Princes of the Empire, did sufficiently shew how he stood affected to the Protestants, when as he would have one of the Sons of the Elector Palatine in his retinue; and some one of the English Nobles.
as Leiceste or Burglei, who were most forward for Religion. Moreover he had given his Faith to the Prince of Orange and Nassau his Brother concerning aids against the Spaniards, and that a great supply was preparing in the place of those who were routed under Jenlis their leader. That John Galeacius Fulgosius, who lately returned from Florence, did assure them, that Cosunus would lend the King two hundred thousand Aurei towards that War. That the King's Ambassador did carefully pry into the counsels of the Duke of Alva, and daily acquaint the King with them. That this he knew every day from the King. That the Navy that Philip Strofyl and Polinius Garda do command at Broage, and upon the Coasts of Poictou was not prepared to any other use but to disturb the Spanish Fleer, which being done, it shall go to help the Prince of Orange at Flushing. As for himself and his own particular Safety, all might be secure of that; for that he through the King's means is reconciled to the Guises, each engaging their Faith to the King, that they would neither of them hereafter impeach one the other. Lastly, that the King did all he could to make Peace at home and War abroad, and that he might transfer the War into the Low-Countryes, and against the Spaniards. Wherefore he prayed the Author of the writing, and others that are of his mind, that they would no more with these suspitions trouble his mind, which was taken up with more weighty busineses, and better designs, but rather that they would joyning their prayers with his, beg of God that he would prosper things so well begun, and bring them at last to an happy end, for the good of the Church and Kingdom.

4. The same things were written to Coligni from the Rocheliers, which he did in as friendly manner take off with all moderation and constancy. Therefore when they could not divert him from that mind, they set upon the King of Navar with Letters daret 6 of the Eids of July, in which they desired him upon the same accounts, that he should take care of himself, and not go to Paris. He was then at the Nuptials of Henricus Condæus his Uncle's Son, and Mary of Cleve.
his near kinswoman, which were celebrated at Blandia a Castle of Jo. Roan Marchioness of Rotelin, who was Mother to Frances of Aurleans * last Wife to Lewis of Conde, within the jurisdiction of Melun. Therefore he despising the warnings of his Friends, the Nuptials of the Prince of Conde being finished, comes to Paris with him, and a great retinue of Protestants in the beginning of August, where new delays are purposely invented by the Queen; for whereas at first there was hope given of favour to be obtained from the Pope by the Cardinal of Lorain, who was then at Rome, to remove the obstacle of proximity and difference in Religion, a Breve was brought to Charles Cardinal of Burbon, designed to finish the business; wherewith notwithstanding he said he he was not satisfied: therefore he desired another more full might be sent from Rome, wherein it might be more amply provided for him. Therefore the King laid the fault of the delay upon the Cardinal of Burbon, who he said, by way of scorn, was tied up by superstition, and I know not what scruples of conscience; and by that means great injury was done to his Margarite (so he called his Sister) who bore it very impatiently to have the fruit of her so long expected joy deferred.

5. When in the mean time Coligni pressed that the publick proclaiming of the Low-Country War so often deliberated about, and approved of, and now whether he would or not begun, might be no longer deferred, he again made delays, and declined it, and often replied to him, importuning him, that he had not any Counsellor or Officer of his Army to whose faithfulness, industry and diligence he could commit so great an affair. For some were wholly addicted to the party of the Guises; others had other faults of their own: of his Secretaries there was only Bernardus Fiza whom he could entrust with this secret. At last it was agreed that the affair should be committed to Momorancy and Fiza: with which shews of unfeigned familiarity, as he took it, and ingenious freedom, Coligni being deceived, would not persuade himself anything otherwise than of truly Kingly virtue, or think hardly of the most excellent King.

6. Amidst
6. Amidst these delays (those) things, as it should seem, being altogether composed, about which before there was a difference among the Conspirators, there came Letters by secret comport from the King's Ambassador with the Pope, in which the King is certified of a dispensation now granted, and shortly to be sent from Rome by Post, wherein the scrupulous conscience of Bourbon was fully satisfied: therefore when, upon the 16th. of the Kalends of September, they were contracted by Cardinal Borbon in the Louvre, the next day after the Nuptials were celebrated.

An high Scaffold is erected before the gates of the great Church, by which they descended by stairs unto a lower Scaffold, which being on every side railed in to keep off the multitude, did lead through the Church to the inner apartment commonly called the Chore. From thence another Scaffold encompassed with rails did receive those that went out of the Chore toward the left gate, which reached to the Bishop's Palace; thither came out of the Louvre with all Royal Pomp, and most magnificent shew, the King, the Queen-Mother, with the Brethren the Dukes of Anjou and Alanson, the Guises, the Colonels of the Horse, the chief Peers of the Kingdom leading along the Bride, who lodged that night in the Bishop's Palace. And from the other part, the King of Navar, with the Princes of Conde and Contie his Cousins, Coligni Admiral of the Sea, Franciscus Count de la Roche-foueault, and a great company of the Protestant Nobles, who came together out of all Provinces of the Kingdom.

When the King had ascended to that higher Scaffold, the Ceremonies in manner as was agreed being performed by Cardinal Borbon, the King and Navar with his Party came by the lower Scaffold into the Chore, where having placed his Wife before the great Altar to hear Mass, he with Coligni and Count de la Roche-foueault, and the other Nobles of his Retinue went into the Bishop's Palace by the contrary door afore mentioned; from whence after Mass was ended, being recalled by D'Anvil, he came into the Chore again, and kissing his new Bride before the King, Queen, and the Brethren, when they had entertained one another some little while with discourse,
of
discourse, they returned into the Bishop's Palace, where dinner was provided. And I well remember when as Mass being ended, I was admitted through the rails into the Chore, and standing nigh to Coligni, while I fixed my eyes upon him, and curiously observed him, I heard him say, discoursing with d'Anville, and looking up to the Ensigns fastned up and down, and the sad Monuments of the Battel of Bassac and Moncoutour, "That ere long these being taken down, others more pleasing should be set up in their places: which words, then he meant of the Low-Country War, which as he thought was now resolved upon, others interpreted as though he had thoughts of a new Civil War, which he so much abhorred.

7. After Dinner they went into the Palace, where a royal Supper was prepared, and all orders of the City and the Senate, together with the Courts of Accounts, Cusloms and Treasury are entertained according as is usual in a most sumptuous manner: a short time was spent in dancing; afterwards interludes were brought in. The representation of three Rocks silvered over, upon which the three Brethren, the King, the Duke of Anjou, and Duke of Alans left, and seven more, upon which Gods and Sea-monsters were set, which followed, being drawn along in Coaches, and were brought through the great Hall of the Palace, which was divided by a triumphal arch in the middle, and when they made a stand, some choice Musitians recited Verses in their own Tongue, composed by the best of their Poets. And thus a great part of the night being spent in interludes, they afterwards betook themselves to their rest.

The next day being not able to rise before the Sun was got high, at three a clock after noon they went to dinner at the Duke of Anjou's Palace, where after dancing they went toward the evening to the Louvre.

The day following being Wednesday, running at Tilt, and interludes which had been a long while in preparing, were exhibited at the Cardinal Bourbon's Palace: there were represented upon the right hand the Mansions of the blessed, and a little below the Elysian-fields possessed by 12 Nymphs, on the
the other side on the left-hand was represented Hell flaming
with fire and brimstone, and full of sprites and frightful
ghosts. The Brethren, the King, the Duke of Anjou, and
the Duke of Alans for defended Paradise as they called it:
which many Knights Errant seeking to break into, of whom
Navar was Captain; they were every one of them repulsed,
and at last thrown headlong down into Hell. Then Mercury
riding upon a Cock, and together with him Cupid came
sliding down to the defendants, and then after much discourse
with them returned into Heaven. Then the three defend-
dants came to the Nymphs wandering in the pleasant green
fields, and led them into the middle of the Hall, where the
Spectators were with much pleasure entertained with new
Dances about the Fountain for a full hour. Then the defend-
dants being prevailed upon by their entreaties, the Knights
Errant that were shut up in Hell were released; who present-
ly in a confused skirmish break their spears: at last the Gun-
powder that was laid by pipes about the Fountain being fired,
fire break forth with a great noise, and consumed all their
Scenes, and so all departed.

This shew was variously interpreted, for that the assailants
who were most of them Protestants, did in vain attempt to
get into the seats of the blessed, and were afterwards thrust
down into Hell: for so they put a mockery upon the Prote-
stants, and others did bode that it portended some mischief.
However, certain it is, that Francis E. of Momorancy, whether
suspecting some evil, or being indisposed by reason of the
tolling of the Sea, as lately returned from his Embassy in
England, having obtained leave of the King, went to Castility
for his healths sake; leaving in the Court Henry d'Anville,
Carolus Meruvius, and Gulielmus Thoræus (his) Brethren,
and that very happily for that most Illustrious Family: for it
was the general opinion, that the plotters of the following
Massacre would have comprehended them all in this conspi-
raczy, had they not feared that Momorancy, who was now ab-
sent, would have revenged it.

The next day being Thursday, there was running at Tilis
held in the Court-yard of the Louvre, in which on the one
side
side the King and his Brethren, together with the Duke of Guise, and the Duke of Aumale in the habit of Amazons; and on the other side the King of Navar, with his party, in Turkish habits, contended with their launces; Scaffolds being set up on either side, from which the Queen-Mother, the King's Wife, Lorain, and all the Court-Ladies beheld the sports.

8. Two days before the Counsel concerning the Massacre being not yet concluded, the King with great shew of kindness bespeaks Coligni (thus). 'You know, Father, (so he called him upon the account of his age and honour) what you undertook to me, that you would offer no injury, so long as you are at Court, to the Guises: and they again engaged, that they, as they ought, would behave themselves toward you and yours honourably and modestly. I repose very great trust in your words, but I have not the like confidence in their promises. For, besides that I know the Guises do by all means seek revenge, I know their daring and haughty nature, and in what favour they are with the people of Paris. It would be a very great grief to me, if they who under pretence of coming to the Marriage, have brought with them a great party of Souldiers well appointed, should attempt any thing to your hurt; for that would be an injury to myself: Therefore, if you think it expedient, I think it convenient, that the Regiment of the Guards be drawn into the City under these Commanders, (then he named those who were no way suspected), who, if any turbulent persons attempt any thing, may be ready at hand to secure the publick Peace.

To such friendly discourse Coligni easily yielded his assent out of a desire of domestick Peace, and being already overcome by the Court-flatteries: therefore a Regiment is drawn within the walls, without any suspicion of the Protestants.

9. This being done, they enter into Counsel * again, and after some debate the thing was left undetermined, their opinions vary

* Lib. 51. He mentions a former Consultation between the Queen-Mother, Anjou, Cardinal Lorain, Aumale, Guise, Birage, and others in the same Chamber, wherein Guise was afterwards by the King's Command killed, and afterwards in the same buildings where the King himself Henry 3. here called Anjou, was murthered by a Fryer.
varying according to the condition of places, and of the persons admitted to the Council. For thus it was discoursed before the King, with whom were in Council the Queen-Mother, the Duke of Anjou, and others.

*There are two factions, in the Kingdom; one of the Momorancies, to whom the Colignies were formerly added, but now upon the account of Religion, by which they have engaged many (to them), they constitute a new faction. The other is of the Guises: nor will France ever be quiet, or that Majesty that is taken from Kings by the Civil Wars thence arising, ever be restored till the chief of their Heads who disturb the most flourishing Empire, and the publick Peace, be stricken off. They, by the troubles of the Kingdom, have grown to so great Power, that they cannot be taken away at the same time: they are severally to be taken off, and set one against the other, that they may destroy one another. Coligni must be begun with who only survives of his Family, who being taken out of the way, it would much weaken the Momorancies, who lie under so great an odium upon the account of their joyning with Coligni. But this is an unworthy thing, and not to be suffered by you, (said they, directing their discourse to the King), that a man whom only Nobility commends, one that is advanced to honour by the favour of Kings, now grown burdensome to the Nobility, equal to Princes in honour, grievous to your self, should come to that height of madness and boldness, that he should count it a sport to mock at Royal Majesty, and every day at his own lust to raise Wars in the Kingdom. Certainly his madness is above all things by you, if you be indeed King, to be restrained, that by his example all may learn to bear their fortunes decently, and use them modestly. Nor only shall the faction of the Momorances be broken by his death, but the power of the Protestants shall be over-turned: of which, when he is the very heart and soul, in him alone the Protestants seem to live, and he being dead, they will fall with him. This is not only useful, but necessary for settling the publick Peace, when as experience doth shew, that as one house can-
not keep two Dogs, nor one tree relieve two Parrots, so one
and the same Kingdom cannot bear two Religions. This
may be done without danger or blame, if some cut-throat,
as there are enough of them to be had, be suborned to take
away the life of Coligni, encouraged by some present re-
ward, and hopes of future; who having done the thing,
may make his escape by the help of a light horse prepared
for that purpose. For then, without doubt, the Protestants,
who are very numerous in the City, supposing it to be done
by the Guises, will presently, as you know they are a furious
sort of people, take up Arms, and setting upon the Guisians,
they shall easily be cut off by their greater numbers; (for
the people of Paris are much addicted to them), and per-
haps the Momorances so hateful to the Parisians, shall be in-
volved in the same tumult. But if the thing proceed not
so far, yet at least the blame of the fact, from which you
shall receive great advantage, shall be translated from you
upon the Guisians, (as bearing yet in memory the murder
of their Father) whom, having destroyed their Rivals, you
shall soon reduce into good order. This thing being done,
you shall forthwith be able to determine concerning the
chief leaders of the Protestants, whom you have in your
power, who, no doubt, will return to their old Religion,
and due allegiance to you when evil Counsellors shall be re-
moved.

And when it was debated in the Queens Council among
those that were to be trusted, their discourse went further, that
not only the Momorances with Coligni should be taken off,
but that the Guisians should at some fit opportunity be slain,
as those whom the Queen ought in no wise to trust or spare,
being heretofore grievously and often offended by her. For
so the Counsellors ordered the matter, if the Protestants
should go about to revenge the death of Coligni, they
and the Momorances should in the conflict be oppres-
sed by the people, as being inferior in strength, but not
without great loss to the adversaries; whom the King having
drawn a great number of Souldiers, which he had then at his
command, into the Louvre, sitting as a spectator, might at
last
last set upon, being broken, and weakened by fighting, and as though they had taken Arms without his command, and by way of sedition, might command them all to be slain together with the Nobles, as taking this or that party: for whiles they remained safe, there would be no end of murmur and complaints against the Queen; whom the seditious cry out upon as a stranger, and so fit to be removed from the Government of the Kingdom.

10. These were their divers counsels according to the diversity of the persons, but they all agreed in the executing of the matter. The Duke of Guise being at last taken into the privy of the fact, though otherwise he knew nothing of the other Counsels, an Assasine was sought for, and presently Morevel appears, being as it seemed provided for that purpose; who having formerly undertaken to do such a villany, he fled into the Camp of the Protestants, but being affrighted by the danger of it, left he should seem to have done nothing, he treacherously slew Arthurus Valdræus Moius, and from that time, often changing his lodgings, he concealed himself in the house of the Guises, in which Family he was brought up from a child. An house was also pitched upon in the Cloyster of St. German Auxerrois, as they call it, the house of Peter Pila Villemur, who had formerly been Tutor to the Duke of Guise himself; by which Coligni returning home, must needs pass.

Therefore upon the Friday, Coligni having dispatched much business in the King’s Council, where Anjou was present, and composed a difference between Antonius, Marafinus, Guerchius and Tiangius, chief of the Nobility of the Burgundians, forward men; he attended upon the King to the next Tennis-Court, from whence, after a promise from the King, the Duke of Guise and Teligny, betaking himself home-ward, walking on foot by the house of Villemur, going gently along, and reading a Petition which was then by chance presented to him, Morevel discharging a Musquet from a window that had a linen Curtain drawn before it, he was shot with a brace of bullets, whereof one struck off the forefinger of his right-hand, and the other wounded him more dan-
dangerously in his left-arm, while Guerchius was upon his right-hand, and Rochus, Sorbaeus, Prunæus upon his left, who, as likewise all that were there, were exceedingly astonished at what was done.

But he with a countenance not disturbed, only shewed them the house whence the bullets came, and presently commands Armanus, Claromontius, Pilius, and Franciscus Movinius, that they should go the King, and in his name acquaint him with what was done: then binding up his arm, and leaning upon his domesticks, he came on foot to his lodging, which was not far off: and when he was advised by one of his company that he should see to it, whether the bullets wherewith he was wounded were not poisoned, he answered, that nothing should befall him but what was ordered by God.

Forthwith they force the house whence the shot proceeded, and breaking open the dores, found the Musquet in a lower room. A young maid and a page that were found there, were taken and bound; for Morevel at a back-dore getting upon his horse, was already fled to St. Antony's Gate, where changing his horse, and mounting another that was ready for that purpose, he made his escape.

The King receiving the news, as if he had been astonished at an unexpected accident, "Shall I never, faith he, be at quiet? and must new troubles always arise from day to day? and then throwing his rocket upon the ground, he withdrew into the inner Castle. Guise leaving the Tennis-Court, departed another way.

Here all were full of wonder, and many were disturbed, being troubled in their minds to think what those things would come to. Many, even of those who bare no great good will to Coligny, detested the fact. But Navar and Conde presently repair to him, and when as in their presence he was handled by the Chirurgions, he was heard amidst all his pain to say (only) this. Is this the goodly reconciliation that the King did undertake for? then turning to Moore, Chaplain to the late Queen of Navar, he pronounced these words, "Ah my Brother, now I know I am beloved of God,
for that I have received these wounds for his most holy Names sake. God grant I may never forget his accustomed mercies towards me. But when Ambrosius Paræus the King's Chirurgeon told him that the Gangreem growing on, his finger must be cut off, and did attempt to do it with an instrument that had no good edge, though he was forced to open and shut the shears three times, yet he gave no sign of sense of his most sharp pain: when he came to his left arm Merlin Conde's Chaplain came in, who when he began to comfort him out of the holy Scriptures, he brake out into these words; "My God, forfake me not in these troubles, nor cease from thy accustomed mercies towards me."

Then he whispered in the ear to one who held up his arm, that he should deliver to Merlin an hundred Aurei to be distributed to the poor of the Church of Paris: this I have often heard Paræus speak of, almost in the same words.

Thence Navar and Conde go to the King, and complain of the indignity of the fact; and since they and theirs could not be secure at Paris, they desire leave to depart. Upon this the King aggravating the matter to the highest, and adding deeper oaths than before, promised that he would take such revenge upon the Assafine, the authors and abettors of this fact, as should satisfy Coligny and his friends, and should be an example to others for the future: that what was done was as great a grief to him as to any, but since what was done could not be undone, he would take the greatest care that might be for a remedy, and would make all men understand that Coligny had the wound, but he had the smart: and that they might be eye-witnesses of this thing, he desires them that they would not depart out of Paris.

And he discoursing thus, Queen Katharine, who was then present, seconded, and faith, "The affront was offered to the King, not to Coligny; and if this villany should not be punished, it would ere long come to that pass, that they would even dare to set upon the King himself in his house: therefore all means are to be used most sharply to revenge so great a villany. These words being spoken with much heat, and seeming indignation, the minds of Navar and Con-
de were somewhat appeased, who did not believe there was any dissimulation, so that there was not a word more made of their departure out of the City.

Presently some were sent to pursue the Assassin, though none as yet knew who he was. All the gates of the City are shut up till search had been made, except two, by which provision was brought in, and even they were kept by a guard appointed by the King. In the mean while the maid and the boy that were taken in Villemur's house, who was then from home, were examined a-part by Christopher Thuanus, and Bernardus Prevotius Morfanus, Presidents of the Court, and James Viole a Senator: and the maid confessed that a few days since Villerius Challius, a servant of the Guises, brought a Soldier to that house, and commended him to her, as if he had been the Master of the house, being a very near friend and familiar acquaintance of his, and that therefore he made use of, as long as he was there, of Villemur's Chamber and Bed; but what his name was he did industriously conceal. The boy who had served the Assassin but a few days, said he was sent by his Master, (who dissembled his name, and called himself sometimes Bolland, sometimes Bondol the King's Archer) in the morning to Challius, to desire him from him, that he would have the horses in readiness, which he promised him. From all which discoveries it was yet uncertain who was the Assassin: but when as they both agreed in Challius, it was given in charge to Gaspar Castræus Naucaeus, Captain of the King's Guard, that he should seize him, and bring him forth to examination. Then Letters are written to the Governors of the Provinces by the King, in which he detested the fact, and commanded that they should make it their business that all might understand that it did highly grieve him, and that ere long there should be given a most severe example of so great a crime.

In the mean while d'Anville, Coeffens and Villarius Marshals, visiting Coligny about noon, saluted him in most friendly manner, and told him that that they did not come thither to exhort him to patience and fortitude: "For that, say they, these virtues are as it were natural to thee; thou hast been
"Wont to admonish others, and therefore wilt not be wanting to thy self. He answering with a smiling countenance, said, "I speak truly, and from my heart, death doth nothing fright me. I am ready most willingly to render to God that spirit which I have received from him, whencesoever he shall require it. But I do greatly desire an opportunity to confer with the King before I depart this life; for I have some things to acquaint him with, which concern both him, and the safety and honour of the Kingdom, which I am well assured none of you dares carry to him. Then d'Anville told him he would willingly acquaint the King with that: and having so said, he with Villarius and Teligny departed, leaving Coifeus there, to whom Coligny said, Do you remember what I said to you a few hours since? be wise, and take heed to your self. What he meant by these words was not understood by all.

12. But when the King knew by d'Anville and Teligny his desire, he in them seemed not unwilling to come to him about the afternoon. There came together with him the Queen-Mother, with the Brethren, Anjou and Alanfon, Cardinal Borbon, Monpensier, Nevers, Coiffeus and Tavanius, Villarius, Meruvius, Thoreus, Momorancies Brethren, Marshals, Naucæus and Radesianus. These being let in, the rest are by the King's command shut out, except Teligny and a Gentleman of the Family, who stood at the Chamber-door; here it is published in writing, that some secrets were discovered to the King by Coligny, but others deny it, and say that the discovery of this secret was purposely hindered by the Queen, left the King, whose nature she began to distrust, being mollified, and persuaded by the word of Coligny, should change his resolution. That which was openly heard was this, when Coligny gave the King thanks, the King with a sad and troubled countenance did earnestly enquire of his state; and did protest, that what had happened to him was a very great grief to him. 'The wound is thine, said he, but the pain is mine. But I swear (then according to his manner he swore) I will so severely revenge this injury, that the memory of it shall never be blotted out of the minds of men.
men. To this Coligny answer'd, God is my witness, before
whose tribunal I now seem (ready) to stand, that I have been
all my life long most loyal and faithful to your Majesty, and
I always, and with all my heart, desired that your Kingdom
might be most flourishing and peaceable. And yet I am not
ignorant that there have been some who have called me
Traytor, and Rebel, and a perturber of our Kingdom; but I
trust, God will some time or other judge between me & them,
before whom I am ready, if it be his pleasure that I should at
this time depart out of this life, to give an account of my
faith and observance towards you. Moreover, whereas I
have been advanced by Henry your Father to many and
great honours which your Majesty hath been pleased to con-
firm to me; I cannot but according to that faith and love
that I have for your affairs, desire that you would not let
slip so notable an opportunity of an happy enterprize, espe-
cially now that the breach is already made, and there are ma-
ny tokens and pledges of your mind, as to the Belgick Ex-
pedition; so as if the matter now begun be relinquished,
it will be very dangerous to your Kingdom. Is it not a
most unworthy thing that an egg cannot be moved in your
Privy Council, but presently almost before it be turned, a
messenger runneth and reporteth it to the Duke of Alva?
Is it not a most base thing that 300 either Gentlemen or gal-
lant soldiers taken in Jenlis his fight, should by the command
of Alva either be hanged, or undergo some other kind of
punishment? which thing I do yet perceive to be here in the
Court a matter of jesting and laughing. A third thing
which I did desire to discourse with your Majesty about, is
the contempt of the Pacificatory Edict offered by those that
are in place of Jurisdiction, who do in most grievous man-
ner daily violate the faith that was given by you; of which
faith and oath even foreign Princes are witnesses. But as I
have often told your Majesty and the Queen-Mother, I do
not think there is any surer way of preserving peace and pub-
llick tranquility, than by a religious and severe observance of
the Edicts. But they are so contemned, that of late at
Troyes there was an assault made upon the servants of the
wife
wife of the Prince of Conde: and when as thee, according 
to the form of your Edict, had chosen a certain Village cal-
led Insula, in which our Religion should be exercised, yet 
notwithstanding, of late, a certain man, and a nurse, and an 
infant, that was brought to the holy font, were slain upon 
the way whiles they were returning from a Sermon that was 
made in that place. And this happened a little before the 
August 10th, 
4th. Eid, 6 til.

To this the King answered. 'I esteem thee, my Father, as 
I have often assured thee for a valiant and faithful person, 
and one that is most careful for my honour. Lastly, I look 
upon thee as one of the chiefest and most valiant Command-
ders of my Kingdom; nor if I had any other opinion of 
thee, would I have done what I have for thee. As for the 
Edict which I lately issued out, I have always wished, and do 
with that it may be most diligently observed. And to that 
purpose I have taken care that some choice persons should 
be sent through the Provinces, that may make this their bu-
iness; whom if thou dost suspect, others shall be sent in 
their places; (for in discourse he had said he did suspect 
them who had condemned him to death, and hanging, and 
set a price of fifty thousand Aurei upon his head). Then, 
that he might break off this discourse, he added, 'I see, my 
Father, that you speak earnestly, and that earnestness may 
hurt both you and your wounds. I will take care of this 
affair, (and again, swearing by the name of God); 'I do af-
sure you that I will most severely revenge this injury upon 
the Authors of it, as if it were offered to my self. Then he, 
there is not need of any great search for the Author of the 
fact, nor are the discoveries already made very doubtful. But 
it is enough, and upon that account, in the most humble man-
ner that I can, I give your Majesty thanks that you are plea-
sed graciously to promise me to do me right.

Then the King taking aside that Gentleman of the house-
hold that stood at the door, commanded him to shew him the 
bullet wherewith Coligny was wounded, and which was ta-
ken out of the wound, that he might look upon it. It was 
a brazen one: then he enquired of him, first, whether much
blood flowed out of the wound; next, whether Coligny did signify the grievous pains he felt by out-cries and complaints. And having commended his constancy, and the greatness of his mind, he commanded that Gentleman that he should not depart from him.

These things passed for about the space of an hour in the Chamber of Coligny: the King drawing out the time with wandering discourses, and that he might put off the business of the Belgick War, to the mention of which, it is observed that he made no answer. Among these discourses Radesianus spoke to a friend of Coligny’s concerning the removing him into the Castle of the Louvre for his greater security, if the people should tumultuate; which thing the King himself did sometime repeat, which almost all did interpret as an argument of the King’s care of the health of Coligny. But when the Phylsiatians, and chiefly Francis Maziles the King’s chief Phylsiatian, answered there was danger, if his body should be shaken in the carrying whiles his wounds were fresh, he would by no means be removed.

13. After the King departed, the Nobles of the Protestant party take counsel together, and John of Ferriers Vidame of Chartres, in the presence of Navar and Conde, conjecturing what was indeed the matter, said that the Tragedy was begun by the wound of Coligny, but would end in the blood of them all. Therefore he thought it most safe, that without delay they should depart the City: he produced testimonies and tokens for his opinion from the rumors that were spread abroad; for it was heard by many, when upon the day of Marriage the Protestants went out of the Church that they might not engage in worship; the Papists said, by way of mirth, that within a few days they should hear Mafs. Also it was openly spoken in discourse by the chief of the City, that at that Marriage should be poured out more blood than wine. That one of the Protestant Nobles was advised by the president of the Senate, that he should with all his family betake himself for some days into the Country. Besides these things, the counsel of Johannes Monlucius Bishop of Valence (when he was going Ambassador into Poland) given
to Roch-fou-cault, that he would not suffer himself to be intoxicated, and turned about by the smoke and un wonted favour of the Court, which deservedly ought to be suspected by all wise and cautious persons, that he would not be too secure to run himself into danger, and that he would timely withdraw himself, together with other Nobles, from the Court. But Teligny being of another mind, and saying that he was abundantly satisfied of the sincere love and good will of the King, Ferrerius, and those that thought as he did, could not be heard.

The next day the Page was again examined, and new witnesses produced. In this examination Arnold Cavagnes was engaged, for so Coligny did desire, and all things were done in shew, as if there had been a diligent enquiry into the business.

The next day, when as Coligny, and by his command Cornatot in the name of his fellows (who, he said, knew for certain that the Parlians, that is LXCI deadly enemies of Coligny would tumultuate, and take Arms), desired of the King and his Brother Anjou, a guard of some Souldiers to be set to protect the house of Coligny, that if the people should make any disturbance, they might be restrained by fear of the King's guards, they both of them answered kindly and freely, and it was given in command to Coffenius Colonel of the Regiment of the Guards, that with some choice Bands he should keep watch before the dores of Coligny. To these were joyned, to avoid suspicion, some, but few in number, of the Switbers of the guards of Navar. Moreover, for the greater security, it was ordered by the King, that the Gentlemen of the Protestants who were in the City, should lodge near Coligny's house, and it was given in command to Quarter-masters forthwith to assign lodgings: and the King gave command with a loud voice, that all might hear it, to one of the Colonels, that no Catholick should be suffered to come thither, nor should they spare the life of any that should do otherwise. Upon this occasion the Corporals went from place to place, and wrote down the names of Protestants, and
The History of the

advised them to repair near to Coligny; for that the King would have it so.

These and such like signs and whisperings abroad, though they had been enough to have warned the Protestants, if they had not been infatuated; yet by the constant dissimulation of the King it came to pass, that Coligny and Teligny could not persuade themselves that any such cruelty was in his mind. Therefore when the Nobles entered into consultation in the Chamber of Comnaton, in the house of Coligny, upon the same matter, and the Visdame of Chartres persevered in the same opinion, that they should depart the City as soon as might be, and prevent that imminent danger, though with some disadvantage to Coligny’s health, who yet was that day somewhat better. Teligny was of opinion, and Navarre and Conde agreed with him that they should stay in the City, otherwise they should offer a great affront to the King, that was so well affected towards them.

14. There was a suspicion left this should be carried to the King by one that was then present, that was Buchavanius Bajancurius, one very familiar with the Queen, who presently hastened to the Tuilleries, where a Counsel was held by the Conspirators under a colour of walking; there was the last time that they consulted of the manner of executing the design. There were present besides, the King, Queen, and Anjou, the Dukes of Nevers and Anglesme, the Bastard, Biragus, Tavannes and Radesianus. And since by the death of one man whom the Physicians did affirm was like to recover of his wound, the grievance of the Kingdom, which was nourished by him, and diffused into many, could not be extinguished, it seemed good that it should be suppressed by the ruine of all; and that wrath which God would not have to be satisfied with the blood of Coligny alone, should be poured out upon all the Sectaries. That was their voluntary resolution at first, and now by the event, necessity and force is put upon their counsels, that the danger that hangs over the King and the whole Kingdom, cannot be avoided without the ruine of Coligny and all the Protestants. For what would not he do
do so long as the faction of the Rebels remains entire after
such an injury? who, when he was no way provoked, was
so long injurious to the King, and hurtful to the Kingdom?
whom now all might foresee, and dread, going out of Paris
with his party, as a Lion out of his den, raging against all
without respect. Therefore the reins are to be let loose to
the people, who are of themselves ready enough, nor ought
they any longer to withstand the will of God, which would
not that more mild Counsels should take effect. After the
thing is effected, there will not want reasons whereby it may
be excused, the fault being laid upon the Guisians, which
they would gladly take upon them.

Therefore all agreed upon the utter ruine of the Prote-
fants by a total slaughter. To which opinion the Queen
was even by her own nature and proper design inclined;
some time was spent in deliberating whether Navar and
Conde should be exempt from the number of the rest; and as
for Navar, all their suffrages agreed upon the account of his
Royal Dignity, and the Affinity that he had lately contract-
ed. For that fact which of it self could not but be blamed by ma-
ny, would be so much the more blamed, if a great Prince near
of Bloud to the King, joyned in a very late affinity, should be
slain in the King's Palace, in the arms as it were of the King
his Brother-in-law, and in the embraces of his Wife. For
there would be no sufficient excuse, nor would those argu-
ments prevail to excuse the King, which might cast the blame
upon the Guisians. Concerning Conde there was a greater
debate, he lying under the load of his Fathers faults: yet
both the dignity of the man, and the authority of Ludovicus
Gonzaga Duke of Nevers, affirming, that he would be loyal
and obedient to the King, and also offering himself as a surety
for him, upon the account of that close and manifold relation
that was between them: (for Conde had lately married Mary
of Cleve the Sister of Henrica Wife of the Duke of Nevers),
did prevail that he should be spared, and exempt from the
number of those that were designed for the slaughter, as well
as Navar.

15. Upon this the Duke of Anjou and Engholme, the Bastard
depar-
departing, as they rode in their Coach through the City, they spread abroad a rumor as if the King had sent for Monmorancy, and was about to bring him into the City with a select number of horse.

The very same hour there was one apprehended who was suspected of the hurt of Coligny, who confessed himself to be a servant of the Guises; which, when it was understood, Guise and Aumale, and others of the Family went to the King to remove that suspicion; and complain that they were oppressed through the favour that was shewed to their enemies: that the ears of Judges were open to calumnies cast upon them, and that tho' they were guileless, yet they were manifestly set against: that they had a long time observed that they were, for what cause they knew not, every day less gracious with the King; but yet that they did dissemble it, and hoped that time, which is the best Master of truth, would at last inform him more certainly of the whole matter. But since they find no place for their innocence, they did, though unwillingly, and as forced to it, desire that with his good leave they might return home. This was done openly, and it was observed that the King answered to these things somewhat coldly, and the rather, that he might persuade the Protestants that he bare no good will to the Guisians.

Upon this the King adviseth Navar that he should afford no occasion of mischief to the audacity and violentness of the Guisians, things being so enflamed, and the people inclining to the Guisian party. That he should command those whom he knew most faithful of his servants to come into the Louvre, to be ready upon any sudden accident; which Navar did, interpreting it in good part, calling those which were most active to lodge with him that night in the Louvre Castle.

Wise men also did presage some future commotions, when they observed armed men to run up and down about the City and the Louvre, the people to mutter, threatnings to be everywhere heard. This being brought to Coligny, he who no way doubted of the good will of the King, but thought it to be the devise of the Guisians to enflame the people, sends one
the Parisian Massacre.

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To the King, who should in his name acquaint him with it. To whom the King answered, that Coligny need fear nothing: for those things were done by his command, to compose the tumults of the people that were stirred up by the Guisians. Therefore, that his mind might be secure,

It was also told Teligny the very same hour, that Porters laden with Arms were seen to be brought into the Louvre: but he comtamed the message, and answered, that unnecessary suspicions were sought for in this sad and dismal time, and forbid that this should be made known to Coligny, affecting the unseasonable reputation of prudence and moderation, from his despising of reports, and consequently of dangers: and excusing the matter, as if those Arms were carried into the Louvre upon the account of a Castle represented and assaulted in a shew.

16. Forthwith Guise, to whom the chief command of the execution of the whole matter was committed, calling together in the deep of night some Captains of the Switzers, and the Captains of the French Troops, explains to them the Kings will and pleasure. 'That the time was come wherein, by the King's command, punishment should be taken upon that head that was so hateful both to God and men, and also upon the whole faction of the Rebels: that the beast was now in their toils: that they should take care that he escape not: that they should not be wanting to such an opportune occasion, of obtaining a more glorious triumph than they ever yet obtained in all their former Wars, with the blood of so many Royallists: that the Victory was easy: that rich spoils are proposed, which they might acquire without blood, as rewards of their good service.

Upon this the Switzers are placed about the Louvre, to whom are joyned the French Troops, and command was given that they should look to it, that no man of the Family of Navar or Conde should go out of the Louvre. The keeping of Coligny's house was committed to Cossenius, to whom was given a party of Musquettiers to lie in the neighbouring houses, that none might escape them.

D d Matters
Matters being so disposed as to the foreign Souldiers, the Duke of Guise calls to him, John Charron, President of the Court of Revenues, (who, after a long canvasing, and often repulses, was at last put into that Office in the place of Marcellus Provost of the Merchants), and commands him that he should give notice to the Corporals to command their Souldiers to their Arms, but that they should remain at the Town-Hall till midnight, there to understand what was needful to be done.

The same thing was given in command to Marcellus, who though he was discharged of his office, yet for some private good offices that he had done, was retained in the Queens favour, and kept his authority, though he lost his dignity. He by often going to the Court, brought himself into an opinion with men, that he was in favour with the King and Queen; and upon that account was acceptable to the people, and from his mouth the people, that were of themselves apt enough to stirs, were certified, 'That it was the King's pleasure that they should take Arms to cut off Coligny and the other Rebels; that therefore they should see to it that none were spared, nor that those wicked men should be any where concealed.' So the King will have it, so he commands, who also will provide that other Cities of the Kingdom do presently follow the example of the Parisians. The sign at which they should rise, is the tolling of the bell of the Palace-clock. The Mark whereby they should be distinguished from others, is white linen-cloath bound about their left arm, and a white cross in their hats. That good store of them should therefore be ready with arms and good courage, and take care that candles be lighted in their windows throughout all their houses: that no stir or tumult arise before the sign given.

The commands and admonitions of Marcellus are readily received by the Corporals, Colonels, Captains and Wardsmen of the City, who put themselves into a posture with the greatest silence that the sudden state of things would permit; setting their Guards in the streets and passages, but at first within dores. On the other part, the Duke of Guise and Angolesme
golesme did what they could that things might be done as they were ordered.

The Queen fearing left the King, whom she thought she did observe still wavering and staggererz at the horridness of the enterprise, should change his mind, comes into his Bed chamber at midnight, whither presently Anjou, Nevers, Buragus, Navanne, Radesianus, and after them Guise came by agreement. There they immind the King, hesitating, and after a long discourse had to and fro, upbraided by his Mother, that by his delaying he would let slip a fair occasion offered him by God, of subduing his enemies. By which speech * the King finding himself accused of Cowardise, and being of himself of a fierce nature, and accustomed to bloodshed, was inflamed, and gave command to put the thing in execution. Therefore the Queen laying hold of his present heat, left by delaying it should flack, commands that the sign which was to have been given at break of day should be hastened, and that the Bell of the nearer Church of St. German Auxerrois should be tolled.

17. The Souldiers had for some time stood ready in their Arms drawn up in the streets, expecting the sign with greedy ears and desires: by whose clattering and unusual noise at so unseasonable a time, the Protestants who lodged by the King's command in the neighbourling lodgings, being awakened, went forth, and repaired toward the Louvre, where the concourse was, and enquiring of those they met what was the meaning of that concourse of so many armed men, and why so many candles were lighted, they, as they were instructed (beforehand) answered, that there was a certain mock-fight preparing, and that many from all parts did flock together to the fight. But when notwithstanding they went on further, they are injuriously repelled by the Guards that stood near the Castle, then railed upon, and reviled; lastly, they were beaten; the first blow being given by a Gascoign, and one of them having received a blow, the rest fell upon them.
Which the *Queen understanding, being impatient of all delay, she thence took occasion to tell the King that the Soldiers could not now be restrained, that he should command the sign from the Palace presently to be given; for it was to be feared, that if it were delayed any longer, all would be in a confusion, and things would fall out otherwise than he desired. Therefore by his command the Bell of St. Germans Church is tolled before break of day inx Kal. VII br. which day is the Feast of St. Bartholomew, and fell upon a Sunday. And presently Guise with Engolesme and Aumale go to Coligny’s house, where Coffenius kept Guard.

Mean time Coligny being awakened, he understood by the noise that they were risen into sedition, yet being secure, and even sure of the good will of the King, whether through his own credulity, or through the persuasion of his Son-in-law Teligny, he thus thought with himself; that the people were stirred up by the Guifians, but as soon as they should see the King’s Guards under the command of Coffenius for the defence of him and his, as he supposed, they would immediately fall off.

But the tumult growing on, when he perceived a Gun discharged in the Court-yard of the house, then at last, but too late, conjecturing what the thing indeed was, he rose from his bed, and putting on his night-gown, he raised himself upon his feet to his Prayers, leaning against the wall. La Bonne kept the keys of the house, who being commanded by Coffenius, in the King’s Name, to open the Gate, he suspecting nothing, immediately opened it; trait-way *Coffenius going in, la Bonne meeting him, is stabbed with daggers; which, when the Switzers who were in the Court-yard saw, they fly into the house, and shutting after them the next gate of the house, they barracado it up with Chests, and Tables, and other household-stuff, one only of the Switzers being slain in that first conflict by the Coffenians, by a Musquet discharged. At last the Gate being forced open, the Conspirators strive to get up the stairs. They were Coffenius, Abinieus, Corboran, Cardillac, & Scabonin, chief officers of the Companies, Achilles, Petrurcius of
of Siena, all clad in Coats of Male, and Befmes a German, educated from a child in the Family of Guife; for Guife himself, with the rest of the Nobles and others, remained in the Court-yard. In that noise, after Prayers ended by Merlin, the Minister Coligny, turning to those who stood about him, who were for the most part Chirurgeons, and a few of his retinue. 'I see, faith he, (with an undaunted countenance), what is doing; I am prepared patiently to undergo that death which I never feared, and which I have now long since embraced in my mind. Happy am I who shall perceive my self to die, and who shall die in God, by whose Grace I am raised to the hope of eternal life. Happy am I who shall per-ceive my self to die, and who shall die in God, by whose Grace I am raised to the hope of eternal life. Now I need not humane helps any longer. You, my friends, get ye hence with all the speed that may be, left you be involved in my calamity, and your Wives hereafter with evil to me being dead, as though I were the cause of your deaths. The presence of God, unto whose goodness I commend this soul which shall shortly fly from my body, is abundantly suf-ficient. Which as soon as he had said, they go into an upper room, and thence through the roof every one his way.

Mean while the Conspirators, breaking open the Chamber-dores, rush in; and when as *Befmes, with his sword drawn, asked of Coligny who stood by the dore, Art thou Coligny? He, with an undisturbed countenance, answered, I am he: but, young man, reverence my gray hairs; whatsoever thou doest, thou canst not make my life (much) shorter. While he said so, *Befmes thrust his sword into his breast, and drawing it forth, struck him with a back-blow over the face, whereby he quite disfigured him: then with repeated blows he fell down dead. Some write that these words, chewing his indignation, fell from Coligny as he was dying. If at least I had died by the hand of a man, not of a scullion. But Atinius, one of the Assailines, repeated it so as I have written, and adds, that he never saw man in so present a danger bear death with such constancy.

*He was killed about two years after, l. 60. *
in the H League against the next King, he was with such like arts as had been here used, brought into the snare which the King had laid for him, and having before neglected the warnings of his friends, at last began to be suspicious of his danger, though nothing visible appeared, his vehement fear so prevailed over his dissimulation, whereby he endeavoured to conceal it, that his whole body, though he sat by the fire, shook and trembled, and, to inmind him of this present fact, a stream of blood flowing plentifully from his nostrils; as he called for a napkin, he was fain to call for some Cordials to comfort his spirits: but yet nothing of danger visible, when in the midst of this his fear and languishing, he was by one of the Secretaries, who knew nothing of the design, called into the Kings Privy Chamber, whereupon, having saluted each of the company, as if he took his last farewell of them, going directly thither, he was no sooner entred, but the door was routed, and one of those who were appointed for the business, struck a dagger through his throat downward into his breast, whereby his mouth was presently filled with blood, and stopped, that he could not speak, but only fetch so deep a groan as was heard withhorror by those who stood by. This stroke was seconded by many others upon his head, breast, belly and groyn. And to this end he came, not as Colinius from his Prayers, but, after all his other wickedness, from his whore, with whom he had indulged the night, and therefore came later than the rest this morning into the Counsell. Thu. I. 93. It was their different lives and actions which made this difference in their deaths; for otherwise Guise was a man of great courage as well as Colinius.

Then Guise asking Befimes out of the Court-yard, whether the thing were done? when he answered, it was done, he could not perswade Angolesme unless he saw it. Therefore Guise replying, and bidding him throw down the body, it was thrown out of the window into the Court-yard, as it was all besmeared with blood; when Angolesme not believing his own eyes, wiped off the blood from his face with his handkerchief, and at last perceiving it was he, and as some add, kicking the corps in scorn, going out of the house with his fellows into the way, Go to, fellow Souldiers, faith he, let us prosecute what we have so happily begun; for so the King commandeth.

* He was afterwards stabbed to death. I. 85.
mandeth: which words being often repeated, when forth-with the Bell of the Palace clock rang out; they every where cryed, Arm, arm, and the people presently ran to Coligny's house; then the carkass after it had been abused in a strange manner, is cast into the next Stable, and at last cutting off his head, (which was sent as far as Rome), and his privy-members, and his hands, and his feet, they dragged it about the streets to the bank of Siene; which thing he had formerly prefaged by an ominous word, though he thought no such thing. When he was about to be thrown into the River by the boys, from thence he was drawn to the Gibbet of Mount Faucon, where, with his legs upward, and his body downward, he is hanged in iron-chains: then a fire is made under him, by which he is only scorched, not consumed; that he might as it were be tormented through all the Elements, slain upon the earth, drowned in the water, burnt in the fire, and hanged in the air. There when (his corps) had been exposed for some days to the lust and rage of all spectators, and to the just indignation of many, who did boad that that rage would hereafter cost the King and all France dearly, Francis Momorancy, who had timely withdrawn himself from the danger, being near of kin, and nearer by friendship to the dead, took care that he should by some trusty men be taken down by night, and committed to the earth in a Chapel at Chantilly.

In Coligny's house were slain in the tumult whosoever they met, or found hiding themselves; and then the Souldiers be-take themselves to plunder, and breaking open Chefts, they take away mony, and other precious things, only they pre-
serve letters and papers, for so the Queen commanded.

18. Thence Nevers, and Tavannes, and Montpensier, (who joyned himself to them, through the hatred that he bore to Protestants) ride armed through the City, and spurred on the people that ran already, telling them, 'That Coligny and his Associates had laid a plot against the King, the Queen, the King's Brethren, and Navar himself, and that it was detected by the singular Grace of God, and that the King prevented 'them
them only in time: therefore, that they should not spare the
blood of those wicked men, who are the capital enemies of
the King and Country, but that they should fly upon their
goods as spoil lawfully gotten; that it was the King's plea-
sure, that that pestiferous serpentine seed should be extirpa-
ted, that the poison of heresy being extinguished, there
should for the future not so much as a word be spoken of
any Religion but that of their fore-Fathers.

Then all being let loose to satisfy their hatreds, every one
prosecuted his enemy and rival with embittered minds. Many
brake into houses through desire of prey; all ran upon
the slaughter without distinction. At the same time Francis
Count de la Roche-fou-cault, being for his facetiousness and
pleasantness in discourse very gracious with the King, when
as but the day before he had, though unseasonably, drawn out
the night till late in jesting with the King, and from thence
betook himself to his own house, he underwent the same fate
with Coligny. For Bargius Avernus knocks at Roche-fou-
cault's house, and telling him he had something to acquaint
him with from the King; Roche-fou-cault himself comman-
ding the dores to be unlocked, he is admitted in; when he
saw men, as he thought, in disguises, supposing the King was
not far off, who had sent men in jest to beat him, he beggeth
them that they would deal better with him; but miserable
man, he found that the thing was not to be acted in jest, but
in earnest; when his house being plundered before his eyes,
he himself half naked, was most cruelly butchered by one
that stood by him.

Also Teligny the son-in-law of Coligny having, by running
over the tops of houses, escaped the hands of many, and at
last being espied by the Guards of Anjou, he is also slain.

Antonius Claromontius Marquess of Revel, Brother, by the
Mother, to Prince Porcián, who had a contest with Ludovicus
Claromontius Buffius of Ambois, concerning the Marquesat
of Revel, came to Paris in the company of Navar, hoping
there to put an end to his troublesome controversy. But the
matter had a quite other end than he expected: for when
in that tumult he fled into the house that was next to his, at length he fell into the hands of his cousin-German, pursuing him, who being his enemy upon no other account but the matter in controversy, cruelly flew him. But not long after the controversy being brought to an hearing, sentence was given for Buffius, but with no more happy success: for by virtue of an Edict afterwards made in favour of the Protestants, the sentence was repealed, and Ludovicus himself was for a far different cause, with the same cruelty beheaded.

Antonius Marasinius Guerchius a stout man, who the day before had asked Coligny that he might lodge in his house, when, being in distress, he had not time to hide himself, taking his cloak upon his arm, and drawing his sword, he for a long time defended himself against the Assassines; yet he flew none of them, being all in coats of Male, but at last was overpowered by the multitude.

The same calamity involved Baudinensis, (the Brother of Acierius) Pluvialius, Bernius, being cruelly slain by the King’s Souldiers: as also Carolus Quelleuensis Pontius, President of Armorica, who had married Katharina Parthenæa, daughter and heir of John Subizius: but the Mother of Parthenæa complaining of the frigidity of her son-in-law, a suit had been commenced to dissolve the Marriage, but was not yet determined. Therefore, when the bodies of the slain were thrown down as they were slain before the Palace, and in the sight of the King and Queen, and all the Court-retinue, many Court-Ladies not being affrighted at the horridness of such a spectacle, did with curious eyes shamefully behold the naked bodies, and especially, fixing their eyes on Pontius, did examine if they could by any means discover the signs of his frigidity.

Carolus Bellomanericus Lavadinus, the Kinman of Pontius, and sometime Tutor to the King of Navar in his childhood, fell into the hands of Petrus Lupus President of the Court, a good man, who when he would have saved him, and was commanded by the Emmissaries of the Court to dispatch his prisoner; he, as he was a man of a ready and pleasant wit, asked so much time as till he could raise his passion; by which
speech he for some time eluded their cruelty; but by and by a Messenger coming from the Palace as from the King, he was forced to deliver him into the hands of the Guard, who were to carry him before the King; but they in the way first stabbed Lavardinus with daggers, and then threw him over the Mill-bridge into the River.

The same fortune, and in the same place, ran Claudius Gaudimelus, an excellent Musitian in our Age: who set the Psalms of David, as they were put into verse in the Mother-tongue by Clemens Marot, and Theodoret Beza, to divers pleafant tunes, as they are now sung in the publick and private meetings of the Protestants.

Briolius a Gentleman who was Tutor to Marques Conte in his childhood, venerable for his grey-head, being now an old man, was likewise slain in the embraces of his Pupil, who stretched forth his arms, and opposed his own body to the blows.

Truly lamentable was the spectacle of Franciscus Nonpar Caumonlius: who had lodged in that neighborhood, but which fortune, sporting after her manner, mingled with an event of unexpected joyfulness: he with his two sons, whom he loved with a paternal affection, being taken in bed by the murderers, who prosecuted him with his children, not through an hatred of his Religion, but through hope of gain, was slain with one of his sons: the other being all bloody with the blood that flowed upon him, saving himself from their blows, as he could at that tender age, (for he was hardly twelve years old), by the interposition of the dead bodies, disembling himself dead, he was at last left by them for dead: a little after, more ran flocking to the house for prey, of whom some commended the fact, as well done; (for not only wild beasts, but their whelps are altogether to be destroyed); others that had more humanity, said, this might be lawful to be done upon the Father as guilty, but the innocent offpring, which perhaps would never take the same courses, ought to be spared. Among those that came toward the evening of that day, when as one did highly detest the fact, and said God would be the avenger of such impiety, the boy stretching his limbs,
limbs, and a little lifting up his head, gave signs that he was alive: and when he asked him who he was, he answered not unadvisedly, that he was the Son and Brother of the slain, not telling his name; concerning which, when he was asked again, he answered that he would tell his name, if he would lead him where he desired: and withal, asked him that he would take care to conduct him to the King’s Armory, for he was near of kin to Biron Master of the Ordnance or Artillery: nor should he lose his reward for so great a benefit: which thing he carefully performed. This *James Nompar,* that is his name, with great gratitude rewarded the man brought to him by the Divine Providence, and afterwards married the Daughter of Biron, and is now chief of a Noble Family in Aquitania, Godfrey Caumont his Uncle being dead, and leaving only one Daughter. Being raised by the King to great honours, of which he carried himself worthy, as Colonel of the King’s Life-guard, and Governour of Bearne, he seems to be preserved from that danger by the singular Grace of God, that he might by his numerous offspring which he had by his Wife, propagate that Family that was reduced to a few, and by his virtue add the highest ornament to the honours of his Ancestors.

The same day were slain these Protestants of great note, *Loverius* thrown out of a window into the high-way, *Montamarius, Montalbertus, Roboreus, Joachinus, Vaessorius, Canerius, Rupius, Cobombarius, Velavourius, Gervasius, Barberius, Francurius,* Chancellor to the King of Navar, *Hieronimus Groletius* Governour of Aurleance, and *Calistus* his base Brother, who were both inhumanely dragged about the streets, and at last cast into the River, by the instigation of those who gaped after his office and goods.

*Stephanus Cevalerius Prunens,* the King’s Treasurer in Poitou, a man of great integrity, and one that was very solicitous for the good of the Common-weal, who had been the principal mover for the building the Stone-bridge of Vienne, laid at Eraldi-castrum, was by certain cut-throats sent by *Stephanus Fergo Petauderius,* (who fought after his Treasurer-ship), after the payment of a great sum of mony, cruelly
elty murdered, and thrown into the River, and Patanderius is, by the commendation of Monpenferius, whose affairs he managed, put into his office.

Alto Dionysius Perrotus the Son of Æmilius, Senator of Paris, (a man not less renowned for his integrity than his knowledge in law,) worthy of such a Father, underwent the same fortune.

19. Nor did they spare those whom Navar (being advised to do by the King) had brought into the Palace: for they were by the King’s command made to come down from their Matters chambers into the Court-yard, and being brought out of the Palace, their swords being taken from them, they were many of them presently slain at the Gate; others were hurried to the slaughter without the Palace. Among these were Pardallanius, Sammartinus, Eurius and Armankus, Claromontius, Pilius, famous for his late valour in defending the Temple of St. John. He, when he was led out to be butchered, standing before the heaps of the slain, is said to cry out, “Is this the King’s faith? Are these his promises? Is this the peace? But thou, O most great and most good God, behold the cause of the oppressed, and as a just Judge avenge this perfidy and cruelty: and putting off his Coat which was very rich, gave it to a certain Gentleman of his acquaintance that stood by; Take this from me as a remembrance of my unworthy death: which gift, he not accepting under that condition, whiles Pilius said these things, he was thrust into the side with a spear, of which wound he fell down and died.

Leiranus now grievously wounded, but escaping out of the hands of the murderers, rushing into the Queen of of Navars chamber, and hiding himself under her bed, was preserved; and being carefully commended by Margaret to the King’s Physicians, was healed. Bellonarius formerly Tutor to the King of Navar, having a long time lien under the Gout, was slain in his bed.

The King received to his grace Grammontanus, Lord of Gascogin, Johannes Durlorius Duralius, Joachimus Roaldus Gamarius, and Buchavarius, having promised to be faithful to him: and they were worth their word.
Then the King calls Navar and Conde, and tells them, that from his youth, for many years, the publick peace had been disturbed by often renewed wars, to the great damage of his affairs; but now, at last, by the grace of God, he had entred into such a course as would extirpate all causes of future wars. That Coligny, the author of these troubles, was slain by his command, and that the same punishment was taken, throughout the City, upon those wicked men who were infected with the poison of superstition. That he remembered what great mischiefs had befallen him from them, Navar and Conde, who had headed a company of profligate persons, and suddenly raised war against him. That he had just reason to revenge these injuries, and now also had an opportunity put into his hand; but that he would pardon what was past upon the account of their contanguity, and the lately contracted affinity, and lastly of their age: and that he would think that these things were not done by the advice or fault of them, but of Coligny and his followers, who had already, or should shortly receive the just deserts of their wickedness; that he was willing that those things should be buried in oblivion, provided they would make amends for their former offences, by their future loyalty and obedience; and renouncing their profane superstitious Doctrine, would return to the Religion of their Ancestors, that is, to the Roman Catholick Religion: for he would have only that Religion professed in his Kingdom which he had received from his fore-Fathers. Therefore, that they should look to it that they do comply with him herein, otherwise they might know that the same punishment which others had suffered, did hang over their heads.

To this the King of Navar did most humbly beg, that no violence might be offered to their consciences nor persons, and that then they would remain faithful to him; and were ready to satisfy him in all things. But Conde added, that he could not persuade himself that the King, who had engaged himself by solemn oath to all the Protestant Princes of his Kingdom, would upon any account violate it, or hearken to their enemies and adversaries in that matter. As to Religion,
that was not to be commanded, that his life and fortunes were in the King's power to do with them what he pleased; but that he knew he was to give an account only to God of that Religion that he had received from God. Therefore that he was fixed and resolved never to recede from his Religion, which he knew assuredly was true, no, not for any present danger of life. With which answer the King being highly provoked, he called Conde stubborn, seditious, Rebel, and the son of a Rebel, and told him, that if he did not change his mind within three days, his head should pay for his obstinacy.

20. Many of the Protestant Nobles had taken up their lodgings in the Suburbs of St. German, and could not be persuaded to lie in the City. Among these were Johannes Roanus Frontenius, Godofridus Cauonlinius, Vidame of Chartres, Gabriel Mongomerius, Jo. Lasfilius, Bellovarius, Segurius Pandallanius, and others. The destroying of whom was given in charge to Laurenius Maugironus: and besides Marcellus was ordered to take care that 1000 Soldiers of the City Trained-Bands should be sent thither to Maugironus, who went but slowly on in his business.

While this was doing, tidings came to Montgomery of the rumor of taking up Arms in the City, who signified the same to the Vidame of Chartres, and presently they met all together, uncertain what was to be done; for that many confiding in the King's faithfulness, persuaded themselves that this was done without the King's command, by the Guisians, encouraged by the forwardness of the seditious people, therefore they thought it was best to go to the King, and that he would succour them against any violence.

In that doubtfulness of mind (though the more prudent did not doubt that these things were done by agreement, and by the King's command) were many hours spent, so that they might easily have been destroyed, but that another impediment happened to the Conspirators; for whiles Maugironus doth in vain expect Parisians to be sent from Guise, who were all busied in plundering, Guise impatient of further delays, calls forth the King's Guards out of the Louvre, intending whiles
the Parisian Massacre.

whiles they passed the River to go thither himself. And when he came to the gates, it did too late appear that they had mistaken the keys, therefore while they went for others, it being now broad day, the Switzers and others of the King's Guards passing the Siene, were seen from the other side: and upon the discharging of a Gun on the other side of the River, as was thought by the King's command, the Associates take counsel to fly, and before they came, were gotten a good way off. Guife pursued Montgomery and others to Montfort, but in vain, and meeting with Sanleodegarius, he commands him that he should follow them with fresh horses. There were some sent to Udencum, and to Dreux, who should intercept them if they went that way: but all in vain.

Franciscus Bricomotius, who could not be destroyed in the tumult, flies to the English Ambassadors lodgings, where he for some days lay hid. Arnoldus Cavagnius also hid himself not far from hence, with a friend, who fearing the danger, desired him to provide for himself; but both being taken, were cast into the Palace prison, and with that event which we shall shew anon.

In the mean time Guife, with Aumale and Angolésme, return into the City, where the King's Guards did commit outrages upon the lives and fortunes of the Protestant Nobles and Gentlemen, even of those that were their familiars, and well known to them. This work being assigned to them in particular, whiles the people incited by the Sheriffs, wardmen and tything-men that ran about, did furiously rage with all manner of licentiousness and excess against their fellow-Citizens, and a sad and horrid face of things did every where appear. For the streets and ways did resound with the noise of those that flocked to the slaughter and plunder, and the complaints and doleful outcries of dying men, and those that were nigh to danger were every where heard. The caskasses of the slain were thrown down from the windows, the Courts & chambers of houses were full of dead men, their dead bodies rolled in dirt were dragged through the streets, blood did flow in such abundance through the chanels of the streets, that full
...streams of blood did run down into the River: the number of the slain, men, women, even those that were great with child, and children also, was innumerable.

Anna Tertius Chapius, being eighty years old, and an Advocate of great name in the Senate, was slain. Also Jo. Lomerius Secretary to the King, having compounded for his safety, was thrown into Gaol by Johannes Parisiensis Judge of Criminals, and having sold his Estate at Versailles to his adversary, with whom he had a Suit depending about it, at a low rate, and leaving his office upon the account of another, was afterwards slain by the command of those with whom he had those dealings.

Magdalena Brifonetta the Relic of Theobaldus Longiolius (an Irish-man, Master of the Requests) Niece of Cardinal Gulielmus Brifonettus, and besides, a woman of most rare accomplishments, and of no mean learning, when in old apparel, taking with her her daughter Francisca, and Johannes Spina a noted Preacher, who was her household Chaplain, she would have fled out of the City, being discovered by the cut-throats, and in vain put to renounce her Religion, being thrust into the body with pike-staves, half dead, she was tumbled from the Key into the River, where swimming about, a company of boats being drawn together, as if it had been to destroy a mad dog, with many gentle blows, she was at length most inhumanely drowned: Spina not being known, escaped in the throng, and CL. Marcellus coming in, they spared her daughter for her ages sake.

Peter Ramus, who was born at Vermand, when he had for a long time taught good learning, Philosophy, & at last Mathematics, in Prelia Schola, of which he was Master, and afterward in the King's School, he at last brought erroneous doctrine into his Philosophy, vehemently opposing Aristotle both by word and writing. When as there were great disputes between him and Jacobus Carpentarius, Claromontanus, as formerly there had been greater with Antonius Goveanus, and Joachinus Periomus; yet herein he was worthy of commendation, that by his wit, diligence, assiduity and wealth, he did
did what in him lay to promote Learning, instituting a Mathematick Lecture, to which he gave out of his own Estate a yearly stipend of 300 pounds. He being drawn out of his Cell, wherein he had hid himself, by some murderers sent by Carpentar, his Rival, who also promoted the sedition, after he had payed (some) mony, receiving some wounds, was thrown out of a window into the yard, whereby his bowels gushed out; which the boys, set on by the fury of their enraged Masters, threw about the streets, and whipping his carcass with scourges in reproach to his profession, dragged it about in a most shameful and cruel manner. Which thing, when it came to the hearing of Dionysius Lamminus, Monstroliensis, King's professor of humanity, and of both Languages, and who, by many books that he had published, deserved well of Learning, and he was otherwise no friend to the Protestant Doctrine, yet was he so affrighted at the example of Ramus, that he could not be comforted, and it made so deep an impression upon his mind, that he fell into a most grievous disease, of which about a month after he died.

From their contentions the name of Politick took its beginning, which afterwards became a note of faction, being given by the seditious, by those that favoured the King's party, and the peace of the Kingdom.

21. This fury did extend it self to those that never professd the Protestant Doctrine. For Gulielmus Bertrandus, Villemorius Master of Requests, (son of Jo. Bertrand Vice-Chancellor, and afterwards Cardinal) a good man, and liberal, and one that was injurious to none, was spoiled of his mony, and then slain by cut-throats sent by the above-mentioned Fergo.

Also Jacobus Poliardus, a Senator of Paris, and Fellow of the Sacred Colledge, otherwise an unquiet and quarrelsome man, and one that was troublesome to the Parisian Captains, when he had for some days lien hid in the house of a Priest, his Friend, being discovered by the prating of a Girl, was at length delivered into the hands of the murderers, and by one Cruciarus, (that was his name), a Goldsmith, after he had for some time kept him between hope and fear, had his head cut off. I have often beheld and heard that man that very well deserved
The History of

deserved a Gallows, in a strange kind of cruel madness boast, stretching forth his naked arm, that with this arm he had in that massacre slain above 400 men. Afterward, whether induced to it by repentance, or the terror of his conscience, he put on hair-cloath, and being infamous for so many murders, that he might avoid the sight of men, he went into solitude, professing the life of an Anchoret: where yet he could not forget his cruel nature: for in these late wars he was accused, and almost convicted, that by the help of such men as himself, he had cut the throat of a Flemish Merchant, whose necessity compelled him to repair to his Cell.

Lastly Petrus Salseda a Spaniard, who stirred up the Cardinals war, of which we have spoken before, though he was no way inclined to the Protestant Doctrine, was the same day slain by those who sought to revenge a former injury.

[One Ronlart a Catholic, and Canon of Nostre Dame, and also a Counsellor in the Parliament, uttering certain speeches in misliking this lawless kind of proceeding without justice, was apprehended, and committed to prison, and murdered as disorderly as any of the rest, wherewith divers of the Catholicks themselves were offended. This manner of proceeding breedeth general mistrust in them of the Nobility, and every man feareth God's vengeance. Walsingham, Let. 16. Sept. 1572. In the Compleat Ambassador, p. 246.]

And many of the Nobles escaped with great danger, and especially Thorenus, who warned Coligny when Costenius was designed to guard him, that he could not be committed to a more deadly enemy; and that now it was true that the sheep was committed to the woolf. But it was believed that upon the account of the absence of his Brother Momorancy, he and his Brethren Damvilla and Mervins were spared. Costenius his life was also in danger, for that he joined with the Momorancies, and favoured not the Guisians.

Bironus in the Armory fearing upon the same account what would become of him, planting two Culverins against the City, fortified himself till the fury of the people and the guards ceased.
Among the Protestants that were of any note, there escaped by a rare kindness of fortune, Joh. Saucomoulius, Sauromarius Cugiarius Bricomolius Junior, and some few others, Jacobus Crusfolius Aecrius, by the commendation of his Brother Antony \* Duke of Uzes, and command of the Queen, with some others of the Nobility, were preserved by the Guisians to this intent, as it was reported; that they might cast the odium of the Massacre upon the King and the fury of the people; as though they had no other design than to revenge their private injuries upon the head of Coligny, and also that they might by such a benefit hold those whom they preserved ever obliged to them. Nor did their expectations fail them.

Gulielmus Alamarus Fervacius did endeavour to procure the same favour from the King for Franciscus Moninius, but all in vain; but he being discovered by his means, strait-way it was given in command to Marcellus to cut him off by the cut-throats. That day were slain to the number of two thousand.

Toward the evening Proclamation was made to the multitude by sound of Trumpet, that every one should betake himself to his own home, nor might any stir abroad; that only the King's Guards, and the Officers with their Troops of Horse, should go about the City upon pain of death to them that did not obey: so that when it was thought that there was an end put to those slaughters and rapines, the same massacre and liberty of plundering was continued the night following, and the days following.

22. The same day the King, whether troubled at the horridness, or fearing the odium of the fact, by Letters directed to the Governors of the Provinces, casteth the odium upon the Guisians, telling them 'That the sedition was raised without his privity or consent: that they, as soon as they perceived that the friends and kindred of Coligny, whom he still called cousin, did intend to revenge the wound given him, that they might be before-hand with them, stirred up so great a party of the Nobles and Parifians, that they, by their help, cut off the Guards that he had assigned to Coligny, and as many of his friends as they met: and this example was fol-
lowed with such fury and violence throughout the City, that such a remedy as might be wished, could not be applied in any due time. Now at last the sedition that seemed to be allayed, was again upon old grudges between the two Families, revived; which thing, since it hapned contrary to his will, he would that all should understand that the Edict lately published, was not thereby in any part violated: but he did command that it should be religiously observed, and that the Governors should see to it, that mutual slaughters should not be committed in other Cities, nor that they should take Arms one against another, but that every one should keep home in the City and Countrey, and abstain from violence upon pain of death to those that did not obey. In the end of the Letter these words were added: 'Here I am with my Brother of Navar, and my Cousin Conde, ready to undergo the same fortune with them. The same day were Letters of the same contents written by the Queen, sent not only through the Kingdom, but to the Dyct or Assembly of Switzers, and dispersed by the King's command through England, and divers places in Germany.

23. The next day slaughters and rapines were continued. Petrus Platius President of the Court of Customs, a man eminent for his gravity, learning and integrity, (whom one Michael by name, Captain of a Band, had the day before cheated of a great sum of Gold) by the help of slingers lent to him by Nic. Bellofremontius Senefaeus, and Carronius Provost of the Merchants, defended himself from the fury of the people. That Senefaeus was lately by the King put into the place of Innocentius Triperius Monstrolius, great Provost del' Hospital: under whom that Office, whose jurisdiction belonged only to some mean person of the King's Retinue, after that began to be conferred upon Gentlemen, as all those things which belong to the Master and Colonels of the Horse. He first obtained the name of great Provost, those being much offended at it, who, by how much was added to him in titles did complain that by so much their jurisdiction was diminished. That so large jurisdiction for some time after the death of Monstrolius had ceased, which at last the King con-
conferred upon Senescaeus, for the Nobleness of his Family, and such learning as with us is rare in a military person. Therefore Senescaeus coming this day from the King to Pla-cius, told him that though the King resolved utterly to root out the Protestants by slaying them, that there should not remain one that pisseth against the wall, yet that for many reasons he would give him his life, and sent him to conduct him to the Louvre, for that he did desire to learn from him many things concerning the affairs of the Protestants, which it behoved him to know. Then Placius desired to excuse himself, and desired that he might stay till the fury of the people were somewhat allayed; that in the mean time he might be kept prisoner wherever it pleased the King. On the other side Senescaeus, who had received such command from the Queen, did hasten him, that he should without de-
lay obey the King's command, and assigned him Pezovius, one of the privy leaders of the Sedition, for his greater security as he said: by whom he was delivered into the hands of those that lay in wait, and being thrown off his Mule upon which he rode, he was stabbed with daggers: his body was dragged, and thrown into the stable of a publick house; and his house lay three days open to ransacking, his wife being fled, and his children wandering hither and thither. His office, which in his absence, in the time of war was managed by Stephanus Nuellius, a factious and blood-thirsty man, and who was believed to have hired these cut-throats against the life of Pla-
cius, was by him obtained of the King.

24. Such cruelty raging everywhere, while the Heavens seemed more than ordinarily serene, an accident hapned whereby the minds of the enraged people were after a strange manner inflamed. An Oxyacantha, which is a kind of shrub which they call white-thorn, growing in the Church-yard of St. Innocents, did, whether of its own accord, which some-
times happens, when nature failing, that plant is come to that, that it is about to dry up; or whether by warm water poured upon it by impostors, did in an unusual time put forth its flower. All which, the factions flattering themselves in their madness, did refer to God, signifying by these tokens, that
that what they had done was acceptable to him. And therefore they said, that the Heavens did rejoice to see the Massacre of the Protestants. And James Carpenter alluding to the Month in a writing that he published, called that light August. Therefore the seditious flocking together at the fame of the blossoming thorn, did skip about with great joy: which they also testified by the unusual beating of a Drum, though without command, (for even that they might do then) and so interpreted it, as if the Protestants being rooted out, the Catholick Religion, and the Kingdom of France should recover its ancient Splendor and flower. But the Protestants argued otherwise; and if this were to be looked upon as a Miracle, they said this was portended by this sign; that though the Church might seem by this wound to be utterly extinct, yet it should come to pass that it should in a wonderful and incomprehensible manner revive and flourish; which also they did confirm by the example of the wonder shewed to Moses in the bush, which, though it burned, yet was it not consumed. They added, that it might be said rather to belong to the commendation of innocence, than the approbation of butchery, because the thorn blossomed in a place which took its name from Innocents.

The same day some drawn out of the King’s Life-Guard by Gaspar Castraeus Nancaeus, are by the King’s command sent to Chaftillon, to take and bring Coligny’s wife and children, as also the sons of Andoletus. But Francilces the Eldest Son of Coligny, and Vidus Lavallus the Eldest Son of Andoletus, had already saved themselves by flight. All the rest are taken, and brought with all their precious household-stuff to Paris.

25. It was the King’s design, that as soon as the slaughter of Coligny and his followers had been performed, the Guises should immediately depart the City, and go every one to his own house, that thereby all might take notice, that whatsoever had been done at Paris proceeded from their faction. But the Queen and Anjou especially (who did both of them with an over-weaning affection incline to the party of Guise) did intercede: (seeing) the King was at first enraged only against

† Caftillionem ad Lupam.
against Coligny, as not yet forgetting his flight from Meaux, drew him on, who yet wavered, to the slaughter of all the Protestants in the City; so that not knowing where he set his foot, they brought him by degrees to this pass, that he should take the whole blame upon himself, and so ease the Guisians, who were not able to bear such a burden. And to that end Anjou did, as it it was laid, produce Letters found in Teligny's desk, written by the hand of Momorancy, in which, after the wound given to Coligny, he did affirm that he would revenge this injury upon the Authors of it, who were not unknown with the same mind as if it had been offered to himself.

Thereupon the Queen and Anjou took occasion to shew the King, 'That if he persisted in his former dissimulation, things were come to that pass, that he would endanger the security of the Kingdom, his Fortunes, Riches, and Reputation. For the Guisians, who do by these Letters, and otherwise, understand the mind of the Momorancies, being men desirous of troubles, and seeking grounds of them upon every occasion, will never lay down their Arms which they have by the King's command taken up, to offer this injury: that they will still keep them under pretence of defending their safety, which they say is aimed at by the enemy; and so that which was thought to have been the end of a most bloody war, will prove to be the beginning of a more dangerous one. For the remainders of the Protestants, who see their matters distressed, will, without doubt, gather themselves to the Momorancies, who are of themselves strong, and thence will take new strength and spirits: which if it should happen, what a face of the Kingdom will appear, when the name and authority of the King's Majesty being slighted and trampled upon, every one shall take liberty to himself, and indulge to private hatred and affections according to his own lust? Lastly, what will foreign Princes think of the King, who suffers himself to be overruled by his subjects, who cannot keep his subjects in their duty, and lastly, who knows not how to hold the reins of legal power?'
Therefore there is no other way to prevent so great an evil, but for the King to approve by his publick Proclamation, of what was done, as if it had been done by his command. For by this means he should take the arbitrement and power to himself; and on the one hand disarm the Guises, and on the other hand keep the Momorancies from taking up Arms; and lastly should bring it about, that the Protestant affairs now already very low, should be separated from the cause of the Momorancies. That the King ought not to fear the odium of the thing: for there is not so much danger in the horridness of a fact, (the odium whereof may be somewhat allayed by excuse), as in the confession of weakness and impotency, which doth necessarily bring along with it contempt, which is almost destructive to Princes.

By these reasons they easily persuaded an imperious Prince, who less feared hatred than contempt, that he might recall the Guisians to obedience, and retain the Momorancies in their loyalty, to confirm by publick testimony, that whatsoever had been done, was done by his will and command. Therefore in the morning, viz. upon the Tuesday, he came into the Senate with his Brethren, the King of Navar, and a great retinue of Nobles, after they had heard Mass with great solemnity, and sitting down in the Chair of State, all the orders of the Court being called together, 'He complained of the grievous injuries that he had from a child received from Gaspar Coligny, and wicked men falsely pretending the name of Religion: but that he had forgiven them by Edicts made for the publick Peace. That Coligny, that he might leave nothing to be added to his wickedness, had entered into a conspiracy how to take away him, his mother, his brethren, and the King of Navar himself, though of his own Religion, that he might make young Conde King, whom he determined afterwards to slay likewise, that the Royal Family being extinct, he usurping the Kingdom, might make himself King. That he, when it could not otherwise be, did, though full sore against his will, extinguish one mischief by another, and as in extream dangers, did use extream reme-
"dies, that he might extirpate that impure contagion out of the bowels of the Kingdom. Therefore, that all should take notice, that whatsoever had been that day done by way of punishment upon those persons, had been done by his special command.

After he had said these things, Christophorus Thuanus, chief President, in a speech fitted to the time, commended the King's prudence, who, by dissembling so many injuries, had timely prevented the wicked conspiracy, and the danger that was threatened by it, and that that being suppressed, he had now settled peace in the Kingdom, having well learnt that saying of Lewis XI. He that knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to reign.

Then the Court was commanded that diligent enquiry should be made concerning the conspiracy of Coligny and his Associates, and that they should give sentence according to form of Law, as the heinousness of the fact did require. Then lastly Vidus Faber Pibraccius, Advocate of the Treasury (or Attorney-General) stood up, and asked the King whether he did will and command that this declaration should be entred into the acts of the Court, to the preservation of the memory of it? whether the orders of Judges and Civil Magistrates, which he had complained were corrupted, should be reformed? And lastly, whether by his command there should be an end put to the slaughters and rapines? To these things the King answered, that he did command the first; that he would take care about the second; and that for the third he did give command by publick proclamation through all the streets of the City, that they should for the future abstain from all slaughters and rapines. Which declaration of the King astonished many, and among the rest Thuanus himself, who was a man of a merciful nature, and altogether averse from blood, and feared that example, and the danger that was threatened thereby: who also did with great freedom privately reprove the King, for that, if the conspiracy of Coligny and his company had been true, he did not rather proceed against them by Law. This is most certain, he did al-
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ways detest St. Bartholomew's-day, using those verses of Statius Papinius in a different case,

Excidat illa dies ævo, nec postera credant
Sæcula, nos certe taceamus, & obruta multa
Nobis, tegi propriæ patiamur crimina Gentis.

So that he seems to have commended the King's art by a speech fitted to the present time and place, rather than from his heart.

The advising of the King to enquire into this conspiracy, is thought to have been from James Morvillerius Bishop of Orleans, who had left his Bishoprick to give himself wholly to the Court: a man of a cautious nature, but moderate and just, and who was never the author of that bloody counsel. But when as that which was done could not be undone, he thought it was best for the reputation of the King, and for the publick Peace, that since the odium of it could not be wholly abolished, yet that it might by some means be mitigated, he persuaded the King and Queen, that to the things being now done, they should, though in a preposterous manner, apply the authority of Law; and that proof being made of the conspiracy, judgment should be passed upon the conspirators in form of Law; which thing Thuanus himself approved, being consulted about it by Morvillerius upon the King's command.

Two days after a Jubilee is appointed, and Prayers are made by the King, and a full Court in a great assembly of people, and thanks were returned to God, for that things had succeeded so happily, and according to their desires. And the same day an Edit was published, wherein the King declared, that 'Whatsoever had happened in this matter was done by his express command; not through hatred of (their) Religion, or that it should derogate from the Edicts of Pacification, which he would have to stand still in force, and to be religiously observed, but that he might prevent the wicked conspiracy of Coligny and his confederates. Therefore, that
that he did will and command that all Protestants should live at home quietly and securely under his protection and patronage, and did command all his Governors to take diligent care that no violence or injury should be offered to them, either in their lives, goods or fortunes; adding a sanction, that whosoever did otherwise, should understand that he did it under pain of life. To these things a clause was finally added, which the Protestants did interpret to contradict what he had said before; that, whereas upon the account of their meetings, and publick Assemblies, great troubles and grievous offences had been stirred up, they should for the future abstain from such meetings, whether publick or private, upon what pretence soever, till further order was taken by the King, upon pain of life and fortunes to those that disobeyed.

26. These Edicts and Mandates were diversly entertained in the Provinces, according to the divers natures and factions of the Governors; for those that were addicted to the party of the Monocrats, made a moderate use of them, but great was the rage and fury of others to whom secret commands were brought, not in writing, but by Emissaries, following the example of the Parisian Massacre.

The beginning was at Meaux, as being nearest, where the same day that the Massacre had been at Paris, above two hundred were thrown into prison by Coftetus, Advocate of the Treasury, an impudent man, who was chiefly afflicted by Dionsius Rolandus an Apparitor, and Columbus a Mariner. The next day they set upon the Market that is out of the City, and the men being flipt away, they fell upon the women, whereof 25 were slain, and some of them violated by the rude murderers. The day following, after they had every where rifed the houses of the suspected, they come to those that were imprisoned, who being called out one by one by Coftetus himself, were there slain as Oxen, by Butchers, in a Slaughter-house, and thrown into the Castle-ditch, and the greatest part of them (the cut-throats being wearied) were drowned in the River Marne. And then Coftetus exhorts the neighbouring places that they should proceed in what had been to hap-
pily begun. But the presence of Momorancy President of l’Isle la France, who was then at Cantilia, not far from thence, did hinder the seditious from stirring at Senlis.

But great was the rage at Orleans, which being once or twice taken by the Protestants, the sad ruins of the demolished Churches lying open to the eyes of all, did enkindle the minds of the people to revenge their injuries, being yet fresh: the day following therefore they began upon Campelus Bovillus, one of the King’s Counsellors, whom being ignorant of what had happened at Paris, Curtius a Weaver, the leader of the seditious, with some of his party, went as it were to visit in the evening; he thinking that they came as friends to sup with him, entertained them as at a feast; which (entertainment) the murderers having received, they acquaint him with what was done at Paris, and withal demand his Purse, which being delivered, they in the midst of their entertainment slay their Host. From thence, as if this had been the sign given, they flock together for three days to murder and spoil; above 1000 men, women and children, as it was thought, were slain; part were cast into the river Loire; those that were slain without the City were thrown into the ditch. Great was the plunder that was taken in all that time, and especially the copious Library of Peter Montaureus (a learned man, who died four years since of grief of mind, at Sancerre) furnished with Books of all sorts, especially with mathematical Manuscripts, the greatest part of them Greek, and corrected and illustrated by the labours of Montaureus himself, as also with instruments useful in that Science, contrived with admirable artifice, was with a most barbarous outrage taken away.

Also some were slain at Gergolium, the people raging through the neighbouring Cities, Towns and Villages, after the manner of the Inhabitants of Orleans.

The same was done at Angiers, they beginning with Johannes Massonius Riverius, who was most barbarously slain as he walked in his Garden, by a cut-throat let in by his Wife, who suspected no such thing: as also others. Barbeus Ensign of the Prince of Conde’s Regiment eschewed the danger by flight,
as also Renatus Roboreus Bressaldus, one that was very troublesome to Priests, many of whom he had unworthily maimed, was afterwards executed.

The Townsmen of Troyes, of whom Coligny had a little before complained to the King, when they heard of the tumult at Paris, presently set guards at the City-gates, that none might slip forth: and having upon 3 Kal. VIIbris, cast August 30th, all the suspected into prison five days after, by the command AnnaValdreaus Simphalius, Governor of Troyes, upon the instigation of Petrus Bellinus (who, as was believed, came lately from Paris with private commands) they were brought out one by one, and slaughtered by the cut-throats, and buried in a ditch digged in the very prison: and presently after, the King's Proclamation, wherein they were commanded to leave of killing and spoiling, was published by Simphalius, who, as it is laid, received it before the slaughter was committed.

At Vierzun, when as at the yet uncertain report of the news, the Gates of the City were shut up by the diversity of Letters that were sent in the King's Name, the Townsmen held their hands for some time from violence, contenting themselves to have cast the suspected into prison, till at last stirred up by the example of the men of Orleance, they raged with the same madness against the imprisoned. Franciscus Hottomannus, and Hugo Domllus, who professed Civil Law in that City, by the help of their Scholars, and especially of the Germans, escaped the present danger.

Two days after the uproar at Paris, the Regiment of Horse that belonged to Ludovicus Gonzaga, under pretence of muster, and receiving their pay, seized on la Charite, a Town lying upon the River Loire, below Nevers, and the people being stirred up by Letters from Paris, 18 were slain in the Town; Petrus Mebelius, and Johannes Lerius, well known by his voyage into America, did beyond their hopes escape the hands of the murderers, and fled to Sancerre.

27. The greatest Massacre of all was at Lions, for in that City, as it is very populous, the Gates being presently shut, many are taken and cast into prison, by the command of Franciscus
Mandelotus, Governor of the Town, under pretence, as he said, that the King's Guards might protect them from the rage of the people: but many while they are lead by the seditious, as if it had been to prison, are slain in the blind lanes of the Town, and presently cast into the Rivers la Saone and Rhone. The ring-leader and chief promoter of this was one Boidonus, a wicked debauched fellow, who afterward came to his deserved end, being executed at Claremont in Auvergne. Three days were spent in rifling houses, and finding out those that were suspected: which being done on Friday 4 Kalends of VII br. Duperacus (a Citizen of Lions, but lately advanced to the order of Knighthood: the honour of this order for many years being decayed, since it began to be bestowed upon unworthy persons) came from the Queen with instructions and letters of credence, bringing also letters from Claudius Rubius, and other City Officers, men of like manners, who managed the affairs of Lions at Paris, and in the Court; in which (letters) is declared what was done at Paris, and withal it was added, that the King did will and require that the men of Lions should follow the example of the Parisians. Mandelotus, a prudent man, though he was looked upon as inclined to the Guisian faction, abhorred the barbarousness of the thing, and obtaining of the urgent multitude some days truce, till he had deliberated upon the matter, and till letters came from the King, which he said he daily expected; in the mean time he made open Proclamation, that the Protestants should repair to the Major's house to hear from him what was the King's pleasure. They poor wretches coming out of their hiding places, as if they had been received into the King's protection, came to him, and by his command were committed to several prisons; for the King's prisons upon the River Rhone were not able to receive such a multitude. Upon this, Petrus Antifiodorenfis Chamberlain of the City, a man wicked and infamous for dishonest lufts, rode post, and without letters, as if the dignity of the man had carried authority enough with him, affirms to Mandelotus, that this was the Kings and Queens will and pleasure, that the Protestants that were taken, or could be taken, should be slain.
flain, without expecting any further command. Therefore Mandelotus being overcome by the importunity of the multitude that flood round about him, to whom Antiffiodorenfis had told the secret, yieldeth, and turning to the messenger of so horrid a sentence, I will, faith he, say to thee Peter, what Christ heretofore said to Peter; whatsoever thou bindest, let it be bound, and whatsoever thou lookest, let it be loosed; and presently all ran to the slaughter and spoil, Murnellus and Clavius, wicked men, and ready for any mischief, joyed themselves to Boidomus. When they would have had the help of the Common Hangman in that matter, he refused, and said that he was ready to obey the sentence of a lawful Magistrate, but he would not meddle nor trouble himself with such promiscuous executions: when the same thing was commanded, the guards of the Castle, they likewise being much moved at the motion, answered with disdain, that they were no Hangmen, nor did such dishonourable employment become Soldiers: those miserable men never injured them: therefore they hired men from the Shambles, and shameless persons out of the dregs of the people; [but neither would they do it;] at length all these detesting the fact, they came to the City Train-Bands, which consisted of 300 Townsmen, who did readily undertake against their own fellow-Citizens, what hangmen and strangers had resolutely refused. Out of these Bands therefore are chosen all the veriest rake-hells, and they leading on, they ran violently to the house of the Franciscans, (this was done upon the following Lord's-day) where part of the Protestants were kept, and then to the house of the Celestines, where a great slaughter was made: whiles Mandelotus, with Sallucius Manna Governor of the Castle, ran with all speed to the tumult raised by the people in the suburbs next the River Rhone, they make an assault upon the Archbishop's house, where 300 chief Protestants were, by the Governor's order kept in prison: and first carefully examining their purses, they most barbarously slew them, praying unto God, and imploring the faith of men. A miserable sad sight! while the Sons hanging about the necks of their Fathers, and Fathers embracing their Sons, Brethren, Friends, exhibiting one
one another to constancy, they were slain like sheep by merciless Butchers, Porters, Water-men, among the sad lamentations and horrid cries that did resound all over the City. Which thing Mandelotus in all haste returning from Guillotaria, but yet after the thing was done, seemed to be much troubled at, as if it had been done without his consent or privity; and coming to the place of the Maccacre, taking the King’s Officer along with him, that he might enquire into the matter in a legal way, and proofs being taken by a publick Notary, in a ridiculous dissimulation, he commanded Proclamation to be made, that those that knew who were the Authors of this outrage, should tell their names, an hundred Crowns being proposed to the informer and discoverer for his reward. In the evening the same Butchers went to the publick prison, upon Rhone, and raged against the prisoners with a new sort of cruelty; and miserably tormented them with halters put about their necks, and dragged them half dead into the River that was near. The night following is spent in slaughters and plundering; household-stuff is carried out of houses, and wares out of shops; those that hid themselves are by spies brought out of their hiding places, and many thrown into the River. Mandelotus being offended at the horror of the sight of the bodies of the slain lying in the Court of the Arch-Bishop’s house, commanded them to be put into boats, and carried to the other side of the River, that they might be buried in the Church-yard of the Monastery of Ainsay, where was formerly the Altar of Lions, and sent men thither to see them buried. But the Monks said they would never suffer that, and that those carcases were unworthy of burial. Therefore, upon a sign given, there is a concourse made, and they are thrown by the enraged people into the River; the greater bodies being given to the Apothecaries, upon their defir, for their fat, as is reported by those who wrote whiles things were fresh. Nor did the slaughters stay here. For not long after the (two) Brothers, Darutii, Merchants of great account, Labassus, Galerus, and Floccardus, honourable Citizens, being brought out of the prison, had their throats cut, and were cast into the River Rhone. Among
Among these slaughters some escaped by the help of the guards, and the favour of Manta the Governor, among whom were Jo. Ricaldus, and Antonius Callia, Pastor of the City, when as Joannes Anglus, chief Pastor, was slain in the first tumult. It is said that 800 of all kinds and sexes were barbarously slain: the carcases of the slain swimming down Rhone to Turnonium, lay so thick about the banks, that the Townsmen affrighted at the accident, cried Arm, Arm, as if the enemy had been coming upon them: by and by being amazed with horror, and detesting the authors of such a villany, though they had no favour for the Religion of the Protestants, to remove that sad spectacle, they set men to thrust the bodies off with poles from the banks, which the swift stream brought down. So horrid a spectacle they also detested at Vienne, at Valence, at Burgh, at Viviers, at the Temple of the Spirit, yea, at Avenion, where there is great hatred of the Protestants. But at Arles, when through want of wells and springs they drink of the water of the River; the Townsmen, besides the detestableness of the villany, were grievously distressed; when as they would not use the fishes and water that they could be supplied with only from Rhone; yea, they abhorred the very sight of the River.

28. But in Dauphine and Provence things were carried after far another manner. For Claudius Sabandus Count of Tende, who was very nearly allied to the Momorancies, when Letters were brought him about the same business by Josephus Bonifacius Mola, who two years after came to an unhappy end at Paris, ingenuously answered that he did not think that that was the King's pleasure, but that some that were evilly affected to the publick Peace, did falsely pretend his name, when as not many days since he had received quite other commands: that therefore he would rather obey the former, as more worthy of the King's Faith and Clemency. But he not long after being at Avignon, died of a sudden disease, to the great grief of the people of Provence, not without suspicion given him by the Emissaries of the seditious.

In Dauphine, Bertrandus Simienus Gordius, educated in the Family of the Momorancies, receiving the same command,
he excused himself, pretending the great danger he was like to be in from the powerlessness of Mombranius, and other Protestants in Savoy and Dauphine, yet some were slain at Valence.

Also at Romans there were some slain, though it were late first, viz. 10 Kal. VIII br. where, when many of that great number that was cast into the prison, for fear of death returned to the Religion of their Ancestors, only seven were stabbed with daggers by the raging people.

Also SANERANUS Governor of Auvergne, who also was well affected to the Mororancies, used the same moderation, and made the same answer to those that came posting to him from Court, that the Count of Tende had done before him, adding to this moreover, that he would never obey such commands, unless the King in person did command him.

Greater was the fury that did rage at Toulouse: for news of what had been done at Paris being brought prid. Kal. VII br. which was the Lord’s-day, upon which the Protestants went out of the City to Caftanetum to Sermon, straightway the Gates were shut up, and care was taken that no one should go out, but that whoever would might come in. But many of those that had gone out would not return into the City, but went thence to le Puy, Sr. Laurence, Montauban, *Regimont, and some one way, some another. Two days after, by authority of the Senate, publick Proclamation was made, that no violence or molestation should be offered to the Protestants. The day following, Guards being set at the Gates of the City, and in the Streets, those that were suspected are some of them distributed into Monasteries, others are cast into the common prisons; some days after, upon the coming from Court of DELPECHIUS and MADRONIUS, rich Merchants, and most bitter enemies to the Protestants, they were all thrown into the Palace prison, where presently in the night, by certain cut-throats chosen out of the Students of the Civil Law, that went to the Fencing-School, (among whom one TURRIUS was most eminent), together with other men of lewd life and conversation, 200 were barbarously slain, and among them some Senators, and, in the first place
the Parisian Massacre:

Johannes Corasius: who afterwards, to double their cruelty, were hanged in their Senatorian habits, upon an Elm growing in the Palace-yard: the bodies of the dead were buried in a ditch made in the Arch-Bishop's house.

At the same time, but with greater slaughter, were things carried at Rouen, where Tanaquilus Venator Carrugius, the Governor of the chief Nobility of Provence, a man of a merciful disposition, did what he could to hinder it. But at last, not being able any longer to withstand the violence of the seditious, (and especially of those who, the year before, were, by the decree of the Judges, delegated from Paris, proscribed, who hoped that, by this course, they should both revenge the injury offered them, and also obliterate the memory of the Decree), many were thrown into prison, and afterwards 15 Kal. of VIII br. being called out one by one by the voice of the Cryer, were cruelly slain by those Emissaries, Maronimus a most wicked wretch leading them on. Upon this they set upon private houses, and that day and the day following they fell upon men & women, without distinction, and 500 of both sexes and all ages were slain, and their bodies being stripped, were cast into the ditches ad Portam Caletensem, and their garments all bloody as they were, were distributed among the poor, they seeking even by these murders to ingratiate themselves with the people. This the Senate was in shew offended at, and began to proceed against the Authors of this fact: but through connivance it came to nothing, the murderers and cut-throats for a time slipping out of the City.

This example raged through other Cities, and from Cities to Towns and Villages; and it is reported by many, that more than thirty thousand were slain in those tumults throughout the Kingdom, by several ways; though I believe the number was somewhat less.

[In September, Castres, a City in la Paix Albigeois, which was held by the Protestants, when after great promises by the King for their safety, it was delivered into the hands of Creuseta one of the principal of the neighbouring Gentry, it was by him cruelly plundered, and laid waste.}

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[In the beginning of October happened the Mafacre at Burdeaux. The Author and chief Promoter of it is reported to have been one Enimundus Augerius, of the Society at Claremont, who also is said to have persuaded Franciscus Baulo, a very rich Senator of Burdeaux that he should leave his wife; and being supported by his wealth, he had founded a rich School in that City: He, when as he did in his Sermons daily inflame his Auditors, that after the example of the Parisians they should dare to do something worthy of their piety: So especially upon S. Michael's day, when he treated of the Angels, the ministers of the grace and vengeance of God, what things had been done at Paris, Orleans, and other places, he did again and again, by often repeated Speeches, inculcate, to have been done by the Angel of God; and did both openly and privately upbraid Romanus Mulus the King's Solicitor, and Carolus Monferrandus Governor of the City men of his faction, as dull and cold in this business, who contented themselves to have interdicted the Protestants the liberty of meeting together, and to have kept the Gates of the City with guards; but otherwise they wholly abstained from violence and slaughters, being admonished so to do, as is believed by Stozius, who had a design upon Rochel, & who did fear lest that should hinder his attempts. But when as about that time Monpelatus came to Blaye, as though the sign for effusion of blood had been given by his coming, certain men were slain in that Town. But when he arrived at Burdeaux, the people began to rage, and the seditions to run up and down. Enimundus thundered in his Preaching more than ever: at last, after some days private discourses of Monpelatus with Monferrandus, though it be uncertain whether he did discourage or persuade the thing, when Monpelatus was departed, (who) a little while after died of a bloody Flux. V Nov. VIII br. which fell upon a Friday, the Magistrates of the City, with their Officers, as they were sent came after dinner to the house of Monferrandus, bringing with them lewd & impudently wicked men, who were drawn together by Petrus Lelonacius, and receiving the word of command from him, they ran through the City to the slaughter, being distinguished by their red Caps, a sign very agreeable to their bloody design. They began with Joannes Guillochius, and Gul. Sevinus, Senators, who were both cruelly murdered.

Octob. 3.
murdered in their houses, which were presently rifled. Also Bu-
cherus the Senator, who had redeemed his life of Monserrandus
for a great sum of mony, did hardly escape the danger, whose
house was also plundered. Then promiscuous slaughters and ra-
pines are committed for three days together throughout the City,
wherein two hundred sixty four men are said to be slain, and
the Massacre had been much greater, had not the Castle of Buca
and the other Castle of the City yielded an opportune place of re-
fuge to many. Jacobus Benedictus Longobastonus President
of the Court was in great danger of death, and was hardly pre-
served by the help of his friends.]

29. Nor were they in the mean time in quiet at Paris and at
Court, where, by the Queen's special command, and the dili-
gence of Morvillerius, Coligny's Cabinet was examined, if by
any means they might find any thing in them which, being
published, might take off the odium of so bloody a fact either
in the Kingdom or with foreign Princes. Among those
Commentaries which he did every day diligently write,
which were afterwards destroyed by the Queen's command,
there was a passage in which he advised the King that he
should be sparing in assigning the hereditary portion, which
they call Appannage, to his Brethren, and in giving them
authority, which having read, and acquainting Alanfon with
it, whom she had perceived to favour Coligny; This is your
beloved cordial friend, faith the Queen, who thus advised the
King. To whom Alanfon answered, 'How much he loved
me, I know not; but this advice could proceed from none
but one that was faithful to the King, and careful for his
affairs.

Again, there was among his papers found a breviate,
wherin, among other reasons that he gave for the necessity
of a War with the Spaniards in the Low-Coumreys, this
was added, as being omitted in the Speech which he made to
the King, left it should be divulged, and therefore was to be
secretly communicated to the King, that if the King did not
accept of the condition that the Low-Coumreys offered, he
should not transfer it to his neighbours of England, who,
though they were now, as things stood, friends to the King, if
once
once they set footing in the Low-Counrreys and the Provinces bordering upon the Kingdom, would resume their former minds, and being invited by that convenience, of friends would become the worst enemies to the King and Kingdom. Which being likewise imparted to Wallingham, Queen Elizabeths Ambassador, and the Queen telling him, that by that he might judge how well Coligny was affected towards the Queen his Mistress, who so much loved him. He made her almost the same answer, and said, 'He did not know how he was affected towards the Queen his Mistress; but this he knew, that that counsel did favour of one that was faithful to the King, and most studious of the honour of France, and in whose death both the King and all France had a great loss. So both of them, by almost the same answer, frustrated her womanish policy, not without shame unto her self.

About the end of the month wherein Coligny was slain, the King fearing lest the Protestants should grow desperate in other Provinces, writes to the Governors with most ample commands, and principally to Felionrus Chabolius President of Burgundy, in which he commanded that he should go through the Cities and Towns that were under his jurisdiction, and friendly convene the Protestants, and acquaint them with the tumult at Paris, and the true causes thereof. 'That nothing was done in that affair through hatred of their Religion, or in prejudice to the favour that was granted them by the last Edict: but that he might prevent the conspiracy made by Coligny and his confederates against the King, the Queen, the King's Brethren, the King of Navar, and other Princes and Nobles. That it was the King's pleasure that his Edicts might be observed, and that the Protestants every where taking forth Letters of security from the Presidents, should live quietly and safely under the King's protection, upon pain of death to any that should injure or molest them in any thing. On the other hand, he should admonish the Protestants that they should keep themselves quiet at home; and because in their Meetings and publick Assemblies there used to be such Counsels among the Protestants as were suspicious to Catho-
Catholicks, and which might put them upon new stirs, therefore, that they should abstain from those meetings, and expect the same favour and safety from the King's clemency and goodness as he doth exercise towards others. But if they should foolishly neglect this advice, command and promise of the King, and should presume to meet publicly, stir up troubles, and take up Arms under colour of their own defence, he would then proceed against them as against Rebels. To the same effect were Letters sent to Melchior Monpesatus, President of Poictou, Pria President of Toures, and the Presidents of other Provinces. Chabolius managed his office with great prudence and moderation, having learnt that the Protestants, who had hitherto been exasperated by severity and cruelty of punishments, might be better reduced to their duty by clemency and mildness. And matters were ordered without almost any bloodshed in Burgundy; many returning either through fear, or of their own accord, to the Religion of their Ancestors, renouncing the Protestant Doctrines. Only Claromontius Travius of the prime Nobility, whose Sister Helena Antonius Grammontanus had married, was, when the news was hot, slain at Dijon, in the absence of Chabotius, by the people. Those that were suspected at Masion, being by the King's command apprehended and cast into prison by Philibertus, sustained no further damage.

30. So foul a tempest in France being in some sort allayed, and the liberty of killing and plundering repressed, when the more prudent, that yet no way favoured the Protestant party, did, upon the sad thought of the present state of things, by little and little, come to themselves, and abhorring the fact, did curiously enquire into the causes of it, and how it might be excused, they thus judged, 'That no example of like cruelty could be found in all Antiquity, though we turned over the Annals of all Nations. These kinds of outrages had been confined to certain men, or to one place, and might have been excused by the sense of injury newly offered, or their rage did only exercise itself upon those whom it was their interest to remove out of the way. For so by the command of Mitridates, King of Pontus upon one message, and the
But that? Vepers 64. c*

c*Publius
c*figuration
c
day throughout all Asia. So Peter King of Arragon com-
manded 8000 French-men to be slain in Sicily, who had
seized upon it in his absence: But their case was far different
from this: For those Kings exercised their rage upon stran-
gers and foreigners, but this (King) upon his own subjects,
who were not more committed to his power than to his
faith and trust. They were obliged no otherwise by their
faith given than to the strangers themselves, but he was
bound in a late league with his neighbouring Kings and
Princes, to keep that Peace which he had sworn to. They
used no arts unworthy of royal dignity to deceive them, he;
for a snare abused his new engaged friendship, and the sacred
Nuptials of his own Sister, whose wedding garment was
even stained with blood. These are the virtues that use to
be commended in Kings, Justice, Gentleness and Clemency;
but savageness and cruelty, as in all others, so especially in
Princes use to be condemned. Famous through all ages was
Publius Scipio, who was wont to say he had rather save one
Citizen, than slay a thousand enemies; and Antonius, who
was called the Pious, did often use that saying. Kings in-
deed have power of life and death over the Subjects of
their Realm, but with this limitation, that they should not
proceed against them till their cause was heard upon a fair
trial. This rage and blindness of mind was sent by God
upon the French, as a judgment for the daily execrations and
reproaches of the Deity, from which the King himself, ill
educated by his Mother, and by those Tutors that The ap-
pointed him, did not at all abstain; the example whereof
proceeding from the Court to the Cities, and from the Ci-
ties to the Country-Towns and Villages, they now at every
third word, swore by the head, death, blood, heart of God.
Moreover, the patience of God was even wearied with their
Whoredoms, Adulteries, and such lufts as are not fit to be
spoken. Lastly, nature it self doth now expostulate as it
were with God for his so long patience and forbearance, nor
could the Country of France any longer bear such prodig-
ous wickedness. For as for the causes which are pretended
against
against Coligny, they are feigned with such improbability, that they can hardly persuade children, much less can they be proved. For how is it probable that Coligny should enter into such a conspiracy within the walls of Paris, who though he were guilty before the Pacification, (to suppose that), yet certainly after the Edict, if indeed the publick Faith and the King's promises ought to be observed, he came to the King guiltless, altogether abhorring a Civil War, and solicitous only about the Belgick War? But whereas they say he conspired after he had received his wounds, this hath less colour of truth. For how could Coligny that was indisposed by two such wounds, now grown old, disabled in both his arms, one of which the Physitians talked of cutting off, rise with three hundred young men that attended him, against an Army of sixty thousand men, that bare him deadly hatred, and that were well appointed with Arms? How could he in so little time consult concerning so great and vast a design? for he lived hardly forty hours after he had received his wound, in which all conference was forbidden him by his Physitians. Then, had he been accused of any crime, was he not committed to Cosseniuss and his guards, and the passages being every where secured, was he not in the King's power, that he might in a moment, if it had so pleased the King, been thrust into prison? and witnesses being prepared, after the manner of judicial proceedings, might he not have been proceeded against in form of Law? Moreover, if Coligni with his Dependents and Clients had conspired against the King, why must needs the rest that were innocent, so many Noble Matrons and Virgins who came thither upon the account of the Marriage, so many great-bellied women, so many ancient persons, so many bedridden persons of both Sexes and all professions, that were ignorant of these last counsels of Coligni, be comprehended in the same guilt? To whom doth it not seem absurd and most ridiculous that Coligni should at so unseasonable a time conspire against Navar that professed the same Religion with him, and whom he had in his power for four years?
years together? Thus many did discourse, and so they
judged, that upon the account of this fact the French Name
would for a long time labour under an odium and infamy,
and that posterity would never forget an act of so great
unworthines.

The History of the, &c.

Typographical Errors to be Corrected as followeth, in

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l. 2. Rochus Sorbaus Prunæus, l. 7. Armanus Claromontius Pilius, l. 8. Mo-
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Book entituled, l. 29. for Provincial, r. Father General.
A TRUE NARRATION
Of that Horrible CONSPIRACY AGAINST
King JAMES
And the whole PARLIAMENT OF
ENGLAND,
Commonly called the
Gun-Powder TREASON:
Written in Latine by Jacobus Augustus Thuanus, Privy-Councillor to the King of France; and President of the Supream Senate of that Kingdom.

Faithfully rendred into English.

LONDON,
Printed for John Leigh at the Sign of the Blow Bell by Flying-Horse Court in Fleet-street. 1674.
The History of the Powder-Plot,
Translated out of Thuanus, lib. 135.

Ow shall we in a continued Relation declare that Horrid, and by all Parties justly * detested Conspiracy entred into a-against the King of Great Britsin; which being discovered about the end of this year [1605] was in the next year suppressed by the Death of the Conspirators.


To the Petition for Liberty of Conscience made by the Papists in the former Session of Parliament, and rejected by the King, there was a rumour there would be another preferred at the next Sessions, (which had been now often deferred) which should be in no danger of being denied as the former, but should carry with it a necessity of being granted by the King whither he would or not. Therefore those that managed the Affairs of the Kingdom under a generous and no ways suspicious King, fearing nothing worse, did make it their business to avoid such Petitions, and that necessity that did attend them. But among the Conspirators it was con-
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...sulted, not, how they might obtain the Kings favour, which they now despairs of; but how they might revenge that repulse, though with the ruine of the Kingdom, which the other never thought of.

The beginning of these Counsels are to be derived from the latter end of Q. Elizabeth. For then, as appeared afterwards by proofs and confessions, Robert Winter (to whom Oswald Tefmond alias Greenwell, of the Society of the Jefuits joyned himself as his Companion) was by the advice of Hen. Garnet, Provincial or Superior of the said Society in England (Robert Catesby and Francis Tresham of the Gentry, instigating) privately sent into Spain, in the name of the Catholicks, with Letters Commendatory to Arthur Creswell of the same Society living in Spain, and with Commands to the King; of which this was the summe.

That he should forthwith send an Army into England, for which the Catholicks would be ready in Arms as soon as it came over. In the mean while that he should assign yearly Pensions to some Catholic Gentlemen. Furthermore, that he should intimuate it to the King, that there were some Gentlemen and Military persons that were aggrieved at the Present state of things, whom he might easily draw to his Part, by relieving their necessities. And whereas the greatest difficulty, after the Landing such an Army, would be for supply of Horses; they in England would take care to have Two thousand Horses ready provided upon all occasions.

This thing was secretly transacted by the Mediation of Creswell with Petrus Francesca Secretary to King Philip, and Franciscus Sandovallius Duke of Lerma, and he affirmed that the thing would be very acceptable to King Philip, and that he had offered his utmost assistance: that it was also agreed among them of the Place of Landing. For if the forces were great, then Kent and Essex would be most commodious for their Landing; if less, Milford in Wales; and that King Philip had promised by Count Miranda toward that Expedition Ten hundred thousand Crowns. Stored with these promises, Winter returns into England, and acquaints Garnet, Catesby, and Tresham what he had done.
These things were transacted under Q. Elizabeth: who dying about this time, Christopher Wright who was privy to these Matters, is speedily sent into Spain, who bringing the News of the Queens Death, presseth the business of the Pensions and the Expedition. With him was sent from Bruxells by William Stanly, Hugh Owen, and Balduinus, (one of the Society of the Jesuits) Guido Fawkes, with Letters to Crefwell that he should speed the business. To him was given in Command, that he should signifie to the King that the Condition of the Catholicks, would be more hard under the new King, then it had been under Q. Elizabeth; and therefore that he should by no means desist from so laudable an Enterprize. That Milford lay open for an easie Landing to Spinola.

But the state of things was changed by the death of the Queen, and King Philip returned an Answer worthy of a King, that he could no longer attend to their Petitions, for that he had sent Ambassadors into England, to treat of Peace with the new King.

Therefore despairing of their design as to King Philip, the Conspirators fly to their last and desperate Counsels, and in the first place they make it their business to satisfy their Consciences, and that being done, they confirm their resolutions to attempt some great Enterprize. And thus their Divines discoursed.

To depose Kings, to grant their Kingdoms to others, is in the power of the Supream Judge of the Church; But all Hereticks being ipso jure separated from communion of the Faithful, are every year on Holy Thursday, excommunicated by the Pope. And this holdeth not only in Professed Hereticks, but in those that are covertly such, because being reputed ipso jure Excommunicate they do incur the (same) Penalties, which are ipso facto deserved by professed Hereticks. From thence it follows, that Kings and other Chriftian Princes if they fall into Herefie may be deposed, and their Subjects discharged of their Allegiance. Nor can they recover their Right again, no, not though they should be reconciled to the Church. When it is said that the Church, the Common Mother of all, doth shut her bosome against none that

Mar. 1603.
Sir Will. Stanly.

22 Jun. 1603.
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return to her, this is to be understood with a distinction, viz. provided it be not to the damage or danger of the Church. For this is true as to the Soul, but not as to the Kingdom.

Nor ought this punishment to be extended only to Princes that are thus infected, but also to their Sons, who for their Fathers Sin are excluded from Succession in the Kingdom. For Here is a Leprosie, and an Hereditary Disease: and to speak more plainly, he loseth his Kingdom that deserteth the Roman Religion: he is to be accursed, abdicated, proscribed; neither is he, nor any of his Posterity to be restored to the Kingdom, as to his Soul, he may be absolved by the Pope only.

Thinking themselves abundantly secured within by these reasonings, they begin to seek outward strengthenings to their Conspiracy: and chiefly Secresie, which they sealed by Confession, and the receiving of the Sacrament. To this end there was an Oath drawn up amongst them, in which they did engage their Faith by the H. Trinity and the Sacrament, which they were presently to receive, that they would neither directly nor indirectly by word or circumstance discover the Plot now to be communicated to them, nor would they desist from prosecuting it, unless allowed by their Associates.

Thus being encouraged by the Authority of their Divines, they betake themselves to the adventure (as) not only lawful & laudable, but meritorious. This was done before John Gerard of that Society.

Unto this, after Confession, by the Sacrament of the Holy Altar, were drawn in, the next May, at first five of the Conspirators, Robert Catesby, Tho. Winter, Tho. Percy, Kinsman to the E. of Northumberland, John Wright, and the afore-mentioned Fawkes called out of Flanders.

Catesby, the Author of this Tragedy, thought it not enough that this, or that, or any single person should be aimed at, but that all, together, and at the same time, should be comprehended in this Conspiracy.
For he reasoned with himself.

The King himself might many ways be taken away, but this would be nothing as long as the Prince and the Duke of York were alive: again, if they were removed, yet this would advantage nothing so long as there remained a Parliament, so vigilant, so circumspect to whatever might happen: or if the Parliament could or the chief Members of it, could be destroyed, there would remain still the Peers of the Realm; so many Prudent Persons, so many powerful Earls, addicted to that Party, whom they could hardly resist, and who by their Authority, Wealth and Dependents, would be able, if occasion should be, to restore things to their former state. Therefore not by delays, but at one blow all were to be swallowed up, and so laudable an Achievement was to be brought to effect altogether, and at once.

At Westminster there is an old Palace of very great Honor and Veneration for its Antiquity, in which the great Councils of the Kingdom are used to be celebrated; which by a word borrowed from us, they call a Parliament. In this, the King with His Male issue, the Bishops of His Privy Council, the Peers, the English Nobility, the Chief Magistrates, and those that are delegated from particular Counties, Cities, Towns, and Burroughs; in short, the Men of greatest Wisdom and Counsel do meet together.

Here Catesby thought a convenient place to execute his so long studied and digested Plot: and having made a Vault, and storing it with a great quantity of Gun-Powder, to involve all those together, who could not severally be taken, together with the King and His Family in the Rubbish of the same Ruines.

Therefore when he had dealt with Piercy, and he after many bitter complaints of the King, through impatience, broke forth into these words, 'That there was only one way left to be delivered from so many Evils, and that was to take the King out of the way, and to that end, as he was ready for any attempt, did freely offer his own Service. Catesby, who was more cautious and cunning, moderated the Gentlemans heat, and, 'God forbid,' said he, that this Head of thine, so
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dear to all good men should be so fruitlessly exposed to such danger. The business may be undertaken and accomplished, yet so as that you and such as you are may still be preferred for further consulting for Religion and the Publick weal.

Then he opens his design in very plausible words, and with like Artifice shews him the manner how it was to be effected. Piercy agrees, and presently hires an Houle nigh to the place, and very opportune to work his Vault.

The Parliament that was called the year before, was deferred till February following. Mean while, Tho. Bates, Catesby's Servant, a dextrous Fellow, and one in whom his Master did much confide, being, least he should suspect any thing, taken into the privity of the Fact, when at first he seemed to be moved at the horridness of the thing, he is sent to Tesmund alias Greenwell, (for those men, that they might the better be undiscovered, went under two Names, sometimes under three) by whom he was persuaded, and strangely confirmed to the Execution of the design, being made sensible of the Meritoriousness of the work. Afterwards Robert Keyes, and after him Ambrose Rockwood, and John Grant, were taken into the Plot.

Dec. 11.

III Eid. Xbr. the Vault was begun, Christopher Wittbie, and a little after Robert Winter being also taken into the Society.

The work being often intermitted and often repeated, at length the Vault was brought to the Wall of the Court, where a new difficulty ariseth from the hardness of the Wall, and the thickness of three Ells; so that under a long time the work could not be finished, and there were now but a few days to the sitting of the Parliament.

And now the pertinacious industry of the Workmen had almost beat its way through the middle of the Wall, and they seemed not so much to want good minds (to the work) as time, when as the Parliament was put off till the Month of October. Then was Despair turned into Joy, with certain confidence that they should effect their design: and it was observed that whiles they briskly beat upon the Wall, there was a noise heard upon the other side of the Wall. Thither Fawkes is sent to enquire out the cause. He brings word back that there
there was a Cellar under Ground, from whence they were removing Cole, he being lately Dead who had hired that Cellar for his own use. Therefore the Conspirators thinking that Cellar more commodious, by the help of Piercy, let out their other Houses, and bring all their Materials & hopes into this. Such was the opportuneness of the place (for it was almost directly under the Royal Throne) that so reasonable an accident did make them persuade themselves, that God did by a secret Conduct favour their Attempt. These things happened about the Feast of Easter. The Gun-powder is at their leisure carried into the Cellar from Catesby's House over against the Palace, where it had been with great care and diligence brought together; First, Twenty Barrels are layed in and covered with Billets and Faggots.

Then the Conspirators being sure of the good event, began to consult what was to be done after they had effected their Plot: First, they consider'd of taking the Prince, who about that time, they came to understand, would not come to the Parliament with his Father, contrary to what they concluded in the beginning, and against him they plotted destruction, as one that was no Friend of theirs, and they had found out a way for it.

The next care was for Supplies of Money, concerning which they thought they had sufficiently provided. They had also provided that the Peers and Gentry addicted to Popery, should, as much as might be, be exempt from danger. Lastly, they debated concerning calling in Foreign Princes to their assistance; but being doubtful of their faith and secresie, they thought it not to send to them till they had accomplished their design; for commonly such Actions are not commended but by their Event.

They passed their Judgments upon them severally, the Spaniards seemed to be more opportune for them, but too remote, and too slow in raising Forces. The French was near, but fearful and suspected for the close league he held with the Dutch. The most present help was from Flanders, from whence they might most commodiously expect Supplies; for which Stanly was designed the Captain or Commander.

Moreover,
Moreover, that they might the more easily deceive the world, and least by their passing to and fro to those places they should give some cause of suspicion, they go their several ways; some into the Country, some a great way out of the Island, waiting for the time appointed for the Execution. Fawks went into Flanders that he might acquaint Stanly and Owen with the whole Matter, nor did he return into England till the latter end of August.

Gatesby, that he might not be idle in the mean time, gets Francis Trelawm and Everard Digby to his Party, agreeing with them for Supply of Money, and the former promised Two thousand pounds of English Money, the other Fifteen hundred. Pierce, that was prodigal at another man's charge, promised whatsoever he could scrape together of the Revenues of the E. of Northumberland.

In the mean time, Ten more Barrels of Gun-powder are added to the former, and four more greater than the rest, upon suspicion, least by the moistness of the place, the former should have been spoiled; and again, they are all covered over with a great heap of stones and wood.

And now the time of the Parliaments convening drew on, which was again put off till the Nones of November. Therefore the Conspirators did again repeat their consultation, and some were appointed who, on the same day that the Enterprise was to be Executed, should seize upon the Lady Elizabeth (the King's eldest Daughter, who was brought up under the Lord Farrington in Warwickshire) under pretence of a Hunting Match, which Everard Digby, who was privy to the matter, had appointed with great preparation at Dunchurch. Her they decreed publicly to Proclaim Queen.

They taking to themselves the Titles of the Assertors of liberty, did nothing less at first than profess themselves the Authors of the Act, or make any mention of Religion to the People, but purposed to hold that in suspense for some time, and by a Proclamation published in the Queen's name to redress great grievances for the present, and feed them with hopes of more for the future, till the Faction growing strong, either by favour or severity of new Edicts, they might draw the People to
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to their Parts and Obedience; and the odiousness of their fact so by degrees discovering itself would in time, and together with their good success grow off.

Nor came it in so long time into the minds of any of them how many Innocents all about them, how many Infants, how many that agreed with them in Religion, how many who perhaps had deserved well of them that vast ruine would over-whelm.

Now all things are ready, and the last Scene was going to be Acted, when as by the unspeakable Judgment of God, one who desired to save another, brought destruction both to himself and his Associates.

There were ten days to the Parliament, when upon Saturday in the Evening a Letter was brought as from a Friend to the Lord Monteagle, but by whom written, is uncertain, and by whom brought unknown. By it he was warned to forbear meeting at the Parliament for the two first days of the Session; forasmuch as some great, and sudden, and unsuspected mischief did threaten that Meeting.

The hand of him that wrote it was unknown, and the writing it self purposely so ordered, that it could hardly be read. No date to the Letter, no subscription, no inscription put to it, and the whole composition of words ambiguous.

The Lord Monteagle was doubtful what he should do; therefore late in the night he goeth to Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury, and chief Secretary to the King, and giving him the Letter, freely declared to him how he came by it, and how little he valued it. Cecil did not make much more account of it, and yet thought it was not altogether to be neglected; and Therefore shewed it to the chief Councillors, Charles Howard, Chief Admiral of the Seas, the Earl of Nottingham, to the Earls of Worcester, and Northampton.

The thing being considered of amongst them, although at first sight the Letter seemed of no great moment; yet they thought that not the slightest discovery ought to be despised, especially where the safety of the King was endangered, nor such great care to be blamed in them, to whom the preservation of His Majesty did both by Office and Duty belong.

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The King was then gone to Royston, to Hunt. It seemed good to them to determine nothing before they had consulted the King. For they said that they had oftentimes experienced the quick apprehension, and happy conjecture of the King in unriddleing things that were liable to greatest doubtfulness.

Upon the Calends of November, the King returned to the City, and forth with Cecil taking him aside, unfolds the matter, and shews him the Letter, which it seems worth while to insert here for the perpetual remembrance of it; forasmuch as not without cause it afforded such matter of dispute between him and his Councillors.

The love which I bear to some of your Friends makes me careful for your safety. Wherefore I advise you, as you love your life, that you would invent some excuse for your absence from the Parliament. For God and Men, as it were by agreement do hasten to punish the wickedness of this Age. Do not make light of this warning, but depart as soon as you can into your own Countrey, where you may securely expect the event. For although no signs of troubles do appear, yet I admonish you, that that meeting shall receive a terrible blow, and shall not see who smiteth them. Do not despise this discovery, it may be profitable to you, it cannot hurt you. For the danger is over as soon as you have burnt this Letter. I hope by the grace of God you will make good use of this Counsell, to whose protection I commend you.

The King having read the Letter (though through the generousness of his mind, he was no way prone to suspicion) did conjecture that some strange thing did lye hid under it, and that the notice given, was by no means to be neglected.

On the other side, Cecil said, it was certainly written by some Mad man: For no man well in his wits would speak at this rate of a danger which he doth admonish so much to beware of. The danger is over as soon as you shall burn the Letter. How small a danger could that be which should vanish in so short a moment.

On the other side the King, in whose breast the first suspicion had now taken deep root, urged the foregoing words, That assembly shall receive a terrible blow, and shall not see who smiteth
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smite them. And whiles walking in the Gallery he deeply thought of these things from one particular to another, it came into his mind that a sudden blow by Gun-powder was intended by those words: For what more sudden then a blow by Gun-powder?

Thus the King and Salisbury so broke off their discourse, that the King did strongly persevere in his conjecture. Salisbury to free the Kings mind from fears and cares seemed in his presence to make light of this notice given; but in the mean time admiring within himself the Kings uncouth and unusual interpretation, and so presently suspecting it, did conclude, that it was not lightly to be regarded.

The next day the thing being again considered of by the King, and His Counsellors, it seemed good that the Palace with the places near adjoyning, should be diligently searched, and that business was assigned to the Lord Chamberlain, who upon the Monday which preceded the Parliament, about the Evening, that he might give no occasion of Rumours, goes with the Lord Monteagle to those places: entering into the house that Percy had hired, they found a great heap of Billets and Fagots and Coal in a Vault under ground; and Wineard the Keeper of the Kings houses being there present, he was asked for what use they were brought in thither? they understood that the house was hired by Percy, and that heap was brought in by him.

Moreover the Chamberlain spying Fawks standing in a corner of the Cellar, asked who he was, and what business he had there? Who answered, that he was the Domestick Servant of Percy, and the Keeper of that house in Percy's absence.

Having thus done, they return to the Court, reporting what they had seen, and conjecturing worse things then formerly they had done. For it came into Monteagles mind upon the mention of Percy, that he was highly addicted to the Popish Religion, that they had formerly been acquainted, and lived as Friends, and it might be that he was the Author of that Letter which gave ground to all this suspicion.

The Lord Chamberlain among other suspicions matters, did revolve in his mind, that that store of wood in the house of

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Percy,
Percy, where he seldom resided, was not brought in thither to no purpose, and that that Servant of Percy whom he saw in the Cellar, looked like a desperate, wicked Knave.

All which things did increase the Kings suspicion, who would have that Vault further searched again; but lest if nothing were found, the Counsellors should make themselves ridiculous to the People, as if they were afraid of every light report; and moreover, fearing, lest whiles they appeared to suspect Percy, who was allied in Blood to the chiefest Peers of the Realm, they should seem to suspect the Earl of Northumberland himself: yet when the safety of the King did prevail upon them, they so ordered the matter, that search should be made without noise or injury to any.

It was given in command to Sir Thomas Knevet, Justice of Peace for Westminster, that in the dead of the Night he should go with a convenient company to that house, and should take Wimaid a long with him, under pretence that he had lost some Hangings and Tapestry.

Thither Sir Tho. Knevet going, finds Fawke, Percy's Domestic Servant, who under a feigned name called himself John Johnson, before the House booted and habited for a Journey; and he gives command presently to lay hold on him. From thence going into the Cellar, he speedily removes the Wood and Coal, which being removed, the Treason appeared, one little Barrel of Gun-powder being first discovered by it self, and afterward the heap being removed 36 Barrels of different magnitude were found there.

Then turning to the Prisoner, and examining his Garments they found in them tinder, and three Match cords.

But he being taken in the Fact, and not able to deny, the case being now desperate, he of his own accord confessed the Crime, and with an unappalled countenance (as he was a man of a resolute mind to undertake any desperate attempt) he added, that it was well for them that they found him before the house, now lately come out of the Cellar, in which all things were ready: for if they had found him within, he would not have stood to have buried himself and them together, by putting fire to the Train.
Knevet having discovered the matter, returns forthwith rejoicing to the Palace, about Four a Clock in the Morning, and acquaints Salisbury and the Lord Chamberlain; who presently with a noise rush into the Kings Bed Chamber, and tell him the Treason was detected, and they had the Author of it in Custody and Bonds.

The fame of this being spread abroad, for in so great a matter of Joy it could not be concealed, the Conspirators fly from this way, some that way, and meet together at Holbech at the house of Stephen Littleton, in the borders of Staffordshire.

Thither came those that were privy to the Conspiracy out of Warwickshire and Worcestershire; although they were ignorant of the discovery of the Plot, having taken away by force from Gentlemens houses their Warr-horses; thereby giving a manifest token what they would have done when they had got the power in their hands, when as they ravaged with such boldness, while the event was yet doubtful.

The Leaders of the Faction trusted that great numbers of Men, and a considerable Army would flock into them, as soon as they should appear in Arms. But the Lieutenants and Sheriffs being before, while the Treason was only suspected, Commanded by the King to ride about their Counties, their attempts were all made void, and scarce a Hundred of all that number appeared in Arms. And they were encompassed by Richard Walsh, High Sheriff of the County of Worcester, who came upon them unexpectedly with a strong power of Men, so that they could not escape.

When despairing of Pardon, and their troubled Consciences putting them upon desperate exploits, the Gun-powder that was drying by the Fire, took fire by a Sparkle that fell into it, and so suddenly burnt the Faces, Sides, Arms, Hands of the Besieged, that they were rendered unable to handle their Arms, and so lost their strength and courage together.

Catesby and Percy, that were most active, together with Tho. Winter, while they betake themselves to a corner of the house, are both shot through with a Leaden Bullet. Winter being wounded, fell into the hands of the Kings Party, both
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The Wrists were slain; Grant, Digby, Rockwood, and Bates were taken Prisoners. Tresham whilst shifting his Lodgings in London, he sometime escaped, yet at last was taken. Robert Winter and Littleton a long time wandering up and down the Woods, at last fell into the hands of the Guards, and were all committed to the Tower at London.

Being Examined without the rack, (for only Fawks was put under this way of Examination, and that but moderately) they severally discovered the whole series of the matter as we have before recounted, and taxed none in Holy Orders, which many looked upon as purposely avoided, because they were bound by Oath not to do it. When as Francis Tresham had before he dyed in Prison of his own accord nominated Henry Garnet, being admonished thereof by his Wife he wrote a Letter to the Earl of Salisbury, and excusing his too rash confession, he so discharged Garnet as much as in him lay by a solemn adjuration interposed, that he did entangle himself in a notorious lye, affirming that he had not seen Garnet of sixteen years; when as it did appear afterward by the confession of Garnet that they had often and for a long time together conversed one with another, before the six Moneths last past.

† He took it upon his Salvation, even in articulo mortis, (a lamentable thing) for within three hours after he dyed. Proceedings against the late Traitors. C c 2. 3. * And of Mrs. Anne Vaux, who confessed that she had seen Mr. Tresham with Garnet at her house three or four times since the Kings coming in; and that they were at Erich together the last Summer, and that Garnet and she were not long since with Mr. Tresham at his house in Northampton-shire, and stayed there. Proceedings, ibid.

CXXXVI. Digby confessing the matter as it was in truth endeavoured 
† He sought to clear all the Jesuits of those practices with which they themselves have now confessed ex ore proprio. Proceedings, ibid.

Even at the time of Garnets Tryal was current throughout the Town a report of a Retraction under Bates his hand, of his accusation of Greenwell. Proceedings, ibid.

Here
Here the Earl of Northampton and Cecil, (who together with the Earl of Nottingham, Suffolk, Worcester, and Devonshire, did sit as Judges in that Cause) interposed, affirming that the King never gave them any hope of liberty, nor ever engaged his word for it; but factious persons did maliciously throw such a report abroad, that they might have a pretence wherewith to excuse both themselves, and such as they were, for the seditions which they raised in the Kingdom.

At length being convicted and found guilty, they are condemned to the punishment wont to be inflicted by the Laws of the Realm upon Rebels and Traytors.

Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates were executed at London, nigh the Western Gate of St. Paul's Church in the later end of January. The day following, Tho. Winter, Ambrose Rockwood, Robert Keies, and Guido Fawke, who confessed that they had wrought in the Vault, were executed at Westminster in the Old Palace yard near the Parliament house.

Upon this many, who for this cause were banished, or of their own accord changed their Native Soil, were most courteously received at Calice, by Dominick Wikes, the Governor there; for so the King commanded.

Of whom one was of such a perverse mind that when Wikes did shew himself to bewail his and his Companions fortune, and for their comfort added, Though they had lost their Native Countrey, yet by the Kings grace they had a Neighbouring one allowed them. Nay, saith the other, It is the least part of our grief, that we are banished our Native Countrey, and that we are forced to change our Soil, because every good man counts that his Countrey where he can be well: this doth truly and heartily grieve us, that we could not bring so generous and wholesome a design to perfection.

Which as soon as Vicus contrary to his expectation, had heard he could hardly for anger abstain from throwing that man into the Sea, who gloryed in such a Plot as was damned by all men. For so I remember I have heard Vicus often say, when together with Alexander Delbenius, he came courteously upon the account of our Ancient friendship to visit me, a little before he went from us.
The Plot being discovered, the Parliament among publick rejoicings was held with great security. To whom the King made a most weighty Oration, and set forth the inexpressible Mercy of God over all his works, towards Himself, his Family, and His whole Kingdom, largely aggravating the thing from its several circumstances. This temperament being * with great Justice added, That he did not say, All that were addicted to the Romish Religion were to be included as guilty of this Crime: for that there were many among them, who although they are involved in Popish Errors (so he called them) yet had they not lost their true Loyalty to Princes, but did observe the Duty both of a Christian man, and of a good Subject; and that he in return had good thoughts of them: and that he thought the Severity of the Puritans was worthy of flames, who deny that any Papist can be received into Heaven.

* And this conclusion with no less truth; That as upon the one part, many honest men seduced with some errors of Popery, may yet remaine two good & faithful Subjects: So as on the other part, none of those that truly know and believe the whole ground, and School conclusions of their Doctrine, can ever prove either good Christians or faithful Subjects. He had said a little before, That many honest men blinded peradventure with some opinions of Popery, yet do they either not know, or at least not believe all the true grounds of Popery, which is indeed the mysterie of Iniquity.

This likewise was worthy the Wisdom of a most just Prince, that he did Judge that no Forreign Prince nor Commonwealth, nor none that did manage affairs for them had any hand in this Conspiracy, as who did judg of them according to his own mind and temper, and would think of others what he would that they should think of him.

Therefore he did will and require, that when any mention should be made of this Conspiracy in Parliament, every one should speak and think honourably of them. Which thing was done for the respect that he bore to the Spaniards, with whom desiring to keep that peace which he of late made with them, he would not leave any the least appearance of an alienated affection, or a suspicious mind.

He added this most generously, That, he would that all men should understand, that resting in Gods protection, the tranquility and quiet of his mind was not at all disturbed by this accident, and that he did wish that his breast were transparent to all, that
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that his People might behold the most secret recesses of his heart.

But when he judged it might conduce much to Example and Publick Security, that he should severely punish the Authors of so horrid a Crime, and because there was a suspicion arising from Letters, Confessions and Proofs made, that Gerard alias Brak, Hen. Garnet, Oswald Tesmond alias Greenwell, were either privy to, or promoters of this Conspiracy; therefore upon the XVIII. of the Kalends of February, a Proclamation is published against them, and a reward proposed to him that should discover and bring them to their Tryal, as also a Penalty added against those who after the publishing of this Proclamation should entertain, nourish, conceal, or be any way aiding the persons named in that Proclamation, or should at all endeavour that those who are accused of this horrid Crime should not be found out and apprehended.

In order hereunto diligent search is made, and strict enquiry after them, who concealed themselves; at length Hen. Garnet and Hall and Garnets Servant were taken in the house of Abington a Papist, and sent to London, and cast into the Tower. The wretched Servant for fear lest he should be forced by torments to accuse his Master, or despairing upon some other account, did lay violent hands upon himself in the Prison, and with a blunt knife (for he was not permitted to have a keen one by him) he cut up his own Belly, and drew out his Bowels: and although his wound was bound up yet before he could be Examined, he dyed.

Garnet was very gently used in his Imprisonment, as he himself afterward confessed.

At first he denied all things; and when it did appear that nothing could be drawn from him voluntarily, and the King that he might avoid calumny was unwilling to use torments upon him, resolves by craft to illude his cautious pertinacy, and to bring him to larger Confessions (who would answer little or nothing) whether he would or not.

He secretly employs a man, who by deep groans, and frequent complaints against the King, and his Counsellors,
and the deplorable condition of the Catholicks in England, did in the end persuade Garnet that he was Popishly inclined, and so crept into intimate familiarity with him. This man he sends with a Letter to a Gentlewoman, that was Imprisoned for her Religion, who kept her family at Whitwee and other places, and received with great hospitality those whom he commended to her. In which Letter he wrote plainly, and yet sparingly: what things he had already confessed, what he was not yet examined upon, and by what means he would excuse those things (which he had confessed) and conceal these.

He wrote likewise to Rookwood the Priest, who was Prisoner in another Prison, and wrote his Letter with Ink in the middle, about some familiar matters that any one might read, but left broad Margents on both sides, which he filled with his Secrets, written with the juice of an Orange, denying all whatsoever he had confessed before the Lords. As to the Spanish Expedition, he said he had obtained the Kings Pardon. As to this last Conspiracy he should avoid Judgment, because he knew they could make no sufficient proofs against him. But however it went, he added, having too high an opinion of himself, that which was spoken of the only Redeemer of the world, It would be necessary that one man should die for the People.

The Letter was by the Kings Councillors, who smelt out the cunning, held to the fire, and presently the writing appear'd, and the fraud was discovered.

He being every day more and more confident of his instructed Keeper, told him he did exceedingly desire to have some conference with Hall, his Companion. He promised to bring it about, and brought both of them to a place where they might easily hear one another, and where he himself to avoid all suspicion might be seen by them both. In the mean time, he placed two men of known credit near the place who (they knowing no such thing, and minding only the return of their Keeper who was gone abroad) might hear whatsoever passed between them. There each of them freely discover'd what they had confessed, what they had been Examined about, what excuses and evasions (for these were their words) they had
had prepared for every particular, and many other such things, which being carefully taken, were delivered to the Counsel in writing. The next day (the Prisoners suspecting no such thing) Delegates from the King came to them, and Examine Garnet and Hall a part, and object to them that they had yesterday held private conference with one another.

Garnet thinking they spoke this only upon conjecture + stily denied it, and forswore it upon the word of a Priest.

At last, Hall having confessed the Fact, and he finding that there was no avoiding it, begged Pardon for his contrary affirmation which he fought to elevate by a forced Interpretation or Equivocation. And professing that he would speak the truth ingenuously, He answered, that he had hitherto so constantly denied it, because he knew that no man (living) but one, (he meant Greenwell), could accuse him as guilty of the late Fact. But now that he saw himself encompassed with such a cloud of witnesses, he would no longer dissemble, but did confess that above V moneths agone he was acquainted by Greenwell with the whole matter. That before that, Catesby had in general told him that the Catholicks in England were attempting some great thing as to Religion, and asked whether if good men should be involved in the danger, this were to be made matter of Conscience. But that he, who had a contrary command from the Pope, that he should not engage in any Conspiracy refused to hear any further of it. That he did pour out Prayers for the good success of the great cause; and amongst other things, used the Hymn that was commonly Sung in the Church, but intended nothing else when he did so, but only prayed God that in the next Parliament no grievous Laws might be made against the Recusants: so they are called in England, who keeping within their own houses, have their liberty and refuse to Joyne in worship with the Protestants.

Garnet being twenty times Examined, between the Eids of 12 Feb. and Febr. and the VII of the Calends of April, two dayes after he is arraigned at the Publick Tribunal in London:* [Guild Hall.]

Here the Crimes are layed to the charge of the Prisoner, by Sir John Crook, which are afterwards enlarged on in a long Speech by Sir Edward Cook, the Kings Attorney General. Then

* The reason whereof the Earl of Salisbury declared at his Tryal. See the Proceedings, Y
Then after Garnet had said something for himself, and especially something concerning Equivocation, he was Examined by Cecil and others, that fate as Judges in that case. And lastly, the Earl of Northampton made a long and elaborate discourse against him, in which he largely handled the Authority which the Popes arrogate to themselves of deposing Princes, and discussed that Chapter of Nos sanctorum, the ground, as he said, of this and such like Conspiracies.

At length Sentence is passed by the Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, that Garnet should be Drawn, Hanged, and Quartered.

His Plea for himself was only this, that although he did a long time before know of the Conspiracy, by common fame and Rumours, (for Greenwell only informed him of all the particulars; but under the Seal of Confession, by the Laws of which he was forbidden to discover it to any man living); yet that he did admonish Greenwell to desist from the Fact which he did very much disapprove of, and to hinder others engaged in Conscience or privity in it.

Here Cecil severely reproved him; 'For, said he, if he did 'disapprove of the Fact, why did he afford Greenwell the be-'nefit of Absolution before he had by his penitence given testi-'mony that he did truly and from his heart detest the Fact? 'Furthermore, when as he understood the matter from Catesby, 'where there was no Seal of Confession, this was sufficient to 'have made a discovery of the Plot if he had so highly abhorred 'it as he did pretend.

But there were other things that lay heavy upon his charge, and these chiefly which were amongst his Confessions, written with his own hand and sent to the King, viz. 'That Greenwell 'did acquaint him with this not as with a sin (he had to confess) 'but as an Act which he well enough understood, and in which 'he required his advice and counsel.

'That Catesby and Greenwell came to him to require his 'advice upon the matter, and that the whole business might 'be resolved among them. That Telfmond (for so he was, 'now called, who e'rewhile was Greenwell) and he, did not 'long agoone consult together in Essex of the Particulars of this 'Conspiracy.
Conspiracy. Lastly, when Greenwell asked who should be Protector of the Kingdom; Garnet answered, that that answer ought to be deferred till they saw how things should go.

When these things were brought to his remembrance, and did make it appear that he knew of the Conspiracy otherwise than by the way of Confession, all that he answered was, that whatsoever he had signed with his own hand, was true.

Being brought to Execution the Third of May being Inventio crucis [Holy rood day] he said, 'he came thither that day to find an end at length of all the crosses that he had born in this life; that none were ignorant of the cause of his punishment; that he had sinned against the King in concealing it; that he was sorry for it, and humbly begged the Kings Pardon: that the Plot against the King and Kingdom was bloody, and which if it had taken effect he should have detested with all his heart, and that so horrid and inhumane a Fact should be attempted by Catholicks, was that that grieved him more than his death. Then he added many things in defence of Anne Vaux, who was held in Prison, and lay under great suspicion upon his account.

Being accused that he had while Q. Eliz. was alive received certain Breves from Rome, in which he and the Peers inclinéd to Popery were admonished, that when that miserable Woman should happen to die, they should admit of no Prince, how nearly she was related in blood, but such as should not only tolerate the Catholick Faith, but by all means promote it; he said, he had burnt them, the King being received for King. And when he was again Examined upon the same things, he referred Henry Montacute who asked him about it, to his Confessions subcribed by him.

Being taxed for sending Edmund Bainham to Rome, not to return to the City before the Plot should take effect; This he thus excused, 'as if he had not sent him upon that account; but that he might inform the Pope of the calamitous state of England, and consult with him what course the Catholicks should take; and therefore referred them again to his Confessions.
Then he kneepled down upon the Stage to his Prayers, and looking about hither and thither, did seem to be distressed for the loss of his life, and to hope a Pardon would be brought him from the most merciful Prince: Montacute admonished him that he should no longer think of life, but if he knew of any Treachery against the King or Kingdom, that he should as a dying man presently discover it; for that it was now no time to Equivocate. At which words Garnet being somewhat moved, made answer, 'that he knew the time did not admit of Equivocation; that how far and when it is lawful to Equivocate he had otherwhere delivered his opinion, that now he did not equivocate, and that he knew nothing but what he had confessed. Then he excused himself that he did at first dissent before the Lords; 'That he did so because he did not think they had had such testimony and proof against him, till they did produce it; which when they did produce, he thought it as honourable for him to confess, as it would have been at first to have accused himself. He added many things to excuse Greenwell, professing that unless he thought he were out of danger, he would not have discovered the guilt of his dear Brother in this Conspiracy. Then praying that the *Catholicks in England might not fare the worse upon his account, he crossed himself, and after he had commended his Soul to God, the Ladder being taken away, he was hang'd to death.

In his behalf Andreas Endaimon-Johannes a Cretian, of the same Society, wrote an *Apology, in answer to Sir Edw. Cokes (Book Intituled) Adio in Proditores, (for so much the Title doth imply) published four years after, and approved by Claudius Aquaviva Provincial of the Society, in which chiefly the Doctrine of Equivocation is defended and explained from Scripture, Fathers, Schoolmen, and Thomists; and the necessity and matter of the Seal of Secrete or Confession is debated, and the chief heads of his Accusation are answered; the Speech of the Earl of Northampton is refuted. Moreover he doth endeavour to evince that Garnet never knew any thing of the Conspiracy but by the way of Confession; and that he did always abhor the Treason.
Then some things are related of his Constancy at his Death, which are not related in the History of it. And as a conclusion of his Commentary, there is the memorable Story of the Straw upon which the Effigies of the Dead was seen, at which he faith his Adversaries were very much disturbed.

While the Body was quartered by the Hangman, some drops of blood fell upon the Straw that was there provided to light the fire. John Wilkinson who was there present, that he might gather some relique of the Body of Garnet, carried home with him an Ear, that was sprinkled with blood, and deposited it with a Gentlewoman, who kept it with great veneration in a Cristal-glass. Afterward it was observed with great admiration, that the Effigies of Garnet was plainly expressed in that blood.

Then with great Zeal was the fame of the Miracle spread abroad; which others did presently elude by a contrary construction; saying, 'It ought to seem no wonder if a man brought up among Exiles in Flanders, improved at Rome in Italy, authorized to a Conspiracy in his own Countrey, and breathing nothing but revenge, did as long as he lived thirst after the blood of his Countreymen, should when dead desire to be pictured in blood. So dangerous a thing it is in these corrupt times to say any thing for the honour of any man in those things which do exceed belief and the common course of Nature, which may not presently be retorted to his disparagement.

This end had this Conspiracy; the strangest that either our, or former ages do make mention of, for contrivance, daringness, or cruelty. For it is often heard of, and fame doth deliver it down to posterity, that many Princes are cut off by Treachery, many Common-wealths are attempted by the snares and falsehood of their Enemies; But no Countrey, no Age ever bred such a Monster of Conspiracy as this, wherein the King with the Queen, the Parents with their whole Issue, all the States of the Kingdom, the whole Kingdom itself, and in it innumerable Innocents should all be destined to one Destruction in one moment, for a Sacrifice to the lust of a few enraged Minds.
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But it was very well, that that Monster, which they themselves that bear the blame of it, do both by word and writing every where detest, being so long before conceived at home, should be strangled in the birth before ever it see the light.

A little while after, Isaac Casaubon when he went into England, thinking of nothing less than to be engaged in this business, upon occasion of another Apology sent to him, and by him delivered to the King of Great Britain, wrote an Elegant Epistle to Frontus Ducaeus, in which he sheweth, that Garnet knew otherwise then under the Seal of Confession of the Powder Conspiracy, by his own Confession and Testimony written with his own hand, and doth at large discuss the Doctrine of Equivocation, as ensnaring and pernicious, against the Arguments of Eudaimon-Johannes. Against which, not Ducaeus, but Eudaimon-Johannes doth rail sufficiently.

FINIS.
A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE ORIGINAL OF THE POWDER-PLOT:
Together with a Relation of the CONSPIRACIES AGAINST Queen Elizabeth
And the Persecutions of the PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE
To the death of Henry the Fourth.

Collected out of Ihuanus, Davila, Perefix, and several other Authors of the Roman Communion;
As also Reflections upon Bellarmine’s Notes of the Church, &c.

LONDON;
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A DISCOURSE
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CONSPIRACIES

With "Elizabeth
A true and full declaration of the
PROTESTANTS
IN FRANCE.
To the Bishop of Hereford Town.

Collected out of the Records of the
Proceedings of the Society of the
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THE READER.

An Account of the Occasion, Matter, Method and Manner of Writing of the Discourse annexed with the Reasons of it.

THE Narration of the Gunpowder Treason by Thuanus being commended to me, after I had look'd into it, I persuad'd a friend to translate it into English, which being done, I gave it to the Book-seller to print, and for a Preface to it wrote the first Sect. of the Discourse, not intending any more than that: which was printed, but not all the sheets wrought off, when having met with that notable passage of Del Rio briefly cited in a Book lately printed, and perusing the same more at large in Del Rio himself, I thought it worthy of further consideration; and therefore ordered the Printer not to work off that Preface, but go on with the Translation of Thuanus, and the while wrote so much of the ensuing Discourse as concerns the Original of the Powder-Plot, that is to Sect. 24; (though the whole Discourse through want of timely notice to the Printer bears that Title); and that was all I then intended. But when I came to the conclusion of that part, I began to perceive that Combination of Rome and Spain against England, which continued all the time of Queen Elizabeths Reign, and doth not a little confirm what had been said in the former part of the Discourse: and though I thought that the former part of the Discourse did not stand much in need of confirmation from this, yet I thought it very pertinent and useful to shew that Combination in their various practices against that Queen, but as briefly as I could. This continues to Sect. 37. nor did I then intend more. But reflecting upon the admirable Providence of God in preserving that blessed Queen from so many and so various attempts against her, and in my turning over of Thuanus: for the Story of the Combination having perceived something of the unhappy
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issue of her Neighbours. Persecutions of the Professors of that Reformed Religion which she happily established and defended, I began to perceive something of that Distinguishing Providence, which is very Observable and Remarkable in the ensuing part of the Discourse to Sec. 61. Wherefore having cursorily run over some of the principal parts of that Story, and satisfied my self that it would make good what I undertook, I thought it an unworthy piece of laziness or negligence not to add that part also, so pertinent, so remarkable and necessary; but hoped to have done it more briefly than I found I well could, when I again set my self to the perusal of the History. Having finished this, I made some Reflections upon the whole, and thenceupon added the Observations, Inferences and the rest which make up the last part and conclusion. And this was the Occasion, this the Matter and Method of the Discourse. Now for the Manner of writing it; when I began I was wholly a stranger to the Story, and to all or most of the Books I have made use of; had never read two leaves in Thuanus, save part of the History of the Powder-Plot; had never seen Davila; had only occasionally, if at all, looked into any other of the Books I have made use of. Besides being most of it written in the Countrey, and my own stock being but short, I could not have that assistance from variety of Books which I desired; and yet it pleased God many things fell in my way beyond my expectation; and the Authors I have generally used are such whose Authority is beyond all exception, the incomparable Thuanus, Davila, Preefix, and others of the Roman Communion; for I have but rarely followed any Writers of the Reformed Religion, and more rarely without the concurrent authority of others. But what is most considerable, the greatest part being sent away in single sheets by the Post as it was written, I could neither my self have the perusal of the entire work together, nor have it perused by my friends before it was printed. This I mention for my excuse of such mistakes as possibly may occur in it. For I did not design to injure the Truth in any particular, nor have I to my knowledg done it in any thing material; only Sec. 12. you will meet with Lovain in Flanders, which perhaps is in Brabant, though by Flanders I then meant that part of the Low-Countrie's
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Countries which was then under the King of Spain or the Archdukes Obedience; and I know the name Flanders is used in as large a sense by many, and commonly by the Italians, and Sect. 34. pag. 48. 'tis said, he made them amends for it afterwards, whereas that excommunication there mentioned was before, which I did not then observe when I wrote it. Again Sect. 42. pag. 74. you'll find, the D. of Tuscany [Father to the Qu. Mother] which is a mistake; for he was of the same Family, and succeeded her Brother, but was not her Father; and therefore the Reader may either amend it, or quite strike it out. But these are such mistakes as are rarely escaped by those who write at more leisure, and are no prejudice at all to the Story. If any other mistake that is material shall come to my knowledge, whether by my own observation, or the information of any other, whether friend or foe, I will not fail, God willing publickly to acknowledge the same, and if this discourse shall be thought worthy of another Edition, to reform it. For I approve not the use of Pia Fraudes, and think Lying and Slander is, as always unlawful and unworthy of a Christian; so where matters of Religion are concerned, to be profane and sacrilegious. The God of Truth is able to defend his own cause, the Truth, without such wicked shifts; and when he pleaseth to suffer it to be oppressed for a time, he doth with great wisdom permit it; but in the mean time allows not us to vindicate it by such indirect means whereby we do, as much as in us lies, oppose the design and course of his Providence. Numquid Deus indiget veliro mendacio, ut pro illo loquamini dolos? Job. 13. 7. But if my past hath made me in anything through mistake to mis-represent any actions of the Papists to their prejudice, it is likely it hath made me overlook as much more which might have been said against them. Nor have I thereby so much injured them, as they have injured themselves and their cause by such indirect and wicked practices as are beyond all contradiction, to the great scandal of the most Holy Christian Religion; which is that which in some places hath made my expressions more sharp than what otherwise I should have used. Nor had it not been for that, and for the great danger I apprehend our Country to be in by their restless mysterious practices.
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Elites, for the discovery and prevention whereof, the discovery of their former Policies and Practices may be of good use, should I have delighted in such an undertaking. I have otherwise no prejudice against them, and could heartily wish that all which I have written had been false; but since it is not only too true, but we are still in danger from the same principles, though the manner and method of their operation and practice, may in some respects be altered, I cannot but think the undertaking both lawful and necessary. Nor is the honour of Religion ever a whit secured by palliating the irreligious practices of spurious Professors; but better vindicated by publicly detecting and condemning; and, where there is a just Authority, condignly punishing or correcting them. This is more agreeable to the will of God, and the course and methods of his Providence, who would not dissemble the most secret miscarriages of his dearest children, but either to detect them, and bring them to light, to the end they may be punished by the Ministers of his Justice; or, if they, through want of knowledge, power, or fidelity, fail therein, to do it himself by his Divine Judgments upon the offenders, unless they prevent the same by timely and seriously judging themselves. But still it may be objected; but why such haste? If it must be published, why not upon more mature deliberation? Why not the Errata though never so inconsiderable first corrected? and perhaps, why not the stile first better smoothed and polished, and some things removed to their proper places? I answer, If we must stay till we can be secure against all mistakes, we should have very few books ever published; but it is sufficient if we can be secure for the main, whereof I am very well satisfied as to this work; and for the stile and ornaments, which most concern myself, they were not tanti with me, who neither undertook it, nor proceeded in it upon self-respect; but besides, I was beyond my first intention engaged in it, and the Press was at work, and being so engaged, I endeavoured to have kept pace with it, if I could; though I had before little thoughts of ever appearing in Print, and much disliked that precipitate way of writing books, which by Fortius Ringelbergius is recommended to his Students, and do still dislike it, unless upon special occasion. And indeed that which was a
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A special motive and incitemeit to me to hasten it what I could, was the consideration of the forwardness, activity and base practices of the Popish Emissaries and Agents, and of some others influenced by them further than they themselves are aware of, and the dangerous consequence thereof not only to the subversion of the reformed Religion, and the Scandal of Christianity itself, but also to the subversion of our Government, as the most effeetual method for promoting their designs, and disturbance of the Peace of the Kingdom. But these things I have touched toward the end of the Discourse, and therefore shall add no more here, but only desire the Readers favour to correct some of the more material errors of the Press, as is here after directed, and to bear with the rest:

Errors of the Press in the Discourse to be corrected as followeth:

P

Age 1. line 10. and also 1. 17. Reader l. 18. others; yet, p. 2. l. 27. and old, p. 4. l. 26. Confessor. but, This, p. 5. l. 15. confession, p. 6. l. 1. contrivance, l. 5. nothing more, p. 7. l. 1. and p. 8. l. 32. Machinations, p. 9. l. 2. Broccard l. 4. Turk l. 8. dele (Camden 1600. p. 769.) and put it in the Margin at lin. 10. l. 27. 4. Nor p. 12. l. 31. we may again, p. 13. l. 1. that we find, p. 14. l. 22. Ducaus l. 23. 7. Non. Jul. p. 15. l. 32. Sar fe, l. 33. c. 2. sub fin, p. 19. l. 25. Incendiaries, p. 20. l. 20. Care, l. 22. l. in, p. 25. l. 27. Wilton, l. 29. certainly, l. 32. Lopez, p. 27. l. 33. but the same, p. 29. l. 9. for Pincia read Villadoll, p. 30. l. 13. P 31. l. 10. p. 32. l. 16. Ridelph, p. 31. l. 15. faillir, p. 32. l. 17. p. 35. l. 6. p. 46. l. 27. aureos, p. 33. l. 16. Lord Darnly, p. 36. in marg. Collett of the Felicities of the Eliz. p. 40. l. 25. Creighton, p. 50. l. 31. Lopez (with his complices) Cullen, p. 52. l. 22. Fitz-Giral, then to John Fitz-Giral, and lastly, p. 59. l. 33. same time that, p. 60. l. 5. with whom, p. 61. l. 9. du Bourg, p. 62. l. 23. Olivier, p. 67. l. 36. Edif of July, p. 71. l. 27. Seft. 42. For, p. 72. l. 12. Legates, p. 73. l. 4. whiles, it, p. 74. l. 2. Valois, who, l. 5. secret, p. 75. l. 2. contrived, l. 34. Reprints, p. 80. l. 34. And with, p. 82. l. 2. This done, away goes, l. 26. defetted, p. 83. l. 6. Marchand, l. 21. Telinins, p. 86. l. 10. way designed, p. 50. l. 2. with the, p. 94. l. 8. betrayed, l. 19. defetted, p. 95. l. 3. as did, l. 13. that than that never, p. 56. l. 27. exagitates, p. 97. l. 23. superstitious, ibid. Successor, l. 30. for obdation r. obecation, p. 58. l. 9. 660. or 760, p. 102. l. 16. and p. 103. l. 10. Sancerre, p. 103. l. 19. Talar, l. 20. others l. 35.

Insert

Pag. 10. l. 12. -- to conceive. Or rather being more particular secrets, and more worthy of observation, they are referved for private conference with his Majesty, as not fit to be committed to paper; as he faith, c. 27. sub fin.

Pag. 57. l. 2. -- Spain, for three weeks before troubled with a perpetual flux of blood through all the passages of his body, (Peresfix p. 163.) and at last, if not---
A Discourse concerning the Original of the Powder Plot.

Sec. 1. Although several Relations of this Conspiracy have been long since written and published in English, both by several writers of the History of those times and others who have inserted the same among other Historical Relations, as Stow in his Annals, pag. 874. Speed in his History of Great Britain, l. 10. f. 31. -- The Appendix to the Book of Martyrs Fuller in his Church History, Bishop Carleton in his Historical Collection of Deliverances, and of late by Mr. Foulis in his History of Popish Treasons, lib. 10. cap. 2. And also alone, as King James his Discourse of the manner of the Discovery of the Powder Treason, Printed in quarto, 1605. but without his name to it, and since in his works 1616. pag. 223. and the Proceedings against the late Traitors, Printed in quarto, 1606. (whereof neither is more than what the title doth import, and the latter enlarged with long Speeches, which possibly may seem tedious to the Reader, and it may be some others; (yet because many (as well for the rare and admirable contrivance and discovery of the Plot, as because we are all obliged to the Annual Commemoration of it) may be desirous to read some Relation of it, who yet may not be willing to purchase those larger works, and those Relations of it which have been Printed alone, being now long since out of Print and therefore rarely to be met with: It was thought convenient to publish this Translation out of Thuanus, rather than to reprint any of the other; and that for these Reasons: 1. Because it seems to be more compleat than most or any one of the other Relations, which have yet been Printed in English, whe-
A Discourse concerning the

whether alone or incidentally in larger works. 2. But espe-
cially, in respect of the Great Authority of the Author, a per-
son, not only of great Quality and Place in his Country,
Privy Counsellor to the King of France and President of the
Supreme Senate of that Kingdom, but of known and confessed
Candor, Impartiality, Faithfulness and Exactness, as an Historian.
And being one who loved and died a Catholic in the Com-
munion of the Church of Rome, his Authority hath in that
respect some advantage above any of the other Relations,
which have been written by any of the Reformed party:
which of it self may be sufficient to refute the Impudence
and vanity of all such as would have had the world believe
that it was the contrivance either of the Puritans, (V.Speed
Sect. 48. Wilsons History of King James, pag. 32. Foulis pag.
690.) or of Cecil the then Secretary, to draw those unhappy
Gentlemen into it. (V. Foulis, pag. 694. The Papists Apol.
answered pag. 31 -- 33. ed. 1667.) the contrary whereof
may easily be perceived in the series of this Relation. And in-
deed the first of these projects was extinguished almost with
the plot; and the other hath been long since sufficiently dis-
proved, and the plot it self confessed by some, and defended,
magnified, and gloried in by others of that party, and now
scarce denied by any to have been of their own contrivance;
so that more need not now be said as to that particular, though
the following considerations, if need were, might be made use
of in that respect.

2. This design of Blowing up the Prince and People to-
gether,hath been commonly taken to have been the contrivance
of Catesby, and of no ancieneter Original than their despair of
foreign assistance, upon their last negotiation with Spain. Of
that mind seems our Historian here to have been, pag. 3.
And the truth is, there is scarce to be found in print any
direct and express proof of other author and contriver or
more ancient original of it, though possibly we may ere long
see it further proved to have been designed in the Queens
days
Qrigind of the Tawder Plot.

days againft her, but upon further consideration of her age, not likely, according to the course of nature, to live long, deferred till the coming in of King James. In the mean time it may be remembered what is often seen in Judicatories and Tryals of Causes both Civil and Criminal, that those things and works of darkness which are carried on and managed with so much secrecy and caution, that no direct proof can be made against them, are notwithstanding often discovered and brought to light by a heedful and circumspect observation and comparing of circumstances: in somuch, that the evidence of the truth, which is by this means made out, is not seldom more satisfactory to all present, than the direct and express proof and testimonies of witnesses, which many times prove false, even then when they seem to be most full and punctual. And therefore to prove this contrivance proceeded from other heads than Catesby’s alone and was of longer standing than hath been commonly thought, what is yet wanting in direct proofs, may in some measure be made up by the consideration of the following circumstances.

3. And first, it may be noted that though Catesby be the first of all these Conspirators taken in this plot that did propose it to the rest, for ought appears by what was discover’d at their examination and tryals, yet doth it not thence follow but it might have been before proposed to him (being the most active of them) by some other: nor doth it any way appear that it was of his own only devising, as to omit other reasons is manifest from their attempt who would have fathered it upon Cecil, as a trick to ensnare those gentlemen; for otherwise there would have been no ground or colour for that pretense.

4. It may be remembred that this was not the first time that this means, by blowing up by Gunpowder, hath been proposed by confederates of that party for the destruction and murder of our Princes. For it had been long before proposed by one Moody to be laid under Queen Elizabeth’s bed and secretly fired. (Camden, Anno 1587. principio.) So that this may seem to have been but a further improvement of a former project.

5. But
5. But 3. to come nearer to this present business, There is a passage of the Jesuite Del Rio, 6. Disquis. Magic. cap. 1. edit. Lovai. 1600. which, with the concurrence of other circumstances, makes it very suspicious that he was privy to the Contrivance, if not the Author of it; and which though published in Print some years before the discovery of this plot, hath scarce been taken notice of, as to this purpose, till of late. And this it is,

Sect. 2. This Section, faith he, I add by reason of the simplicity of some Confessors, and the rashness and malice of some Judges, &c. Then he first gives us this note, that the Seal of Confession bath the same force in all crimes even the most enormous; as in the crime of Treason, and then makes a distinction between offences committed, and offences to be committed, and as to offences committed, he says it is the opinion of some, which seems to be the common opinion of the Canonists, that the Priest may reveal the offence already committed, which he hath learn’d, not in the Sacrament of Penance, but without it, under a promise of secrecy, and of the seal of Confession; yes, that he ought to reveal it before the Judge if he be produced for a witness. This opinion, faith he, is rejected by others --- but I think both probable, but the latter more safe. Then, as to offences to be committed, when a person will not abstain or amend himself but resolves to accomplish the crime, there hath been some Jurists, faith he, that have thought, that they may be revealed by the Confessor. This is a dangerous opinion, and withdraws men from Confession; and therefore he concludes that, the common contrary opinion is altogether to be followed, That it is not lawful to detect, not even Treason against the State. In order to a further proof of this Conclusion, he tells us what limitations they of this opinion do put upon it, this among the rest, If the penitent have partners accomplices, and he indeed is penitent and promises amendment, but he discovers that yet there is danger still, lest while he desists, the mischief be committed by his accomplices: For then they think that, to prevent the future damage, the Priest may reveal the offence which is to be committed, although the penitent consent not. And, as to this limitation, he lays it depends
pends upon this Question, Whether a Priest may at any time make use of the discovery, which he hath made from Confession, so much as for government and the averting of imminent evils? which he illustrates with this Instance, A Malefactor [Maleficus] confesses that himself or some other hath put Powder or something else under such an entry (or groundsel,) and except it be taken away the house will be burned, the Prince destroyed, and as many as go into or out of the City will come to great mischief or hazard; and then for some reasons resolves for the Negative, (contrary to the common sense and opinion of almost all the Doctors, as he there acknowledgeth,) whereof this is one, viz. because Pope Clement viii. by his decree had commanded the Superiors of the Regulars to be most diligently cautious that they should not make use of that knowledge of sins, which they had by confession for exterior government: which she who's faith he, that the Pope doth most approve that opinion, which will have Confessors so to carry themselves, as if they had heard nothing at all in confession. At length from this Doctrine he draws these Consequences. The 1. to this purpose, If one Malefactor confessing, among the circumstances of his sin, discover his partner (in it,) and the other also presently comes and confesses, but conceals that sin wherein he was partner with the other, the Confessor may not use this knowledge to examine him concerning that sin (which his partner hath confessed.) The 2. is, That a Priest may not, no, not for fear of death threatened him, reveal this crime to anyone; and that in that case he may say that he knows not, nor hath heard any thing of such sin; because in truth he doth not know, nor hath heard it, as (he is) a man, or as, a member of the Commonwealth, (but as a Priest.) Yea, he might say that he hath not heard it in Confession, or that the accused person hath not confessed this to him, if he do but the while think in his mind, (viz. so, that I may reveal it;) and all these he may confirm upon Oath. Nor may the Priest be compelled to reveal it by any one, no not by the Pope, much less by any other. This passage hath so many suspicious circumstances both in it and concurring with it, as all together may be equivalent to a full and direct proof of what is said, that Del Rio was privy.
privy to the connivance of this horrible Powder Plot, if not himself the Contriver of it.

6. For 1. if we consider the Nature of the Instance, nothing could have been better fitted to express this plot of blowing up the Prince and People together; more agreeing in all particulars; by burning a house, not firing a City; destroying Prince and People, King and Parliament, not the Prince alone, or all with his family and household only; by powder, not by poison, assassination, or open rebellion; by laying it under a house, not under a bed as Moody proposed: and all this in so unusual and extraordinary a case, when instances now and mischievous enough might have been given of more ordinary and usual designs, and when he had other Doctors who write concerning the same question under his consideration, who must needs have put other instances into his mind, had not this been studied by him, and here made use of upon design. If any of those Doctors whom he there cites give any such instance, he may reasonably be absolved from all suspicion which otherwise will lie very heavy upon him. But it may be thought that perhaps he did this in conformity to the subject which he handles, Magick; and therefore makes his instance of a Witch or Magitian, and of Powders, and placed under a groundsel or entry. But first, were there not many other instances of notorious wickednesses more usual or frequently done or reported to be done by such Artificers? And secondly, was ever any such thing done or pretended to have been done by Art Magick? We may therefore reasonably suspect that this instance was not devised merely for conformity to his subject of Magick; but rather proposed under that notion and those terms for a blind a little to disguise and hide the design from such, as having no thoughts of such enterprises, might easily be diverted from any suspicion of it, while yet it might be plain enough to such minds, as were sufficiently disposed to practice such projects.

7. And 2. if we consider the Case, wherein this Instance is given, viz. Of Concealing Confessions; his Resolution of it, and that contrary to the common sense and opinion of almost all
all the Doctors, as he confesseth; And lastly, his Confirmation of his resolution by the Authority of the then present Pope, and directing the practice of it by equivocation, this may direct us to his End and Design in divulging both this Instance, and in this very case, his Doctrine and Resolution, & that confirmed by the Popes Authority for concealing Confessions, viz. By the one to intimation and intimate the Contrivance; and by the other to encourage and promote the Practice and Execution of it, by confirming the Confessors in Concealing Confessions, and encouraging the others to the more security of not being discovered. To which end and purpose also was probably the Treatise of Equivocation V. Foulis, pag. which was found in Trefhoms lodging, then very reasonably written and designed, which was seen and allowed by Garnet, (v. Proceedings I.) And this with Del Rio so mutually conspiring in a tendency and subserviency to the same end, do confirm the conjecture of the design of both. And it seems very consonant to the subtle practises of the Jesuets, rather in this fly, secret manner, underhand to intimation this project, than directly and expressly to have proposed it: so that it had been no great wonder if it had been longer, before it had been apprehended and put in execution; and it is not improbable that Garnet, who had been engaged in former Conspiracies and held correspondence in Flanders, might long before have knowledge of it, though he would seem to have received his first knowledge of it, by Greswel from Catesby.

8. Again 3. If with the form and composure of this instance, we shall compare the mysterious and enigmatical form and composure of some other things relating to this conspiracy, which are now plain enough to be understood, the plain explication of those will teach us how to unriddle the mystery of this, and direct us how to expound it. Such was that form of Prayer, which was taught to some of their party, some time before the intended execution of this Plot, for the prosperity of their Labours and downfall of Hereis, in these words, alluding to the working in the Mine and blowing up of the House:  

Proser, Lord, their pains that labour in thy cause.
day and night: Let Here!e vanish like smok: Let the memory of it perish with a crack, like the ruin and fall of a broken house, (Foulis, pag. 698.) And that very Letter which was the occasion of the happy discovery and prevention of that horrible design, in these words: 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 burts them. This Counsel is not to be contenned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past as soon as you have burn'd this Letter. To these may be added that rumour cast abroad of another Petition which should be in no danger of being denied, here mentioned by Thuanus, pag. 1. And though in its first conception, this project was doubtless known but to few, yet when once resolved on, as the time of its execution drew nearer, the more frequent were these and such like Indications and Symptoms of it. So Parson Reator of the English Colledge at Rome, orders the Students to Pray for the Intention of their Father Rector; the meaning whereof when the discovery of the Plot had un-riddled to them, the horridness of it made divers of them desert the Colledge. (Foulis, pag. 692.) So the Jesuites at Lisbon a little before this exploit should have been acted in England, are at some expense of Powder, on a Festi\nal day, to experiment the force of it; (Foulis, page 693.) And other Instances of this nature may be ob\served.

9. Here 4. The Time when this notable Instance was pu\blished, though so long before the discovery of the Plot, may be very considerable, and perhaps afford us greater evidence, than if it had not been published till some years after it was. A time when the Pope and his sworn *servants the Jesuites were as fudious in their Machimations & Contrivances, and active in their exploits, as well against all of the Reformed Religion in general, as the Queen and State of England in particular, as ever. And 1. for this Pope (Clem. viii. who was elected 30. Jan. 1592, and died 2 Mar. 1605.) It was contemporary with the holy league instituted by him against the Protestants, wherein almost all Popish Princes, except 

* V. Review of the Counc. of Trent. l. 5. c. 7.
the King of France and the Great Duke of Tuscany were in-
gaged, as we are told by Fr. Brouard the Popes Secretary,
for the promotion whereof he much indeavour'd a Peace
between the Emperor and the Turk, and often complained
that the war had been continued full forty years against the
Turk, in which time the Church of Rome might with less cost
have recovered her Authority in Europe. 2. Contemporary
with his Bulls (Cambden 1600 pag. 769.) to encourage and
promote the Irish Rebellion. (V. Foulis, lib. 9. cap. 3.)
3. Contemporary with those Bulls, the one to the Catholick
Nobility, Gentry and Laity, the other to the Arch-priest and
the rest of the English Clergy, Not to admit or receive, after
the death of Queen Elizabeth, when ever she should happen to
depart this life, any for King, how near soever in blood, ex-
cept they were such who should not only tolerate the Catholick
Faith, but withal endeavour and study to promote it, and,
after the manner of their ancestors, undertake upon Oath to per-
form it. (Proceedings Q. 3.) And these are the Bulls
which have been long since deemed the foundation of this
Conspiracy. (Tortura Torti, pag. 279. Foulis, pag. 693.) And
this is the Pope who had formerly [sc. * 1597] exhorted
the French and Spaniard to unite, invade England and di-
vide it between them. (Foul. pag. 677. ex D'Offat. Let. 87.)
who had he lived, but some few months longer, might
have been as ready with his Breves to second the Success
of this Conspiracy as was his Successor Paul V. with * his.
5. Nor were they only the heads of the Pope and Grandees
at Rome and other places, who were busy and active at that
time in contriving projects and conspiracies for the subversion
and ruine of our Government and Religion, but of persons
also of meaner quality, and they not only the Popish Incen-
diaries of our own Nation, but forreiners also of the Romish
Faction. Thus we may observe Campanella's book de Mo-
narchia Hispanica exactly contemporary with this of Del
Rio, as the Preface to the English Edition doth demon-
strate, viz. that it was written between the years 1599 & 1600.
In this book he shews in part, what Preparations may be made
before hand; that so soon as ever Queen Elizabeth (who is now
very
very old) is dead, they may be immediately put into Execution. These, faith he, and the like Preparations may be made &c. But what are these? Why, in general 1. Causing Divisions and Dissentions among themselves, and continually keeping up the same. 2. Sowing the seeds of a continual war betwixt England and Scotland. 3. Rouzing up and encouraging to action the Spirits of the English Catholics. 4. Dealing with the chief of the Irish Nobility, to new model Ireland, as soon as they hear of the Queen's death. For the accomplishing of all which he hath several subservient means, Chap. 25. But for the like what they may be, is left to the Readers judgement to conceive. Only it may be noted that he who would not scruple to cause and keep up Dissentions, to sow the seeds of a continual war, to excite Rebellions among us, would hardly have scrupled at such a project, as by one blow would have put us quite out of our pain. It would be too long to note all the Projects of private men to this purpose, which were on foot at that time: but this of Campanella for the promotion of the Interest and designs of the King of Spain is the more pertinent and observable, because our conspirators had no Negotiations with him, their Leger there, and built their greatest hopes upon his assent at the same time.

10. But there is an other particular, as to this circumstance of Time, very considerable, which is intimated to us in those words of Campanella. For as we may easily perceive many heads at work at this time, many projects on foot contemporary in the contrivance; so do they all agree in the Time designed for Execution. So Campanella's Preparations, so soon as ever Queen Elizabeth is dead, are immediately to be put in Execution. So Pope Clements Bulls had respect to the same time, Quandocunque contingere miseram illam faminam ex hac vita excedere. (Proced. Q. 4.) And the Reason of all this is very apparent. For now the King of Scots, as Campanella observes, bovers, as it were, at this time over England, not only by reason of his neighborhood to it, but also because of his Right of Succession. —— And therefore the time now drawn on, that after the death of the said Queen Elizabeth, who is now very
very old, the Kingdom of England must fall into the hands of their Antient and Continual Rivals, the Scots: a thing very grievous no doubt, both to Rome, Spain and Flanders; and therefore no wonder if all beat their brains to prevent so great a mischief. For whereas England alone, notwithstanding being in a manner continually at wars with their ancient and continual Rivals, appeared both against the Catholick King in the Low-Countries, and against the most Christian King in France, assisting the Heretics both with her Counsels and Forces, what will Great Britain do, when not only the occasion of those wars shall cease, but both Nations be united under one and the same King? No question but the forethoughts of this set wiser heads on work than Catesbys, or any other of those unhappy Gentlemen, who are vainly pretended to have been trapan’d by Cecil; and something no doubt was resolved upon, the time drawing on, and the Queen very old. And this might be the reason of their long expectation, that change of State, would change Religion, also (Speed sect. 37.) And if we consider the Principles and practices of these men, and what before had been attempted against the late Queen, not only by open Hostility, as becomes Kings and States where they have just cause, but also by base secret conspiracies and treacheries against her person, instigated and fomented, as well by other Princes and by their Embassadors, even whilst Legers here (as Mendoza and Labespineus;) as by the Pope, we can hardly think any thing so base or barbarous that they were not like to attempt upon this occasion. And if we again consider, how all their former endeavours, whether more justifiable before men, as by open hostility, or more base and unworthy, not only by promoting rebellions, but also by poison & affination, had hitherto been ineffectual and defeated, we may not unreasonably think that they might at last arrive at some such project as this, as their last refuge and most effectual and infallible means to accomplish at last their so long studied designs. And lastly that it really was so, the punctual observance both of Campanella’s preparations, by in-deavouring to alienate affections and raise jealousies between the English and Scots, and other differences and dissentions
among us and stirring up the spirits of the English Catholicks, &c. which were practised immediately upon the Queens death and the Kings coming to the Crown of England (and have ever since been prosecuted) too long here to be related, and also of Del Rio's Instance, and Doctrine of Concealing Confessions, and that by Equivocation even in examination upon Oath, so well fitted to this purpose, and as well and exactly followed and prosecuted, may reasonably incline us to believe. This circumstance of the time designed for the Execution of this Plot is also visible in Catesby's Reasonings (see the Hist. pag. 4, 5.) which he might well learn from the same Tutors from whom he learnt the project of the Plot itself; for if to take off King James alone, unless also the Prince, the Duke, and moreover the Peers and whole Parliament, would not serve their turn, much less would it have served, to have taken off Queen Elizabeth (now ready to die of her self) though with her Parliament, while the King, together with the addition of another Nation to this, was ready to succeed her.

II. And thus we see the business is very plain as to the time so long before resolved on in all their Counsels both at Rome and Spain. It now remains to consider how the attempt in point of Time did answer this resolution. The Queen deceased the 24. of March. 1602. the next day was King James proclaimed, who came to Barwick 6. April, and to Lond. 7. May following, Anno 1603. and was Crowned July after. The Parliament began 19. March following and continued till 7. July 1604. Then was prorogued till 7. Feb. and then again till 5. Octob. 1605. and then at last till the fatal day 5. Novemb. following, when this unhappy Plot was happily discovered: From whence we again run it counter to its Original, thus: 11. Decemb. 1604, was the Mine begun; † and in May preceding, did the Conspirators actually engage in the design under an Oath of Secrecy. * The Lent before Catesby imparted the design to Thomas Winter, † and in September before that (which was Anno 1603.) to * Percy; which was before the Parliament began: and that being the time designed, it is a very fair evidence to our purpose.
pose, that find it on foot at that very time, which was by all those Councils so long before designed; and before this we cannot reasonably think that it should have been imparted to many even of the most trusty of their party, by the first contrivers of it, who notwithstanding might long before have resolved upon it, and did all the while, secretly and as behind the curtain, steer and manage the motions of those who were to be employed in it. But before we follow the trace further, if any one should here make this question Why they had not prepared their mine against the first sitting of the Parliament? though we might well content our selves with this answer, that it may be sufficient in all reason to satisfy us and them too, that we have this evidence, that the project was then on foot, and that many accidents might unexpectedly intervene, which might though unknown to us, move them for some time to defer their preparations, as, even after it was begun, Thumaus tells us, that the work was often intermitted and often repeated, and we find that by such an accident as the Scotch Lords sitting at Percy's house, it was for some time deferred; yet to leave no scruple or pretence for it, we can tell them the true reason, viz. that being a thing so horrid and inhumane in itself, and also * scandalous to their Religion, it was thought fit that first more gentle means should be used, as a Treaty of Peace by the King of Spain, and Petition by the Papists at home, whereunto they were encouraged by some great hopes they had conceived, but upon very uncertain grounds, of a Toleration. But when the King of Spain, being well-pleased for his own part with the proceedings of the Treatie, fell off from his former promises of assistance, and their Petition was rejected at home, they presently conclude that a desperate disease must have a desperate remedy, and in order thereunto, Catesby begins to broach the project, which against this time had been kept secret in store, and imparts it to some of his most trusty confidens; who thereupon might probably think that it was of his contrivance, as others from thence have since thought it to have been; and that the rather, because in all their dealings preceding this, even to the first intimation of it by
by Del Rio, nothing visible did appear as to these conspirators in particular, but only Negotiations with Spain and Flanders for foreign assistances, and an invasion; which wiser heads upon the consideration of the former ill successes of such attempts could not think of it self sufficient; and therefore we may more reasonably believe that they who secretly and underhand managed the business, so ordered these Negotiations as well for a blind to conceal the main design, as for a necessary means to second it, when it had once taken effect. But besides these Negotiations abroad, we find other matters at home in agitation, by persons of the same party, to wit the Jesuites in general. For Watson and Clark, two Priests who were apprehended July 1603, before the King was crowned, for another plot of a lower rate and more ordinary nature, in their Confessions upon their apprehension, affirmed that there was some treason intended by the Jesuites, as appeared to them, by their provisions of Money, Arms and Ammunition, disuading the Catholicks from acceptance of the King at his first coming, (but withal) wishing them not to stir, but keep them selves quiet, till they heard from them. (Proced. K. 3.) Of this, Casaubon, who had perused their Confessions, writeth thus to Fronto Duræus in his Epistle dated 7 Novem. July 1611, pag. 188. This is the first Conspiracy against the King which after his arrival in England came to light; but that there were others also at the same time in agitation, both the same Watson and Clark gave us notice, and those things which from thence have ensued, have proved. They said, and often and constantly affirmed, that when they communicated their counsels to the Jesuites then living in England, and desired them that they would be partakers with them of so noble an enterprise, they received this answer, that the Jesuites could not joyn with them; forasmuch * as they had a business of their own in hand which should be famous to all ages, and which in due time would take effect. And these confessions and affirmations of these Priests, the truth whereof might be further cleared, were it either necessary or not too long to undertake it, bring us to that very point of time designed for execution
In all these projects contemporary with Del Rio's instance, and sufficiently shew us that some first motions towards the execution of this plot were then on foot, though the more plain and downright preparations, were for some such reasons as above-said for some time deferred, and sometimes, it may be, adjourned for want of fit opportunity. And therefore, since Del Rio's instance is contemporary with these projects, and this enterprize of the Powder Plot with the time designed in them for execution, we may very reasonably think that he gave an instance of that which was then as certainly designed as it was now punctually practised, having only that little distorting of it to the subject of his book, which does but make it the more suspicious.

12. And that we may see that there is no circumstance but doth, not only well agree with this conjecture, but some way or other help to confirm it, we may also take notice of the Place, where this book of Del Rio's was written and first printed, viz. Louane, in Flanders; where these Conspirators had Father Baldwin, a Jesuite, Leger, and others of their confederates, as Sir William Stanly and Owen, Resident; whither they had often recourse, and from whence they expected their most present help after the blow should be given. So that it was not hard for them to meet with some intimation among their frequent consultations about these matters there, in Flanders, of some such notable and most effectual project, not only by means of this book there published, but even from the Author himself, or the Approbators of it their correspondents. And of Catesby in particular, upon whom this contrivance is father'd, that he held correspondence there, is plain enough; so likewise of Garnet, who was afterward had in that esteem at Louane, that it was once publicly prayed there, -- Sancta Henricæ, Ora pro nobis (Fond. 1. 10. 11. sub fin.)

13. Now if from the consideration of the book, we proceed farther to the consideration of the Author, we shall find all circumstances still concur to the confirmation of the Conjecture. One of the Society of the Jesuites, into which he was admitted, Ann. 1580, and who about the time of pub-
lifting this book became the Popes sworn Servant, \textit{quatitor jam visas solennibus obserictus}, being obliged not only by those three vows, Common to all the Religious Orders, but moreover by that fourth peculiar to that Society, of special obedience to the Pope. 2. Of that height of zeal against Heretics, that at the very mention or least remembrance of them in common discourse, he would change colour and his stomach rise against them. 3. Before he entered into the Society, he had been one of the chief Senate of Brabant, then Chancellor of Brabant, and had the management of the Kings Exchequer. (\textit{Phil. Aegambe} in \textit{Bibiloth.}) 4. And being first well qualified by these employments, and then sufficiently instructed in the Jesuites Society, he at length became a Politician, and had his projects and devises for an Innovation to be made both in Church and State throughout the whole Roman Empire, which the Jesuites earnestly endeavoured to put in practice; the summ whereof, as they are related from his own mouth by \textit{William Freaek} of the Practice of the Jesuites, \textit{pag.} 58. were, to raise such divisions and differences among the Princes of the Empire, by working upon their contrariety of opinions in matters of Religion; &c. that they may waft and weaken themselves one against another, that their strength and power may be broken, or at least weakened, and become utterly unable to withstand a common foe, when he shall come upon them. Where he sets down more particularly how differences may be raised between such and such particular Princes. Lastly, his Opinion and Judgment of this Gunpowder Plot, may in some sort be understood by his esteem of \textit{Garnee}, whom he \* compared with \textit{S. Dionysius Areopagita}. He died at Lovane 19. Octob. 1608. not full three years after the discovery of this Plot.

14. If from the Author of this Instance we come to the Actors of this Plot, and the Authorizers and Abettors of it, we shall find all circumstances still to agree very well. 1. They were all either of the same Society with this Author, \* Jesuites or their Jesuited Disciples, such to whom the Jesuites were Confessors, and had the Conduct of their Consciences, such who were by them resolved in point of Conscience in all things

\* Delr' vind.
Areop. cap. 27.
pag. 104.

\* v. Tortu.
Torti, p. 280.
Jesuitas Consiltores & Consentientes, &c.
12, 11.
things concerning this Plot; received the Sacrament upon their Oath of Secrecy from them; and by them were absolved after the Plot defeated. Nor do we find any in Holy Orders, (except the Pope himself) to have had any hand in it or particular knowledge of it, but such as were of this Society of the Jesuites. For the Secular Priests, though two of them, in pursuance of the Popes Bulls, immediately upon the coming in of the King, were engaged in a Conspiracy of their own (if not trape'nd by the Jesuites, V. Stowe & Fuller, Anno 1603. Sect. 14.) against him, but of a lower and more ordinary nature; and by the Actions of the Jesuites perceived something in general, that the Jesuites had then some notable Plot in agitation; yet we may reasonably believe, that they were utterly unacquainted with the Kind and Particulars of this, so high and refined a project, above the pitch of their imaginations to conceive; not only from what hath been already said out of their Confessions, but also by reason of the differences and dissensions, which were then and have since continued between the Jesuites and them. (V. Declarat. Motuum. Edit. 1601. & Watsons Quodlibets, Edit. 1602.)

15. 2. Nor were they two or three Jesuites only in a corner, and they of the lower rank, or of mean or ordinary authority, but such as were of greatest reputation place and Authority among them, who were concerned in this business: as, besides Osf. Tesmond alias Greenwel, who with Rob'rt Winter was by Garnet, Catesby and Tresham, Anno 1601. sent into Spain, with Letters commendatory to F. Creswel, to Negotiate the then intended Spanish Expedition; besides Gerrard, and Hammond and Hall; besides * F. Weston who, heretofore Anno 1595. at Wisbich castle, by his contention for a Superiority over the other Priests as well as Jesuites, began the differences which have since continued between them; and in his book de Triplici hominis Office, Printed Anno 1602. foretold of many calamities, storms and dangers that were like to ensue upon the Queens death, (as did also the Author of The Ward-word Printed at Louvain 1599. *V. Wilson Hist. of King James.)
A Discourse concerning the

said to be Parsons) as was observed and noted * in Print before this Plot was detected; besides all these and many more no doubt, not yet discovered, the Superior of the whole Order of English Jesuites, even their Provincial himself here in England, F. Hen. Garnet, who had been eighteen years here in England, and a promoter of former conspiracies, and held correspondence with divers other of prime note and authority in foreign parts: as, 'with F. Creswel in Spain, 'who being many years Vice-prefectus Anglicane Missionis, Sub-provincial and Leger there, did great matters, and by the Authority which he had with the two Philips II & III. Kings of Spain, obtain'd many things of them for the good of the Catholick cause in England, as we read in Alemambe, and about a month or six weeks * before this Plot should have been effected, went from Villadoleit to Rome, to be created a Cardinal, faith L. Owen, but more probably upon some other negotiation concerning this great business then in hand: (L. O. of the Engl. Col. in foreign parts, pag. 74. Lond. 1626. quar.) also with F. Baldwin in the Low-countries, of like place and Authority there ever since the year 1590. at which time Del Rio read Divinity at Domay, as he did afterward at other places in those parts, as Leige and Lovane, who being so famous as he was in those parts, and so great a zealot against hereticks, it is not to be doubted that he had frequent converse with F. Baldwin and divers others of the English Fugitives of the better quality: Lastly, at Rome with the English Assistant there F. Parsons, whom we may conclude to have had particular knowledge of this design, not only from what he wrote concerning the Journey or Pilgrimage to S. Wineswede-mell, & the mystical prayer which he ordered his Students to use, to say nothing of the many projects which his working brain continually devised, and his furious zeal as earnestly urged and prosecuted, or of his Letter wherein he wrote (Anno 1600) that he had then been ten years dealing in such matters; but we are moreover given to understand so much from some of his own Religion, though 'not of his Order, and that he was highly accessory to it, 'both before and after the discovery, as might be proved by great
great and manifest instances. (The Jesuites Reasons unreasonable, Doubt 1.) But for his Correspondence at Rome, we need do no more but first remember who Garnet was, viz. Provincial of the English Jesuites, and then reflect upon the continual weekly or otdian Intelligences, which the Provincials from all parts constantly transmit, concerning all matters of moment, to their several respective Assistants at Rome, who immediately impart the same to the F. General of the whole Society, always Resident there, and he or they, as the matter requires or deserves, to the Pope: (of which the Discourse of the Jesuites Politicks, written under Paul v. Printed in the Myth. of Jesuit, part 2. and other Writers give us an account) and then we cannot doubt of his correspondence there, not only with the English Assistant Parsons, but also, at least by means of the Assistant, with the F. General Claudius Aquaviva, and with the Pope himself, and that in this very particular, being a matter of so great moment; which doth more particularly appear by the Bulls prepared to be sent over hither, as soon as the plot had taken effect, and other instances not necessary here to be insisted on. So that if we consider the Persons and their Correspondences and Intelligences, it will not be hard to conceive how easily this Plot, wherever or by whomsoever invented, might be communicated, if by Del Rio, to our Incendiaries here; if by any of them, to him; if at Rome, both to him and to them, or, for the more secret conveyance of the notice of it, from thence, by him, to them. Which is not unlikely that it was, and that it was the contrivance of F. Parsons, who at that time, Anno 1600, had been ten years dealing in such matters, and studying and promoting projects against his Country, as we may perceive by his aforesaid letter then written.

16. Lastly, if from the Actors we come to consider their Actions and Management of the whole business, we shall find a wonderful agreement, from first to last, in all the Circumstances, not one crossing or thwarting our conjecture, not one failing, not one that doth not afford some matter or ground to confirm it. For 1. If we consider the whole
Section of Del Rio, and with it compare the Actions and carriage of the Conspirators; in all, there is so punctual an agreement, that without further proof, it seems to own and bewray its parent, being as like him, as if (according to our proverb) it was spat out of his mouth; at least to discover that it was nearly related to him. Thus with his Instance agree the undertakings of the Conspirators; with his Doctrine of not revealing things discovered in Confession, though the most hainous Treasons and most pernicious to the State, the Practice of their Confessors; with his means for concealing the same by Equivocation, and Confirmation thereof by Oath or most solemn protestations, their punctual, strict and resolute use and observance thereof. All which is so plain and manifest from what is before recited out of that Section, and observed in it, and from the following History, and the Proceedings against the Traytors, that nothing more need be alleged to prove it, as nothing can be said with any colour of probability to disprove it.

17. And therefore 2. We may also, as to their Actions, take notice of the great Care and Caution and Secrecy, together with their Jugling indirect Practices, wherewith they managed their business; and that in these two respects: 1. in general for the better securing of their design and undertakings from discovery. And this appears in divers Instances, as 1. In Th. Winters Dealing, first with Sir William Stanly, to whom, though a good friend to the Catholick Cause, he positively affirmed that there was no resolution to set any project a foot in England; as he tells us in his Confession: then with Fawkes, to whom though sent for by him to act in this tragedy, he imparted only a resolution of a practice in general against his Majesty for relief of the Catholick Cause, as appears by both their Confessions: 2. In that the business was very sparingly communicated, at first but to few, and afterwards to more as the intended time of Execution drew on; and under an Oath of Secrecy, in the most solemn manner confirmed, by receiving the Sacrament upon it. And Garnet himself often religiously protested to them both by word and writing that he would never betray them, in his Letter dated on Palm-
Palm-Sunday (Tortura Torti, pag. 286.) which implyes that he was often thereunto urged by them. 3. In that reason which Catesby alleged, when he desired leave to acquaint some others with 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, as it is in Winters Confession; and it is not unlikely that he learnt this reason by experience at the same time and from the same person, as he did the contrivance itself, which might possibly, for the more secrecy, be thus conveyed to him, through divers intermediate hands, from the first Author or Authors of it.

18. And 2. more especially, for securing the reputation of the Society, in case the Plot should be detected: and this appears in the Actions and indirect Practices both of the Jesuits, and of the other Conspirators. Hence it was that Garnet, the Provincial, being of greatest Authority, and therefore likely to bring most Discredit and greatest Odium upon the Society, if such a man as he should be discovered to have any hand in so foul and infamous a matter, at first would not be known even to Catesby himself, the principal visible actor in the Plot, or to any other, but of his own Order, that he was made privy to it. And after the Discovery of the Plot, how solicitous was he, and concern'd for the whole Society! At at, actum est de Societate; which he feared would suffer for it, as being conscious they well deserved. Then upon his Examination and Tryal, how ready and dexterous was he with his Equivocations, and desperately impious in stiff Denials, upon his Soul, and with detestable Excreations, of those very things which were after so manifestly proved against him, that he could not longer deny them! And for the other Conspirators: 1. They taxed none in Holy Orders, which many looked upon, says Thuanus, as purposely avoided, because they were bound by Oath not to do it. And certainly, Garnet, when he so often engaged not to betray them, would not be less careful for the Society, to oblige them not to discover any of it. 2. Nor did they only carefully abstain from accusing, but most desperately
by all means, even the worst of means, by lies and false protestations to excuse them. Such were Digbys Protestations, whereupon the Earl of Salisbury observed, what faith was to be given to these mens protestations, who sought 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, and to clear them of those practises which they themselves have now confessed ex proprio ore. Such was also that lamentable attempt of Trewham upon his death-bed to excuse Garnet, wherein he was disproved, by the Confessions both of Mrs Vaux, Garnets intimate, and of Garnet himself. To these may be added, Their Design to have father'd the enterprise upon the Puritans; and since, Their impudent groundless Imputation of the Original of it to Cecil: which makes the relation of that design more credible; and that again makes this imputation more apparently void of Credit.

19. Now of these Observations of their Secrecy and Præctise we may reasonably make this Use: 1. To manifest the validity and Sufficiency of these and such like Arguments and Proofs, from Circumstances and by way of Inducement, in this case. For where such Works of Darkness, as to the main substance of them are plainly and fully proved, and as plainly and evidently proved to have been managed with so much Secrecy and Præctise, we cannot reasonably expect greater Proof and Evidence of any Circumstance belonging to them, than to plain a concurrence and agreement of all other Circumstances with it. 2. To manifest the Insufficiency of what ever should be urged from their Confessions against us. For since they did not only stifly deny plain truths, but also mutt impudently affirm manifest fallacies, especially where it was thought necessary for excusing any of the Society, what ever shall be allledged from their speeches for that purpose, may reasonably be suspected to have been fained and devived for that end, and deserves no credit at all. 3. To Answer the Objection that might be made, and Correct the Mistake that hath been committed, concerning the first Author and Original of the Plot, as if it was at first of Catesby's Contrivance,
trivance, and not till their Despair of Assistance from Spain, upon their last Negotiation there.

20. To which it might be answered, from their Practice to excuse their Complices especially the Jesuits, that they attributed the Contrivance to Catesby, because he being dead could accuse no other, and assigned That Time, as being a good probable Occasion of it. But 2. It may be answered, perhaps more satisfactorily and fully, From their Secrecy, and from Catesby's own words, that some might be willing to be known to him, who would not be known to the rest to be privy; and the rather because this was an old policy formerly practised in order to the Spanish Invasion, which was after attempted in 88. when many were so cunningly engaged that they knew not of, and so were not able to accuse any, but the person that engaged them, (as Sir Francis Bacon in his Observations upon the Libel published 1592, and in his Collection of the Felicities of Queen Elizabeth, shews from a Letter of one of their Principal Heads, which was intercepted;) and not only practised before, but also repeated immediately after this Plot, when Five had severally undertaken the Earl of Salisbury's death, and vowed the performance of it; and yet it was so ordered that none of those Five knew who the other Four were, for the better preventing the discovery of the rest, if any one by attempting and not performing should be apprehended; from hence it may well be answered: That it is very probable, that Winter and Fawkes, from whose Confessions this mistake hath arisen, and the Objection may be made, and most of the other Conspirators, did indeed know of no other Author of the Contrivance, but Catesby. And yet it may very well be, that He received it from others the first Contrivers of it, either immediately or mediately, either the full Project expressly, with the Reasons mentioned by Thuanus, under some Oath of Secrecy or Engagement not to discover from whom he received it, or at least some such Hints and Intimations of it, as were sufficient to set on work a mind so active and well disposed to improve the same to the utmost; and without any such engagement, he might be apt enough to
to take the Invention upon himself; not only out of Devotion
to the Society, whose reputation he might thereby the bet-
ner secure in case it should miscarry; but even out of an Am-
bition to be reputed the Author of so Glorious an Enterprise.
And that He should be intrusted with so Great a Secret, and
the Chief visible Management of it, rather than any of the
rest, was very likely, 1. Because he and his Family had been ad-
dicted and devoted to the Jesuits from their very first coming
into England; and were harbourers of Campian, who with
his Comrade Parsons (the two first and principal who were
designed and employed for that Service) came into England
Anno 1580. where he was apprehended 22. July in the year
next ensuing; as we are informed by Sanders 3. de Schismate
Anglicano. From which time it is not unlikely that he held
correspondence with F. Parsons, who soon after returned to
Rome, and continued there Rector of the English Colledge,
till some years after the discovery of this plot; 'he was shame-
fully turned out of Rome by Mounfieur Bethunes the French
Embafladour, and Order from the King of France, being
discovered to plot a new treason against his Majesty, to in-
troduce the Duke of Parma; as we are told by a Romanist.
But 2. this was not all, why Catesby was preferred before the
rest in this service: for in this respect Trefhow might per-
haps have claimed that honor, as well as he, as we may see in
Sanders; but Catesby had another more special qualification,
as being more Cautious and Cunning, as we may observe in
Thuanus.

21. But because so plausible a Pretense, for the Occasion of
these desperate resolutions at that time, as the King of Spain's
then defecting of the Conspirators upon his Treaty of Peace
with England, may seem to have some weight in it; though
it must be noted, that this seems rather to have been the
Conjecture of the Historians and others, than that any such
thing was expressly alleged by the Conspirators, for ought
appears in the Printed Confessions of Fawkes and Winter; yet
that we may leave no scruple; and make it further appear
that we have not only the concurrence of all Circum-
stances to confirm our belief of the truth of what hath been
said,
Original of the Powder Plot.

said, but have also sufficient matter and ground for Answer to all Objections, we shall return such Answer, though touch'd before, as may both sufficiently solve this doubt, and be of some use to other purpose. And therefore it must be remembered, 1. That all the neighbouring Popish Princes, especially France, Spain, and the Archdukes of Austria, toward the latter end of the Queens Reign, were not a little concerned upon Fear of what Consequence the Union of the three Kingdoms, (viz. of Scotland with England and Ireland) might prove in time; as is not only apparent in itself, but intimated to us by the Papists themselves in their Supplication to King James before the discovery of this plot; and thereupon bent all their Consultations, and used all Means to prevent or hinder it, as well after the Kings coming in, as before, and even by their Embassadours here, did not only tamper with some of the Prime Ministers of State to corrupt them, but also practised to raise risings and Rebellions: Of the French, Cambridgen tells us that the French Embassadour studied to move Commotions, ut duo divisa Britannica Regna, Angilia & Scotia, in unum coalescent; and others inform us of his tampering with some of the Prime Statesmen here. And of Count Arembergh, Embassadour Extraordinary for the Archdukes, we find him reported to have been an agent in the Treason of Watson and Clark, and not only so, but that He and they were the Contrivers of it, and that He drew into it the Lord Cobham, and, by his means, his brother Brook, Parham, the Lord Grey of Wilson, and at length Raleigh also was brought in.

22. And 2. we must take notice that there was certainty a deeper mystery in the Counsels of Spain, than merely an Invasion intended. For long before this, The King of Spain (as Sir Fr. Bacon in his Report of the 'Treason of Loper, well observes,) having found by the Enterprise of 88 the Difficulty of an Invasion of England, layed aside the Prosecution of his Attempts against this Realm by Open Forces, and by all means projected to trouble the waters here by Practice, first to move some Innovation in Scotland, then, he solicitied a Subject within this Realm, (being a Person of great
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great Nobility) to rise in Arms, and Levy war against her Majesty. [Perhaps he means the Earl of Darby, whom Richard Hesket endeavoured to persuade to assume the Title of King, deriving his Right from his great Grandmother Mary daughter of Hen. vii. and made him large promises of Aids and Money from the Spaniard, threatening him with sudden destruction if he did not do it, and conceal the business. Camb. Anno 1593.] Lastly, either of himself, or his Counsellors and Ministers using his name, descended to a course Against all Honour, all Society and Humanity; Odious to God and Man; Detested by the Heathens themselves; to take away the life of her Majesty, by Violence or Poison. A matter which might be proved to be, not only against all Christianity, and Religion, but against Nature, The Law of Nations, The Honour of Arms, The Civil Law, The Rules of Morality and Policy; Finally, the most Condemned, Barbarous and Ferine Actions, that can be imagined, &c. What then would he have said, and what must we think of this so far transcendent Inhumane and Anti-Christian Powder Plot! But he goes on: 'Certain it is, that even about this present time, there have been suborned, and sent into this Realm, divers persons, some English, some Irish, corrupted by Money, and Promises; and Resolved and Conjured by Priests in Consession, to have executed that most wretched and horrible Fact. Of which number certain have been taken; and some have suffered, [as Patrick Cullen, an Irish Fencer; and afterward Ri. Williams and Edmond York, for whose encouragement and reward an Assignment of forty thousand Crowns, under the hand of Stephano Ibarra, the Kings Secretary at Bruxels was deposed with Holt a Jesuit; who kissing the Consecrated Host, swore that the money should be paid as soon as the murder was committed, and engaged them two by Oath upon the Holy Sacrament to perform it. Camb. Anno 1594, 1595.] And some are spared, because they have with great Forrow confessed these attempts, and detected their suborners; [there were also designed at the same time for this purpose, as the others}
Wallon, and a Burgundian, and one Young, and perhaps some of them might be taken and spared.] But says Sir Francis, Among the number of these execrable undertakers, there was none so much built and relied upon, by the Great Ones of the other side, as was the Physician Lopez; And then he proceeds in the particular relation, how one Manuel Andrada, who had revolted from his own King of Portugal Don Antonio to the King of Spain, having before won Doctor Lopez sworn Physician of her Majesties Household to the King of Spain's service, coming freshly out of Spain, treated with Lopez touching the empoisoning of the Queen, which he undertook for fifty thousand Crowns, but staying the execution, till by Letters from Spain he should have Assurance of the payment of the Money, those Letters, the one from the Count de Fuenses, and the other from the Secretary Juara, which were delivered to the messenger by the Count's own hand, being happily intercepted; the Practice was discovered, and the Great Service, whereof should arise a Universal Benefit to the whole world, as the Letters expressed it, very opportunely disappointed, and Lopez with Em. Louys and Ferrera de Gama, whereof the one managed the business abroad, and the other resided here to give correspondence, were apprehended and arraigned; who upon these Letters and their own confession being found guilty, were condemned, and about three months after executed at Tibrune, as Camden tells us. The like practice we find again some few years after repeated in Spain, whence by Walpole the Jesuit, some time Rector or at least of great authority at Villadoli where, as I take it, the Spanish Court was at that time kept; Edw. Squire was sent over to poison the Queen, under pretense of redeeming Spanish Captives, being by that Jesuit encouraged upon the score of merit, with promises of Eternal Salvation, and his blessing. Camb. Ann. 1598. out the same Providence still preserved her.

23. And to these pitiful and base unworthy Arts, did the Grave Spanish Counsels and high vaunts at last descend; and this was a fair Introduction to the Contrivance of this Master-piece and last refuge of the Powder-plot, which,
from what hath been said before, we have great reason to believe did shortly after succeed. Now if these things be considered, and therewith the State and Condition of England and Spain at that time, which we may find well compared to our hand by Sir Francis Bacon in his considerations touching a war with Spain, it must needs be a very weak and childish thing for any man to imagine that Spain should have been so inconsiderate as to have had any thought of Invading England at that time, notwithstanding any combination of whatsoever party ready to receive him here, of Papists and discontented persons, (whereof he had made greater preparations against the Northern Rebellion and 88.) did he not build upon some such mystery of the Powder Plot. And indeed, if we well examine the Preparations then made or designed both abroad and at home, we shall find them rather proportionable to second some such feat as this, when the King and the Nobility and a great part of the Gentry were destroyed, and the whole Kingdom under so great a consternation and confusion as must there upon unavoidably have ensued, than otherwise to have achieved any conquest of this Nation. And if this was so that all did depend upon some such secret machination, it was very agreeable to the Counsels and Practises of the Spaniards, (who, as Sir Fr. Bacon observes, are great Waiters upon Time, and ground their Plots deep) 

1. By these means, to * hold up the minds of the Papists, and keep them in continual readiness till the Queens death, at which time all the Popish Consultations, for sundry years before, aimed, as hath been sufficiently manifested; and then after her death to enter into and go on with a Treaty of Peace. (as they did in 88. till the noise of the Cannon gave notice of the Invasion, and as Don Jo. of Austria had before done ) and by that means provide for themselves, in case the other project failed; and in the mean time underhand to insinuate that contrivance, to them who were apt enough of themselves to put it in execution; but yet in appearance so to desert them, as if it should be discovered, they might not appear to have been in the least privy to it. In the month of Sept. † came the Spanish Embassador, and in the same moneth.
moneth was *Percy by Catesby acquainted with the Plot. It was rumour'd, as our historians tell us, that the King of Spain was a fomentor of the Plot; but for his Ministers, they could not be unacquainted with our Author Del Rio, a famous Jesuite who had once been in *Honourable Civil employments under that King, a member of the Supreme Senate of Brabant, Judge of the Marshals Court, Advocate of the Kings Exchequer, Chancellor of Brabant, and Counsellor of State, and afterwards entred into the Society at Pinara in Spain, and if they were otherwise ignorant of it, might from him have learn't the contrivance, who himself might possibly have seen a little experiment or Emblem of it in Stiria whither he went about the year 1600. when the Protestant Ministers were cast out by the Decree of the Archduke through the instigation of the Jesuites, and among other Outrages, a Church, wherein were the Monuments of a Noble Protestant Familie the Hofmans, and the dead carkases and bones blown up, not casually, but with Gun-powder, for that purpose put under it; As Thuius reports, Anno 1600. l. 124.

24. But to conclude this Subject; If we look into the Beginning, Progress and Succession of all those Tragical Attempts, which upon the score, or at least under the Pretense of Restoring the Catholick Religion in England, have been made or promoted, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth of Blessed Memory, against Her and Her Kingdoms, we shall find in all from first to last such a Combination of Counsels and Mutual Assurances between the Bishops of Rome and the King of Spain with his Netherlands, as will very much confirm what hath been said, and may reasonably persuade us to believe that the same was also continued in this. It would be too long to make a particular relation of all; but yet it may not be amis, briefly to take notice of the principal of them, not so much to confirm what hath been said, which needs it not, as to observe the true Principles, from which all have proceeded, and what use and benefit we may make of the whole discourse: and in this respect it matters not much who were contrivers of that Powder Plot, since

* Proceed.R.2.

since it is out of question that it proceeded from the same principles with the rest.

1558. Paulus iv. who was Pope when Queen Elizabeth began her Reign, not living out a year after, did not at all molest her. Nor did his Successor Pius iv. whether being diverted by other business of nearer concern at home, in the Intrigues of the Council of Trent, or by the means of Ferdinand the Emperor then in hopes to marry his son to her; but Pius v. who succeeded him, was no sooner settled in that Sec, but he began to practise to unsettle her from her Throne; and to that end (as we are informed by Catena who was Secretary to his Nephew, Cardinal Alexandrino, and wrote his life) he employed one Robert Bidolph, a Gentleman of Florence, residing here under pretence of Merchandise, to engage a party against the Queen; which he so effectually did, not only among the Papists, but Protestants also, that the Duke of Norfolk was drawn into the Conspiracy, by promise of marriage with the Queen of Scots; and in the mean time he persuaded the Spaniard to assist the Conspirators; and at last to promote the business, sent over Doctor 'Nic. Morton to certain of the principal English Papists, to denounce the Queen an Heretick, and therefore fain from all Power and Dominion, and by them to be accounted as a Heathen and a Publican, and they disoblige from her Laws and commands. Hereupon, (Chapinus Vitellius being first come over, under pretence of composing differences about Trade, to observe the success of the ensuing Rebellion, and to head the Spainards forces which were to be sent out of the Low-Countries) the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland with 600. Horse and 4000. foot, rise in actual Rebellion, and Declare for the Restitution of the Roman Religion; but the rest of the Catholicks, says Sanders, because Sentence of Excommunication by the Pope was not publickly Denounced against the Queen, nor did they seem absolved from her Obedience, not joyning with them, they were easily by the Queens forces chased into Scotland; where afterward Northumberland was taken, and brought back into England, and at York, by a Glori-
ous Martyrdom, says he, happily ended his days. And in this Rebellion, for the King of Spain, besides Vitellius and La Mot the Governor of Dunkirk, who came over in a common Sailers habit to found our Havens, the Duke of Alva his Lieutenant in the Low-Countrie, and Don Guerres d'Espes his Lieger Ambassadour here, were discovered to be the Chief Instruments and Practisers. This Beginning was immediately seconded by Leonard Dacres, but with like Success.

26. But the Duke of Norfolk, and Bidolph, and others being a little before the Insurrection secured upon some Suspi-
tions, and so prevented from appearing in the Rebellion, the bottom of the business was still undiscovered, they not long after released, and the Conspiracy still carried on. And the Pope, to prevent that failure for the future, which had been committed the year before, and to give more satisfaction and encouragement to all good Catholicks to joyn in Rebellion against the Queen, in the entrance of the next year, sends out his Sentence of Anathema against her. Wherein he first sets out his own Title and Authority, in these words: He that reigneth on High, to whom is given all Power in Heaven and Earth, hath committed the One, Holy, Catholick and Apostolick Church, out of which there is no Salvation, to One Alone on Earth, to wit, to the Prince of the Apostles, Peter, and to Peters Successor, the Bishop of Rome, to be governed in Plenitude of Power, &c. Next he acquaints us with his own great care and endeavours for the discharge of this great trust; then draws up a particular charge of several crimes and misdemeanors against Elizabeth pretended Queen of England, whom he calls the Servant or Slave of wickedness, Flagitiorem Serva. And therefore, faith he, Supported with his Authority, who was pleased to place Us, though unable for so great a burthen, in this Supreme Throne of Justice, out of the Plenitude of Our Apostolical Power, We do Declare the aforesaid Elizabeth (being) a Heretick and Fau-
vourer of Hereticks, and her Adherents in the matters afore-
said, to have incurred the Sentence of Anathema, and to be cut off from the unity of Christ's Body; and Her to be Deprived of
of her pretended Right to the Kingdom aforesaid, and of All Do-
mination, Dignity and Priviledge whatsoever; and also the No-
bles, Subjects and People of the said Kingdoms and All others
who have in any sort Sware unto her, to be forever Absolved
from the same Oath, and from All manner of Duty of Do-
mination, Fidelity, and Obedience; As we do by Authority of
these presents Absolve Them, and Deprive the same Elizabeth
of her pretended Right to the Kingdom, and of all other things
abovesaid. And we Command and Interdict All and Every the
Noblemen, Subjects, People and others aforesaid, that they
Presume not to Obey Her, or her Monitions, Mandates and
Laws. Those who shall do otherwise we Innominate in the like Sen-
tence of Anathema. This was sent over, and toward the
end of May affixed upon the Bishop of London's Palace
Gates; and Copies of it to be dispersed through out England,
sent to Kidolph; who, having by the Popes Order distribu-
ted 150000. Crowns (Arrea) among the Confederates,
and all things here being again made ready against the
Queen, is sent to acquaint the Pope with their preparations;
which he approving presently sends him to the King of
Spain; promising that, if need be, himself will go to
t heir Assistance, and will pawn All the Goods of the Apo-
stolick See, the Chalices, Crucifixes, and Sacred Vestiments.
Hereupon the Spaniard presently gives express Command
that Vitellius with an Army shall Invade England; and
the Pope prepares his money in the Low-Countries. But it
pleased God that a messenger coming over with Letters to
the Queen of Scots, the Spanish Ambaffador, Norfolk and
others, being intercepted, the whole business is discovered,
Norfolk and others committed, and all their Preparations
and Hopes disappointed. Which, says Catena, the Pope took
sadly, and the Spaniard condemned, who said before Cardinal
Alexandriino the Popes Nephew, (not long before sent to him
from the Pope) that no Conspiracy was ever more advisedly
undertaken, nor with greater unanimity and constancy concealed.
Which in so long time was revealed by none of the confederates:
and that the forces might easily have been transported from
the Low-Countries in the space of twenty four hours, which
might have surprized the Queen and the City of London, restored Religion, and settled the Queen of Scots in her Throne: especially, when Th. Stucley an English fugitive had taken upon him at the same time, with 3000. Spanish Souldiers, to reduce all Ireland to the Obedience of Spain, and with one or two scouting Ships, to fire the English Navy. The Duke of Norfolk was brought to his Tryal the 16. of January following, and Condemned; and the 2. of June after beheaded. The Pope in the mean time, the first of May, being called to his tryal and to give an account for these things before a far other Supreme Throne of Justice, than what he pretended himself here placed in.

27. Before we leave this Pope Pius v. we may take notice of two notable horrid exploits, about his time practised in our neighbour Countries; The first in Scotland, the murder of the Lord Darby, King James his father, in the first year of his Papacy, and the house wherein he was murthred at the same time blown up with Gun-powder; in relation to which Thuanus tells us: Ad bacc Pontificis, &c, ut passim iacatatur, Caroli Lotaringi Cardinalis Literis incitabantur; nam cum per eum a Pontifice petiissent pecuniam ad instaurandam majorum religionem, responsum fuerat, frustra ipsos consiri, nisi sublatis suis, per quos stabat ne res exitum sortiretur. &c. lib. 40. ad finem Anni 1566. The other in France, that barbarous Massacre at Paris, which though not executed till near two moneths after this Popes death, yet it is observable that Cicarella notes in his life: Ad Regem Galliarum, ejusque Ministros optima misit documenta, ad eosdem Hereticos Regno illo exturbandos: and what these documenta were, we may the better guess, if we take notice of the temper and employments of this man; a most severe, austere man, who had with so much rigor exercised the business of the Inquisition wherein he was imployed, as made many dread his severity when he was chosen Pope. And the same Author notes his irreconciliabile in Hereticos odium, though he looks upon it as matter of Commendation. But how exceeding mad he was against them, condemning and burning, even for familiarity with Sectaries or thole that were suspected such, may
May be seen at large in the Noble Author de Thou. lib. 39. pr. And in both these exploits is observable, the Care that was taken to cast the Odium of the fact upon others. But to return to our own story,

28. After the death of this man, the thirteenth of the same moneth was Gregory xiii. chosen Pope. And although with their late disappointment, their party also in England was much broken and disabled for the future, the chief heads being taken off, yet was it not long before this Pope was also engaged in the same Combination. Which was first begun between him and Don John of Austria, base brother to the King of Spain, and by him about that time appointed Governour of the Low-Countries, and in pursuance thereof, the Pope wrote to the King of Spain. But Don John's Exploits were prevented by his own death before ever he could put them in practice. Yet the like Consultations were soon resumed by the Pope and the King himself; and now England and Ireland both are to be invaded together, and Th. Stucley, whom the Pope had honoured with the Title of Marquess, Earl, Viscount and Baron of several eminent places in Ireland, is to command the forces thither, the Pope providing men, and the Spainard money. But this storm was blown over into Africa, where Stucley and part of his men were slain. However the next year is sent into Ireland, from Spain, James Fitz-Morice with some Companies of Souldiers, and with them from the Pope Nic. Sanders, our Author above mentioned, with Authority Legatine and a consecrated Banner: and to them the years after San Joseph with seven hundred Italian and Spanish Souldiers, and arms for five thousand more to arm the Irish, and some store of money; these being but the forerunners of a greater Power, which by treaty between the King of Spain and the Pope should have followed; and the Pope to animate the Irish, sends them his Breve, with Apostolical Benediction, wherein reciting that he had of late years by his Letters exhorted them to the Recovery of their Liberty, and Defence of it against the Hereticks &c. and that they might more cheerfully do it, had granted to all such as should be anyways assisting therein, a Plenary
Plenary Pardon and Forgiveness of All their Sins; he now grants to all such, whom he also exhorts, requires and urges in the Lord to endeavour to help against the said heretics, the same Plenary Indulgence and Remission of their Sins, which those who fight against the Turk do obtain. And to this expedition the Pope promised a Crucian and 1000000. Aurea. But all these with their Irish Confederates, the Earl of Desmond, his brothers and their party, were very happily defeated by the Queens forces, at the very instant when divers ships upon the Sea were bringing them more forces and assistance; and the Popes Legate, Sanders, died miserably of hunger, and, as some say, mad upon the ill success of the Rebellion.

29. About this time the Seminaries began to swarm; and because the Bull of Pius v. had not yet sufficiently produced its intended and expected effect even with a great part of the Papists themselves, who seeing the neighbour Popish Princes and Provinces, not to abstain from their usual commerce with the Queen, continued still in their Obedience to her, and were offended at the Bull as a mischievous snare to them: therefore for their satisfaction it is Decreed at Rome, that the Bull doth always Oblige Elizabeth and the Hereticks, but not the Catholicks rebus sic stantibus, but only then, when they should be able publickly to put it in execution. And that it might in due time be effectually Executed, Missions are made into England to Prepare a Party to adhere to the Spaniard at his coming to invade us. And the better to conceal and disguise the Practice and make the Queen and her Council the more secure, it is Resolved not to have any Head of the party here. But the Emissaries coming dayly over in various Disguised Habits, deal particularly, and to more effectually, with the people in their secret Confessions, Absolving them particularly in private from Obedience and Fidelity to the Queen, as the Bull of Pius v. had done in publick, but only in general: and severally Engaging them in that secret manner, as hath been before mentioned, so as none could be privy to others engagements. And these
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Doctrines were everywhere inculcated: That Princes not professing the Roman Religion, are fallen from their Title and Royal Authority. 2. That Princes Excommunicate, are not to be Obeyed, but thrown out of their Kingdoms (and that it is a meritorious work to do it.) 3. That the Clergy are exempt from the Jurisdiction of Secular Princes, and are not bound by their Laws. 4. That the Pope of Rome hath the Chief and Full Power and Authority over All, throughout the whole world, even in Civil matters. 5. That the Magistrates of England are not Lawful Magistrates, and therefore not to be accounted Magistrates at all. 6. That what ever, since the Bull of Pius v. was published (which some hold to have been dictated by the Holy Ghost) hath by the Queens Authority been acted in England, is by the Law of God and Man to be reputed altogether void and null. These Doctrines thus secretly instilled into mens minds in private, were seconded with several pernicious Books in print, against the Queen, and Princes Excommunicate. And as well to deter the rest from Obedience, and move them to Expectation of Change, and Reconciliation to the Church of Rome, as to encourage their own party, they not only by Rumours, but also by printed Books gave out, that the Pope and King of Spain had conspired to subdue England and take it for a prey. This is true, says Sir Fr. Bacon, and witnessed by the Confessions of many, that almost all the Priests, which were sent into this Kingdom from that year 1581. to the year 1588. (at what time the Design of the Pope and Spain was put in Execution) had in their Instructions, besides other parts of their Function, to distil and insinuate into the People these Particulars: It was impossible things should continue at this stay; They should see ere long a great change in this State; That the Pope and Catholick Princes, were careful for the English, if they would not be wanting to themselves. Which are almost the very words of Sanders mentioning the considerations upon which these Seminaries were at first founded. But notwithstanding this, we are not to think that All the Priests which were sent over, were acquainted with the Arcana and Secrets of the D. sign, but only the Superiours and some of the best quali-
qualified for the business, who managed and steered the actions of the rest, according to their private Instructions.

30. Hereupon, says Risbton, who published and enlarged Sanders his book, speaking of these Missions, soon after ensued a great change of minds, and wonderful encrease of Religion. Which, that we may know it by its Fruits, presently appeared in several desperate attempts and Resolutions to Kill the Queen. First, by Somervil, who being taken and condemned with Hall a Priest and others whom he confessed, was three days after found strangled in the prison, for fear, probably, least he should have discovered others. Then, to pass by the practice of Bern. Mendoza the Spanish Ambassador LiGER here with Throgbarton, and Martins book, by William Parry Doctor of Law, encouraged thereunto by Ben. Palmius a Jesuite, Ragazoinius the Popes Nuncio in France, Cardinal Como, and the Pope himself, who sends him his Benediction, Plenary Indulgence and Remission of all his Sins, and assures him, that besides his Merit which he shall have in Heaven, his Holiness will remain his debtor, to acknowledge his desert in the best manner he can: and after all this very much excited to it by Dr. Allens Book, which, faith he, teacheth, that Princes Excommunicate for hereafter are to be deprived of their Kingdoms and Lives. All which Parry confessed, produced the Letter from the Pope written by Cardinal Como, and was executed in March 1584. and the Pope soon after, in April, was called to account in another world. Immediately before this in Thuanus precedes the relation of the murder of the Prince of Aurang to Jul. by Bal. Gerard confirmed in his resolution by a Jesuite at Treves, promising him if he dyed for it, he should be happy and be put in the number of Martyrs, and also encouraged to it by a Franciscan at Tourney, and three other Jesuites at Treves.

31. To Gregory succeeded, as well in his practises, as in that See, Sixius v. chosen Pope the twenty fourth of the same month of April, and about this time John Savage, into whose head the Doctrines that it is meritorious to Kill Ec-
communicated Princes, and Martyrdom to die for so doing, being by the Giffords and Hodgeson priests thoroughly inculcated, made a vow to kill the Queen. And soon after the same resolution is taken up by Antony Babington, a proper young gentleman of a good family, upon the same principles in like manner inculcated, and somewhat enforced with other hopes if he escaped the danger, by Ballard a Jesuite, who incited him to it, as not only Just and Holy in it self, but moreover Honourable and Profitable to him, if he should overcome the difficulty. For what could be more Just and Holy, than with the hazard of his Life to vindicate his Country, and the Cause of Religion, without which Life it self ought to be nothing esteemed of. Elizabeth was now long since, by the Lawful Successor of Peter, cast out of the Communion of the Church: from that time she doth not reign in England, but, by a usurped Power contrary to the Laws, exercise a cruel Tyranny against the true Worshippers of God. Whoeuer should kill her, doth no more than he that should slay a profane Heathen or some damned accursed creature: he should be free from all sin either against God or Man; yea would merit a Crown of Glory: and if he survived the enterprise, should doubtless obtain a great reward; under the notion of Reward not obscurely intimating his marriage with the Queen of Scots. Thus is this Jesuites discourse with him represented by the Excellent Thuanus, who there informs us that this business was transacted with the Spanish Ambaffadour Mendoza, and was to have been seconded by a foreign Army, and Paget a gentleman of a Noble family sent into Spain about it. And at last all things being agreed on both at home and abroad, the day appointed for the perpetrating the business is S.Bartholomews day, memorable for the Parisian Massacre fourteen years since, and for that reason purposely made choice of. But before the day came, the business being detected, Ballard and Babington, and several other of the Conspirators were apprehended, whereof some had sworn to be the Executioners of the Queens murder, and among them Savage now again swore it, and others were to be of the party, which the while was to rescue the Queen of Scots; and upon their own Con-
effions and Letters intercepted, were Convicted, Con-
demned and Executed. And in this Conspiracy was a pro-
ject of making an Association under pretense of fear of the
Puritans. These were executed but the twentieth of Septem-
ber and in January following was the French Ambassadour
l'Aubespineus, a man wholly devoted to the Guisian Fa&tion,
and Lieger here, projecting the same business; and to that
purpose treated with William Stafford, a Gentleman of a
Noble Family, to kill the Queen, at first more covertly,
but afterward more openly by his Secretary, who promised
him great Honours, a huge sum of Money, great Favour
with the Pope, the Duke of Guife and all the Catholicks.
Stafford refused it himself, but commended to him one
Moody; and in Consultation how to do it, Moody proposes
to lay a bag of Gunpowder under the Queens Bed-chamber,
and secretly give fire to it. But this being discovered by Sta-
ford, the Secretary thinking to be gone into France was inter-
cepted, and upon his examination confessed the whole
matter.

32. Hitherto had the Actors and Abettors of most of these
Conspiracies, to put the better Colour upon their unjustifi-
able attempts, besides the Cause of Religion, pretended also
the Title of the Queen of Scots to the Crown of England, who having been discovered to be privy to most of the for-
mer, and found guilty of that of Babington, was therefore
condemned; and now this being found to have been designed
upon the same pretense, Queen Elizabeth, by great impor-
tunity of the Parliament, who had confirmed the Sentence,
was prevailed with to sign a Warrant for the Execution,
whereupon she was beheaded the eighth of February follow-
ing. And here we must not omit a Notable Artifice of the
Jesuites, who being at last out of hope of Restoring their
Religion by Her or Her Son, began to set up a feigned Title
for the King of Spain, and employed one of their Society into
England (as is discovered by Pasquier a French Writer) to
draw off the Gentry from Her to the Spaniard, and to
thrust her headlong into those dangerous Counsels which
brought Her to Her end: and at the same time, least

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the Guises her kindred should give her any assistance, stirring Them up to new enterprizes against the King of Navarre and Conde. And agreeable hereunto was the discovery of that for which he was condemned, viz. by Gilbert Gifford, a Priest, then sent over into England, to immind Savage of his Vow, and to be the Letter carrier between the Queen of Scots and the Confederates, who presently goes and offers his Service to the Secretary Walsingham to discover them; (and that forsooth out of Love to his Prince and Country, although he had not long before been one of those who provoked Savage to his vow to kill her,) and accordingly he first conveys them to Walsingham; by whom they are opened, transcribed and carefully sealed up again and returned to Gifford, who then conveys them to the Queen of Scots, Babington or who ever else they are directed to; which is so plain a prosecution of the same design, that it is a wonder that Camden should be so much at a loss to find out the mystery of this undertaking of the Priest. More might be observed to manifest this Juggle, if it were necessary to the present business.

33. The Design of the Pope and Spaniard to Invade England had been now long since perceived here, not so much by printed books, which were designed only to work upon the vulgar and their own party, as by the secret Letters of Morton and others which were intercepted, and Chrinfothew the Scotch Jesuit's papers, miraculously, as himself acknowledged, when by him torn and thrown into the Sea, blown back into the Ship wherein he was taken. But now their preparations being in good forwardness as well for the assault from abroad by their Navy and Army, as for their reception and admission here by their party prepared by their Agents the Emisaries, the better to disguise the busi-ness and to make the Queen and her Council the more secure, they not only publish a Book, wherein the Papists in England are admonished not to attempt any thing against their Prince, but to fight only with the weapons of Christians, Tears, Spiritual Arguments, Sedulous Prayers, Watch-

Cambridge, 1586.
Original of the Powder Plot.

ings, Fasting, but also a Treaty of Peace is earnestly solicited by the Duke of Parma with Authority from the King of Spain, which though not soon yielded to by the Queen, who suspected some fraud or deceitful design in it, yet being at last obtained, is kept on foot till the engagement of both fleets break it off in the famous year of 88. At which time all the preparations being fully compleated for execution, the Pope, who had before promised the assistance of his Treasure, begins first to thunder out his Bull: Which, with a book written by Doctor Allen, is printed at Antwerp in English in great numbers to be sent over into England; in which book, for the greater terror of the people, are particularly related their vast preparations, which were so great, that the Spaniards themselves being in admiration of them, named it the Invincible Armado; and the Nobility, Gentry and people of England and Ireland are exhorted to join themselves with the Spanish Forces under the conduct of the Duke of Parma for the Execution of the Popes Sentence against Elizabeth. With this Bull is Dr. Allen, (being extraordinarily out of the time allowed by the Canons even of this Pope, made Cardinal of purpose for this exploit) sent into Flanders, to be ready, upon the Spaniards Landing, to pass over into England, as the Popes Legate sum pleno potestate, and there to publish the Bull, 'In which Bull the Pope, by the power, which he faith is, from God, by the Lawful succession of the Catholick Church, descended to him over All persons, for several causes there in specified, and more fully expressed in the Bulls of Pius v. and Gregory xiii. doth again proscribe the Queen; Takes away all her Royal Dignity, Titles and Rights to the Kingdoms of England and Ireland; Declaring her Illegitimate and a Utiaper of those Kingdoms; Absolving her Subjects from their Oath of Faith and Obedience to her; Threatens All of what condition soever, under danger of the wrath of God, not to assist her in any wise after notice of this Mandate; but to was discharged and had done its execution, as Bishop Andrews reports from the Spontaneous confession of a Jesuit at the time of his writing, who was then here in prison. Re-
employ all their power to bring her to Condigne punishment; Commands All Inhabitants of those Kingdoms diligently to execute these Mandates, and as soon as they have certain notice of the Spaniards coming, to joyn all their forces with them, and in all things be obedient to Parma, the King of Spain's General, and lastly, Proposing Ample Reward to those who shall lay hands upon the profcribed Woman and deliver her to the Catholick party to be punished, in conclusion, out of the Treasury of the Church committed to his Trust and Dispensation, he draws out his treasure, and Grants a Full Pardon of all their Sins to All those who should engage in this expedition. This Thuanus relates more at large, and presently adds: It was agreed in secret that King Philip should hold the Kingdom, when reduced to the Obedience of the Church, of the Pope in Fee as of the Holy See, according to the Articles of the contract by Ina, Henry 2. and King John made and renewed, with the Title of Defender of the Faith. And to reduce it to this Obedience, these were the forrein Preparations which were made according to Thuanus his Account: A Navy of 150 + Ships extraordinarily well furnish'd; and in it of Mariners and Seamen 8000. Gally-slaves, a great number, 2080. says Camden, of Soldiers 20000, besides Gentlemen and Volunteers; for scarce was there any family of note in Spain, which had not son, or brother or cousin in that fleet; Brass Guns 1600. Iron Guns 1050. Of Powder, Bullet, Lead, Match, Muskets, Pikes, Spears and such like weapons, with other instruments and engines, great abundance, as also of Horses and Mules, and Provisions for six months. And that nothing might be wanting, as to matters of Religion, they brought along with them the Vicar General of the Sacred Office, as they call it, that is the Inquisition, and with him of Capucines, Jesuites and Mendicants, above 100. And besides all these were prepared in Flanders and those parts, by the Duke of Parma, of Flat-bottomed Boats for Transportation of men and Horse and other necessaries 288. of Vessels for Bridges fitted with all things necessary, 800, and of Armed men 20900. 50000 Veteran Soldiars says Sir Fr. Bacon. But all these prepa-
tions and forces were not greater than was the Spanish expectation and confidence of an assured Victory and Absolute Conquest of this Kingdom; and that not only in respect of the strength and greatness of their Forces, though so great that in admiration of this Navy, they named it, as hath been said, The Invincible Armada; and so was it called in a Spanish ostentation throughout Europe, and hath indeed been thought the greatest Navy that till that time ever swam upon the Sea; though not for number, yet for Bulk and Building of the Ships, with the Furniture of great Ordnance and Provisions. But that which very much heightened their Confidence, was the supposed Goodness of their Cause, and presumption of the Divine assistance accordingly favouring them in it, and thereby signally ratifying the Sentence of Christ's Vicar, this being alligned as an Apostolical Mission against the Incurrigible and Excommunicate Hereticks to reduce them to the Obedience of the Catholick Church (of Rome,) and to execute his Holiness's Sentence of Excommunication against that accursed Anathematized woman; (though this, that we may note it by the way, was properly and anciently reputed, the Office only of Satan and his Angels and Ministers, and never taken out of their hands till Pope Gregory vii. after above a thousand years exercise of it, by the Plentitude of his Power, took upon him to dispose, as it seems, of the Kingdom of Darkness, as well as of the Empires and Kingdoms of the Earths.) But the Judgement of Heaven was contrary to their expectations, and as the Scripture tells us The Curse Causeless shall not come, so it pleased God to turn their curse into a Blessing. For with this Monstrous Navy, though the Spaniards persuaded themselves, that the English terrified with the sight of it, would not dare to assault it, but only failing at a distance, observe their Course, and the while give Parma an opportunity, without difficulty, to waft over his Forces and pour them in upon London, yet did the English, though, through the abuse of that fraudulent Treaty, and some reports of the Spaniards not coming out that year at the instant purposely cast abroad, not altogether ready and prepared, courageously engage and in few days,
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having taken and sent home two of their great ships, so dis-
stressed this Great Navy, that they were forced to fly, and
having chafed them toward the North until, for want of
Powder, they were forced to give them over, returned home
with the loss not of an hundred men, and but of one ship;
while these Executioners of the Popes Anathema, according
to the Curse in the Scriptures, came out against us one way,
and fled before us seven ways, being driven about all Brit-
tain, by Scotland, the Orkades, Ireland, grievously affected
with Tempests, Shipwracks, and all kind of Miseries, and
very much curtailed; and at last Resolving in Council, that,
for as much as the Heavens and the Sea being their Enemies,
their condition was now such as by no Humane Strength,
Virtue or Counfel, could be restored, every one should re-
turn into Spain which way he could, and all meet at a place
appointed: they accordingly held their Course for Spain,
and many by Tempests and other misfortunes being lost by
the way, the rest returned with Ignominy and Disgrace: hav-
ing lost as the Spaniards write, faith Thuanus, 32. Ships,
10000. Men, and 1000. more carried Captive into Eng-
land; but as the English and Dutch write, above 80. Ships,
and as some of their own say, the greatest part of that so
Glorious Fleet: which had been the preparations of five
whole years at the least, (says Bacon,) through Spain, Italy,
Sicily, Flanders, their most expert Commanders and Veteran
Souldiers, being sent for even out of America, and had cost,
before ever they set out to sea, not so little as 12000000 aurea
(centies vicies centena millia aurorum), as appeared by their
books of account, as the Spanish Ambassadors informed the
French King in the hearing of Thuanus.

34. Notwithstanding this defeat of his Military Forces,
after so great preparations, and that with so great expense
of his Treasure, yet it seems the King of Spain was so well
pleased with the proceedings of his Agents the Emiffaries
here, that he thought good to erect another Colledge for them
the next year, and that they might not be far from his
Court, at Villadole. Which in short time, about two
years,
years after, sent out a Mission into England, the Emissaries coming over in the Disguised Habits of Seamen, Merchants, Souldiers, &c. In the mean time Sixtus v. dyed about 27. Aug. 1590. in so great hatred of the people, for his intolerable Exactions & New Impositions, that there was presently in the vacancy a concourse of the people to throw down the Statue which in his life time was erected for him in the Capitol. At his Election, the Cardinals in the Conclave were all first sworn, that whoever of them should be chosen Pope, among other things for the Benefit of (their) Religion, the Dignity of the Holy See, and the Splendour of the Sacred Collège (of Cardinals,) should to the best of his Power, Engage the Catholick Princes to fight against the Turk, Hereticks and Schismaticks. And how well this man being chosen prosecuted the design of his Oath, may be understood in part by what hath been said already, and may be further seen in his dealings with our Neighbours in France. Whereof an instance or two by the way, and a word or two of his quality and manners, will not be much beside our purpose. He had his Original, as himself used to glory, from an Illustrious House; for, for want of Covering, it was in all parts illustrated by the Sun-beams; being born of poor parents in a pittiful Cottage. But his good qualities were must conspicuous after his Election to the Papacy, being a most Imperious, Proud, Ambitious, Vain-glorious, Gluttonous, Covetous, Unjust, Revengeful, Inhumane, and rashly severe man, the contraries whereof, by a special faculty of Dissimulation, he had before simulated, as he is described by Tuanus and Cicarella in his life. He began the exercise of his Authority with a rash and unjust condemnation of a young man of Florence to be hanged, for only refusing in his Master’s house to deliver an Ass to the Popes Officers, which was not his in whose name they demanded it, but the young man Master’s, all men pitying the hard case of the poor fellow. Nor was this dealing used only with men of inferior quality; for by his command the Cardinal Salviato at Bononia, having summoned Count John Pepulus, a man of prime Nobility and of no less Piety and Probity, for entertaining certain Gentlemen who
who were exiles, in some places, out of the Popes Territories, which were anciently granted to him by the Emperor, when he pleaded a Prescription of the Emperors Priviledge, caused him in the night to be pulled out of his own house, and, having a Priest ready to confefs him, presently to be strangled. And that we may see how well he could use both swords, in the beginning also of his Papacy, he sent out his Excommunication against the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condes after a glorious Preface concerning the Authority given to Peter and his Successors, far above all the Powers of Earthly Kings and Princes, which never swerves from right judgment, Declaring them to be Sectaries, and publick and manifelt Favourers and Defenders of Sectaries; guilty of high treason against the Divine Majesty, and Enemies of the Catholick Faith; to be falf from all Right of Dignity; and them and their Successors to be unworthy to succeed in any principality, particularly in the Kingdom of France: Abolishing their Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity; and lastly Exhorting the King of France to be mindful of his Oath at his Coronation, and to Exterminate all the Seeds of the Sectaries. And we may suppose that he was true to his Oath and the Interest of his See, when he deceived the expectations of the Leaguers in France and their affiitants the Spaniard, leaft, as Cicarella notes, if the King of France and his party should have been overcome by the Affistance of Spain, the Spaniard might take the advantage of it to enlarge his own Dominions too much, which might have proved dangerous to the Holy See. But he made them amends for it afterward, though without any expense of his Treasure, for he sent out his Excommunication against the King of France himself, altho' a man of an irreconcilable hatred against the Protestants, and who had been a promoter of the Parisian Massacre, unless within ten days he should set at liberty the Cardinal Bourbon, whom the Rebels desired to make head of their party. This was published in May, and the 1. of August after, was the King murthered by James Clement a Jacobin, who was thus resolved in the Case by the Prior of his Covent, that if he undertook it, not out of hatred or desire...
fire of private revenge, but inflamed with the love of God, for Religion and the good of his Country, he might not only do it with a safe Conscience, but should merit much before God, and without doubt if he should die in the act, his soul would ascend to the Quires of the Blessed; and as some say he was likewise encouraged by F. Commelet and other Jesuites. This fact of Clement was highly extolled in France both in Sermons and Printed books: and the Leagurers had that opinion of his Martyrdom (for he was presently killed in the place, and afterward pulled to pieces and his body burned) that they came to the place, and scraped up the very dust and earth whereon any of his blood lighted as Sacred Relicks, and put it into a Vessel in which they came, intending to carry it to Paris, and there erect a Monument of his Martyrdom ad admirationem; but by a vehement wind, which suddenly arose, both vessel and passengers were all drowned, not one escaping, and the relics cast away. Nor was the fact less extolled at Rome, even by the Pope himself, in a Premeditated Speech in the Consistory, wherein he not only preferred that wicked wretch before Eleazar and Judih, but most impiously and blasphemously compared his fact, for the greatness and admirableness of it, to the Mystery of the Incarnation and Resurrection of our Lord and Saviour. The King had caused the Duke of Guise, who was head of the Rebels, to be slain; and this was one main matter, which incensed the Pope against him. For the Pope had agreed with Guise in secret, to marry his Niece to the Prince of Jonvil, Guise his son and heir, and to depose the King, thrust him into a Monastery, and compel him by the Popes authority to renounce his right to the Kingdom, and to set up Guise the father, King in his place. But how zealous and jealous he was for the Dignity and Authority of the Holy See, is worth our further notice, in an instance related by a good Catholic, the learned Civil Lawyer William Barclay, in his book De Poteftate Papae dedicated to Pope Clement viii. None of all the writers of the Popes part, faith he, hath either more diligently collected, or more ingeniously proposed, or more smartly and subtilely concluded their reasons and arguments for the
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Pope's Authority than the Eminent Divine Bellarmine, who although be attributed as much as with honesty he could, and indeed more than he ought to have done, to the Authority of the Pope in Temporals, yet could be not satisfy the Ambition of that most Imperious man Sixtus V. who affirmed that he held a Supreme Power, over All Kings and Princes of the whole Earth and all People and Nations, delivered to him, not by humane, but Divine Institution. In so much, that he was very near, by his Papal Censure, to have abolished, to the great detriment of the Church, all the works of that Doctor, which at this day oppose heresy with very great success, as the Fathers of that Order of which Bellarmine was, have seriously told me, cap. 13. But enough of Sixtus; By whom, for example, we may guests, by these fruits, what likelihood there is, that he and such as he whereof there hath been no small number Popes, since the tenth Age especially (that Seculum Infelix, when with a great Eclipse of Learning, the Popes of Rome, as even Bellarmine noteth, degenerated from the Piety of the Ancients) were partakers of, and directed by that Holy Spirit, which God giveth to them that obey him, to conduct them in all truth, or rather the Spirit of the world, the Spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience, whose works they have done.

35. The three next succeeding Popes, Urban 7, Gregory 14. and Innocent 9. did not all of them live out half three years from the death of this; and therefore we cannot expect to hear of any attempts or design of theirs against this Kingdom. But after Clement VIII. who was elected Pope 3. Feb. 1592, was settled in his seat, the like practices soon began again, wherein those agents whom we have mentioned before, Hesket, Lopez and, Complices his Cullen, York and Williams (who confessed some others) and Squire, were employed to raise rebellion, poison or assassinate the Queen; Lopez by the King of Spain's Ministers of State, not without the privity and consent of himself; all the rest incited and encouraged by the Jesuites, who for the like practices at the same time against the most Christian King, though then become Catholick too, were exterminated out of all France, and
and a Pyramid erected for their perpetual Infamy. But from all these God still preserved her, the Emiffaries being discovered, taken and Executed. Nor did he only preserve her from their attempts, but shortly after blessed her with happy successes in an Expedition against the Spaniards; wherein the King of Spain's Navy of 50. tall Ships, besides twenty Gallies to attend them, were beaten and put to flight, and in the end all, but two which were taken by the English, burn'd, only the twenty Gallies, by the benefit of the Shallows, escaping: the town of Cadiz, manned with 4000. foot and 400. horse, taken sack'd and burnt but great Clemency used toward the inhabitants: and at last the English returning home with honour and great spoils, besides the two Gallions, and about 100. great brass Guns and great store of ammunition and provisions of war taken in the town, and with very small loss, and but of one person of quality: the Spaniards having lost in all first and last, 13. of their best men of war, and 44. other Ships of great burden, and in Ships, great guns and military provisions, by the estimate of the most knowing persons above 3000000 ducates. And when the King of Spain not long after, that he might repair this loss, in a heat had from all parts gathered together all the Ships he could, and manned even the strangers Ships which were in the Ports of Spain, and set out this Navy to Land upon the Coasts either of England or Ireland, the Heavens fought for her, and so favoured her, that by a horrid tempest which arose, most of those Ships were either sunk by the waves, or broken against the rocks, in so much that the sooner heard of the destruction of her enemies, than of their setting out to Sea to assault her. The year ensuing, great preparations were made on both sides, but the Heavens not favoring any further proceedings of this kind, both the Fleets were so dispersed by storms, that neither came within sight of the other. And now the King of Spain became well inclined to a peace with England, which, though proposed by the French, he lived not to see brought to effect, for he died the 13. of Sept. after.
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36. But the death of the King of Spain did not dissolve the Combination, no more than the deaths of so many severalPopess before had done. For it still survived in his son Phil. III. with Clement VIII. Only so many former attempts having proved altogether unsuccessful against England, there was now with the persons some change also of their Coun-
sels; and all their Consultations against England, were afterward so directed as to depend for their execution upon the death of the Queen. Yet in Ireland there seemed some hopes that something might be effected at present, by assisting the Rebels there; and therefore for their encouragement and as-
sistance, the King of Spain by his Agent Don Martin de la Cerda, sends them money and Ammunition; and the Pope, by Mathew de Oviedo, whom he designed Archbishop of Dublin, Promises of Indulgence, with a Phoenix plume to Tir-Oen their General; and the year after, he sends them his Indulgence it self, to this effect, That whereas of long

time, being led on by the Exhortations of his Predecessors and himself and of the Apostolick See, for the recovery and defence of their Liberty against the Hereticks, they had with United

minds and Forces, given aid and assistance, first to James Fitz-Giral, and lastly to Hugh Onel Earl of Tyron Captain General of the Catholick Army in Ireland, who with their Sou-
diers had in process of time performed many brave achievements, fighting manfully against the enemy, and for the future are ready to perform the like; that they may all the more cheerfully do it, and assist against the said Hereticks, being willing after the example of his Predecessors to vouchsafe them some Spiritual

Graces and Favours, he favourably grants to all and every one who shall join with the said Hugh and his Army assisting and fighting for the Catholick Faith, or any way aid or assist them, if they be truly penitent and have confessed, and if it may be, received the Sacrament, a Plenary Pardon and Remission of All their Sins; the same which used to be granted by the Popes of Rome to those who go to war against the Turks. (18. April 1600. Camd. p. 750. Foul. p. 651.) And the next year again for their further encouragement, he sends a particular letter to Tyrone, wherein he Commends their Devotion, in engaging
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in a Holy League, and their valour and atchevements; Ex-

horts them to continue unanimous in the same mind; and

Promises to write effectually to his Sons, the Catholick

Kings and Princes, to give all manner of Assistance to them

and their cause; and tells him, he thinks to send them a

peculiar Nuncio, who may be helpful to them in all things

as occasion shall serve. (20. Jan. 1601. Foul. p. 655.) The

King of Spain likewise sends his Assistance; a great fleet, who

landed at King-Sale 20. Sept. under the conduct of Don

John d'Aquila; who sets out a Declaration, shewing the

King of Spain's pretense in the war, which, he faith, is

with the Apostolick Authority to be administered by him; that

they persuade not any to deny due Obedience (according to the

word of God) to their Prince, but that all know, that for ma-

ny years since, Elizabeth was deprived of her Kingdom, and

All her Subjects Absolved from their Fidelity, by the Pope; unto

whom he that reigneth in the Heavens, the King of Kings, hath

committed All Power, that he should Root up, Destrue, Plant

and Build, in such sort, that he may punish temporal Kings

(if it should be good for the Spiritual Building); even to their

Deposing; which thing hath been done in the Kingdoms of Eng-

land and Ireland by many Popes, viz. by Pope Pius v. Gregory

xiii. and now by Clement viii. as is well known, whose

Bulls are extant: that the Pope and the King of Spain have re-

solved to send Souldiers, Silver, Gold, and Arms with a most

liberal hand: that the Pope Christ's Vicar on Earth, doth command

them (the Papists in Ireland) to take Arms for the defense of

their Faith, &c. (Camd. p. 829. Foul. 658.) And not long

after more Supplies were sent from Spain under Alonso de

Ocampo. But it pleased God to make the Queen still Victori-

ous over All; and part of them, with the Irish Rebels, be-

ing beaten and routed in the Field, the rest are brought to

articles, upon which they Surrender All, and are sent home,

when more forces were coming from Spain to their recruit.

The next year most of the other Rebels being defeated and

subdued, last of all Mac Eggan, the Popes Vicar Apostolick,

with a party of the Rebels, which he himself led, with his

Sword drawn in one hand, and his Breviary and Beads in

the
the other, was slain by the Queen's forces and the Rebels routed in January 1603, and so the whole Kingdom, Tyrone also submitting to mercy, totally subdued. (Camden. an. 1603. Foul. p. 664.)

37. And now this Blessed Queen, having by an Admirable Providence of Almighty God, been preserved from all these both Secret Conspiracies, and Open Invasions, through a long Reign of four and forty years compleat, and made victorious over all her Enemies, as well abroad as at home: Out-lived her great and bitter enemy Phil. 11. King of Spain, who himself lived to be sensible of the Divine Judgment of the Iniquity of his Actions against her, and to desire a Peace with her, though he lived not to enjoy it: Out-lived four Kings of France, eight Popes, and the greatest part of the ninth; and maugre all the Powers of Hell, the Malice and Wicked Machinations of Men of most turbulent and Anti-Christian Spirits, Defended that Purity of Religion, which, even at the very beginning of Her Reign, she had, with Mature Deliberation, and a Generous and most Christian Courage and Resolution, notwithstanding all Difficulties and Dangers which on every side threatened her undertakings, established, was by the same at last brought to her Grave in Peace, in a Good Old Age. Her very Enemies admiring, as well her Worth and Excellence, as her Glory and Felicity; (see the one extolled by Sixtus V. Thuc. l. 82. p. 48. and the other by An. Atestina, l. 129. and both more largely described by the Noble and Ingenious Thynans, l. 129. and Sir Francis Bacon in his Collection of her Felicities) while her Neighbours, who wickedly and barbarously persecuted the Professors of that Reformed Religion, for their Religion's sake, which she with great and Christian Moderation towards the adversaries of it, happily established and defended, either lived not out half their days, or died violent deaths, and were murthered by their own Subjects of the same Religion with themselves, or were otherwise unhappy in their attempts in that Eminently Remarkable manner, as is so far from being impertinent to our subject and design briefly to note, that it would be a great fault, and
and unworthy neglect not to do it. Certainly who ever shall impartially, and without prejudice consider the History of this blessed and happy Queen, and with it compare the History of the Times both precedent and subsequent to her reign, and especially of her neighbours in France during her own times, must needs acknowledge, not only an Admirable Providence over Her, in both Preserving and Blessing her in all her Affairs, but a Special Distinguishing Providence, thus favouring her, and at the same time in a very remarkable manner disfavouring, Crossing, Blasting and Severely Punishing and Revenging the different and contrary Courses and Practices of her Neighbours and others.

38. We might here remember the Story of Don Sebastian King of Portugal, who in the heat of his youth and devotion to the See of Rome, had tendered his service to the Pope, and engaged in an Expedition against England and Ireland; but having raised a great Army and prepared a great Fleet, was by the King of Fesse prevailed with to assist him in the recovery of his Kingdom in Mauritania. Where, with Stukely, (who commanded the Italian Forces raised by the Pope and King of Spain, for the service against Ireland) whom he persuaded to go with him first to the African war, he was slain, dyed without issue, and left his Kingdom a prey to the Spaniard; whereby not only the present storm which threatened the Queen was blown over, but the Spaniard also for divers years diverted, by his wars with Portugal from molesting the Queen in that manner, which otherwise 'tis likely he would have done, and from some such Invasion as, though then intended, was not actually undertaken till ten years after. We might here also remember Don John of Austria, in the heat of his eager designs upon England, cut off by the Plague, in the flower of his age; if his heart was not broken, as was thought, by the disappointment of his ambitious designs, after he had fouly, by the Popes Dispensation, falsified his Oath taken to observe the Treaty made with the States General. And we might here likewise
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wife take notice, not only of what some may think observa-
ble in the Death of the King of Spain, if not devoured,
yet in a great measure wasted and consumed by Lyce bred in
his own body, which in so great quantities issued out of
four several tumours in his breast, as that it was as much as
two men, by turns, could do, to wipe them off from him
with napkins and cloathes: but of that which others may
think more remarkable in his Life, which is, that having
twice most solemnly sworn to the States General of the Low-
Countries (over which he held only a kind of Seigniory) to
Maintain their Ancient Rights, Privileges and Customs,
which they had enjoyed under their thirty and five Earls be-
fore him; and afterwards obtained from the Pope a Dispensa-
sion of his Oathes (which Dispensation, says Sir Walter
Raleigh, was the true cause of the war and Blood-she-
fince) when he fought contrary to his Oathes and all Right
and Justice, not only by new devised and intolerable Impos-
sitions, to tread their National and Fundamental Laws, Pri-
vileges and Ancient Rights under his feet, and both by
Arts, (dividing their Nobility,) and by Force, to enslave
their Persons and Estates, and make himself Absolute: but
moreover by introducing among them, the Exercise of the
Spanish Inquisition, to Tyrannize also over their Consciences:
and in pursuance hereof had committed many barbarous
Murders and Massacres among them; by the Just Providence
of God, he was thrown out of all, and those Rights and
Privileges, which he sought to abolish, and that Religion
which he sought to oppress, were by that people retained
and enjoyed with greater freedom and liberty than ever; so
that in conclusion the recompense of that oppression and
cruelty which he exercised upon them, was the loss of
those Countries, which, says Raleigh, for beauty, gave
place to none, and for revenue, did equal his West-Indies,
besides the loss of an hundred millions of money, and of
the lives of above four hundred thousand Christians, by him
cast away in his endeavours to enslave them. If besides this
we reflect upon his many and various attempts against the
Queen of England, some of them with so great study and
vast
vast expense of his Treasure; his unhappy Wars in aid of the Rebels in France, which his ambitious hopes had no less devoured, than they had England; all of them unsuccessful and remarkably blasted, and himself at last so weary of them, that he was glad to desire peace with both; his fruitless wasting of 5594. Myriads of Gold, as himself confessed, without any other profit, than the acquist of Portugal, which he thought might be as easily lost as his hopes of the Kingdom of France had suddenly vanished, and however was sufficiently ballanced with his loss in Africa and elsewhere; the death of his eldest son, by his own command, as the Jesuite Petavius faith expressly, and the loss of all his other sons, save only Phil. 111, who succeeded him, and was the only son of all his four wives, who survived him; If we seriously, I say, reflect upon all these, we may look upon the prolongation of his life, in respect of himself, but as a continuance of trouble and misery to him; and in respect of this blessed Queen, to have been designed by God, for an Exercise of her Faith and Virtue, and a necessary means, to render his Favour and never failing Providence over her, the more Manifect, Conspicuous and Exemplary to encourage others to Fidelity to him, and Resignation to his most Wise, Powerful and Gracious Providence. But though these things do well deserve our notice, yet that which I call a Distinguishing Providence, is yet more admirable and remarkable in her nearer neighbours in France.

39. When Queen Elizabeth began her Reign in England, Henry 11. was King of France. His Father Francis 1. who, in the beginning of his Reign, which was about the time of Luthers first appearing against Indulgences, had unhappily entred into a league with the Pope (Leo x.) which in the judgment of many, says Thuanus, brought destruction upon his affairs and family; though in many things unhappy throughout his whole Reign, yet certainly was he in nothing more unhappy, than in the guilt of so much innocent blood, as was shed in the barbarous and horrid murders and slaught-ers which were made upon the Protestants of Merindol and Cabriers, condemned merely for their Religion, by a most rigid
rigid and severe Sentence of the Parliament of Provence, after which he never enjoyed himself, says Raleigh, nor indeed his life long after his approbation of that Execution, wherein their towns and villages, to the number of two and twenty, were burned, and themselves, without distinction of age or sex, most barbarously murdered. But being touched with remorse of Conscience, and repenting of it, upon his death bed he charged his Son, that the injuries done to that people should be enquired into, and their murthers, who in the cruelty of their execution had exceeded the severity of the Sentence, to be duly punished: threatening him with Gods judgments, if he neglected it. And among other Admonitions which he then gave him, this was one, to beware of the Ambition of the Guises, whom, he foresaw, if admitted to the administration of the Kingdom, would reduce both his Children, and the People of France, to great miseries. But Henry II. no sooner came to his Fathers throne, but he presently began to practice the contrary to his directions, displacing those that before had any part in the government, and substituting in their room the same men whom his Father had discharged, and Guise with the first, and at length the three brothers of Guise got into their hands all the principal governments, and chief dignities of the Kingdom, together with the super-intendancy of all affairs, both Martial and Civil; the Consequence of which did afterwards make good the truth of his fathers prediction. Nor did he much better perform his fathers charge, in doing Justice upon the bloody offenders; for though he gave the cause a long hearing, yet did not the issue of the judgment answer the great expectations, which the so many horrid crimes whereof they were accused did raise in mens minds: one only of the offenders, for want of friends at Court, being executed; but the principal actors of that wickedness, restored to their former dignity and places; so that instead of that Justice, which, if duly executed upon the offenders, might possibly have averted or mitigated the Divine vengeance, which hath since prosecuted his fathers guilt in his posterity, he not only by neglect thereof, but also by his own con-
continuance of the like cruelties, and for the same cause of Religion, appropriated his fathers guilt to himself, and with the addition of his own, transmitted the same to his posterity, with the Divine Vengeance further provoked attending it. He began his Persecutions of the Protestants in the first year of his reign, and continued the same to the last days of his life, with that resolution, that no solicitation of neighbour Princes, his allies, could mitigate his fury. He used his uttermost endeavour, says Davila, p. 40, to extirpate the roots of those seeds in their first growth; and therefore with Inexorable Severity resolve, that All who were found convict of this imputation, should suffer death without mercy. And although Many of the Counsellors in Every Parliament, either Favouring the same Opinions, or Abhorring the Continual Effusion of blood, made use of all their skill, to preserve as many as they could from the Severity of his Execution; notwithstanding the Kings Vigilance and Constancy was such, chiefly by the Incitements of the Cardinal of Lorain, (one of the Guifes) that he had reduced things to such a point as would in the end, though with the Effusion of much blood, have expelled all the peccant humours (he means the Protestants) out of the bowels of the Kingdom, if the accident which followed, had not interrupted the course of his resolution.

That which he calls an accident, was the violent, and, in respect of the course of nature, untimely, but, in respect of Gods Providence, most seasonable, death, of that cruel King, in the height of his Resolutions of Inexorable Severity against the Protestants, by the hands of that same man, whom he had but few days before employed to apprehend and imprison some of the chief Senators, for no other cause but their Religion, and their free delivering of their Sentence, according to the Laws, in Parliament, concerning the cause of the Protestants; and at the same that Queen Elizabeth was with Her Senators Consulting and Resolved to Establish that Religion, which he persecuted: which she happily by Gods Blessing effected, and procured a Blessing upon her self and her Kingdom, while he furiously fighting against God, was in a Ludicrous fight, running at Tilt, by a Splinter of a bro-
ken lance, which found entrance at his eye though his head and body were clad in armour, cut off from further prosecuting his resolutions, in the midst of his years, and in the midst of his publick Solemnities of the Nuptials of his eldest daughter to the King of Spain, which whom he had concluded to make a war against the Protestants, and of his only Sister to the Duke of Savoy, in the view of the Bastile, where those Senators were kept in Prison, and within two or three days, if not less, after one of the chief of them was declared heretic, and delivered over to the Secular Power; Leaving behind him a Curse upon his posterity, and Misery and Confusion to his Kingdom, principally caused and promoted by those very instruments, whose Counsels and Infligations he had followed in his wicked and bloody practices.

1559. 40. He left four sons, all in a manner children; the eldest 'Francis,' who succeeded him, under the age of sixteen; 'who by reason of his youth, or rather, as says Davila, his natural incapacity, requiring, if not a direct Regent, yet a prudent, affiduous Governour, till his natural weakness was overcome by maturity of years, the Ancient Customs of the Kingdom called to that Charge the Princes of the Blood, among which for nearness and reputation it belonged to the Prince of Conde, and the King of Navarre. But Katherine of Medicis the Kings mother, and Francis Duke of Guise, with Charles his brother Cardinal of Lorain, uncles to Mary Queen of Scots, whom the King in the lifetime of his father had married, severally aspiring to the Government; to which neither had right by the Laws of the Kingdom; and therefore despairing by their own power and interest, to obtain and retain it alone, they resolved to unite their several interests and powers, and to share it among them; and they quickly obtained, she by her interest in the King her Son, and they by the means of their Niece, his Queen, that to the Duke was committed the Care of the Militia; the Civil affairs to the Cardinal; and to the Queen-mother the Superintendance of all: the Princes of the blood and others of the prime Nobility being excluded not only from
from the Government, but also, by arts and affronts removed or repulsed from the Court itself. The Guises, having thus intruded into the Authority aforesaid, continued the same Resolutions of Severity, against those of the Reformed Religion, which they had intufed, or at least fomented and agitated in the former King; which they instantly put in execution. And the same moneth that this King came to the Crown, his Order is sent out for the tryal of the Senators imprisoned by his father. Whereof one, Anne du Boury, was afterward, for his Religion, executed; but the rest not being convicted were only degraded. While these were brought to their Tryal, by the command of the Cardinal, Severe Inquisition is made at Paris, into all suspected of that Religion; and many both Men and Women are taken and clapt into Prison; and many, to avoid the danger, forced to fly; many leaving their infants and little children behind them, who filled the streets with the noise of their lamentable cries: their goods taken out of their houses were publickly sold, and their empty houses proscribed: and to increase the Odium of the people against them, the same Calumnies, which were heretofore cast upon the Primitive Christians, of promiscuous copulation in their Nocturnal Meetings the lights being put out, were now renewed against these, and base people produced by the Cardinal to prove it, who though upon tryal convicted of fraud and falsehood, were yet suffered to go unpunished. The City being thus diligently searched, the same Course is immediately taken in the Suburbs, at S.Germans, and presently after in the rest of the Cities of France, especially at Poitiers, Toulouse, Aix, and throughout the whole Province of Narbon. Shortly after command is given to the Court, to proceed severely against those who were suspected, and with all diligence to attend to the tryal of them, without intermission. Whereupon the Prisons were all soon emptied; some being condemned to death, others banished, and the rest punished with other mules and penalties. Nor did all this satisfy the fury of these cruel & merciless men: for dreading the very mention of an Assembly of the Estates, which might correct
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the Exorbitances of their Usurped Power; they accused all
those as Rebellious and Seditious, who desired it: and
when they perceived the Protestants, who were now very
numerous notwithstanding all the cruelties used against
them, to concur in the same desire, new Arts and Snares
were devised to apprehend them; wherein also others who
were not of their Religion, were often unawares surprized.
For every where, at Paris especially, were erected Images
of Saints, in the Streets & by-ways, with lighted Candles set
up to them in the day time, and a deal of Superstitious Wor-
ship; and boxes set by them, into which, they who paf-
sed by were pressed to cast in money for providing of the
Lights, and such as refused to do it, or neglected to give
reverence to the Images, were suspected, and instantly as-
saulted by the Rabble: and happy was he, that in such case
could escape with his life, though immediately thrust into
prison. All this was done the same year that Francis came
to the Crown. And although in the entrance of the next year,
about 12. Mart. left the Protestants exasperated by all these
Cruelties, should be provoked to joyn with them, who at
that time held a Consultation against the Guises, to remove
them and the Queen-mother from the Government, this seve-
rity by the mediation of Colinus the Admiral and Olinier the
Chancellor, was by a publick Edict, for the present in part
remitted; Yet no sooner was the danger of that Confederacy
over by the defeat of the Enterprise at Amboife, but the Edict
was recalled, and new resolutions concluded for the utter
ruine and extirpation of the Protestants: and that upon
this further occasion, and by the means following. The
Guises nothing doubting but that the late attempt at Am-
boife, to surprize and remove them from the Government,
was secretly excited and managed by the Princes of the
blood, to whom the right, during the Kings inability, did
belong; and that the Protestants, thus provoked by such
unjust persecutions, would favour the right of the Princes;
resolved to cut off both: But considering that it would be dif-
cult and hazardous, by open Force to get the Princes into
their power, they resolved to essay to accomplish that by
Art;
Art; and therefore first by all means to conceal and dissemble their suspicion of them: and to that purpose, endeavoured to have the late business at Amboise imputed to the Protestants, and to attribute all to Diversity of Religions; which might also serve them to a further purpose, viz. to render their own cause and proceedings more plausible to the people, and the others more odious; and to urge this yet further, they endeavoured to possess the King with great apprehensions of the danger of his own person from that party, and the people with an opinion that that attempt was designed against the King himself; which was so gross a Calumny, that Davila himself, though otherwise partial enough against the Protestants, thought it not fit to be credited; and at last, having used all their Arts to beget a confidence in the Princes that they had no designs against them, to accomplish their designs, they cause an Assembly of the Estates, whereat the Princes by their place were to attend, to be appointed at Orleans. Where against the Protestants in general, they presently proceed more openly; and having obtained an Edict that all should exhibit a profession of their Faith, according to a Form, 18. years before prescribed by the Sorbon Doctors, and that they who refused, should be punished with loss of life and Goods: such were sent out throughout the whole Kingdom, who should apprehend all that were suspected to be of the Reformed Religion, with command to pull down the Houses and Castles of those who made any resistance. And the Princes, being at length with much Art and difficulty, wrought upon to come to the Assembly, though contrary to the persuasian of their friends, are instantly upon their arrival secured; Navar under a kind of Guard, but Conde close prisoner. Having thus gotten them into their hands, they without much difficulty resolve to circumvent Conde with Accusations of Rebellion, and put him to death under colour of Law. But for Navar, they were not a little doubtful what to do with him; and at last conclude to murder him secretly. But when all these designs against both the Protestants in general, and these Princes in particular, were brought to the very point of execution, and the
the Tragedy already begun. It pleased God, by the same means, whereby he had decreed to prosecute his judgments and vengeance against this persecuting House of Valois, to deliver those who were designed for slaughter; and by the seasonable intervention of the otherwise untimely death of this young King, before he had accomplished the age of eighteen, to confound and disappoint all the subtile machinations, of these ambitious unchristian persecutors. As the force and violence of thunder, says Davila, useth in a moment to overthrow and ruin those buildings which are built with great care and long labour; so his unexpected death, destroying in an instant those Counsels, which with so much art and dissimulation were brought to maturity and concluded, left the state of things (already in the way (although by Violent and Rigorous Means, yet) to a certain and secure end) in the height of all discord, and more than ever they were formerly, troubled, wavering and abandoned. Thus he, but we may rather observe the unsuccessfulness of such violent and Rigorous Courses, though for the attaining of never so good and lawful ends; and that not so much of their own nature, as by the special Providence of God, who doth frequently suffer wicked and proud conceited men, confident of their own wit or strength, to proceed in their wicked policies and the exercise of their malicious practices, till they be at the very point to receive their expected fruits of all, and then by some little occurrence to frustrate and blast all their hopes, and make them so much more miserable by their disappointment, by how much they thought themselves nearer and surer of the enjoyment. Such were the Popes and Spaniards disappointment mentioned before Sect. 26. pag. 32. and that of 88. Sect. 33. and others. Whereas Queen Elizabeth's moderate proceedings, but in a better cause, were all along blessed with happy success.

41. To this young King, thus cut off in his youth, and leaving no issue behind him, (though some) years married to a beautiful young Lady, succeeded his brother Charles the nineth, a Childe of about Eleven years of Age; who,
who, by reason of his Minority, being incapable to exercise the Government, by Agreement between the Queen-mother (now sufficiently weary of the Ambition and Infolencies of the Guises, and susiptious of their deigns) and the King of Navarre first Prince of the blood (though the Guises used all their Arts to renew the former differences between them) She is made Regent, and He President of the Provinces; and a Decree is made by the King, with the counsel and advice of the Queen Regent, Navarre, the rest of the Princes of the blood and others, Privy Counsellors, whereby the Supreme Regimen of all is committed to Her. Hereupon the Guises being accustomed to govern, and not able to conform their minds to their present condition, sought all manner of opportunities, whereby they might again raise themselves to their former greatness. And whereas at the instance of Navarre, with the consent of the Regent and the Council (many disliking the effusion of so much blood for no other fault than profession of the Reformed Religion) a Decree of Council passed 28. Jan. for the Release of all Prisoners committed only for matters of Religion, and to stop all Inquisition appointed for that cause, to prohibit disputations in matters of Religion, and particular persons from reviling one another with the names of Heretick & Papist, commanding all to live together in Peace, &c. this served them, to dissemble the true cause of their grief; and therefore they made show of being moved and offended only at the tacit toleration permitted the Calvinists; covering in this manner (says Davila) with a pious pretence under the vail of Religion, the interests of private passion. And having, by the arts and subtility of Diana late Mistress to Hen. 2. gained to their party An Monocracy Constable of France, (who, being at that time in the same danger with them and others of being called to refund the large donations which they had obtained of the two last Kings, and besides had been very active in the former persecutions against the Protestants, was with the less difficulty wrought upon, especially in the absence of his son, a sober and prudent person, who dissuaded him all he could) they enter into a league for the preservation of the Catholick Religion,
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Thur. 1. 28.

§ 36. A Conspiracy between Guise and the King of Spain, qua nulla audacior in regno memoratur, which also was in agitation at this time, though not discovered till after Guise's death, an. 1564.

* About the year 1502.

gion, and mutual defence of their several Estates. And when the Protestants, after some other Edicts and Decrees, partly indulging some kind of liberty to them, and partly restraining it, were permitted a publick Disputation at Poissey, (which was first proposed by the Cardinal of Lorain, and as was thought, to hinder the Convention of a National Synod, which he knew would be little pleasing to the Pope, but was much desired in France by the most sober and pious of both sides, who were studious of the peace and good of the Church,) there was presently a secret consultation held by the Grandees of the Popish Faction of France with them of Spain, King Philip being wonderfully moved at the news of that Conference: and Arturius Desiderius, incited by the Sorbon Doctors, and as was believed by many, not without the privy of the Cardinal of Lorain, hastens to King Philip with a Supplication and Private Instructions, Complaining of the increase of the Protestants, the remissness of the King and his Counsellors in restraining them; and imploring his Aid; and committing to his Patronage the Honour, Lives, Fortunes and Estates of the French Nobility; with which he was intercepted in his journey at Orleans. Not long after, this Thesis, among others, is set up to be disputed publickly, That the Pope, as the Sole Vicar of Christ, and Monarch of the Church, hath All Christian Princes subject to his Spiritual and Secular Power; and that he may turn out of their Kingdoms those that are rebellious to his Commands. Wherewith the King being acquainted, his Delegates were sent to complain of it to the Parliament; which ordered the Sorbon Doctors to deprecate the offence, and to recant this error brought in * by Pope Boniface 8. and since his death generally condemned. The Guises in the mean time dreading a National Synod so much desired, as fearing that the Protestants would prevail in it, spared no endeavours to keep it off. To which end also, Philip of Spain solicited by the Pope, sends over his Ambassador, who with threats added to his importunes the Queen R. to Severities against the Sectaries. But because the Guises thought that Navarre would be a main obstacle to these endeavours to keep off the Synod,
Synod, they resolve with the Spanish Ambassador and the Popes Legate (who was admitted in France, but held strictly to the conditions by the Laws appointed) to set upon him, a man though otherwise of parts, yet through indulgence to pleasures and ease, grown facile and easy, to draw him to their party. To which end, having first corrupted some of his confidents, they first propose to him, to divorce his Queen for her heresy, and marry their niece the Queen of Scots, with whom he should have also the Kingdom of England, of which the Pope was about to deprive Elizabeth for her heresy. But when this, by reason of his love to his Queen, a woman of great worth, and by whom he enjoyed a good estate (though they promised him the continuance of this by the Popes Authority notwithstanding the divorce,) and to his children he had by her, would not take with him; they propose that the King of Spain, for satisfaction for his Kingdom of Navarre (which the Spaniard unjustly held from him,) should give him the Isle of Sardinia, which though a pitiful thing, they very much magnified, and promised the assistance of Spain's Treasures and Forces if he would desert the Lutherans, whom by the means of his Queen he was brought to favour, and take upon him the Patronage of the Catholicks in France. By which abuse (for it proved no other) they prevailed upon him, and so made up the Triumvirate, of Navarre, the Duke of Guise, and Morancy the Constable, and layd the foundation of that Civil war, which shortly after ensued, and in the compass of about a year after put an end to his hopes and life also; when being wounded he became sensible of his abuse, and declared that if he recovered, he would embrace the Protestant Confession of Augsburg, and live and die in it. About the same time or not long after, the Queen Regent and the Council, upon the complaint of the Protestants of that little liberty, which was permitted them by former Edicts, being abridged by or under pretence of the Late Edict of Italy, which they said was surreptitiously obtained by a fraud in numbering the Votes, resolve
upon another Assembly at S. Germans, where was made that famous and much Celebrated Edict of January, whereby the Protestants are permitted to assemble at Sermons so it 'be out of any City; and the Magistrates commanded not 'to molest, but protect and defend them from all injury; 'and the Protestants that they should hold no Synod or Con- 'fistories, unless the Magistrate first called was present, their 'Pastors should engage to observe the Edict, to teach the 'people the pure word of God, and nothing contrary to 'the Nicene Council, the Creed, and the books of the Old 'and New Testament, and that both sides should abstain 'from all reproachful words, speeches and books against one 'another: and when the Senate interceded against the pro- 'mulgation of the Edict, a mandate was sent out to them to promulgate it without further delay, which being again and again reiterated, they at last obeyed. The Guises, the Con-stable and others of their party, in the mean time leaving the Court, contrive to hinder the Execution of it, and oppose the Hugonot Faction, as they call it, not doubting, (but having, by the Arts aforesaid gotten Navarre to their par- ty ) to obtain their desires. And first they endeavour to insinuate into the Lutheran Princes of Germany, and if pos- sible to engage them against the Protestants of France (who in a point or two, wherein Luther and Calvin differed, in- cline rather to Calvin's opinion) or at least to render them more slack in affording them their assistance. Then after a three days secret consultation with the Duke of Wittenberg to this purpose at Zabern, to which they had invited him, and an out-ragious violence committed in the way by the Duke of Guise his company upon an Assembly of the Protestants at Vaffy, met to hear a Sermon, whereof sixty men and women, were by them slain, and above two hundred more wounded, the Duke with a great retinue speedily repairs to Paris, in an insolent manner, without any respect to the King by the way, and contrary to the Queens express will and pleasure; and not contented to go the nearer way by S. Martins, he goes about with his at- tendants,
tendants, being accompanied by the Constable, the Duke of Auinale his brother, and the Marshal of S. Andre, and enters by S. Denis gate (by which the Kings of France in Royal State are used to make their entrance to that Metropolis of the Kingdom,) being met by divers of the Magistrates of the City, with the acclamations of the Rabble, in such fort as is used by the people to their Kings. Hereupon the Queen after divers other insolencies of this party, fearing that under pretext of asserting the Catholic Religion, they would usurp the Supreme Power of the Kingdom, and get into their hands the King, her self, and other Children, She commends all, and the whole Kingdom to the Care of the Prince of Conde, the next Prince of the blood, and earnestly and frequently importunes his assistance, to stop the proceeding of the Confederates. But they, who upon longer Consultation had made sufficient preparation for what they intended, easily prevented him: and having exasperated the people with feigned rumours from all the Provinces of the Kingdom, of pretended injuries done to the Catholics by the Protestants (an Artifice wherein the Cardinal of Lorain's greatest skill consisted,) the Duke draws out a party, and at Fountain-bleau seizeth upon the King, whom with the Queen and Her other Children, they carry by force to Paris, the King weeping to see himself his mother and brothers carried as it were into Captivity. The Queen the same day they were seised, renned her importunity to Conde, desiring him not to abate his courage or neglect his care for the preservation of the Crown, or suffer their enemies to arrogate to themselves the absolute Power in the Government. The Confederates on the other side being come to Paris with the young King and the Queen (having in the morning, by a party led by the Constable, fired one of the places without the Gates where the Protestants assembled to Prayers and Sermons, and in the afternoon another, whereby also the neighbour buildings were consumed, and permitted licence to
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the Rabble to abuse and injure those they suspected for their Religion) held frequent Consultations how best to Order their affairs for their own advantage. In which Counsels the Duke of Guise openly declared that he thought it most expedient to proceed to a War with the Hugonots, so to extinguish the fire, before it burst out into a consuming flame, and to take away the root of that growing evil. Thus was the first Civil War begun, the Confederates pretending the Authority of the King and Queen Regent, whom they had by force gotten into their power; and the Prince alleging the express Authority of the Regent, and that the Orders sent out in the Kings Name against him, were by the Confederates obtained by force and dures. This I have related the more largely, because hitherto the Protestants had been only passive, that since now they had engaged in Action, as many of them did in this service of the Prince, it may the better appear upon what grounds they did Act; which was not upon pretense of Religion, though no doubt that was a great motive to them, but for defence of the Laws, and for the Liberty of their Prince and Lawful Governour, and against those who did aspire not to the Regency onely, but to the Crown and Kingdom itself, by a long train of policies and violent Cruelties. But this War was rather sharp than long, which, besides the slaughter of eight thousand men in one battle at Dremes, besides great bloodshed and mischief in many other places, was in short time the destruction of two of the principal Authors of it, Navarre and * Guise being both slain; and the Constable the only surviving Triumvir being taken Prisoner, thereupon an Accommodation followed without difficulty, upon these Conditions among others; That all free Lords, not holding of any but the Crown, might within their Jurisdictions freely exercise the Reformed Religion; that the other Feudal...
taries might do the same in their own houses, for their own families, provided they lived not in any City or Town where the Courts resided. That in every Province certain Cities should be appointed, in the Fauxburg whereof the Protestants might Assemble at their Devotion. That in all other Cities and Towns, every one should live free in his Conscience without trouble or molestation. That all should have full Pardon for all Delinquences committed during, or by occasion of the War; declaring all to be done to a good end, without any offence to the Royal Majesty, and all be restored to their places, &c. And these and the rest were ratified in Counsel by an Edict of Pacification under the Kings own hand and Seal, verified in Parliament and Proclaimed by sound of Trumpet, in March 1562, which had they been honestly and justly observed, might by Gods blessing, have been a means of much peace and happiness to that Kingdom; but we find the contrary as to the Observe, and therefore no wonder if the contrary also to so hopeful and happy consequence and issue of it. For no sooner was this War concluded upon this Edict of Pacification, ratified with all the formalities and solemnities used for the establishing and confirming of Laws in France, but the Edict began presently to be violated, the Protestants in divers places, both disturbed in their Religious Assemblies, which this and other Laws allowed them to hold, and injured in their Civil Rights, and in divers manners frequently and grievously oppressed, and that not only by concourses and assaults of the vulgar and Rabble, who, having no pretence of Authority, were many times with like force repulsed by the others; concerning Colinius, being brought to execution, and with the terrore of his approaching execution being besides himself, he one while affirmed and another while denied it. Colinius and Benza, calling God to witness, utterly denied it, and Colinius wrote to the Queen, that before his execution, the business might be further examined; but he was in few days after executed. Thuanus, lib. 34. But was it really so, Who employed and exhorted Parry, not against a Commander of an Army, but against his Prince? who Loper? who so many more against Queen Elizabeth? who James Clement to murder Henry the third of France? who Jo. Chaffel to murder Henry the fourth? To mention no more.

† So Davila, but Thuanus, lib. 35. modo ne in pagis aut municipiis habitent, que majori jurisdictioni, regia excepta, subsunt.
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others, but even by the Presidents of the Provinces and
other Magistrates, whose duty it was to have seen the
Laws justly observed, but did the quite contrary, and that
not only by connivance at the exorbitances of the vulgar,
but also by their own actual iniquity, and (that no part or
kind of injustice might be wanting) both by force and vio-
ence, and also by fraud, by breach of faith, by subornation of
witnesses, by false calumniation. By which means and such
like arts, together with the mediation of their potent
friends at Court, the passionate young King being before
prejudiced by the Arts of the Guisun faction, especially the
Cardinal of Lorain, and further incensed by the Legate of
Spain, the Pope and Savoy, who, notwithstanding the
late Edict, urged him to banish and otherwise punish the
Protestants, and revoke the Liberty granted by it to them:
they easily obtained that the Complaints of the Protestants,
which were dayly brought to the King, were anteverted
and either totally rejected or eluded, and the persons employ-
ed to exhibit the same ordinarily so discouraged and
discouraged, that they were forced to return without an
effect, if not imprisoned, and for the greatest violences and
enormities, even murther it self (by which as some write
not so few as three thousand had perished since the Edict of
pacificatiiton) could obtain no remedy or redress. And of all
this many plain and notable examples and proofs might be
produced out of our Noble Excellent Historian, were not too long to do it. We might instance in the notable
practice of the Bishop of Pamiers, which gave the first oc-
casion of that very tumult, which that smooth Italia
Davila mentions, and while he exaggerates the actions of
the Protestants in it, with no little partiality conceals the
first and true occasion of it; but perhaps being a Courtier,
he relates it and other such passages, as they were then, by
the Artifices and means above mentioned, represented at the
Court. Nor was the Royal Authority abus’d to concur
this Iniquity and Injustice only by connivance and permission
of these things thus done by the Kings Ministers and Office
in fraud and violation of the Agreement of Peace and the Edict made in Confirmation of it, but also to give further occasion and countenance to it by divers fraudulent and elusory Interpretations of the Edict. By which means, whiles it seems, it was thought too gross plainly and directly to revoke it, they did notwithstanding indirectly elude its effect and the benefit expected by it: in such sort, that had the Protestants been of those pernicious principles, that their adversaries indeed were, and endeavoured to represent them to be, the most subtle and malicious enemies of that Kingdom could not have devised and promoted a more effectual means and method of its confusion and ruin. And the truth is this was it, which the principal Authors and Fomenters of those courses, the Guises at home and the Spaniards abroad, aimed at, and by these means in conclusion to make themselves Master of it. Which though at that time not so visible to everyone, yet was afterwards very apparent. The Pope also, because France flood too much upon their Liberties and Privileges, being a well wisher to their designs, especially of Guise, though not so much of Spain, as not desiring so potent a Neighbour. But all these oppressions and Injuries though they provoked some little tumults of the vulgar, yet were they not sufficient to produce and necessitate another Civil War, which not only the Spaniard desired, as well for his own security to divert a War from himself, as in order to his further designs, but also the Cardinal of Lorain, his Nephews now growing up, though his brother the Duke was slain; and therefore besides these, other means were thought on to do that at least, if they should fail to make way for their ends, by taking off those who most flood in their way. And to this purpose, besides some lesser Confederacies for an irreconcilable war against the Protestants, there was a Conspiracy, which was begun indeed by the Duke of Guise in his life time, but renewed again and carried on by the same faction, with the King of Spain, for the cutting off of those of the Nobility who favored the Protestant doctrine, and particularly for surpris-
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bing the Queen of Navarre and her Children, (the next heirs to the Crown of France after the family of Valois,) who were all children and in their power already) and clapping them into the Spanish Inquisition. But this being discovered by the Queen of Spain in receipt to her mother the Queen mother of France, who easily perceived what was aimed at, and by others to the Queen of Navarre, and so prevented; the Legates of Spain, the Pope and Savoy were by the means of the Cardinal of Lorain, sent to persuade the King to admit the Council of Trent in France, and to that end to invite him to a Consultation of the Catholick Princes at Nancie in Lorain, to enter into a Holy League for the extirpation of the Hereticks, but the Queen mother neither liking the admission of the Council, nor to engage so openly against the Protestants, the Legates were under some other pretences dismissed. Wherefore the next year, the King being declared out of his Minority, and with his Mother making a progress through all parts of the Kingdom, an Interview between them and the Queen of Spain accompanied with the Duke of Alva is so ordered that a more secret Consultation is held at Bayonne for the extirpation of the hereticks, and a Holy League made between the two Crowns for mutual assistance to that end, and 'at last it is concluded according to the opinion of Alva, which be said was the judgement of King Philip, to cut off the chief heads of the Protestants and then in imitation of the * Sicilian Vespers to slaughter all the Protestants to the last man: and because the intended Assembly at Moulines was already talked on, that it would be best to make a slaughter of the Nobility assembling there from all parts, and upon a sign given to exterminate the rest through out France. This Thuanus relates from Jo. Bapt. Hadrianus, who he faith wrote his history with very great fidelity and prudence, and, as is very likely, extracted many things from the Commentaries of the Duke of Tuscany. [Father to the Queen Mother] But, as he further relates, either because they did not all meet there, or that for some other cause
it seemed unseasonable, that business was deferred to another time, and was seven years after, as was then continued, put in execution at Paris at a more convenient place and occasion. But from this time the Prince of Conde and the Colinies being admonished, by their friends at Court of these bloody Counsels, and thereupon suspicions of the Court designs, were more cautious and wary. Yet was Collinus at the Assembly at Moulins in January following, and there by solemn Oath purged himself of the death of the Duke of Guise; and possibly might then make some further discovery into these secret counsels; which, if as is said, they were at first designed to be put in execution there, seem by the succeeding History to have been deferred for want of sufficient Forces ready, and of fit instruments. For afterward, by the advice of Alva, 6000 Swissers were hired, and levies of Soldiers made in Champain and Picardy, under pretense of guarding the Frontiers against Alva. But this pretence quickly vanished by Alva's withdrawing from those parts, (as it was afterwards more fully detected of fraud and collusion, by his sending them Forces in the War soon after following): nevertheless the Swissers were still retained.

43. Whereupon, all very well knowing that there was a better accord between the Courts of France and Spain, especially since the interview at Bayonne, than that there needed any such Guards, the Prince of Conde, Collinus, Andelot his Brother, and the rest of the Protestant Nobility and Gentry, began to be very sensible of their near approaching danger of ruine; and, after a long patience under Slaughters, Banishments, Calumnies, loss of their Estates and Fortunes, to consult together what course might be taken for the safety and preservation not only of their estates and liberties, but of the lives of themselves, and their wives and children. They had seen and felt the Edicts made on their behalf, partly eluded by the interpretations of new Edicts and Proscriptions, partly violated by the malice and iniquity of Judges and Presidents of the Provinces: injuries and mischiefs everywhere done to them, and even the murders of no small number connived at, and permitted to go unpunished. And besides all this, they had certain
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certain intelligence of those secret consultations held for their
destruction, and of other secret counsels held by Ambassadors
with the Pope, who fomented the hatred of those two Kings
against them, and, besides the speeches and threats frequently
given out that they were not like long to enjoy their Assemblies,
they saw plainly that those preparations, which (after
the Cities which they inhabited were dismantled, and Forts
therein built, and Garrisons put into them) were at first made
under such pretext as was no way probable, and now con-
tinued without any at all, were designed against them; and
were also informed thereof by intelligence from their friends,*
and by letters intercepted from Rome and Spain. Not-
withstanding after a consultation or two, it was resolved by
common consent of all, to use all mild and gentle means;
and therefore, since now there remained no further pretence
to retain them, the Prince of Conde, by his friends, desires that,
since Alva is now retired into Belgium, the Swissers may be
dismissed. But when instead of being dismissed, or retained
only to guard the Frontiers, they found them daily march on
nearer to the heart of the Kingdom, and had further notice
from the Court of their designs, they at last assemble in great
confusion; and though every one saw the danger which han-
ged over their heads, and was now ready to involve them all,
yet great question there was how it should be prevented: To
complain, they by experience knew what effect of that might
be expected: to Arm, though in so great occasion of neces-
sity and extremity, they easily foresaw many inconveniences
attending that. [They only unhappily not foresaw the pro-
per remedy by their great Master prescribed in such case, to
fly, though it had been to the greater humanity of the un-
civilized Indians: whereby they might perhaps better have
consulted their own safety, and also have promoted his ser-
tice in the propagation of his Truth and Gospel.] But to
Arm, besides the mischiefs of a Civil War, they thought that
could not be without many calumnies and flanders cast upon
them by their adversaries, as if they were the Authors of it,
and undertook it against the King, to whom they did not so
much as impute their former injuries and oppressions, or pre-
ent
sent dangers, but only to their adversaries, who having at first by force gotten the King into their power, abused his immaturity and authority to ruin and destroy them: and although they should take up Arms only against them, and merely for the necessary defence of the lives and fortunes of themselves, their wives, and children, and for the preservation of the Kingdom, yet should they not escape that imputation: and therefore they unanimously agreed rather being innocent, after the example of their ancestors, to bear what injuries should be done them, than to offer any to those who were indeed nocent; lest by an ill defence of a good cause they should desert that Equity or Justice which had hitherto stood on their part: till by the discourse of Andelot, a person of great authority among the Peers, and besides of known probity and virtue, they were persuaded, that after so often breach of Faith by their adversaries, there was no further trust to be given to them; and for the calumnies and slanders which should be cast upon them, the issue of their so necessary undertakings, if it pleased God to bless them in so just a cause, would sufficiently clear them. Upon which they changed their resolutions, and agreed to take up Arms for their own defence; which accordingly they did, to the no little joy of the Cardinal of Lorraine, that the business was brought to the necessity of a War, which, after several ineffectual treaties for an accommodation, shortly ensued. And these were the true causes and occasions of the Second Civil War; which after many Noblemen and Gentlemen of both sides slain at the Battel of St. Denis, and among them the Constable, (the last of the Triumvirate, and a principal Author of the late oppressions, at least by protecting the actors in them from Justice) and some other acts of Hostility was about six moneths after it began, by a fraudulent peace rather intermitted than concluded: for about six moneths after it broke out again, upon the like causes and occasions.

44. In the mean time, that we may note it by the way, Philip King of Spain, a principal promoter and inventor of those oppressions and troubles to his neighbours, escaped not a remarkable judgment of God upon him: for at this same time, his eldest, and then only son, Prince Charles, designed to kill him;
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him; or at least he thought so; or however suspecting that he favoured the Protestants in the Low-Countreys, or for some other reason, pretended so; and therefore caused him to be taken out of his bed in the night, and committed to custody. Whereupon the young Prince falling distracted, and often attempting to kill himself, he was, at last, by Philip his Fathers own command, having first consulted with the Inquisition, poysoned. Few months after, his Queen, whom he had employed in those bloody consultations at the interview at Bayonne, died great with child, and not without suspicion of poison by his own means, being, as was thought, jealous and suspitious of her too much familiarity with his own son, whom he had not long before thus murdered. And in her, who was the eldest daughter of Hen.2. of France, married at the time of his death, as hath been said, and in this late consultation in France prosecuting his cruelties, and so by her own act contracting a participation of his guilt, we may take notice of the divine vengeance pursuing his posterity. Nor was this divine vengeance upon King Philip thus remarkable only in those his domestick troubles, but also in the Civil Commotions both in the Low-Countreys, which by his bloody consultations with the Inquisition (the just judgment of God giving him up to be insatiated by them and the Jesuites) and the the cruelties of Alva, the same instrument whom he had employed to raise those troubles in France, and now made Governor of the Low-Countreys, produced there; when he thought all things so safe and secure, as that he might be at leisure to afflict in the troubles which he had raised in France; and besides these (which as they at present afflicted him, so afterward produced his loss of a great part of those Countreys) in those Commotions even in Spain it self, by the Moors in Granada, which for two years during those wars which he had caused in France, made him feel the smart at home of such commotions and troubles as he had procured to others abroad. And by these means, as on the one side his pernicious counsels were justly punished, so on the other was he diverted from prosecuting the same, by sending those Forces against the Protestants in France, which otherwise he had undoubtedly
doubtfully done. And to these might be added his loss of
Goletta in Africa, (an. 1574.) and with it the Kingdom of
Tunis, (which concerned him in point of safety and security
for navigation, as well as of reputation,) but that some few
years intervene.

45. But to return to France, the War, after six months in-
termision, upon the like causes and occasions, breaking out
again, like diseases upon a relapse, was both more violent, and
of longer continuance. Yet the counsels of the Queen-
mother prevailing, who according to the genius and mode of
her Country, fought all along rather by her Italian arts and
surprises to compass her ends, than by the hazard of a Civil
War, which Spain and the Guises most desired, as best accom-
modate to their designs, it was within the compass of two
years brought to conclusion, upon such conditions granted to the
Protestants, as were so much more fair and reasonable, by
how much with greater fraud and deep design to ensnare
them, they were granted; and yet so qualified and limited,
as not to give cause of suspicion by too great indulgence.
And now the King was grown up to a capacity of deriving
upon himself his Fathers guilt, and the guilt of all those
murthers and cruelties acted indeed under his authority, but
yet in his minority, by his own actual and voluntary manage-
ment of affairs for the future; whereunto he was in no mean
degree disposed both by his natural temper and disposition,
and by his education: by nature beyond measure choleric,
says Davila, and yet had from his Mother derived so great a
share of the Italian genius of deep and subtil dissimulation,
as did most notably qualifie him for the most effectual exe-
cution of malice and revenge. Nor was his Education less
accommodate thereunto, having from his childhood been in-
jured to the effution of his peoples blood, for which purpose,
as was said, it was that he and his brothers, while yet chil-
dren, were by the Duke of Guise caused to be spectactors of
the slaughters at Amboife, where the River was covered with
the dead bodies, and the streets with the blood of those who
by precipitate condemnations without due process of Law,
were executed and slaughtered, and the whole Town turned
into
into a kind of grove of Gallowies and Gibbets, with people hanged on them: he was arrived to the age of twenty years and upwards in the midst of Tumults, Oppressions, and Civil Wars; had imbibed as great a a prejudice against the Protestants, as all the arts and calumnies of the Cardinal of Lorain and that Faction could infuse into him; and that incensed by the foulest mis-representations of the late actions of the Protestants that could be devised, and by his Mother was instructed in all the Italian arts of Government and Policy; Optimis a mare ad bene re igitur; regrabendum monitis inscrutabilis, says he of himself. Being thus qualified for it, he now of himself undertakes the execution of the conclusions at Bayonne; and resolving to prosecute the same, not after the Guisian and Spanish methods by the continuance of the Civil War, but by the more subtil and safe Italian method of his Mother, his first business is to beget in the Protestants an opinion and hope, that since he was now grown up to take the reins of Government into his own hands, they might henceforth expect to find more reasonable and moderate usage under his Government, than they had received from them who had abused his tender years to injure and oppress them; and to raise in them a confidence and assurance of his favourable disposition towards them. And therefore, having granted them as fair conditions of Peace, as without danger of suspicion of his too great favour he could, he speedily takes order for the effectual restraining and repelling of the injuries and oppressions which were presently after the peace concluded begun again against the Protestants, and gives them leave to call and hold Synods: (by which means, had he dealt sincerely, and proceeded soberly and steadily therein, he might certainly much better have secured the peace and happiness of his Kingdoms to himself and his successors, than he did by those contrary, crafty, and violent courses which he followed) with the chief of the Protestant Princes and Nobility he deals more particularly. He had even at the treaty of Peace caused some speeches to be given out, as if upon the conclusion of that Peace at home, he intended a War in the Low-Coultreys against the Spaniard, which could not but have been
been for the benefit and advantage of the Protestants there:
And shortly after upon another occasion causes the like spee-
ches to be repeated again, and a motion by the by to be made
in secret of a Marriage between the Lady Margaret his Sister
and Henry Prince of Navar. Of both which there is again
a proposition made by some Protestant Gentlemen sent by the
King to Navar and Colinius for that purpose, and to assure
them of the Kings extraordinary good will towards them,
and to invite them to come to Court, which the King also by
letters and other special messengers earnestly solicited. And
to create a further confidence and assurance in them and the
rest of the Protestant Nobility of his sincerity, he causes an
overture of a Marriage to be made to Queen Elizabeth of
England, between her and his brother the Duke of Anjou,
and moreover enters into a League with her, and at the same
time also with the Protestant Princes of Germany against the
Spaniard. And having by these arts at last prevailed with
Navar and Colinius to come to Court; with the Prince he
proceeds in the treaty of Marriage; and Colinius is received
with all the expressions of favour and kindness imaginable:
he consults with him how to carry on the Belgick War, gives
him leave to raise what Forces he will in the frontiers in or-
der to it; and in so great favour is Colinius received at
Court by the King, his Mother, and Brothers, that the Guises
forsooth are so offended at it, as thereupon to leave the Court.
In sum, such were the arts and deep dissimulation which were
used, as effectually deceived this prudent person, and a great
part of the Nobility; and such was the King's care of secre-
cy, and to whom his designs were imparted, that as soon as
he perceived that Lignerolus (who yet was his brother the
Duke of Anjou's confident) was but acquainted with the
design, he presently caused him to be murthered. The ma-
nagement of this first business having succeeded according to
the King's mind, the next thing to be considered, is the manner
how to accomplish the design. And of this he holds a con-
sultation with the Queen his Mother, his brother Henry Duke of
Anjou, (who was afterward Henry 3.) the Cardinal of Lo-
rain, Claud his Brother Duke of Anmale, Henry the young
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Duke of Guise, and Ren. Birage Vice-Chancellor, and some others. This done away, goes the Cardinal to Rome, to treat with the Pope about these secret Counsels; and to manage the present affairs with more secrecy, he goes seemingly as discontented at the Court of France. At last the Marriage concluded, and the Pope's dispensation obtained, the time of solemnity is appointed; whereunto, besides the principal Nobility of the Protestant Religion in France, from England is invited the Earl of Leicester and the Lord Burleigh, and out of Germany the Prince Elector Palatine's Sons, that if it were possible they might at once cut off all the heads of the Protestant Religion. For now in conclusion is put in execution that horrible Massacre, which for the matter was as long since as the interview at Bayonne resolved on, though for the manner and method of execution not till of late fully concluded. And first they begin with the Queen of Navar, who being a woman and a Queen, they thought fit, first to take her away by poison, and that so prepared and administered by the perfume of a pair of gloves, as to work only upon her brain, and put her into a fever, and therefore her body being dissected in open view, but her head under colour of respect untouched, it was divulged, that by the testimony of skilful Physicians she died of a fever, as Davila relates the story. The next to be made sure of in particular was that brave person Colinius, a man who, though through necessity ingaged in them, yet detected, out of an innate hatred of such broils, the late Civil Wars even to his own ruine and destruction at last, as Taumans upon several occasions often notes, and as real a well-wisher of his King and Countreys good as any Subject in France, as appeared more fully in some instances discovered after his death. But the King and Queen-mother by the arts of the Guisian Faction being possessed of a contrary opinion of him, after all their fraudulent expressions of favour to him, caused him to be shot by a retainer of the Guisian Family, to secure themselves from the imputation of so odious a fact; but being thereby only maimed, not killed out-right, they presently according to their former dissimulations, repair to his lodgings to visit him, and
Original of the Powder Plot:

and with great shew of sorrow for the accident, appoint him Physicians and Chirurgeons, and a guard for his defence, and order a strict search for the apprehension of the affair. This done upon the eve of St. Bartholomew being Sunday, the Duke of Guise by order from the King, having about twilight given direction to the Provost des Marchand (the chief head of the people of Paris) to provide 2000 armed men, with every one a white sleeve on their left arm, and white crosses in their hats, to be ready upon notice instantly to execute the Kings commands, and that the Sheriffs of the several Wards should also be ready, and cause lights, upon the ringing of the bell of the Palace-clock, to be set up in every window; himself at the hour prefixed, with the Duke of Aumale, and Monsieur d'Angoulesme the King's bastard-Brother, and other Commanders and Souldiers to the number of 300, went to the Admiral Colinius his house, and having forcibly entred the Court-gate kept by a few of the King of Navar's Halbardiers and the servants of the house, who were all killed without mercy, they likewise kill the Admiral himself, (and threw his body out of the window), Felinius his son-in-law, with other persons of quality, and all the rest that had relation to him. This done, Monsieur d'O, Colonel of the King's Guards calls out the principal Protestants that were in the Louvre one by one, who being come into the Court, were all killed by the Souldiers, that stood in two long ranks with their arms ready for that purpose: there died divers Noblemen and persons of great quality, and others to the number of 200. At the same time the bell gave the sign, and those who were prepared for the deed, having received order what to do, fell a killing the Protestants throughout all the lodgings and houses where they were dispersed, and made an infinite slaughter of them without any distinction of age, sex or condition, and of many of the Papists among the rest. And those who fled were pursued by the Duke of Guise with a great many horse and foot, and being overtaken, some without shoes, some without saddles, some without bridles, but all more or less unprovided, were scattered and cut off. There were killed in the City that day
and the next above 10000, whereof above 500 were Barons, Knights and Gentlemen, who had held the chiefest employments in the War, and were now purposely met together from all parts to honor the King of Navar's Marriage. A sad time it was; what through the noise and clatter of those who every where ran to killing and carrying away of their prey, and the doleful groans and sad cries of those who were slain and murthcred without mercy, young and old, rich and poor, men and women, women great with child, and others with their little children sucking at their breasts, and in the dead time of the night plucked out of their beds and houses; what with the horrid spectacle of dead bodies thrown out of the windows, and trod about the streets, and the channels running down with streams of bloud into the River. And yet so little moved were the Court Ladies with all this, that without either fear or shame, in an impudent manner they beheld and stood gazing upon the naked bodies of the Noblemen and Gentlemen which lay on heaps before the Court. The day after the Admirals death, the Duke of Anjou with the Regiment of the Guards went through all the City and Suburbs, causing those houses to be broken open that made any resistence; but all the Protestants were either already dead, or else being terrified, had put white crosses in their hats, (the general mark of the Papists) endeavouring by that means, and by hiding themselves to save their lives; but being pointed at in the streets by any one, or discovered any other way, they were without mercy torn in pieces by the people, and cast into the River. The day before this terrible execution, the King dispatched Posts into divers parts of the Kingdom, commanding the Governors of Cities and Provinces to do the like. And the same night at Meaux, and the days ensuing at Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Angiers, Tholouze, and many other places, but above all at Lyons, there was a most bloody slaughter of the Protestants, without any respect of age, sex, or quality of persons. Mott sad and lamentable stories, says Davila, might be here related; for this cruelty was prosecuted in so many several places, with such variety of accidents, against people of all conditions, as it was credibly repor-
reported that there were slain above forty thousand Protestants in few days. The King himself, as Cicarela relates, told the Pope's Nuncio that seventy thousand and more were slain. Some days after the King dispatched his Grand Provost with all diligence to seize upon Colinius his Wife and Children; but his eldest Son, with the widow-Lady his Mother-in-law, and others being already fled secretly to Geneva, the younger children both male and female were condemned to death in their tender years. About two days after the Massacre was finished at Paris, a Jubilee was there appointed, and a publick Thanksgiving kept by the King, the whole Court, and a great confluence of the people, for the business so happily managed according to their wish and desire. In memory whereof St. Bartholomew's day was by a decree of the Parliament of Paris appointed to be observed as an Anniversary Thanksgiving day.

This horrible and most barbarous and inhumane cruelty is highly extolled by the Italian Writers, as a good and laudable deed, and the politick contrivance of it as most worthy the subtil wit of a magnanimous Prince. And certain it is, that the news of its being effected was received at Rome with triumphant joy by the new Pope and his Cardinals, but how far his predecessors were concerned in the contrivance and promotion of it, in regard of the great secrecy wherewith all was managed, would be very difficult fully to discover, as to all the particulars and circumstances, yet that they had a great hand in it, is evident enough in many passages of the story. For when after the first Civil War, the King, instructed by the Queen-Mother, had dismissed the Ambassadors sent in the joint names of the King of Spain, the Pope and the Duke of Savoy, with thanks to their Masters for their wholesome counsel, and proffers of Forces and Aid, to expel and extirpate Heresy out of his Dominions; assuring them that he would live according to the rites of the Church of Rome, and take care that all his people do the like, and that he had concluded the peace to that end, to expel his enemies out of his Kingdom; and promising by Ministers of his own to acquaint the Pope and other Princes particularly with
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his resolutions; they resolved under pretence of a Progress, among other things, to come to a Parly with the Duke of Savoy in Dolphine, with the Pope's Ministers at Avignon, and with the King of Spain or the Queen his Wife upon the Confines of Guienna, that so they might communicate their Counsels to them without the hazard of trysting French-men, who either through dependence or kindred, might be moved to reveal them to the Protestants. And having sufficiently informed and fully satisfied Savoy with their intentions and way, designed to free themselves without noise or danger from the trouble of the Protestants; at Avignon they confer with Ludovico Antinori one of the Pope's trusty Ministers, and a Florentine, being according to the Queen's desire come thither, and give that Answer to the Pope's Embassy which they would not trust to the Ambassadors, concerning their purpose to extirpate Calvinism by secret stratagems, without the danger or tumult of new wars. And here no doubt was some matters of no small moment transacted, for the King having gone by Arles and Aix as far as Marsilis, returned again to Avignon immediately under the Pope's Jurisdiction. But what ever they were in particular, so well it seems was the Pope pleased with the means and method resolved upon for the extirpation of Calvinism, that in order thereunto he consented that the Publication of the Council of Trent in France should be deferred till such time as they had brought their designs to maturity. And probably for the same purpose, by the mediation of the King and Queen-Mother, de- tisled from his Excommunication of the Queen of Navar, which by his Monitory he had threatened against her. And at his instance was the next year held that Consultation at Bayonne before mentioned, at which he desired that the King of Spain himself should have been present, to whom it is not to be doubted but he sent his advice concerning what was there to be resolved. But this Pope dying soon after, his successor Pope 5. being as yet unacquainted with the mystery of them, began presently to be offended with the proceedings in France, till he was better informed of all those reasons which Ludovico Antenori had represented to his predecessor, with which
which he remained fully content and satisfied, says Davila. The Queen also acquainted him with her Counsels, not only by Cardinal Sancta Crux, four years before they were executed at Paris, by him desiring the Pope's confirmation, but also by letters under her own hand, as Capilupus testifies, who faith that he had seen the very letters themselves. Nor was he only privy to these Counsels of the King and Queen-Mother, but likewise communicated his counsel and advice in the same business to them. He sent to the King of France and his Ministers most excellent instructions for the rooting out of those Hereticks out of that Kingdom, says Cicarella, but tells us not what they were, yet that is not hard to guess at from the consideration of his nature and actions, (as hath been mentioned before) as well disposed to promote cruel and bloody designs as could be. And when those Civil Wars, which for the space of three years interrupted the course of those Italian policies and stratagems, broke out, he ordered them also the assistance of his Forces. But when the War was concluded, and the King with his Mother and Cabinet-Council, had resolved to make a Marriage between the young Prince of Navar, being now grown up, and the King's Sister, to be the train to draw the Protestant party into that snare which had been so long before devised, the Pope not yet acquainted with this circumstance, (for though the thing which was to be done had been long resolved on, yet the method and manner how to bring it about, was often altered, as accidents and occasions did intervene) when he heard of the treaty of the Marriage, but had not notice of the mystery of it, and moreover heard of the preparations for a War against Spain, he began to be suspicious that the King had forgotten his former kindness and excellent instructions, and therefore ordered his Nephew Cardinal Alexandrino in his return from Spain, to debate the business with him. Whereupon the King assured him that he did all this to obey the instructions of P. Pius. But P. Pius lived not to receive this satisfaction, or not long after, not to see that joyful day which his successor Greg. 13. did, and kept with great joy and solemnity for the wished success of these Counsels. For the promoting where-
of, being perswaded by the Cardinal of Lorain, (and told
that this Marriage was intended as a trap to destroy the
Prince of Navar and his Protestant party) he presently gave
his dispensation for the celebrating of it, and encouraged the
design: which was as much as he could do at present, things
being already ripe for execution. But having received an ac-
count of the Maffacre by letters from his Legate at Paris, he
read his Letters in the Consistory of Cardinals, where present-
ly it was decreed that they should all go directly thence to
St. Marks, and there solemnly give thanks to Almighty God
for so great a blessing conferred upon the Roman See and
the Christian world; and that the Monday following a pub-
lick Thanksgiving should be celebrated in the Church of Mi-
nerva, and that the Pope and Cardinals should be at it; and
thereupon a Jubilee should be published throughout all the
whole Christian World, and among other causes thereof ex-
pressed, this was the first, To give thanks to God for the de-
struction in France of the enemies of the Truth, and of the
the Church. Toward the evening the Guns were fired at St.
Angelo, Bonefires every where made, and nothing omitted of
those things which used to be done upon the greatest victories
for the Church of Rome. Two daies after there was a Pro-
cession to St. Lewis, with very great resort of the Nobility and
people, the Bishops and Cardinals going before; then the
Switzers; then the Embassadors of Kings and Princes; then
under a Canopy the Pope himself, a Deacon Cardinal on
either side him, and the Emperors Ambassadors bearing up
his train, and a troop of Knights and Gentlemen following.
Being come to the Church, which was adorned with more
than ordinary magnificence, Mass was said by the Cardinal
of Lorain, (who for the incredible joy which he conceived
for the so much desired news, had ordered a thousand * Franks
to be given to the Messenger, who was a Gentleman sent by
his Brother the Duke of Aumale). Upon the Church-
doors was set an Inscriptiow, in which the Cardinal of Lorain,
in the name of the King of France, did congratulate the
Pope and the Collledge of Cardinals the most wonderful ef-
fects and incredible issue of their Counsels and Assitances.

This
This done, Cardinal Ursin is appointed to go Legate into France, who speedily took his journey, and being come as far as Lions, (where, next to Paris, was the most bloody slaughter) he began to extol with many commendations, the Faith of the Citizens; and publickly praised Boidon, a most vile, wicked fellow, who afterward came to a death worthy of his wicked life, being executed at Clermont, but now was the ring-leader and principal promoter of the barbarous and horrid slaughters and murthers committed at Lions; and upon him he also, out of the plenitude of his (legatine) power conferred some of the Pope’s favours and graces. And although by the King’s Ministers (who were now much otherwise affected with the sense of the barbarous slaughters of their Country-men, than was the Pope and his Ministers) he was admonished to be very sober and sparing in his speech of the Massacre, yet could he not hold, but everywhere, both in private conference and in publick, to commend the King’s prudence and magnanimity in that business: and so full was he of it, that being come to Paris, and endeavouring to perswade the King to the admittance of the Council of Trent in France, he urged it with this as a most weighty argument, That the memory of the late fact, which is to be commended to all ages, as conducing to the glory of God, and the dignity of the holy Roman Church, might be as it were sealed by the approbation of the holy Synod. For so would it be manifest to all, who now are, or hereafter shall be, that the King consented to the destruction of so many lives, not out of hatred or revenge, or sense of any private injury of his own, but out of an ardent desire to propagate the glory of God. That what could not be expected whilst the faction of the Protestants stood, nor they being taken away, the Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion, which by the Synod of Trent is cleared and defended from the venom of the Sectaries, might be established beyond controversy, and without exception, through all the Provinces of the French Dominion. But the King had no mind to admit the Council, much less to make that an occasion to perpetuate the memory of that fact which he was already contriving how to excuse. And therefore was the Legate dismissed without any effect.
to that particular, to the Pope’s no great satisfaction; yet he solaced himself with achievement of the Massacre, which, because it had happened in the beginning of his Papacy, he reckoned a most prosperous omen, and among his greatest felicities. And to increase his comfort, the head of Colinius was sent him to Rome for a present.

47. But alas, in France, all men generally, and the King himself had already far other thoughts of that Tragedy; and the Legate found a far other face of things there at his coming, than he expected, and had left at Rome: for the King now more sensible of the foulness and odiousness of the fact, when done, (as is usual in such cases, the heinousness of sin seldom appearing to wicked minds till actually committed) was in great perplexity whether to own it or not, and how to excuse it. And therefore it was long debated at Court, whether to admit the Legate at all, or by some handsome excuses to put him off without audience, though out of respect to the Pope, and to the person of the Legate, thought well affected to the interest of France, it was at last permitted, but not without such caution and admonition to him as hath been mentioned. For this unhappy King had no sooner accomplished these deep designs, from which he promised himself so great security, content and happiness, but he found himself surprized and involved in inextricable difficulties, perplexity and misery. And besides the daily secret horrors of his mind and conscience, which appeared in their nocturnal effects and productions, disturbing and interrupting his sleep with direful and frightful dreams, which drove him to the use of Saul’s remedy, by Musick to refresh and quiet his disturbed spirits, that anxiety which arose in his mind after the fact committed, from his fears and doubts of what might be the ill consequence of it, was now no less than his hopes had been before of that happiness and tranquility which he had promised himself that he should obtain by it. For though he had before promised himself great security by the destruction of the heads, and slaughter of so great a party of the Protestants, yet having done the deed, that desperation into which he apprehended his perfidious cruelty had driven those who remained,
mained, and by the articles of the last agreement of Peace held Rochel and other strong places in their possession, rendered them not a little formidable to him, and perplexed his mind with doubts and fears of new troubles from so just and great provocation. These cares of what might be the consequence of this action at home, were increased and aggravated by his apprehension of what effects so barbarous an act (which is reported to have filled with stupor and amazement, the Great Turk himself at the hearing of it) might produce in his neighbours abroad, lest they thereby might be moved out of commiseration to send their aid and relief to his so injuriously oppressed subjects. Wherefore all ways and means were studied and devised to give some satisfaction to the Protestants at home by treaties and favourable Edicts, (though his former often and foul breaches of his Faith made this very difficult) and to excuse the foulness of the late fact both to them and to the Princes and States abroad. It had been considered before-hand, out of that sense and pre-apprehension they had of the wickedness and foulness of the design, how to cast the imputation of it upon the Guises, who also out of the same sense and pre-apprehension endeavoured all they could to avoid the odium of it. And being done, the King immediately, whether affrighted and terrified, says Thuanus, with the atrocity of the fact, or fearing the odium of it, dispatched his Letters to the Presidents of the Provinces, to lay all the blame upon the Guises, alleging that it was done without his privity or consent; that they, fearing that the friends and relations of Colinius would revenge the injury done to him upon them, had raised the tumult, which he was not able to repress in time; with a great deal to this purpose. And to the same purpose were Letters written by the Queen, and sent not only through France, but also to the Helvetians, and dispersed through England, and in divers parts of Germany. But as it usually happens upon the perpetration of such horrid crimes and wickedness, that the authors of them distracted with the horrors of their guilty conscience, when they find no satisfaction or assurance of security in any course they take to conceal or palliate their crime, continually devise and attempt new ways and means,
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and by their often change and inconstancy to any, promote
that discovery which they seek to evade; so it happened in
this case. For as these Letters were disproved by his ex-
press commands, which, as Davila relates, he had but few
days before sent out; so doth he now again in few days after
contract the same, and in full Senate declares that all was done
by his own will and command, and orders so much to be en-
tered of record in the publick acts of the Court. And though
to the Pope and Spaniard he owned that he did it upon the
score of Religion, yet knowing that with others, this would
not so much excuse as aggravate and increase the odium of it,
some other cause was to be devised and pretended. And
therefore first to extenuate the fact, he pretends that his com-
mands extended only to the cutting off of Colinius and his
Confederates, which thing being once undertaken, the tumult
at Paris proceeded further than he intended, or was able, so
soon as he desired, to restrain; and that other Cities taking
example from thence, did the like without his license; and
to his great grief and trouble: and then for the cause pretends
a Conspiracy against himself, his Mother and Brothers, and
Navar himself, and to make Conde King, and afterwards to
kill him also, and set up Colinius. And though the causes
pretended against Colinius, in the judgment of the most pru-
dent men, who were not at all addicted to the Protestant
party, says Thuanus, had not so much colour of truth as will
persuade even children to believe them, much less any suffi-
cient proof; yet to put some colour upon the business, a Trial
was ordered to be had in form of Law; and two days after
a Jubilee (as hath been said) was appointed, and an Edict pub-
lished, wherein the King declares, that what had happened
was done by his express command, but not out of hatred to
the (Protestant) Religion, or to derogate from the Edicts of
Pacification, which he still desired should be inviolably and
religiously observed; but to prevent the Conspiracy of Co-
linius and his Confederates, &c. and Letters to like purpose
were sent to the Presidents of the Provinces, declaring, as was
pretended, the True causes of the tumult, and comman-
ding them to treat the Protestants in all friendly manner, &c.
And that nothing might be wanting, says Thuanus, to the
height
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height of madness, that they might seem to glory and triumph in so detestable an enterprise, in emulation of the ancient Emperors, Medals were coined with the Inscriptions, VIRTUS IN REBELLEIS & PIETAS EXCITAVIT JUSTITIAM. Divers other such like arts were used to put a face upon the business, and make it look like a happy prevention of some terrible Conspiracy. But what was the most detestable of all, by the accumulating of sin upon sin, as is usual in such cases, was the gross abuse of Justice it self, whereby the Courts of Justice were drawn into the participation of the guilt, by an horrible and abominable Sentence, not only against Colinius who was dead, but his children who were alive; and also against Monsieur de Briquemat, who had fled to the English Ambassadors; and Arnald Cavagnes Master of Requests, who had hid himself hard-by with a friend, who admonished him of the danger, but were both taken and imprisoned in the Palace, and the same day that Sentence was given against Colinius, were condemned to death, which Cavagnes suffered with admirable constancy, reciting Prayers out of the Psalms by heart, in Latin, for three hours together, with his eyes steadily fixed towards Heaven: but his companion at first, affrighted with his approaching death, made an unworthy offer for the redemption of his life, to discover a means how to surprize Rochel; yet afterwards, when the King refused that condition, but offered him another, which was, that he should acknowledge himself guilty of the crimes objected to him, and confess before the people that there was a Conspiracy entred into by Colinius against the King, he refused that, and chose rather to suffer death, which accordingly he did with Cavagnes. While these & such like arts were used to excuse and disguise the business at home; to do it abroad, besides the Queen's Letters above-mentioned, were several Ambassadors employed in Helvetia, Germany, England, Poland, and other foreign Countries, where they either resided before, or were sent on purpose for this service, and Learned men suborned and perswaded to do it by printed Books. But all these, not having any certain ground of truth, as a common foundation for all to build upon, while each alleged, not what he did know or believe to be true, but what his own
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genius dictated as most plausible and likely to put some colour upon the business: some extenuating the fact as to the King's acting in it; and others on the contrary justifying the same; some excusing it only by way of recrimination for things done in the late Wars; and others insisting upon the pretended conspiracy of Colinius, were not only confuted by others, who also in print answered their writings and speeches, but of themselves betrayed and detected the vanity of their several pretences and allegations, by their inconstancy and disagreement one with another. The Learned Lawyer Fr. Baldwin was hereunto solicited, but was more ingenuous than to be retained in the patronage of so foul a cause: and yet among those who undertook this office, besides the Mercenaries, were some persons otherwise of honour and repute, who, because what was done could not be undone, partly to consult the credit of their King and Countrey, partly to accommodate the present state of affairs, endeavoured either by feigned praises, or officious excuses, to cover and palliate that fact which in their hearts they detected. And some were therein so far transported, and over-shot themselves, out of zeal for the honour and good of their Countrey, that our ingenuous author deplores their actions in it, especially as to that foul busines of the Trial and Sentence above-mentioned. But generally the French Courtiers, who were more ingenuous than to prostitute their reputation by asserting that piti-ful pretence of the conspiracy, yet used all their art to repre-sent the case, as a sudden accidental thing, and not so long before contrived as the Italians and Spaniards relate.

48. It is very usual and even natural to men, especially to the more considering minds, when any thing rare and extraordinary doth occur, not to rest satisfied with the bare contemplation of the thing, but also to reflect back, and enquire into the causes of it. And therefore since Thuanus relates that the more prudent of those, who, being no way addicted to the Protestant party, with good and honest meaning sought how to excuse this execrable fact, yet in their heart detecting the same, did also seriously consider the causes of it, their sense and judgment in that respect may likewise deserve our obser-vation.
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They saw apparently that so infamous and pernicious counsels could not proceed but from minds so strangely infatuated and blinded, and did seem to argue a special judgment of God upon them. And of that, the causes to which it might be reasonably attributed were very obvious and easy to be discovered. For such was the profaneness, debauchery and wickedness, which prevailing in the King, (through his evil Education by his Mother and those Tutors to whom she committed him) and in the Court, were by the evil example thereof derived to the City, and thence to the Countrey-Towns and Villages, and so diffused through the whole Kingdom, as could not but provoke the Holy Majesty of God to send down his judgments upon them. This is the sum of their judgment, only he gives more particular instances in the sins of common Swearing, Adultery and Fornication, to which others add many more, and tell us in general, that then never was there any more vicious or more corrupted Court. And indeed, those were such causes, as, being so obvious and notorious, no serious Christian believing, and instructed in the Sacred Scriptures, but would readily assent in the case. For thus doth St. Paul inform the Romans, of such as hold the truth in unrighteousness, (and our Romanists might do well to be admonished by it) that because when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, their foolish heart was darkened, and he gave them up to the lusts of their own hearts, to vile affections, and to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient, being filled with all Injustice, Fornication, Murder, Deceit, breach of Faith, &c. Whatever be the profession which such men make of Religion, most certain it is, that there is either great error and corruption in their Religion, or little sincerity and life in their profession, or lastly, such impotence in the professors, that the prevalence of their sensual affections doth easily over-power and fascinate their reason; which argues their desertion by that Sacred Spirit which infuses light and life, and heat and power into humane souls, as they are disposed to receive it, no less than doth the Sun communicate its kind influences to the corporal and animal nature. And as
this doth maturate and sweeten crude and four fruits, and confirm and strengthen the tender plants; so doth that, where it is indeed heartily embraced, admirably dispose mens minds to sweetness and tranquility in themselves, to sweetness and devotion to God, to sweetness, kindness and benignity to men; and makes these dispositions strong and powerful in them. Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is power: it informs the mind and understanding, it reforms the will and affections, and transforms the whole man into its own likeness. These are the fruits of the Spirit by which we are to judge of the tree. This is that whereby all true Christians have a real and internal, not meerly external or political, communion and union with their Head Christ Jesus, and through him with the fountain, from whom, by him, it is derived to all his true members; (of his fulness we all receive), and one with another, they are all partakers of the same Spirit, (a nearer alliance than that of blood) and are filled with a tender affection to all the children of the same Father, and love to all the creatures of their great Lord, and for his sake even to their enemies, to those that persecute and injure them; pitying their blindness and madness, and desiring their conversion, not destruction. But no sooner or further is any man deserted by this blessed Spirit, or devoid of his sweet influences, but he presently becomes so much the more obnoxious to all the malevolent aspects of wicked spirits, and is impregnated and filled with the poison of their infections, which excites and exalgitates to exorbitancy his sensual affections, dementates his understanding, and continually somentes and promotes the assimilation and likeness of their own nature in him, cherishing and fructifying the roots which are in him, of Pride, Ambition, Envy, Malice, Revenge, Perfidiousness, and all manner of lusts and wickedness, according to his particular disposition. And because there is so strong and powerful a propensity to Religion rooted and fixed in the very nature of man, as is very difficult, if not impossible utterly to extirpate or depress this in such a person, is by the subtil operation of these agents, either, if more languid and remiss, diver-
diverted, by exciting him to an eager prosecution of his other more strong inclinations; or, if more intense and active, perverted either into superstition, or some other conceived heroick acts of a partial Religion, consisting and concurring with the satisfaction of his other inclinations: whence ordinarily proceeds much of that heat and zeal which we frequently see in men for their several parties, for the shelves and out-sides of Religion; for opinions and notions, no more necessary to be known and determined to make men compleat Christians, than the speculations of Philosophers; and often for pernicious and destructive principles, especially in the Romanists; and inconsiderate endeavours, by fraud and injustice, sedition or oppression, and violent persecutions, and such like most unchristian actions, for the advancement of the cause which they espouse; whereby they encourage themselves with secret hopes to expiate their licentiousness and indulgence to their own inclinations in other matters, and easily persuade themselves that so long as they are such good Catholics, or well affected to the truth and the cause of God and his Church, that all must needs be well with them. And hence proceeded this not only unchristian, but barbarous and inhumane, perfidious, bloody action of Charles 9. Hence the suspicion of his Brother and Successors Henr. 3. Hence all the licentiousness and wickedness which we see everywhere in the World. And to all this is no small occasion given by the complying Conduct, Commutations of Penances, and other practices of the Jesuites and other Romanists. But the same Apostle informs us of another cause near of kin to this, and no less effectual to the provocation of this judgment of obduration of mens minds, which is very likely to have had no little influence in this case: and that is the resisting, rejection, or not receiving and embracing of the Truth when offered: which he mentions in a passage, which, if I be not much mistaken, concerns the defection of the Church of Rome, and hath been so understood by the Christians in all ages, (though somewhat obscurely and imperfectly, as is usual in the interpretations of prophetick writings before they be fulfilled), as well agrees with the conjecture. Because they receive
receive not the love of the Truth, faith he, For this cause God shall send them strong delusions. And this 'tis very likely had no small influence in this case. For if out of the Roman Religion we take all that which the Protestants receive and profess, which the Romanists must needs confess to be truly Catholick, the greatest part of the rest hath been either introduced, or so new modelled and accommodated to the secular interest and advantage of the See of Rome within this 600 years last past, as hath not only given occasion to most of the troubles and mischiefs in Europe ever since, but very much injured, dishonoured and prejudiced Christianity itself. And when it pleased God by his providence, both long since, and again of latter days, to raise up a people in the Confines of France, who retaining that which of all sides is confessed to be truly Catholick, rejected those novel corruptions and abuses, (though perhaps with them some things which might be tolerated), and thereby gave so fair occasion to the French upon further consideration, and with more mature deliberation to reform the same, (as Queen Eliz. did here), that a great part of the most sober and pious of the French Nation, even Bishops and Cardinals, being thereupon sensible of the need of it, did earnestly desire and solicit the convention of a National Synod to that purpose; the French Kings were unhappily so far wrought upon by the arts of Rome, as not only ungratefully to reject that benefit offered by the Divine Providence, but at last to persecute those who were made the occasions of it. And this seems to have been so manifest a cause of the troubles, mischiefs and adversities, which by the providence of God have befallen that Nation and their Princes since the beginning of that Century, that it is strange (but that the height of contentions then on foot might perhaps hinder it) that neither those prudent considering men did take notice of it in this case, nor yet our judicious and candid Author, who relates their judgment, and had himself observed almost as much in Lewis 12. If it be fit, says he, for a mortal man to speak his opinion concerning the eternal Counsels of God, I should say that there was no other cause why that most excellent Prince, in so many respects commendable and worthy of a better
better fortune, should meet with so many conflicts with adversi-
ties, than that he had contracted so near alliance with Pope Alex-
ander 6. and cherished the cruelties, lusts, perfidiousness, and for-
tunes of that impure Father (the Pope) and of his Son (Caesar
Borgia) a man drowned in all kind of wickedness: and then re-
ligating the King's calling of a Synod, upon his provocations
by the next Pope Julius 2. (undoubtedly so ordered for the
same purpose by the Divine Providence) first at Lions, and
then at Pisa for the reformation of the Church, and his me-
dals coined with this Inscription, PERDAM BABYLONIS
NOMEN, and how after all this, he renounced the Council
at Pisa through the importunities of his wife, and subscribed
to the Lateran Council to gratify the next Pope Leo 10. and
adding that, in the judgment of many he had done more ad-
visedly if he had persevered in his purpose of reforming the
Church, he concludes; These therefore were the causes both of
the declination of our Empire, and of the adverse fortune of
Lewis: who after all his other misfortunes died without in-
fue male, which he much desired to succeed him. And in
this King is very observable, that as there was in him no want
of magnanimity, humane prudence, or care for himself, the
 glory of his Kingdom, and prosperity of his affairs, to which
his misfortunes could be imputed, which makes the judg-
ment of God therein the more apparent; so neither could
any vice or other fault be noted in him, which might be af-
signed as a cause of that judgment, but what is here men-
tioned, the neglect of that duty whereunto he was so fairly
led, and whereof he was so far convinced, as that he began to
put it in execution. In the time of his successor Francis 1.
all things seemed to conspire in giving occasion every where
to the Reformation of the Church, what through the Pope's
differences with several Princes, which produced the abolition
and abrogation of the Papal Authority for some time in
Spain, and afterward in England; what through that abo-
minable imposture of Indulgences and other their gross
wickedness and abuses, which provoked Martin Luther and
other learned men to search into, and detect their mystery of
iniquity, and discover many gross errors and abuses crept into
the

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the Church, whereupon ensued the Reformation happily begun and promoted by many Protestant Princes and Cities in Germany, and other parts. But Francis not only neglected the occasion, and rejected and made himself unworthy of the common benefit of it, but moreover contracted that alliance with the Popes, and at last began those persecutions, the unhappy consequence of both which we are now relating. [Nor was the King of Spain much more happy in his persecutions of the Protestants in the Low-Countries, the consequence whereof was the loss of the best part of them: and all he got by the Inquisition in Spain, was but the exclusion of light and truth from his people, and his own slavery to the strong delusions and infatuations of the Jesuites, who precipitated him into divers dishonourable, unsuccessful, and to his own affairs pernicious undertakings.]

49. But to return to the effects and consequences of that bloody act, whereof what hath yet been related, was but the first fruits of those Counsels from which so much happiness, tranquility and glory were so long expected, instead whereof was reaped only horror, shame and anxiety, whereunto succeeded a plentiful harvest of other real troubles. For the King and that Faction which prevailed at Court, after so many former breaches of publick Faith, by this so inhumane cruelty and foul breach of Faith, so much the greater, by how much the greater arts and deep dissimulation had been used before to raise a trust & confidence of their sincerity, had now driven those of the Protestants who remained alive to that distrust and jealousy (the usual fruits of perfidiousness) of what-ever Letters, Promises, Edicts, or other means could be devised to satisfy them, that nothing could give them any assurance of their lives and safety, but retaining those places which by the last agreement of Peace were left in their possession for their security, (and were now, had the agreement been performed, to have been delivered) to stand upon their defence. And though many of them not only doubting of their strength, but making scruple of the justice of the cause, now since not only the Princes of the blood, to whom the administration of the Kingdom did belong, were absent, but
moreover the King himself was grown a man, did dispute against it, and from both those grounds urged all the arguments they could: yet against the first of these, the horror of these slaughters, which they had so lately seen, and did foresee, prevailed, and despair made the most timorous courageous. And this also made the answer which was returned by others to the latter, more satisfactory to the rest; that to take up Arms for their just defence, not to offer violence to any, but only to repel the injury, and save themselves from slaughter, was neither by the Laws of God or man unlawful; that it ought not to be reputed a war against the King, but a just defence against their enemies who abused the King's authority to destroy them, who if so powerful as to have proceeded so far in the late tumult beyond his consent or privity, or prevalent with him as to work his assent to so unjust and foul an action, they had the more reason to secure themselves against their power and treachery, till justice should be done upon them; nor ought they to doubt, but in so just a cause upon their serious repentance, trust in God, and humble supplications to him, he would graciously pity their misery, and provide some unexpected means for their relief. And therefore seeing La Chavite was surprized at the time of the massacre, and the same was attempted against Montabon, and being further warned by what was lately done at Castres, which after great promises of safety by the King, was notwithstanding permitted to be plundered, and layed waste by the slaughters and rapines of Creufeta, Rochel, having for some days kept a solemn fast, with divers other places prepare for their defence. And at last when arts failed, especially after the massacre at Burdeaux, in the midst of their treaties, the King's Forces were sent to assault them. And these (says Thuanus, after a more particular relation of them) were the beginnings of the Fourth Civil War in France, the more memorable, because from so small beginnings, beyond the hope and expectation even of those who through necessity rather than upon counsel and design did manage it, when, so many Commanders being slain, the Nobility who remained dispersed abroad, and the people in all places astonished, all was thought subdued, within
the compass of a year, without the foreign aid of any Prince, and money every where after so great plunders failing them, it restored the affairs of the Protestants to good condition again. And yet this was only a defensive War on their part, and, as he says, of necessity, wherein those poor people fought only for their lives and safety, and not to neglect the King's commands, were willing to keep their meetings at Sermons only secretly in the night, and not openly in the day-time, which yet could not be denied them without manifest injustice and breach of publick Faith. But such were their apprehensions of the perfidiousness and cruelty of their enemies, and resolutions thereupon, that they chose rather to suffer all the miseries and necessities that humane nature is able to bear, than again to trust to the mercy or promises of them whom they had so often found perfidious, and moreover at last so barbarously inhumane and cruel. And therefore at Samerre it is almost incredible what they suffered. Having spent their stores, they killed and eat their Asses, Mules, Horses, Dogs, and all other living creatures they could meet with; and when that also was spent, they devised ways to make Hydes, Skins, Parchment, Bridle-rains, and whatsoever was made of leather, edible; and Bran, Straw, Nuthells, the Horns and Hoofs of Beasts, even dug out of the dunghils, and the very dung of Horses, and such things as scarce any other creatures will feed on; insomuch, that whereas in eight months siege they had not lost 100 slain, in forty days above 500 died of hunger, and 200 more were famished almost to death. Rochel indeed was not driven to that extremity, partly having made better provisions for themselves, partly by an extraordinary supply, little less than miraculous; for all the time of the siege, the tides, it being a Sea-Town, left the poor people such plenty of a kind of shell-fish, as very well supplied them with food; which, when the siege was ended, presently vanished, and were not seen in such plenty much longer. Yet did they testify as great abhorrence of the perfidiousness and cruelty of their enemies, by their incredible courage and activity, even of their women in the repulse of several fierce assaults, and also in sallies: and in conclusion, the assailants
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seeking rather occasions how to raise the siege with credit, than having any hope to obtain the City by force, they came to this agreement for themselves, Montabon and Nismes, confirmed by an Edict, That free profession of their Religion should be permitted them, according to the Edicts made in behalf of the Protestants; their privileges confirmed; no Garrison imposed on them; only the King should appoint them a Governor, and they should be governed by the Laws and Customs which they had used even since they became Subjects to the Crown of France, &c. Some time after Samere obtained by agreement to enjoy the benefit of the Pacification made with Rochell, but paying 40000 l. for the saving of their Movable. And this end (says our Author) had this fourth Civil War after the tumult at Paris, when the Courtiers thought all subdued by that slaughter, begun and finished in the assaulting of certain Cities, and especially in the siege of that one City of Rochell, which for so many months did most stifly, beyond the opinion of all men, sustain, and at last break the strength and force of the whole Kingdom raised against it, besides Aumale, Tular, Coiffens, Goabi, Brother, and other, 40000 Soldiers (the very number said by Davila to have been slain in the massacre) being slain, and dead of sickness, and among these 60 chief Commanders (and as some Ordinum Da-

say, most of the actors of that tragedy) besides a vast deal of mony and military provisions spent, and at last things being reduced to those streights, that the King contrary to what had before been falsely persuaded him, thought himself a greater gainer by that Peace, than by the Parisian slaughter. Such were the effects whether of the Italian Policy, or the Romish Doctrine of not keeping Faith with Heretics.

50. He had no sooner ended this War, but he began to be grievously afflicted with that fatal disease which in few months after put an end to his life, not without suspicion of poison by his Mother and Brother Anjou, and besides in the mean time, by her arts, and the influences of the Guises upon her, was presently involved in a fit of Civil War. And this not only against the Protestants, whom having sufficient cause from former experience to beware of the perfidiousness and cruelty of their enemies, after other new occasions of suspicion,
the forced again to provide for their security, and stand upon their defence, by a perfidious attempt to surprize Rochel by her emissaries, who had corrupted some in the City to betray it to the Forces, which for that purpose they had drawn near it; but also against a considerable party of the Catholicks, (as they call them) whom, while she thought it necessary for the continuance of her power and authority in the government, to keep up, and foment factions among the chief Nobility, she, by over-doing what she designed, forced, for their own safety and security, to joyn their complaints and forces with the Protestants. Whereby (considering the division of that party) she in some sort repaired the loss which the Protestant party had sustained by the massacres; the Providence of God undoubtedly thus ordering it to manifest the vanity of their former hopes of peace and tranquility by such wicked courses for the destruction of the Protestants, and to punish by their mutual difsentions among themselves, their former unanimity in persecuting them. The chief of this party were the sons of the old Constable Momorancy, (in his time an active persecutor of the Protestants) the Viscount de Turenne, and others, whom the Queen, favouring the contrary faction of the Guises, continually by divers calumnies incensing and exasperating the King against them, and by other stratagems which they discovered, drove into despair of safety by any other means; which no doubt was not a little increased by the experience which they had seen of her perfidiousness and cruelty in the case of the Protestants, all men being suspicious of those whom they have observed false and perfidious to others. And to these Alaneon the King's younger Brother, upon the same occasions, besides some other causes of discontent, joyned himself as head. Besides those of the Nobility, there were two other subsidiary factions in the Court. "The one of those, who devisous by any means to retain the Religion of their Ancestors, and careless for any amendment or reformation of it, did easily suffer themselves, in favour of them who took up Arms under pretence of defending it, to be drawn in either by fraudulent interpretations to elude, or plainly and altogether to violate the Faith given to the
Protestants. The other of those who would not depart from the religion of their ancestors, but yet desired many things in it, in tract of time, through covetousness and gross ignorance, brought in to the dishonour of God, and offence of many, to be corrected; and therefore being more favourable to the Protestants, held that things ought to be transacted in a friendly manner with them, that the Faith publickly given them should be faithfully kept, and that by any means peace, without which the business of reformation could not proceed, should be seised. The first favourd the Guifes, who sought all occasions of War, the latter the Momorances, who perswaded Peace. Of this last opinion were those famous men Michael Hospitalius Chancellor of France, Paulus Foxius, Christophorus Thuanus, Christophorus Meniliius, though they never engaged in Arms on either side. And this was the party which were called Politicks, a name, faith our Author, by the seditious attributed to them who were stidious for the good of the King and peace of the Kingdom, (li. 52.) and male contents. But that faction which desired theirs alwaies prevailing in the Court, hence it came to pass, that so many Edicts (of Pacification) were made one upon another, and as often violated, the War being so often renewed, and with the same levity where-with it was begun, laid down again. Whereof the King by this time became sensible, and obser-ved, but when it was too late, that that unhappy massacre had, contrary to what was expected, dissolved the bonds of peace and publick security. And therefore with indignation perceiving that the Counsellors of it had more respect to the satisfaction of their own private hatred and ambition, than to the publick Faith and quiet (of the Kingdom) without which he could never keep up his Royal Majesty, being not a little incensed against them, he resolved from that time to remove them from the Council, and to send away from him his mother her self, under a more honourable colour of visiting her son Anjou in Poland, (whom he had newly, almost by force, thrust out of France, having, to be rid of him, procured him to be chosen King there).

And
And believing that the Civil Wars in France were raised not so much for the cause of Religion, as through the factions of that Kingdom, & that the chief leaders of them were the Guises and the Momorances, he resolved, without any regard of the Law, or the justice of either cause, to destroy both these potent Families, being no less exasperated against Guise than Momorancy, and therefore had often thoughts of taking him out of the way. But in the midst of these troubles without, in his Kingdom, and others within, in his mind and body, after very grievous and long pains, so that long before his death he felt himself dying, he ended his life every way miserable, by that sickness which few thought natural, but rather procured by his own Mother and Brother Anjou, as our Author doth sufficiently intimate, and was further remarkable by the effusion of his own blood, who had so perniciously and barbarously shed the blood of so many of his subjects. Davila saith he began some months before to spit blood; others that he died of a bloody-flux, and that much blood issued out of all the passages of his body; and that he happened to fall down, and wallowed in his own blood. And whereas Davila saith that he ended his life with grave and pious discourses, others say that he ended it with imprecations and cursings, and that his last words were mere blasphemies. Whereof, which is most credible, the reader considering his natural temper, life and actions, may easily judge. He died under five and twenty years of age, without issue male to succeed him, leaving only a daughter by his Queen, with whom he had been above four years married, and a bastard-son. And these were the fruits which he reaped of his bloody and pernicious counsels and practices.

51. Nor did his next Brother Anjou, called Henr. 3. reap any better fruits of his counsels and actions in the massacre and other enterprizes against the Protestants; who in great haste, upon notice of his Brother's death, shamefully stealing from
from his Kingdom of Poland, in his return to France was well admonished by the Emperor Maximilian, that at the beginning of his Reign, and first entrance into France, he should settle peace among his subjects: and the same counsel was often repeated to him by the Duke of Venice in the name of the Senate. Yet he was no sooner arrived in France, but by the counsel of his Mother and the Guifian and Italian faction, (the same Cabal which contrived the massacre) he resolved the contrary, till finding it a work too hard by open force to destroy the remaining part of the Protestants, being moreover strengthened by the association of the Politicks with them, there was at last a Peace concluded upon such terms, as had they been granted in sincerity, and justly performed, might have produced much happiness to that Kingdom. For, besides what related to the particular concerns of Alancon, D'Anvil, and others of the Politicks and male-contents, to the Protestants was granted full liberty of Conscience; and free exercise of their Religion, without exception of times or places, &c. and Towns for their security till the Articles should be fully and perfectly performed. And these Articles were concluded by the Queen-Mother herself in person, and confirmed by a publick Edict with all the solemnity that could be, the King himself being present in Parliament, sitting in his Throne of Justice. "But these Articles, says Davila, as soon as they were known to those of the Catholick party, exasperated most of their minds in such manner, that they not only murmured freely against the King himself and the Queen-Mother, but many were disposed to rise, and would have taken Arms to disturb the unjustness [as they call it] of that Peace, which was generally [by them] esteemed shameful, and not fit to be kept, if within a while they had not manifestly understood, that the King and Queen, purposely to recover and draw home the Duke of Alancon, had consented to conditions in words, which they were resolved not to observe in deeds. For, (as he presently adds) having exactly performed all things promised to the Duke of Alancon, none of the other Articles were observed either to the Protestants in general, or to the King of Navar and Prince
"Prince of Conde in particular: but the King permitting, 
and tacitly consenting to it, the Assemblies of the Prote-
stants were everywhere violently disturbed, &c. And the 
"Guîses, who were not slack in laying hold of any oppor-
tunity to augment their own greatness, and to secure the state 
of that Religion, which was so straitly linked to their in-
terests, began upon the conjunction of so great an occa-
sion, secretly to make a league of the Catholicks, in all the Pro-
vincés of the Kingdom, under colour of opposing the pro-
gress and establishment of heresy, which by the Articles of 
the Peace was so fully authorized and established. And 
this was the Faith of a Catholick Prince, whose Conscience was 
directed by the religious Jesuites, and so great a votary, that 
though a King, he would often make one of the Flagellantes, 
and was believed would have changed his Kingdom for a 
Cell, though Guîse had never attempted to force him to it: 
this the obedience and loyalty of his Catholick Subjects. But 
this was nothing to what followed; for this was but the be-
going of that Holy League, which may justly put to silence all 
clamours, and answer all calumnies against the Protestants in 
France, upon occasion of any miscarriages of theirs under so 
long and grievous oppressions and unjust persecutions; and 
was the pattern and precedent which was followed by that 
faction here, which the Romish Emmissaries and Agents partly 
raised, and partly ruled, or secretly influenced to promote their 
own designs, as may be perceived by comparing such eviden-
ces and testimonies as are to be met with of their mysterious 
practices in their works of darkness, with their Principles 
laid down to undermine this Church and State, extant in 
printed Books. The form of the League may be seen in English 
at large in Davila and Fonlis, to this effect: The Covenant of 
the Princes, Lords and Gentlemen of the Catholick Religion, for 
the entire restitution of the Law of God, and preservation of his 
holiness worship, according to the form and rites of the holy Church of 
Rome, abjuring and renouncing all errors contrary to it. 2. For 
the preservation of King Henr. 3. and his Successors, in the State, 
Honour, Splendor, Authority, Duty, Service and Obedience due to 
them, &c. 3. For the restitution of their ancient rites, liberties 
and.
and privileges to the Provinces of the Kingdom, &c. In case there be any opposition against this aforesaid, or any of the Covenanters, their friends or dependants be molested or questioned for this cause, by whomsoever it be, all that enter into this Covenant shall be bound to employ their lives and fortunes to take vengeance upon them, either by way of justice or force, without any exception of persons what- ever. Those who depart from this Covenant shall be punished both in body and goods. All shall likewise swear to yield ready obedience and faithful service unto that Head which shall be deputed, and to give all help, counsel and assistance, as well for the maintenance of this League, as for the ruin of all that shall oppose it, without exception of persons; and those that fail shall be punished by the authority of the Head, &c. All the Catholics of the several Cities, Towns and Villages shall be secretly advertised by the particular Governors to enter into this League, and concur in providing Men, Arms, and other necessaries, &c. Into this League, (framed with so much art, that making a shew to obey and maintain the King, it took from him all his obedience and authority to confer it upon the head of their Union, as Davila notes,) when many were engaged in France, they began secretly to treat at Rome for Protection, and in Spain for men and money; nor did they find in either place any avertness to their desires. And though they thought it unfit to dispute openly whether the States were superior to the King or no, yet while these things were acted in secret without his knowledge or consent, they sought cunningly (by a kind of cheat) to take away his prerogative, and (with his consent) to settle it in a certain number, who should have power to conclude and determine all business without contradiction or appeal; and to that end petition the King, that for the dispatch of all business with speed and general satisfaction, he would be pleased to elect a number of Judges not suspected by the States, who, together with twelve of the Deputies, might hear such motions as from time to time should be proposed by every Order, and conclude and resolve upon them, with this condition, that what-ever was joyntly determined by the Judges and Deputies together, should have the form and vigour of a Law, without being subject to be altered.

Davila, p. 431.

V. Thw. 461.

At the Assembly of the States at Blois (which consisted most of such who had subscribed to the Catholic League.)
A Discourse concerning the

alteration or revoking, which had been in effect to unking him, and leave him little more than the title. But the King not ignorant of the importance of that demand, became sensible of their designs, and of his own danger, which more manifestly appeared in certain secret instructions to Nic. David, with which he was sent to the Pope concerning the deposing of the King, and thrusting him into a Monastery, and setting up Guife in his place, &c. which being taken with David in his journey, and published by the Protestants, were not believed at first, till the same being also sent to the King of Spain, the French Ambassador there happened to get a copy of them, and sent them to his Master, as Thuanus relates from his own mouth. The King therefore returns them a wary answer, such as though not altogether denying their demand, yet gave them no great satisfaction. But though they failed in this attempt to unking the King with his own consent, yet they resolved, though without, or contrary to his consent, not only to moderate the last articles of Peace, but to break them utterly, and again with more force than ever to begin the War against the Protestants, whereby they brought the King to this necessity, that he must either plainly and openly break his faith given to the Protestants, (which he had done before only by connivance) or engage with them in a more dangerous War against the League. And divers dissuaded him from breach of his Faith, among the rest William Lantgrave of Hesse, besides the reason he gave him in mind of that late and memorable example of Ladislaus 4. King of Hungary, who having sworn a Truce with the great Turk Amurath 2. being persuaded by the Pope and Cardinals, out of a vain hope that they could absolve him from the obligation of it, perfidiously broke it. Whereupon in the first encounter (the Turk lifting up his eyes to Heaven, and calling to Christ to behold and punish the perfidious dealing where with his followers had dishonoured him) he was himself slain with 30000 of his men: on the other side the French Theologists did openly both in Sermons and printed Books contend that the Prince is not obliged to keep Faith with the Hereticks, alleging to that purpose the Decree of the Counci
Original of the Powder Plot.

Council of Constance, and therefore War is to be undertaken to extirpate them. And by the advice of the Bishop of Lymoges and Morvillier (sometime Bishop of Orleans) the King determined, since he could not by open resistance hinder the designs and progress of the League, (which already had taken too deep root) to make himself Head and Protector of it, and draw that authority to himself, which he saw they endeavoured to settle upon the Head of the League, both within and without the Kingdom; which accordingly he did, causing it to be read, published, and sworn in open assembly; and with high protestations declared that he would spend his last breath to reduce all his people to a unity in Religion, and an entire obedience to the Roman Church: which done, he without much difficulty prevailed with Navar and the Protestants to yield to some restraints of the publick exercise of their Religion. And thus by a new Edict of Pacification, were things in some sort quieted for some time.

52. But after the death of Alancon the King's youngest Brother, who died without issue, and not without suspicion of poison, in the flower of his age, being about thirty, (wherein we may take notice, by the way, of the Divine Vengeance by degrees extirpating that Family, which so wickedly sought the extirpation of the Protestants) the King having no issue, nor like to have any, (notwithstanding all his visits and supplications at the Monuments of Saints and Religious places) whereby the Crown was likely to descend to the King of Navar, a Protestant Prince, who was next heir to it, the Leaguers presently begin new troubles, the Preachers from the Pulpits fill their hearers minds with fears and jealousies, meetings are every where held, Souldiers secretly lifted, and Officers appointed, and the more to enrage the people, while the Preachers fill their ears with the noise of approaching dangers, dreadful and horrid representations of most terrible perfections which the Catholicks are said to suffer in England, are presented to their view, both in printed Books, and also in Cuts and Pictures which are set up in publick places, and persons appointed to relate the sad stories of them, and tell the people that thus it will be also in France, if the King of Navar...
var be admitted to the Kingdom; and therefore to secure themselves of a Catholick King, they resolve to set up the Cardinal Bourbon for head of the League at present, and to succeed the King in case he should die without issue. And the better to strengthen themselves they renew their League with the Spaniard, and having suddenly raised a considerable Army, contrary to the King's express prohibition by his Edict, they begin to make themselves Masters of many Cities and Fortresses, some by secret practices, some by open force of Arms, driving out the King's Governors and Officers, and in short time, through the fury of the people, and great converse of the Clergy in favour of the League, became so formidable to the King, that he was forced to a new agreement with them against the Protestants, to banish their Preachers, confiscate their estates, and with all speed denounce a War against them, wherein such men should be made Commanders, as the League should confide in, and a great deal more, partly against the Protestants, and partly to strengthen their own party. This agreement was made by the King only to comply with his present necessity, and not with any intention to perform it. For being now out of hope of issue himself, he resolved to further Navar's right, and to unite himself with him, as his lawful Successor, and make him partaker in matters of Government, to which end he held secret correspondence with him. But the Leaguers force him to go on with the War; and upon the score of his treaty with Navar raise great clamors and calumnies against him, that the cause of Religion is betrayed, the Protestants openly favoured, the course of the War interrupted, and that the King shews openly that his mind is averse to the Catholick party, and that he desires by all means to cherish and maintain hereby. And now the minds of the people are more than ever inflamed against his person and proceedings, which were publickly inveighed against in the Pulpits, and particularly flandered in private meetings, but especially by the Priests at the secret confessions of the people, whom they refused to absolve, unless they would enter into the League; and for the more secret carrying on of the business, intrusted in this new Doctrine, that
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that as well the Penitent, who shall reveal what he hears from his Confessor, as the Confessor who reveals what the Penitent confesseth, doth incur the guilt of mortal sin. From calumnies and flanders they proceed to conspiracies and actions. And at Paris they set up a new Council of sixteen, which hold their secret meetings; first at the Colledge of Folet, commonly called the cradle of the League, afterwards at the Colledge of the Dominicans, and at the Jesuites Colledge they plot to surprize Boulogne, and there to admit the Spanish Fleet prepared against England. They also consult about taking the King himself, as he returned from the Boys de Vincernes with a small guard. And both these enterprizes being discovered to the King, failing, they set up a seditious Preacher to inveigh against the King and his Counsellors, and not doubting but thereupon the King would send to apprehend him, they determine upon that occasion to stir up the people, and thereupon take up arms and destroy both him and those about him, who were faithful to him. Which in part proceeded, and perhaps had been accomplished, if the King had not timely recalled those he had employed; whereupon he was advised to depart from Paris, which he did; but not long after returning thither, he is presented with a Petition, which at a Consultation at Nancy (where it was concluded that Guise and the other confederate Lord, should not enter to oppose the King at the very first) was so contrived, that if he granted it, their desires would be effected without noise or trouble; and if he refused, he should thereby give them occasion and opportunity to make use of arms, and to acquire that by force, which he would not consent to of his own accord. And though the King did not so much refuse, as by excuses delay to answer it, the Preachers labour to cast all the odium they can upon him, inveigh against him as favouring the hereticks, and on the other side highly extol and magnify the Catholick Princes, so they called the Guisians. And Guise his coming to the City is by frequent Letters much importuned; which though, according to the former conclusion, he at present deferred, yet were some experienced Souldiers sent to them, he not being willing to trust to the City Com-

Da. p. 606. Thu. l. 86.

Da. p. 609. Thu. l. 86.

Thu. l. 87.

Da. p. 668. Thu. l. 90.
manders alone. And now reckoning their strength 20000 men, there is a new Conspiracy to fall upon the Louvre, and killing the guard, and all about him whom they suspect, to seize upon the King. But this was also discovered, and the Council of sixteen, who thought there might be some hazard in that, resolve upon a more safe course, to seize upon him when he should be in procession, as he was wont, in the habit of a Penitent among the whipping Friars, and shut him up in a Monastery with a strong Guard; and in the mean time a report should be spread abroad, as if the King was taken away by the Protestants, at which the people should take up arms and fall upon the Politicks, and those they suspected. And this being also discovered, the King consults how to secure himself against the Conspirators. In the mean time the Duke of Guise unexpectedly comes to Paris contrary to the King's command. And while the King seeks to strengthen himself, and preventing the Leaguers to secure the most important places of the City, the Parisians are raised at the ringing of the Bells, make Barricadoes cross the streets, come up to the Louvre, and begin to assault it. Whereupon the Queen-Mother goes to Guise in her Sedan, being denied passage in her Coach, and consers with him, but brings back nothing but complaints, and exorbitant demands. But the siege pressing much on the one side, when it was feared they would likewise besiege it on the other, the Queen-mother going again to Guise, and having notice by the way that 15000 men were preparing to enclose the Louvre on the other side, holds him in a long treaty, while the King with 26 Gentlemen steals secretly away to Chartres, to the no small grief of Guise and the Leaguers who had lost so fair an opportunity. Whereupon they secure and strengthen Paris, lay siege to the Boys de Vincernes, which yielded without resistance, as did also St. Cloud, Lagny, Charranton, with all the other neighbouring Towns. The King being again reduced to his former straits of accepting the assistance of the Protestants, or yielding to such terms as the Leaguers would please to give him, after long consultation at length resolved to use the same means against Guise, which he remembred had been used in the reign of his
his Brother Charles against the Admiral Coligny and his Ad-
herents, and to that end feigned to consent to the opinion of
those who persuaded him to unite himself to the Duke of
Guise. And having upon a treaty concluded a Peace upon al-
most the same conditions which were contained in the Peti-
tion framed at Nancy, he receives Guise much after the same
manner that his Brother did Coligny, with great expressions
of honour, causes the Edict of the Union to be presently pub-
lished, the War against the Protestants proclaimed, for the
prosecution whereof, according to the Articles of the Peace,
two several Armies were appointed. Guises achievements
were highly magnified by the Leaguers in France, and no less
by the Pope at Rome, who sent to him and to the Cardinal
Bourbon his Congratulatory Letters, full of high praises, which
were presently published in print, and dispersed abroad.
Wherein he commends their piety and zeal in promoting the
business of Religion, comparing Guise to the Holy Maccas-
bees, the defenders of the people of Israel, so highly extolled
in the Sacred Scriptures, and exhorting him to continue suc-
cessfully and gloriously to fight for the advancement of the
Church, and the total extirpation of the Protestants, ac-
quaints him with his own unceasing prayers for the Divine as-
sistência to him, adding that nothing could be more reasonable
for the present occasion, than that he should have his Legate
in France, by whose means and authority their endeavours
might be promoted for the good of the Kingdom, and of
the Catholick Religion. And if any thing more be necessary
to be done by him, he desires to be certified of it, who shall
never be wanting to their cause. Guise and the Leaguers be-
ing not a little animated by these things, the Assembly of the
States at Blois, which was called upon this late agreement, and
were most of the faction of the League, especially the Order
of the Clergy, which did in a manner wholly incline to that
side, with great heat pronounce the King of Navar for his crime
of heresy unworthy of the succession of the Kingdom: which be-
ing decreed by the Clergy, and upon their signification and
admonition universally subscribed by the other two orders,
holding it a great fault in the cause of Religion to dissent from

the Ecclesiastics, the Arch-Bishop of Ambrun, with twelve of each Order, repair to the King, and desire that by his authority, and a publick Edict, the Decree may be confirmed. But the King utterly averse from it, though he would not plainly deny it, yet put it off as well as he could; but such was the obstinacy of the States, that he was forced at last to answer that he agreed to the general vote, and would think of causing the Decree to be framed. Guise also with all his might urged the receiving of the Council of Trent, whereunto, though the King consented, yet was it rejected with great contradiction, not only by the Nobility, but by a great many of the Clergy. This was urged by him partly as a powerful engine against the Protestants, partly further to oblige the Pope, if it succeeded, and to raise a prejudice in him against the King, if it succeeded not by his default. And to ingratiate himself the more with the people, he moves for case of grievances by impositions and taxes, though a thing inconsistent with the prosecution of the War against the heretics. But the King finding now a convenient opportunity to execute his design, acquaints some of his confidents with it, and having ordered all things so as to avoid the suspicion of Guise, much after the manner heretofore used against Colinius, he commands him to be slain, which was accordingly done; and the Cardinal his Brother being, with many Lords and adherents of that Faction, at the same time committed to custody, was about two daies after by the King's command in like manner slain. Thus do those who had wickedly conspired the barbarous slaughter of so many innocent Protestants, now, by the just judgment and vengeance of God upon them, mutually conspire one another's destruction. And that City which was then so forward in executing the wicked counsels and commands of savage and perfidious men, is now as forward in executing the just judgments of the righteous God upon one of the chief Authors of them; and they who before had been the instruments of his cruelty, are now made the instruments of his punishment.

53. Upon the news of these things spread abroad, the Leaguers are all in an uproar, and at Paris, having held a Council
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Council where nothing almost was heard but reproaches against the King, and cries for revenge, the Duke of Aumale is called out of a Monastery to be their Governor; the Preachers from their Pulpits thunder out the praises of the Duke of Guise his Martyrdom, and detestations of that slaughter most cruelly committed by the King; in such manner, that not only the minds of the baser people, but also of the most noted Citizens were won by their persuasions, and inflamed with an infinite desire to take revenge; and the Council of sixteen cause a writing to be presented to the famous Colledg of Divines called the Sorbon, in the name of the Provost and Eschevins of the City, containing these two Questions. 1. Whether they should not be free from their Oath of Fidelity and Obedience to Henry the third. And, 2. Whether they might not with safe Conscience, arm, unite, collect and contribute money for the defence and conservation of the Roman Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, against the wicked counsels and endeavours of the King aforesaid; and all other his adherents whomsoever, and against his breach of publique Faith at Blois; &c. Whereunto upon mature deliberation at an assembly of seventy Masters of that Faculty, and solemn resolution, it was answered nemine refragante. 1. That the people of this Kingdom are free, and at liberty from their Oath of Fidelity and Obedience to King Henry aforesaid. 2. That the same people lawfully, and with safe conscience, may arm, unite, collect and contribute money for the defence and conservation of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Religion, against the wicked counsels and endeavours of the aforesaid King, and whomsoever adhering to him, since he hath violated the publique Faith to the prejudice of the Catholick Religion, and of the Edict of the holy Union, and of the natural liberty of the assembly of the three Estates of this Kingdom. Moreover, they think fit that this Decree or conclusion be sent to the Pope, that he may by the authority of the holy See approve and confirm it, and afford his help and assistance. And accordingly a Letter is drawn up, and sent by the Parisians in the name of themselves, and the rest of the Catholicks in France, wherein they represent to him the zeal of the people, "all good men being ready to
lay down their lives rather than suffer that Tyranny; and
more than 10000 of the Parisians filling the streets with
cries to Heaven for vengeance against the Tyrant; others
whipping the statue of the Tyrant, breaking it to pieces,
and throwing it into the fire. And indeed after this De-
claration (to use Davila's words) the people as it were
loosened from the bonds of obedience, and having broken
the rein of modesty, ran violently to the breaking down of
the King's Arms and Statues wherever they found them,
and began furiously to seek out all those whom they ac-
counted dependants of his party, by them called Navar-
sists and Politicks, which forced many quiet men to leave
their houses to save their lives, which others were fain to
compound for with money, and others unfortunately lost;
All Churches echoed with voices of the Preachers, who
aggravated the parricide committed by * Henry Valois, no
longer called King of France, but the Heretick, Tyrant,
and persecuter of the holy Church; and all places were full
of Libels both in verse and prose, which contained and am-
plified the same things several ways. And the Council of
sixteen, having prepared the Preachers to be ready, in case any
tumult should arise, to appease the people, cause all the Coun-
sellores of Parliament and Officers who adhered to the King,
to be imprisoned in the Bastille, as enemies to the publick good.
This done, they assemble a kind of Rump Parliament, which
substituting others in the place of those they had seceded,
make a publick Declaration for the deposing of the King, and a
new Decree and Engagement of holy Union for defence of
the Catholick Religion, the safety of Paris, and other uni-
ted Cities, to oppose those who, having violated the publick
Faith, had taken away the lives of the Catholick Princes,
to take just revenge for their murder, and to defend the liber-
y and dignity of the States of France against all persons
whoever, without exception, &c. And this was proposed to
be sworn to by all: whereupon there was presently a general
engagement throughout the whole Kingdom, and for a Head
of the Union they make choice of the D. of Mayenne Brother
to the late D. of Guise, who at the request of the Leaguers
come.
comes to Paris, where a Council of the Union consisting of 40 of the chief Leaguers, whose Orders all are to obey upon pain of death, being instituted, he is by the Parliament declared Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of France, and solemnly sworn to defend the Roman Catholick Aposto-
lick Religion, the Royal State, the Authority of the Supreme Courts, the priviledges of the Church, and of the Nobility, the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom, &c. In the mean time to heighten and inflame the odium of the people against the King, nothing is omitted either in the Pulpit, or out of it, by Flanders, calumnies, and false reports. And while among other devises they endeavour to represent him as a worshipper of Satyrs, and a Magitian, they exercise a kind of magick or witchcraft against him, deviling religious excre-
tions, and instituting strange superflitious rites, women and maids clad only in such fine linen that their bodies might be seen through it, and some carrying burning tapers in their hands, they sang over certain mysterious rhythms with dissonant and confused tones and voices, and then suddenly extinguished their torches, as if they hoped or wished that the King's life should be thereby, or in like manner also extingui-
hished; and a great deal such stuff too long to be here re-
lated. By these means were the people every where incensed and enraged against the King; but especially by the new Doc-
tines of the Preachers and Confessors were the minds of men generally so perverted, that they made it almost a sport to break Faith with him, and betray their trust, and many thought it their duty; so that the Cities daily revolted from his obedience. At Bourdeaux the Jesu
tes for a conspiracy and tumult raised there; were by the President of the Pro-
vince expelled the City; to prevent the like for the future, And when from thence they repaired for refuge to Agen and Vesuna, those Cities thereupon presently rebelled. But the greatest fury and rage of the people was at Tholouse, stirred up, as was believed, by these new Theologists. While the Leaguers are thus busy both at home and abroad, the King is not idle, but treats with his Neighbour Princes and States for men and money, and to mitigate the fury of his own people,
with great importunity and submission, solicits for absolution for killing the Cardinal, from the Pope, who was highly enraged against him, for that sacrilegious act as he pretended, but probably more for killing the Duke, if that be true which the State of Venice, and the Dukes of Tuscany and Mantua certified the King, that the Pope and the Duke had agreed in secret to marry the Pope's Niece to Prince Jonvil the Duke's Son, and to depose the King, thrust him into a Monastery, and make the Duke King in his place. His Ambassador going about this affair to Rome, was by the way admonished by the Duke of Tuscany, that the King should do well to trust more to his own forces and strength at home, than to the Pope's favour; for if things succeeded well with him in the beginning of those commotions in France, he should have friends enough at Rome, and among them the Pope himself; but if otherwise, he should find them his bitter enemies. And so it proved, for when this proud and insolent Pope, to gratify his own pride and ambition, and magnify his authority in the opinion of the people, had drawn on the King and his Ministers to do all acts of submission and base prostration to him, as far as he could, he turned him off at last without any absolution, and not long after began to proceed to Excommunication against him. Wherefore the King, when he could obtain no favour from the Pope, treated more openly with the King of Navar, and concludes an agreement with him, to the no little joy of all sober men, who thought there was no such way for settling that Kingdom, as by this reconciliation of the King of France with Navar, the first Prince of the Bloud, the next Heir of the Crown, and an excellent General and Commander. Had he done this at first rather than so basely and foully broak his Faith, he had certainly by God's blessing (which he might then with more reason have expected) prevented the growth of this faction of the League to this height, and most of this trouble to himself and his Kingdoms. But this now afforded new matter for the Preachers, and Writers to exasperate the minds of the people withal. And the Pulpits ring, and the Presses sweat with virulent Sermons and Books against the two Kings. Among those who be-
stirred themselves in this kind, were Father Comolet the Jesuit, Genebrard, Fr. Feu-ardentius, and Bucherus famous for his Book de Jufta Henrici 3. Abdicatione, and many others mentioned by our Author. And in their Sermons, besides those ways of moving the people by stirring up their passions of fear and hatred, they had another part to act, which was to encourage them to action by moving their hopes and expectations, and this was done by acquainting them with the victories and happy progress, and prosperous success of their Armies and friends abroad, amplifying the same as much as might be. And what-ever news came, whether good or bad, the Preachers were generally the publishers of it; if good, to magnify, and set it out to the best advantage; if bad, to represent it to the people as occasion served, partly comforting and encouraging them under the misfortune, and partly stirring them up to more forwardness, and greater assistance to the War. So that these matters were the general and ordinary subject of their Sermons. And besides these good services which they performed severally, the famous College of Sorbon it self, by a publick Decree order that the King's name, and the Prayers for him be put out of the Canon of the Mass, and instead thereof, other Prayers for the Catholick Princes be inserted, and that those who shall say Mass otherwise than by this Decree is appointed, shall be held for excommunicate, &c. And not to be wanting to the encouragement of his devoted Sons in so meritorious undertakings, their good Father the Pope sends out his Monitory against the King, whereby he is excommunicate, unless within ten days he will do the Leaguers the kindness to set at liberty the Cardinal of Bourbon, whom they, having already agreed to the depo- sing of him, may set up for their King; and moreover make his submission within the term of 60 days from the public- cation of the Monitory, which was posted up in Rome the 23 of May, and within a few days after published at Meaux Da. p. 811. ten leagues from Paris. These dealings of the Pope with the King seemed so hard and unreasonable to the Princes of Italy, that they advised the King no longer to treat with him as a suppliant, but to deal with him according to his own rough
nature, and presently to seize upon Avignon and the County of Veniethine. But the King was not a little grieved at it, and said, "That he thought it very hard that he who had ever fought and laboured for Religion should be rashly ex-communicated because he would not suffer his own throat "to be cut by the arms of his Rebel-subjects; and that those "who had sacked Rome, and kept the Pope himself priso-"ner, had never been excommunicated: to which the King "of Navar, who was present, answered; but they were victo-"rious, Sir. Let your Majesty endeavour to conquer, and be "assured the censures shall be revoked; but if we be overcome, "we shall all die condemned heretics. Whereunto the King assented, and all the by-standers did the like; and upon that hope order was given that the Army should march; and the Kings affairs began to proceed very prosperously against the Leaguers. For having first by supplies coming in from the King of Navar put a stop to the D. of Mayenne's progress at Tours, and about the same time given a great defeat to the D. of Aumale by the assistance of La Noue (one of the chief Commanders of the Protestants) taken Gergeau, Pivors, Chartres, Etampes, Poissy, Montereau, Pontoise, and all such places and passages of the Rivers which were fit to strengthen the City of Paris, or furnish it with victuals, he forthwith with an Army of 42000 fighting men laies close siege to the City itself, himself on the one side, and the King of Navar on the other; whereby the Parisians were so straitened and dejected, (though the Preachers used all their arts in their Pulpits to animate them, and the Priests and Friers themselves took up arms, putting themselves generally upon Military Duty,) that there was no man but thought that within a few days the King would be Master of it. But in the midst of this success, and height of his hopes, a zealous young Frier

† Da p. 816, 819. Thuc. 96.
(in all likelihood, not without the privity of the Catholick Princes), affirming to him that if he lived, he should be made a Cardinal; and if he died for freeing the City, and killing the Persecutor of the Faith he should without doubt be Cano-nized for Saint, by an expected stab, put an end to his hopes and his life together, within few days after the aforesaid term of 60 days, prefixed by the Pope, (who had foretold his unfortunate end) was expired, to the great joy of the Leaguers and the Pope, as hath been related before, (Sec. 34.) this account of the French Story not being then intended. The Prior of the Convent was Father Edmond Bourgoin, who being afterward taken at Paris, and convicted by witness to have publickly (in the Pulpit) for several days together praised this murder in studied speeches, and to have counselled and instigated the murderer, comparing him also in his Sermons, after the fact, to Judith, and the dead King to Holofernes, and the City delivered to Bethulia; he was by judgment of the Parliament of Tours sentenced to be drawn in pieces by four horses, his quarters burned, and his ashes scattered in the wind: which sentence was afterward severely executed. Not long after at Vendome was taken, and likewise condemned to death, Father Robert Cheffe a Cordelier (or Franciscan Frier), who had there publickly praised the King’s murderer, and with his Sermons stirred up the common people.

54. This end had Henry 3. when he had scarce lived out half his days, and in him thus dying without issue, (after years Marriage, many visits to Saints, and the use of hallowed shirts and smocks for obtaining of issue), the whole life of Valois, his Bastard brother also, the Duke of Angolesme not escaping a violent death some years before by a stab. In this Thu. 7 King, besides the hereditary guilt of his Ancestors descended upon him, there are two things especially observable in his own actions, whereby he involved himself in the participation of the

It being unlikely that the chief men of the Union, and particularly the Prior, a trusty Counsellor of the Grand-Council of it, should not have conferred about the fact with the Princes, and with their privity exhorted, and with effectual motives spurred on the simplicity of the Frier. Da. p. 819. v. Thu. 1. 96. Serres, p. 879.

the common guilt of his Family, and aggravated the load of it upon his own head: the one during the Reign of his Brother, in the Massacre, wherein he was both a Counsellor and an Actor; the other after he came to the Crown himself, in his breach of publick Faith with the Protestants. Of both which we may observe a very correspondent and exemplary judgment and punishment. His sickness of a * Bloudy-flux for some time before he was stabbed, his death without issue, and ere he had lived out half his days, may perhaps have respect to his Grand-fathers and Fathers sins, seeking by bloudy courses to extirpate the Protestants; because these were not peculiar to himself, but common to him with his other Brothers. But when we see that very City of Paris, where the Protestants, with the concurrence of his + counsel and assistance, had been so furiously destroyed, now no less furious against him; that City which to others had given example of cruelty against the Protestants, now gives them example of rebellion against him; and him on the other side no less enraged, against it, saying but the day before that fatal stroke, that he hoped within a few days there should be neither walls nor houses, but only the very foot-steps of Paris: when we see almost all those who had been the executors of that Massacre, and were not cut off at the Siege of Rochel, (as most of them were, of the common fort especially) now engaged in Arms against him; and those who had joyned with him to destroy the Protestants, now conspiring his destruction: when we see him excommunicated by the Pope, whose pretended authority is the principal part of that Religion, which with so much cruelty and perfidiousness was sought to be established by that Massacre. Lastly, when we see, after all imaginable injuries and indignities offered him, his murder not only plotted and counselled by the chief of the Grand Council at Paris, but also executed by an Emisary sent from thence, by a religious Zealot of that Religion, for which himself had been so barbarously cruel, and in that * very place at St. Cloud, where some time the Council of the Massacre had been held: This we may, not without reason, look upon as the just judgment of God upon him, for his wicked dealings in that barbarous
barous Massacre. Again, when we see his Popish Subjects everywhere break faith with him, and all bonds and oaths of Obedience and Fidelity to him, and teach and hold it to be their duty so to do: when we see them, through whose importunity he had violated the publick faith given to the Protestants, to rage and storm, and furiously exclaim upon his breach of faith with themselves: when we see him brought to need and desire the assistance of the King of Navar and his Protestants, with whom he had broken faith, against those for whom, to comply with their perfidious and rebellious humours, he did it; and by them notwithstanding thus brought to his end and murdered, with whom he had so basely complied in that perfidious dealing; this we may likewise with great reason look upon as a just judgment of God upon him, for that his perfidious dealing with the Protestants. And certainly, if all the circumstances of the History from that barbarous Massacre of the Protestants at Merindol and Cabiriers, under Francis 2. to the death of this his Grand-son Henr. 3. the last of his race, for almost 50 years, be duly considered, it will be hard to find in any History a more eminent example of Divine Vengeance prosecuting a Family to the utter extirpation of it, than this: an example wherein the judgment of God is more conspicuous and remarkable, or the causes of that judgment more manifest and apparent, wherein the sin and the punishment do more exactly agree; or of a more remarkable distinguishing providence, if with this, the happy reign and actions of their neighbour Prince Queen Elizabeth be impartially compared. This was a judgment not upon one person alone, nor upon a Family, so as to involve all in one sudden destruction, as is sometimes seen; but a continued prosecution of vengeance against a whole Family for three generations, without intermission: the Grand-father (Fran. 1.) not long enjoying himself or his life after he had authorized that fatal persecution; His Son, Henr. 2. (having time to repent and reform, and admonished so to do by his dying Father, but persevering in his Fathers sin) cut off by a violent death in the height and heat of his persecutions against the Protestants, and upon his consummation of an
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agreement for a War against them; His four Sons all living to be men, but not to half the age of men; three of them coming successively to the Crown, but so as rather only to wear the Crown, than, by a just and peaceable exercise of their authority, to sway the Scepter, being at first over-ruled by the deceitful and pernicious counsels of their Mother and her Italians, and the violent courses of the Guisian Faction to destroy their subjects; and at last necessitated, by the bold attempts of the Guisians, and fury of the Leaguers, to fight for Crown, Liberty and Life against them; whereby they and their Kingdom were continually embroiled in Civil Wars, and miserable confusions: each of them succeeding other, as in their access to the Crown, so in their unhappy reign, (if they might be said to reign, while so obnoxious to the wills of others, and continually imbroiled in such confusions) and exit and catasrophe of it: the first (Francis 2.) cut off by a death remarkable, though not for the kind, yet for the time and season of it, both in respect of his years, and of those who were preserved by it; (V. Sect. 40. p. 63, 64.) the next (Charles 9.) living some years longer, and thereby more capable, by his own personal management, of the affairs of the Kingdom, to derive the guilt of his Ancestors miscarriages upon himself, and increase it by his own, which accordingly he did in no mean degree, being likewise cut off by a death every way remarkable, in respect both of the time and all other circumstances; and lastly the third Brother (Hen. 3.) coming likewise to that unhappy end, which hath been but now related; all of them, with their Brother Alancón, dying without issue to succeed them. Nor did this fate attend only the succession, but light also upon those who were incapable to succeed in the Government; their bastard Brother Angolesme, who had been a forward actor in the Massacre, being also, as hath been said, cut off by a violent death; and of their Sisters, Elizabeth the eldest * married to Phil. 2. of Spain, (a Marriage concluded, with an agreement between him and her Father, of a War against the Protestants, but solemnized with the otherwise untimely death of her Father), and by Philip, her Husband first employed in the

* V. Sect. 39. p. 60.
Consultation at Bayonne, and at last brought to that unhappy end when great with child, and in the 23rd. year of her age, which hath been mentioned before, and is more fully related in the late French History of Dom Carlos: and Margaret the youngest, first forced by her Mother and Brother Charles to a Marriage with the King of Navar, (that unhappy Marriage which was made the introduction to the Mafacre), afterwards for her lewdness and incontinency reproachfully turned from the Court by her next Brother Henr. 3. and at last divorced from her Husband when King of France, without issue by him, unless she had any by any other which was kept secret, as her Brother objected to her. If their other Sister Claud married to Charles Duke of Lorain was less unhappy in this respect, she seems less to have merited the like misfortune, for we meet with no mention of her in all the story of these confusions in France. Thus were five Kings in a continued succession cut off, besides three others of the same line, (the youngest son of Francis 1. in few months after the beginning of those persecutions, at his age of 23. and the second and youngest of Henr. 2.) who never came to the Crown, and their whole line and posterity extirpated in France, while they sought the extirpation of the Protestants there; whereby the Crown at last, notwithstanding all opposition and endeavours to hinder it, descended to a Protestant Prince; and all this by a constant course of Divine Vengeance upon that Family for about 44 years, for so long it was from the execution of the Decree of the Parliament of Province, Apr. 1545. and the death of the King's youngest son Sept. 3. following, to the murder of Henr. 3. Aug. 1589, the very same space of time which Queen Elizabeth happily and prosperously reigned in England, and most of it contemporary. Wherein it is very plain and observably a triple difference between her and them, viz. a different cause, or end and aim of their actions, a different manner of proceeding, and a different success. As to the Cause; they designed and endeavoured the suppression of the reformed Religion, and extirpation of the Professors of it in their territories; she established and promoted it in her Dominions.
As to their manner of proceeding; they fought to attain their ends by fraud and violence, slaughters and inexcusable severity, either without Law, or contrary to Law, or by executions exceeding in severity the very rigour of the Decrees, Laws or Edicts against the Protestants; and all for no other cause but their Religion; a Religion which teacheth nothing dishonourable to God or Christ, or injurious to man; which embraceth all that can reasonably be proved to have been taught by Christ or his Apostles; receiveth, honoureth, and commends to the diligent study of all the sacred Scriptures; such a Religion, as they who persecute it, confess to be true in what it affirms, and is the most essential part of their own, only believes not what they are not sufficiently convinced to be true, and with no little reason suspect to be false, or not proposed to their belief by Divine authority. She did nothing without Law, or contrary to the Laws; was very moderate in making, and no less in executing any Laws against Papists: The first she made in the first and fift years of her Reign, being so far from introducing any new severity, that they take off from the harshness of what was in force before; and those and the rest not being made against their Religion in general, but upon special and particular, necessary and urgent occasions, for the necessary ascertaining and preservation of her own just authority against those who endeavoured to set up a pretended foreign jurisdiction against her, to absolve her subjects from all duty and obligation of obedience to her, and excite them to rebellions, and to joyn with foreign enemies, or by assassination to destroy her; whereby she was necessitated and forced, through their continual wicked, seditious and rebellious practices, for the curbing and restraining of them, to proceed, contrary to her own disposition, to more and more severities of Laws, which, though none of them made without just cause, and some special provocation, yet were executed with admirable moderation; the next, after those above mentioned, which was made in the thirteenth year of her Reign, being occasioned by the Northern Rebellion, and the Pope's Bull, to absolve her subjects from their obedience; yet notwithstanding in six whole years after was not put in execu-
execution against any one, though there were those apprehended who had offended against it; and in ten years after that rebellion were there but five executed, till the further provocations before mentioned in the 29th and following Paragraphs necessitated the execution of the Laws then in force, and the enacting of some others in the 23, 27, 29, and 35 years of her Reign; and yet did not the severity which was exercised in all her Reign against Papists, equal what was done against the Protestants in two years of her Sisters Reign, and oftener than once, in few days in France, and professedly for their Religion only, whereas it cannot be proved * that throughout her whole Reign there was any one executed merely for their Religion. Such certainly was her lenity and moderation in this respect, considering the daily and high provocations against her, as plainly argues an admirable magnanimity and piety in her, and is scarce to be paralleld in any History, not to be denied but by such as have cast off all ingenuity and sense of their own credit and reputation, and hath extorted the + confession, and provoked the free acknowledgment of her more candid and ingenuous adversaries. There might also be observed a great difference between the actions of the Protestants in France, and the Papists both here and there too, but that, for brevity sake, shall be left to the Readers own observation from what hath been related of each. Therefore lastly, as to their success, they, while by fraud and violence they sought the utter extirpation of the Reformed Religion, and Professors of it in France, were themselves extirpated there, and the last of their race cut off by his own Subjects of that same Religion, which by those wicked courses was sought to be established, and the Religion which they sought to suppress and extirpate, took deeper root, and flourished more, notwithstanding all their opposition and persecutions: She, while, with rare moderation, and a generous plain-dealing constancy and resolution, established the Reformed Religion, both easily and happily attained her end, and


† V. Watson, Widdrington, &c. apud Foulis, l. 7. c. 23. The Jesuits Reasons unreasonable.
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and was her self established in her Throne, and in a long happy, and prosperous Reign, as long as all theirs from the beginning of their persecutions, preserved from all the secret plots, and machinations, and open rebellions, and assaults of her enemies, made victorious over all, and at last brought to her grave in peace, and in a good old age, leaving her Kingdoms in peace, and in a flourishing condition, and a blessed and glorious memory behind her; while they were cut off in the flower or middle of their age, and left their Kingdom embroiled in Civil Wars, Confusion and Misery, and an infamous memory of their no less unsuccessful, than perfidious and barbarous actions.

55. Nor was this distinguishing Providence thus visible only between her and those who persecuted the Reformed Religion, but also between her and those who deserted the same, as is to be seen in the next succeeding King of France, Henr. 4. (the greatest part of whose Reign was contemporary with her), and in his Father before him Antony King of Navar, who being drawn in by the Pope’s Legate and Guises, in hopes to recover his Kingdom of Navar, or satisfaction for it, to desert the Protestants, and become Head of the Popish party, within the space of about one year after, ended his life by a shot before Rouen. Had he lived longer, says * Perefix, the Hugonots had without doubt been ill dealt with in France. But having received his deaths wound, he became more solicitous for his own salvation than for his Kingdom, for which he had thus wavered in his Religion, and at last declared, that if he recovered, he would openly embrace the Protestant Profession, and live and die in it. His son Henry 4. of France was bred up from his childhood in the Reformed Religion, and when he was grown up * professed himself Head of that party, and so continued till his + unhappy Marriage with a Popish Lady, Margaret Sister to Charles 9. then King of France, which, though for its warrant it had the specious colour and pretence of confirming the Pacification, and begetting and establishing a better accord between the two parties by so near an alliance between the two Heads of them, yet proved, as it was intended by the others, a snare to the destruction of the chief
chief persons, and of great numbers of the rest of his own party; and to himself, not only unsuccessful in respect of his wife, and that not so much through her sterility, as her inconsistency and unfaithfulness to his bed; but also a snare, whereby, after he had seen the lives of his best friends, and of great numbers of innocent people of his own Religion most barbarously and inhumanely taken away, he was himself forced, for the saving of his own life, to change his Religion, in shew and appearance at least. But this being by constraint, and only in appearance, (for Religion (as was well perceived by Henr. 3. after he had received his deaths-wound) which is planted in mens minds by God, cannot be commanded or forced by men). Upon the first opportunity he returned again to the open profession of that Religion, which in the mean time he retained in his heart, and constantly professed and maintained the same till after the descent of the Crown of France to him. This happened very seasonable for him in many respects, being then not a child or youth unexperienced in the World, but of mature age (about 35.) and firm judgment, well experienced in affairs both Military and Civil, of State and Government; being then reconciled to, and in perfect amity with the deceased King, who, upon his death-bed, acknowledged him for his lawful Successor, recommended the Kingdom to him, and exhorted the Lords there present to acknowledge him for their lawful Sovereign, notwithstanding his Religion, and obey him accordingly; being then not in Bearn or the remoter parts of the Kingdom with small or no forces, but before the chief City of it in the head of a great Army under his command, many of those in the Army who disliked his Religion, yet being, by the consideration of his undoubted right, the recommendation of the deceased King, and their own fresh experience of his virtue since his coming to the Army, reconciled to his person, acknowledging his sovereignty, and submitting to his obedience, now not as General, but as their lawful and undoubted Prince. This was 20 years after he had first professed himself Head of the Protestants, 13 years after he had again returned to the profession of that Religion wherein he had been bred and educated; when he
had been all this while preserved, notwithstanding all the power of France against him, and had withstood all the temptations which, after the death of Alancon, whereby he became next heir to the Crown of France, could invite him to change his Religion; and when, after all opposition, he was, as it were, led by the hand to the possession of the Kingdom. Yet was he not entirely possessed of it, but that there was still matter and occasion left him to make him sensible of that Providence which, having preserved him all this while, had at last raised him to the Throne; and to exercise his dependence upon the same for the future, for his entire possession of the Kingdom. He was, like David, after many and long trials, advanced to the Throne; but yet, like him, not presently put into the full possession of the Kingdom. For the Leaguers, who thought his being an Heretick, as they reputed him, was a sufficient disabillity to his right to the Crown, thought the same a sufficient warrant for them to keep him from it, and to continue the rebellion against him which they had begun against his predecessor.

And to remove or prevent all scruple of Conscience in that respect, the College of Sorbon gave them their solemn resolution, (May 7. 1590.) That they who opposed him should merit much before God and Men, and if they resisted (so mindful were they of the Apostles Doctrine, Rom. 13.) to the effusion of their blood, should obtain a reward in Heaven, and an immorecessible or never-fading Crown of Martyrdom. And, lest this should not be sufficient, they institute a Procession, which was made in the presence of the Pope’s Legate, Cardinal Bellarmine, and all the Bishops who came with him from Italy, wherein Rose Bishop of Senlis, and the Prior of the Carthusians holding in one hand a Cross, and in the other a Halberd, led the Van, the Fathers of the Capucins, Foliacens, Paulians, Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, following in order, all accoutred, their Cowles hanging back upon their shoulders, and having on instead of them, Head-pieces, and Coats of Male; and after them the younger Monks in the same habit, but armed with Muskets, which they frequently and inconsiderately fired at those they met, with a shot,
that whereof one of Cardinal Cajetans domesticks was killed, who being slain at so religious a shew, was therefore held to be received into the blessed companies of the Confessors. After this was made another Procession by the Duke of Nemours, and Claud Brother to the Duke of Aumale, who commanded the Infantry, and the rest of the Officers of the Army, who upon the great Altar of the principal Church renewed their League and Covenant, and swore upon the Gospel to live and die for the cause of Religion, and to defend the City against Navar. The Pope also, that this Rebellion might want no authority which his infallibility could give it, though there was no other scruple to his right and title but only his Religion, fought against him with both swords; by his Monitory against the Prelates, &c. who submitted to his obedience by his Legate, Cardinals, and other Emissaries sent to encourage the Rebels, and by his forces and mony, whereof in about 10 months time he wasted 500000 of aureos, most upon the French War, when there was more need of it to have relieved the poor, who in the mean time died of famine at home: and Clem. 8. who not long after succeeded in that Chair, said he was resolved in himself to spend all his treasures and blood too, if there was need, to exclude Navar from his expected possession of the Kingdom. Nor was their good for the Catholick King of Spain wanting to the promotion of so just a cause. And in his own Army, though many, otherwise of the Romish Religion, submitted to him without any conditions or delay, and others were satisfied with his word and promise, (which his former faithfulness had made of great authority even with his enemies, v. Peresix, p. 112.) that he would refer all matters of Religion to a Lawful, General or National Council, and others with his Oath, yet many having more regard to their own private interest and concerns than to their duty, deserted him, and either stood neuter to see which way the scales would turn, or turned to the Leaguers. Nevertheless, not only of the Nobility, Gentry and Laity, but also of the Clergy, Prelates, Arch-Bishops, Bishops and others, many were more sensible of their duty than either to be drawn with such false, though specious pre-

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tences, or to be affrighted with the terrors of the Pope's pretended authority from it. And therefore when the Pope's Mandates were read in the Parliament which sat at Tours, they made an Act of Parliament whereby the Monitorials made at Rome, Mar. 1. were declared Nul, Abusive, Seditious, to be damned, full of impieties and importunes, contrary to the sacred Decrees, Rights, Immunities, and liberties of the Gallican Church, and it was decreed that the Copies of them sealed with the seal of Marsil, Landirans, and signed by Sextil. Lampinetus, should be by the common Hangman publickly torne, and burnt before the Palace Gates, &c. that Landirans, who, pretending himself the Popes Legate, brought those Mandates should be apprehended, &c. and Gregory calling himself Pope the 14th. of that name, was declared an enemy of the publick Peace, of the Union of the Catholic Church, and of the King and Kingdom, a partaker of the Spanish Conspiracy, a Favourer of Rebels, and guilty of the cruel, detestable and inhumane parricide treacherously committed upon the most Christian and truly Catholic King Henr. 3. And this was required to be published by the Arch-Bishops and Bishops through their Diocesses. The like was also done at Chaulon and Caen. The next day after this was an Edict made in favour of the Protestants, with the general consent of all as necessary, published, whereby the Edict of July was revoked, and the former Edicts in favour of the Protestants restored. And very fair they were to have created a Patriarch of their own in France, which the Senate urged, but was opposed by the new Cardinal of Bourbon, a man of no worth, who was out of hope of being the man himself, and was a promoter of a new faction of the Thirlings among the King's party, yet in those things which concerned the Collation of Benefices, they gave that power to the Arch-Bishop which the Pope had usurped or pretended. The King in a speech to a great Assembly of the Nobility and Officers of his Army, upon the death of the former King, had told them, that of those things which, as they knew, his Predecessor had at his death recommended to him, this was the chief, That he should maintain his Subjects of the Roman Catholic, and of the Reformed Religion in equal liberty, (equabili in libertate.)
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still by the authority of a lawful Oecumenical or National Council something should be decreed concerning that difference, which he would religiously observe: and professed before them all, that he had rather that day should be his last, than to do any thing whereby he might be said to waver in his Faith, or to have renounced that Religion which hitherto he had professed, before he should be further instructed by a lawful Council, to whose authority he did submit himself: and therefore he gave free leave to those who were not satisfied with this to depart, adding; and when they have forsaken me, yet God will never forsake me, who, I call your selves to witness, from my childhood hath at it were led me by the hand, and heaped upon me great and unconceivable benefits. Nor did the beneficence of God toward David appear greater, or more miraculous, than when beyond the expectation of all, through so many difficulties and dangers he brought me to the Throne; so that I ought not in the least to doubt, but he who break- ing through so many obstacles hath called me to the Kingdom, will preserve me in it, and defend me against all the assaults of my enemies; &c. I value not the Kingdom of France, no, nor the Em- pire of the whole World so much, that for the obtaining of them I would make any defection from that Religion, which as true I have from my tender years imbied with my Mothers milk, and embrace any other faith than what, as I have said before should be resolved in a lawful Council. The like confidence in God, with resignation to his will, he afterwards expressed in a pi- ous Prayer in the head of his Army before the Battel of Yury, after which he obtained a very notable Victory over a much greater Army. Yet notwithstanding, after all this, whether through the importunity of the Roman Catholicks of his own party, or the violence of his enemies, who were assem- bled to elect a Catholick King, which was much urged by the Pope and the King of Spain, he fell off from his constancy, and without the determination or instruction of any lawful General or National Council, changed his Religion, and at last also submitted himself to the Pope. The report of this being brought to Queen Elizabeth, who had been very liberal in her assistance to him upon the score of Religion, and was very fo- licitous for him, she presently dispatched Th. Wilkes to know the


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the truth of it, and if not already done, earnestly with reasons which she sent in writing to dissuade him from it. To whom the King excused himself from the necessity of his condition; which he also did by Morlantius to the Queen herself, with great offers of amity and kindness, calling her his Sister, (as is usual), whereat, being much grieved and troubled, she presently took her pen, and wrote the ensuing Letter, in what Language I know not, but thus in English out of the Latine in Camden.

Alas, how great grief, what a flood of sorrow, what sighs did I feel in my mind from those things which Morlantius hath told me? O the faith of men! is this the World? Could it be that any earthly thing could drive the fear of God from you? Can we expect an happy issue of this deed? Or can you think that he, who with his right hand had hitherto sustained and preserved you, was now about to leave you? It is a thing very dangerous to do evil, that good may come of it. Yet the good Spirit, as I hope, will inspire a better mind into you. In the mean time I will not cease, in the first place of my Prayers, to commend you to the Divine Majesty, and to beseech him that the hands of Esau may not spoil the blessing of Jacob. That you solemnly offer me your Amity, I know that I have indeed well deserved it; nor truly would it repent me, had you not changed your * Father. Certainly now can I not from thence be your Sister by the Father. However, I (for my part) will always more dearly love my own, than our adscititious Father; which God best knows, whom I beseech reduce you to the right path of a more sound judgment.

Your Sister if it may be after the old mode,

With the new will I have nothing to do.

ELIZABETHA R.

56. Thus this good Queen; but the King who had before loosened the ties of Conscience for the saving of his life, and began now to break through the same for the satisfaction of his
his lust, and the enjoyment of a woman; it is no wonder if he did the same for the enjoyment of a Kingdom, which perhaps he might have better secured otherwise, and his life with it. It is true, he never went so far as to persecute the Protestants, as his Predecessors in the Kingdom of France did, and his Father began to do, and perhaps had proceeded further, had he escaped that fatal wound; but while he took liberty to himself to change that profession, gave them the liberty to retain and enjoy it, and under better conditions than ever they enjoyed, or were granted them before, which was a principal cause which made his Reign so much more prosperous and happy than theirs. Yet, as in those two particulars, for his lust, and for his Kingdom, he did forfake his Conscience and Religion, so did God at last, after several fair warnings, forfake and leave him to the ruin of his health, by the satisfaction of his lusts, the disappointment of his counsels, by the treachery of the Jesuits, and the loss of his life by the hand of a zealot of that Religion which he had chosen; whereas this blessed Queen who gave him this pious admonition, and her self continued faithful to her God, and constant in her pious resolutions to the last, was to the last blessed and preserved, notwithstanding all the Plots and Conspiracies, Rebellions and Invasions, and attempts of her enemies the Romanists against her. By this act of his he broke indeed the faction of the Leaguers, and so more easily quieted his possession of the Kingdom, yet had he sooon an occasion to immind him how uncertain and short his enjoyment of it was like to be, unless still preserved in the midst of Peace by the same Providence by which he had been hitherto preserved in his Wars, and advanced to it through so many dangers and difficulties. For within a month after his conversion to the Romish profession, was apprehended an assassin, Peter Barrier, who from place to place had followed him to kill him. This fellow had confered about it with a Carmelite and a Capuchin, who both encouraged him to it, and when he made some scruple by reason the King was turned Catholick, as he said, he was confirmed in it by Chr. Aubre Curate of St. Andrea, who for his further confirmation led him to Varade Rector of

† Gabrielle d'Estrees, v. Perefix, p. 194.
the Jesuites Colledge, who eased him of all scruples, and further animated him to perform the undertaking, and when he had been confessed, and received the Sacrament in their Colledge, dismissed him to that purpose. Having provided him a knife for the purpose, it was not long before he had an opportunity to have done it, but was strangely restrained, being pulled back as it were with cords tied about his heart, as he afterward confessed. The like opportunities he often had at other places whither he followed the King for that purpose, but was by some little accident or other still prevented, or had not the power to do it, though otherwise a fearless man. At last being discovered and apprehended, and brought to his trial, he confidently confessed the whole matter, railing upon the Sectaries and his Judges. Before his execution, he was ordered to be racked to make him confess his complices; but in the mean time it was thought fit to send some to him to admonish him of his error, whereof he was so thoroughly convinced by Oliver Barengarius, a Dominican, who had all along been of the King’s party, that acknowledging his error, he reckoned himself happy that he was prevented from committing so great a wickedness as he intended, though by his own most miserable death, detesting his purpose, and those who had persuaded him to it, and told him that if he died in the enterprise, his soul should immediately be received by Angels into Heaven, there to enjoy an eternal happiness with God, and admonished him, that if he should happen to be taken and tortured, he should not name any of them who had persuaded him to it, for then he must know he should incur the pains of eternal damnation: and before his execution he gave notice of two Priests, who at Lions had undertaken to kill the King, and, for the greater caution, described their persons. This renewed the odium of the Jesuits, who were reputed not only to have been the first inventors of this mischievous War, but also, what by their profane Sermons, what by the poison of their naughty Doctrine secretly in confession instilled into the minds of the enraged people, to have exposed, by a pernicious example, the sacred persons of Princes to be murdered by every one. The next danger of this kind which

*So Dav. in the Story of Chaftel, calls them the first authors and continual fo-mentors of the League, p. 1232.
which he was in came yet a little nearer to him, when in the Chamber of his beloved Mistress, happily at the instant, stooping to salute a Gentleman that came in, he received that stroke only at his mouth, and without greater hurt than the loss of a tooth, which was designed at his heart by John Chaste, a Scholar of the Jesuites, who, through a flagitious life grown desperate, hoped by so heroic an act for the cause of the Roman Catholic Religion, to merit, though not Salvation, whereof he despaired, yet some mitigation of his punishment, perhaps from the eighth degree to the fourth. He was educated and studied in the Jesuites School, and was assistant in Philosophy to John Guerret a Priest of that Society; and though v Assistance above his age, yet was in esteem with those Fathers, who used to admit him among their choice disciples, to their more secret conferences and religious exercises; and had often heard in that Society, that it was not only lawful to kill the King, but a thing much conducing to the cause of Religion, whereof it seems he was so thoroughly persuaded, that notwithstanding the terribleness of his execution, he expressed no signs of sorrow or repentance; but on the contrary, being first put to the rack, gave out such assertions as the Court declared seditious, contrary to the word of God, and condemned by the sacred Decrees, and made it treason to repeat them. As he had before freely confessed, so when he was tortured he confirmed the same, that he was bred up in the Schools of the Jesuites, and had often heard it discoursed, and disputed, that it was not only lawful, but also meritorious, to kill Henry of Bourbon (the King) a relapsed Heretic, and often said that he learned that Doctrine from them. Whereupon their College being searched, among the papers of F. John Guignard were found many writings that taught that Doctrine, many things against the late King, and that praised the murder of him; and likewise against the present King, that persuaded the killing of him, and tending to sedition and parricide; that it would be well done to thrust Navar, though professing the Catholic Religion, into a Monastery, there to do penance; if without war he cannot be deposed, war is to be made against him; if war cannot be made, he must by any means...
means be taken out of the way, &c. all which he was convicted to have written with his own hand; and was therefore hanged. Also John Gueret the ordinary Confessor of Chastel, F. Alexander Haye, and John Bell, all of the same Society were likewise convicted of the like offences, but were condemned only to perpetual banishment and confiscation of their goods.

57. The Society of the Jesuites, to whom the Bishop of Clermont gave his house in Paris called Clermont house, from whence they were called the Society of Clermont by those who disliked their ambitious, arrogant appropriating to themselves the Title of Jesuites, as that which doth belong to all true Christians, was by the recommendation of Charles, Cardinal of Lorrain, (the Guisians alwaies highly favouring this new Society), first admitted in France in the year 1550. by Henr. 2. of whom was obtained a Charter for them to build and erect a School at Paris, but there only, and not in other Cities. But when this Charter and the Pope's Bull of confirmation of their institution were brought into the Court to be allowed, and were read, the Parliament referred them both to the consideration of the Bishop of Paris, and of the Colledge of Divines. Whereupon they gave their Sentence in writing, to this effect; That this new Society, by an insolent Title appropriating to themselves the name of Jesus, and so licentiously admitting any persons, howsoever illegitimate, facinorous and infamous, without any respect, and which nothing differs from other secular persons in Rites, Ceremonies, or rule of living, whereby the Orders of Monks are distinguished; moreover, is endowed with so many Priviledges, Liberties and Immunities, especially in the Administration of the Sacraments, to the prejudice of the Prelates, and of the Sacred Order, and also even of the Princes and Lords, and to the great grievance of the people, contrary to the Priviledges of the University of Paris; seems to violate the honourableness of the Monastick Order, to entice the studious, pious, and necessary exercise of Virtue, Abstinence, Ceremonies and Authority; and also to give occasion to others to forsake their Vows, to withdraw their due Obedience from the
the Prelates, unjustly deprive the Lords, both Ecclesiastical and others, of their rights; to introduce great disturbance in the Civil & Ecclesiastical Government, Quarrels, Suits, Dissentions, Contentions, Emulations, Rebellions, and various Scissions; that for these causes, this Society seems very dangerous in respect of Religion, as that which is like to disturb the Peace of the Church, to enervate the Monastick Discipline, and to tend more to Destruction than to Edification. This so startled the Society, that they desisted from any further prosecution till the Reign of Francis 2. When the Guisians, who highly favoured this new Society, carrying all before them, they resumed the business again, and first the Bishop of Paris, Eust. Bellarius, was required to give his Sentence, which he did in writing; That that Society, as all new Orders, was very dangerous, and at these times instituted rather to stir up Commotions, than to make up the Peace of the Church: and after a sharp censure of their arrogant title, adding, that in the privileges granted to it by Paul 3. are many things repugnant to the Common Law, and prejudicial to the power and authority of the Bishops, Curates, and Universities, and therefore it would be more advisable, that since they are by the Pope appointed and bound to instruct the Turks and Infidels, and publish the Gospel among them, yet in places which are near to them they should have their Colleges assigned, as heretofore the Knights of Rhodes had in the borders and out-skirts of the Christians. This and the other sentence being read, and considered by the King in Counsel, the Court notwithstanding, through the instigation of the Cardinal of Lorraine, was commanded to publish as well the Pope's as the King's Charter, without any regard to the intercession of the Bishop and College of Divines; and the Jesuites exhibited a supplication to the Court, whereby they subjected themselves to the Common Law, and renounced all privileges contrary to it. But the Parliament thought fit rather to remit the whole business to a General Council, or to a Convention of the Gallican Church. And at a great meeting of the Bishops at the Conference at Poisy, they were admitted to teach, but under many conditions to change their name, be subject to the Bishop of the Diocess.
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Diocess, &c to do nothing to the prejudice of the Bishops, Colleges, Curates, Universities or other Orders, or their Jurisdiction and Function, but be governed according to the precept of the Common Law, and renounce all contrary privileges, &c. Hereupon was opened Clermont School at Paris. But when this liberty was interrupted by the whole University of Paris, the business was again brought before the Parliament. The University having before advised with Carolus Molinæns, his Consultation or opinion and resolution of the Case, which was afterwards published, was, that the University had good cause to declare against them for a Nuissance, because they had erected a new Colledge contrary to the ancient decrees of Synods, the General Council under Innocent 3. the Decrees of the Court, &c. their Institution was not only to the detriment of the several Orders, but to the danger of the whole Kingdom, and every wise man might justly fear that they might prove spies, and betray the secrets of the Kingdom; they seemed to be instituted to lie in wait for the estates of dying people; they set up a new School in a University, to which they would not obey, which was not only monstrous, but a kind of sedition, &c. And it was argued on both sides in full Parliament, by Pet. Verslorius for the Society, highly commending their Original and Institution, and by Steph. Pascaius for the University, as much condemning both their Institution and their Practice: 'their Institution, in respect of their obligation by vow both to their General, who is always chosen by the King of Spain, and whom they profess to respect as God present upon earth, and promise a blind Obedience, as they call it, to him, absolutely in all things; and to the Pope, to whom, because they are so obsequious, they ought so much the more to be suspected by the French, who indeed acknowledge the Pope as Head and Prince of the Church, but so as that he is bound to obey the sacred Decrees and Oecumenical Councils as inferior to them; that he can decree nothing against the Kingdom, or their Kings, or contrary to the Decrees of the Court (of Parliament), or in prejudice of the Bishops within their limits; and therefore to admit those new Scætaries, would
would be to nourish so many enemies within the bowels of the Kingdom, who, if it should happen that the Popes in a fury should raise arms against us, would denounce war against the King and Nation of France: also in respect of their unreasonable and exorbitant privileges contrary to the Common Law; and of their ambitious Title: their Practice, for corrupting of youth, and ruining of Families; and lastly, addressing himself more especially to the Senators, he admonished them to beware that they did not, when too late, condemn their own credulity, when they should see through their connivance, that the publick tranquility not only in this Kingdom, but through the Christian World, should be endangered by the craft, guiles, superstition, dissimulation, impolitures and evil arts of these men. But the Senate, whether through security, or hatred of the Protestants, whom these men were believed born to subdue, determined to deliberate further on the business, in the mean time granting them liberty publickly to open their Schools and instruct the youth. And here we may take notice by the way, who were the first and chief favours and introducers of the Jesuites, and thence further observe whose Scholars they were, who were the chief actors in those troubles in France. But thus hung the cause till, after the discovery of Barrières conspiracy, the University with unanimous consent nemen reclamante renewed their Suit, and prayed Judgment, by their supplication to the Parliament, wherein they set out, that the Estates in the Senate had long since complained of this new sect, that great confusions were then raised by them in the discipline of the Schools; that from that time they have given occasion of greater troubles, since the factionous did openly addict themselves to the Spaniards party, and have confounded not only the City but the whole Kingdom with horrid seditions; that this was prudently foreseen from the beginning by the Colledge of Divines, who by their Decree declared this new sect to have been introduced to the destruction of all discipline as well Civil as Ecclesiastical, and namely denying the obedience of the University, as well to the Rector of it, as moreover to the Arch-
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Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Curates and others the Prelates of
the Church; that notwithstanding those Jesuites made supp-
plication to the Senate to be incorporated into the Univer-
sity, and the cause being heard the Senate suspended the
the Suit, *Salvo partium jure*, so that nothing in the interim
should be innovated in the cause in prejudice of the De-
cree; that yet the Jesuites have not only not at all obeyed
the Decree of the Court, but forgetting their facerdotal pro-
fection have thrust themselves into publick businesses, car-
rried themselves as spies for the Spaniards, and managed
their concerns: and therefore pray, that since all these things
are openly and publickly known, the Senate will interpose
their authority, and by their Decree command that Sect to
depart not only from the University of Paris, but out of the
Kingdom, and exterminate them thence. Hereupon, after
various delays by the Jesuites, the cause came again to an hear-
ing in the Parliament, not openly, but at the instance, and
through the importunity of the Jesuites and their friends, the
doors being shut. And *Ant. Arnald* of Counsel for the
University, deploring the condition of France heretofore for-
midable, but of late become despicable to all through fac-
tions, which factions have been caused by the Jesuites, largely
confirmed from experience of what had since been acted, the
truth of what was wisely foreseen and foretold so many
years before. That the Emperor *Charles 5.* when, fortune
favoured him, he conceived hopes of obtaining and trans-
ferring to his Family a universal Monarchy, and by his own
fagacity and long experience found that many were tied up
by scruples of conscience; could not devise a more effectual
means to work upon them, than by introducing men of the
Spanish design (the Jesuites) to the destruction of others un-
der shew of Religion, who in secret at confessions, and
openly also when occasion should be offered, in their Sermons,
alienating the credulous and simple people from the obedi-
ence of their lawful Governors, should insensibly draw them
to his party. That the principal *Vow* of these men is, to
be absolutely and in all things obedient to the *General of*
their *Order*, who for the most part is a Spaniard, or subject
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of Spain, as appears from the series of those who for these 50 years from the beginning of their Society, have been their Generals; for such were, 1. Ignatius Loiola their founder, 2. Jac. Lain, 3. Enaristus, 4. Fr. Borgia, and, 5. at present Cl. Aquanina: that to their vow these horrible words are annexed, in which they profess to acknowledge Christ as present in their General: that their Sect, whereas in Italy and France at the beginning it was generally opposed, was with great applause approved in Spain; they pray day and night for the safety and prosperity of the pious, prudent, vigilant Catholick King of Spain, who opposeth himself a wall of defence for the house of God & the Catholick Faith; but for the most Christian King of France never: and let the F. General say the word that the King of France should be killed, the command of the Spaniard must ex voti necessitate be obeyed. That though upon their petition at Rome for the Popes Confirmation an. 1539. they were at first opposed, yet at last obtained it, this fourth vow being added to it, that they should be ready to obey the Pope at a beck, which is that which doth so much ingratiate them at Rome, but ought to make them so much the more suspected in France. And that their Counsels tend to the subversion of the Kingdom is hence manifest, that when ever the Popes exceeding their authority, have sent out their censures against the Kingdom of France, there have not been wanting pious men, who with the common suffrage of the Gallican Church, have courageously opposed such their rash attempts, (as he shews more at large from divers instances in the times of Carolus Calvus, Ludovicus Pius, Philippus Pulcher, Carolus vi, and Ludovicus xii.) but now in these late tumults it hath fallen out quite contrary, the sacred Order being corrupted with the venom of this sect, and taught, that he who is once chosen Pope, although of the Spanish Nation or Faction, and a sworn enemy to the French, may notwithstanding give up the whole Kingdom for a prey, and absolve the French from their Faith and Obedience which they owe to their Prince. That this is a schismatical and detestable opinion, altogether contrary to the word of God, (who hath divided the spirit
ritual power from the secular as far as Heaven is from the
Earth) and as much repugnant to the safety and conserva-
tion of Kingdoms, as it is certain that the true Christian
Religion is necessary thereunto. That these monsters have
kindled these furies in the minds of the French, and excited
so many slaughters and horrid confusions every where.
Hence that publick assertion of Tanquerellus 33 years since,
that the Popes may declare the King’s subjects free from their
Oath of Fidelity. Hence that resolution 5 years since, by
the greater number of the Colledge of Sorbon, that is, those
who were new moulded in the hop of the Jesuites, that
Subjects may be absolved from their Obedience to their Prince.
That this Vow instituted by the Castiliens (of Spain), which
with so strait a tye binds mens consciences to the perpetra-
ting of any kind of enterprize, and to the killing of Kings
themselves by suborned emissaries, hath dissolved and wholly
abolished the glorious institutes of our Ancestors, the Laws
of the Realm, and the liberties of the Gallican Church:
whereas we have received this Law from our Ancestors,
that the Oath of Fidelity, whereby the Subjects of France
are obliged to their Kings, can by no censures of the Popes
be dissolved; which is so conjoinied with the safety and
weal of the Kingdom, that without certain ruine it cannot
be severed from it: that the Royal Power in that suffers no
rival, nor admits any equal Jurisdiction. That these emiss-
faries and asserterors of this excessive power in the Pope crept
in insensibly at first in small numbers into France, but in
short time filled the whole Kingdom, and with secret frauds
and seditious Sermons have stirr’d up the wars. That the
first Conspiracies, more pernicious than the Bacchana’s and
that of Cataline, were hatched in their Colledge at Paris;
that the Spanish Agents did often secretly convene there;
that there the Nobility at their secret Confessions were en-
joyed for the expiation (or satisfaction) of their sins, to
engage for the League, (viz. by a special commutation of
penance into an heroick act of virtue) and those who re-
fused were denied the benefit of absolution. That by them
was the sedition at Vezuna stirr’d up, and the rebellions at
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Agen, Tholouse, &c. and the Spanish Souldiers brought into
Paris; that by their counsel the Council of xvi emboldned
by the forcin Forces, offered the Kingdom of France to the
King of Spain, and 13 dates after ensued that detestable
butchery of the principal Senators. That at their Schools
at Lions and afterward at Paris was made the late Conspir-
acy for the murder of the King, as is attested by the con-
feffions of Barriere; for among them they are held for
real Martyrs, who lay out their lives for the killing of
Kings. Hence F. Commotet the last Christmas, taking
for his text out of the book of Judges the example of Ehud,
who slew the King of Moab, and fled away, cried out, We
have need of another Ehud, whether Monk, or Souldier, or
Lacquey, or Shepherd it matters not. Hence the furious
Speeches of Bernard and Commotet, calling the King Olo-
ternes, Moab, Nero, Herod, and every where bawling in
their Sermons that the Kingdom may be transferred by
Election, &c. That among these counterfeit Priests it is
a symbol of their profession, One God, one Pope, and One
King of the Christian World; meaning the Catholick King, to
whom they design the universal Monarchy of the whole
World, stirring up every where wars and rebellions, that
thereby the vast body of that Empire may grow up and
devour the lesser Princes. That by them, Philip King of
Spain, when he had long gaped after the Kingdom of Por-
tugal, and foresaw that so long as the King and Nobility
continued in safety, he could not obtain his desires, perswa-
ded the young King Sebastian, having removed his inti-
mate and faithful friends from him, to sail into Affrica, and
rashly engage in fight upon great disadvantage, contrary
to the opinion of all his party; wherein himself and almost
all the flower of the Portugal Nobility perished. Nor did
they cease till they had also ruined Don Antonio, and till
the King of Spain not so much by his Arms, as by their
Arts, had made himself Master of the Kingdom. Nor
ought it to impose upon the credulous, that they are vulgar-
ly reputed serviceable for the instruction of youth, whose
manners they rather corrupt, infilling evil principles into
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c tender minds, which in that age make the greater impression upon them, and under a shew of Piety teach them to embrace their hands in their Princes blood, to be disobedient to Magistrates, to stir up seditions among the people, to cast off all affection to their own Country, and be affected with an adulterous love to foreigners; and being thus seasoned with pernicious errors, they will in time, when grown up, bring the same into the Church and State. And indeed already, since this new sect hath as it were seized upon the youth, the manners of our Ancestors have, not by degrees insensibly degenerated, but like a torrent been precipitated into corruption. Nor have whole Families escaped ruin by them, by their arts youths being enveigled from their Parents, and the inheritances and estates of their Ancestors transferred to these new Lords. The complaints and examples of divers Noble Families thus spoiled are known, as of Petrus Ærodius, Mombrunius, Godranus, Bollonius, Largila&tonius, the Marques Canilliacus, whose Brother was not admitted to his vow in that Society, till they were certain of his succession to his elder Brothers Estate. And for this purpose they have now their Book of Life, as they call it, wherein they describe the secrets of Families, which they learn from confessions. These things and much more, having largely discoursed, in conclusion he urges the necessity of a speedy remedy, and therefore prays that according to the supplication, the Jesuites may be decreed to depart the Kingdom within 15 days after denunciation to the several Schools. Some days after was Ludovicus Dolens heard for the Curates (or Ministers) who also became Plaintiffs in the Suit, who among many other things urged, 'That by the Popes were many things inconsiderately and blindly granted them: by Paul, 3. Power to make new Statutes, and to change those which their Founder had established; also to absolve heretics, which, if the Pope contend, is more than the whole Gallican Church can do. By Paul, 4. To absolve penitents from all kind of crimes, even those which are not comprehended in Bulla Cæne Dominice, and from those also which the holy See hath reserved to it self, and
pro tempore to commute vows and pilgrimages, &c. by Jul. 3. to
give indulgence from fasts and prohibited meats. Lastly by
Greg. 13. to converse with sectaries, and for that purpose
to wear secular habits, (viz. for a disguise) a thing prohib-
bited by the S. Canons; and to correct all kind of Books,
and to mend the writings of the Fathers, wherein what
Plagiaries they have been, is known to them who converse
with Books; that from thence have great confusions been
brought into the Church, and the Discipline generally been
dissolved; for by the Breve of Paul 3. the people are allow-
ed to leave their own Pastors, and run after them, and to re-
ceive the Sacraments from them; to whom Greg. hath com-
mited (authority) to animadvert as well upon the Clergy
as the people, that all may be done rightly, and after the
Roman mode; so that from Priests, whether regular or sec-
cular it is uncertain, they are suddenly become universal Pa-
stors of the people, or rather wandering vagabond Bishops,
(Periodentas & circumcelliones & bawtarios: Episcopos) that
there is nothing which they cannot now do at Rome, where
they are called the Popes eyes; mentis Pontificæ oculi); that
their Principles are inconsistent with the French: that it is
certain that to them is principally given in charge that they
should oppress the Gallican liberty, at first by guile, and af-
terwards with open force, even as in these last wars they
have endeavoured to do; that with them they are reckoned
anathema who take the Kings part; but that the French
think the contrary, and that not to obey the King is as to
refist God, and to fight against Heaven; that they think
that the Pope may excommunicate Kings and People when
he pleaseth; but the French on the contrary hold them for
Sectaries who think that the Pope may interpose his autho-
rity in any difference of State: that they attribute to the
Pope an infinite power over all Kingdoms, and set him above
the Church, above Councils, and in fine, make his power
equal to his will, (to do what he please): but the French
hold his power to be finite, or limited. And for their good
deeds and practices, that Claud Matthew, a ring-leader of
the faction, whom Henr. 3. had familiarly used in his pri-
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vate devotions, and who therefore was well acquainted with
his piety (and devotion to the Rom. Cath. Religion) with
great impiety and ingratitude went to Rome, and would
have persuaded Greg. 13. to have excommunicated him,
unless he would comply with the leaders of that pernicious
faction, which being denied by him, was after his death ob-
tained of his successor Sixtus: that Varada of the same
society confirmed Barriere in his purpose to kill the King,
when he made some scruple at it; that they confess as much,
but with frivolous cavillation seek to excuse it. Nor are
these the faults of single persons among them, forasmuch as
it is a usual thing (or constant custom) with them, when
they have any enterprize in hand, to confer together about
it, &c. that by their occult art of prying into secrets they
have by little and little insinuated themselves into the minds
of the simple, and acquired a dominion in their consciences.
Whereof there is a fresh example in the five (Popish) Can-
tons of the Switzers, whom when the Jesuites had in vain
attempted to draw them from their League with the other
Cantons of the Protestants, made for their common safety,
they, leaving the men, like the serpent which deceived our
first Parents, set upon the women, and persuaded them not
to lye with their Husbands till they had broken off the
League. But the Switzers, discovering the fraud, shewed
themselves men, and handled the Conspirators according to
their desert. The Venetians likewise, whose Justice and
Prudence the duration of their State doth easily evince, saw
as much, and being warned by our example, they did not
indeed thrust them out of their Territories, for how could
they do that, being so near neighbours to the Pope? but
did maturely shut them up within their own inclosures, and
interdicted them the hearing of confessions. And how
powerful they are among us by these means, they openly
profess, and glory in it in their letters to their General. But
thus is the discipline (of the Church) overthrown, and (con-
trary to the prudent prohibition of the Council of Nants,
the laying of St. Aug. Neminem digna paniterre, posse, quem
non sustineat unius Ecclesie: the judgment of the ancient
Christians,
Original of the Powder Plot.

Christians, who condemned Audius for making separation in the Church) the people seduced from their own pastors are adulterously allured to communion in fatis with them apart from others, and at last stirred up to rebellion against their Prince, and emissaries suborned to murder him. Their conspiracies are well known against Prince Maurice, which at last took effect; and in England those of Parry, Cullen, York, Wiktams; in Scotland those of James Gordon and Edmond Hay; and with us so often mentioned of Barriere. But among the ancient Christians these monsters were unheard of. Of the Christians was no Cassius, no Niger, no Albinus, as Tertullian speaks. Nor was that crime ever heard of in France till the coming in of the Jesuites. For it was brought in by them from Spain, whence they had their original, where the Gothes, as an ancient Author informs us, took up this detestable custom, that if any of their Kings pleaded them not, they put him to the sword, and set up whom they pleased in his place. On behalf of the Jesuites Cl. Dureus rather pleaded in bar of the action, than spoke to the merits of the cause; but P. Barrius answered more copiously in writing. But, as much of what was spoken by the others is here purposely omitted for brevity sake, so those things particularly which I find answered by him, except that of Portugal, which notwithstanding his answer, seems very probable, as well agreeing with their principles and actions, though such mysterious practices are not easy to be fully proved. And thus stood the case with the Jesuites in France, when the King was about to * proclaim war against their great Patron the King of Spain: and whether the particular consideration of these or either of these, to prevent what they feared might be the consequence of them did produce that attempt of their Scholar Ciftel, or not; for he was more deeply seasoned with their principles and instructions than to make a full confession, yet certain it is that that attempt did produce a more speedy determination of the cause than could otherwise have been expected, by a Decree, whereby the Court did ordain that the Priests and Students of the Colledge of Clermont (for they would not call them  

* Which was done 17. Jan.

† V. Perefix, 229.

†9 Dec. 1594.
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them by the name of Jesuites) and all others of that Society, as corrupters of Youth, perturbers of the publick Tranquillity, and enemies of the King and Kingdom, shall within three days after denunciation depart from Paris and all other Cities where they have opened School, and within fifteen days after out of the Kingdom, upon pain to be prosecuted as guilty of Treason; and that their Goods and Lands shall be employed for pious uses, and be distributed at the pleasure of the Court; and all the Kings Subjects were interdicted to send their children to the Schools of that Society out of the Kingdom to be instructed in Learning, upon pain of Treason. This was executed the Summer following. Some few days after this, was made another Decree, whereby Chastel's Father's house, which was neer to the Palace, was ordered to be pulled down, and a Pyramid to be erected in the place of it, with the Decree inscribed upon it ad aeternam fa&i memoriam; which was likewise done, with other inscriptions in detestation of the crime.

58. How necessary for the safety both of the King and Kingdom this was, and that the Decree should be strictly executed throughout the whole Kingdom, and duly and constantly observed for the future, many in the Court, and most in the Parliament of Paris, and of the Clergy, were very sensible, and the King could not be ignorant, especially after such fair warnings. And yet, whereas the Jesuites, being by virtue of this Decree exterminated out of the Jurisdicitions of the Court of Paris, which extends to near half the Kingdom, and likewise of Burgundy and Normandy, continued notwithstanding for three years after to keep up their Schools in the Territories of Tholouse and Bourdeaux, to which many sent their Sons to be taught, and many again from that Society, changing their habits as if they had also renounced their vow, crept into other Schools; though the King was often importuned to command those Courts by his Edict to publish the Decree, and it was once or twice resolved in Council, the execution notwithstanding was continually retarded by the craft and subtilty (saith our Author) of some about the King, but perhaps some thoughts of a peace with Spain, which had been proposed, might make it thought
thought unseasonable at that time. But the Parliament of Paris was not wanting to do what in them lay, and by another 21 Aug. 1597 Decree, under a severe penalty prohibited all Cities, Colledges and Universities to admit any of that society, though pretending the renunciation of their vow, to preach, or to exercise any sacerdotal Ministry, or to teach children either publickly or privately. The year following the King was again provoked through the obstinacy and insolency of the Court of Tholouse, to send out his Edict commanding those Courts to publish the Decree, and was moved by the Chancellor Ph. Huraltus Cevernius so to do, but by some Courtiers, says our Author, the business was at present delayed, and at last wholly put off; and very likely was. Now also though unseasonable in respect of the King's desire to obtain a dissolution of his Marriage with the Queen Margaret, that he might marry his beloved Mistress La belle Gabrielle, whereof he began about this time to treat with the Pope's Legate. And indeed, though I know not whether so much be written by any, yet it seems very legible in the actions and occurrences which are written, that this was so powerful a motive with him, as made him not only desist from further enforcing the execution of the Decree, and total extermination of the Jesuites, but on the contrary to yield to their Restitution. For the Jesuites about this time taking occasion upon a Convention of the Clergy to offer him a supplication, ceased not afterwards till by supplications and recommendations every where sought, they at last obtained their desire, the Pope's Legates sparing no pains on their behalf. So our Author, who afterward tells us, that when Ignatius Armandus their Provincial, about a year before they were restored, had made a Speech to the King for them, the King answered that the business was now in the Pope's hands, without whose direction he would determine nothing (negotiwm penes Pontificem esse, quo inconsulto nihil velis decernere). But it may be more plainly perceived in a passage afterward at their restitution; for when the Parliament interceded against their restitution, and were very averse from publishing the Kings Edict for that purpose, at last comes And. Huraltus
Original of the Powder Plot.

Hurlaltus Messius into the Senate, and acquaints them from the King with the whole series of the business, and tells them that above five years since the Pope had dealt with the King that the Jesuits might be restored to the same state in the Kingdom wherein they were before the Decree. This was about the beginning of the year 1604, and the King having in the year 1598 treated with the Legate about the dissolution of his Marriage, as hath been said, in the year 1599; he obtained the Pope's Breve to certain Delegates, who, upon hearing of the cause, pronounced the Marriage null ab initio; so that this points us to the time exactly: and considering the common practice of the Court of Rome to neglect no opportunity of promoting their own ends, it cannot be thought that they would let this go without some assurance from the King of the restitution of the Jesuits, which at the same time was earnestly solicited. It is true that the King's beloved Misf. who had engaged him to send to the Pope about it, died in Child-birth before the commission to the Delegates was sent; yet this hinders not but she might before have prevailed with him to give all satisfaction to the Pope in order to the obtaining of it, and that thereupon he might so far have engaged to the Pope, that he knew not afterwards how to get off when he would; and this it seems was the true reason why the business hung so long, and yet was done at last. For thus Messius goes on relating the series of the business, the King, says he, put it off from day to day as much as he could, (he did not refuse or excuse himself from denying it, but sought delays) and when he could no longer shift it off, he proposed certain articles almost uniform to the contents of the Decree, and by his Embassador laboured with the Pope to be content with their restitution under those conditions. For the Pope demanded their universal restitution throughout the whole Kingdom, but the King offered it in certain places appointed to a certain number, and in the Territories subject to the Court of Paris were only two places assigned them. From that time two years passed without any mention of the business, whereas the King, who desired to gratifie the Pope in it, was troubled; at length the King's Embassador being instant with the Pope, he answered that the articles
articles proposed by the King seemed to him to be such as the Jesuites ought to be contented with them, but that his hitherto he had deferred his answer, because the General of the Society (Aquanina) shewed himself not at all satisfied with them, nor would subscribe to them, &c. that the business therefore was no longer in the King’s power, but transacted by agreement between the King and the Pope; (rem proinde amplius non esse integrum, sed de ea inter Regem & Pontificem quasi pacto transactumuisse) All which shews sufficiently that the Pope had then gotten some bank upon him which he could not get off. Nor can any other be easily assigned so probable as this which I have said.

Only one thing more ’tis likely helped forward the business; viz. a desire to secure his life by ingratiating himself with the regicides: for so it is said, that when his great favourite the D. of Sully dissuaded him from their re-admission, he answered, Give me then security for my life. And indeed though in his answer to that grave speech of the chief President Harlay in the name of the Parliament, and in behalf of the University, representing to him, both from their principles and practices, the danger of what he was about, not only to the Kingdom, but to his own person, he made shew of great contempt of that danger, and hopes, which upon mature deliberation he had conceived of the good fruits which France might receive from their restitution, and also of confidence in God, who had thus preserved him hitherto, for his future preservation; yet since it does plainly appear by what was delivered by Melchius from him to the Senate, (and there can be no reason to think otherwise) that he was sore against his will, (viz. through some inconsiderate pre-engagement from which he could not recede) brought to it, his other favours to them besides their re-admission, may be thought to proceed from this principle, and his shew of contempt of the danger to argue rather what he sought to conceal, than what he pretended, or at least that that contempt proceeded from his hopes of securing his own safety by this means. For, what-ever he pretended, it could not proceed from a well grounded confidence of God’s protection; a thing inconsistent with his living in continued known sin by reason of...
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his Amores, (which the Reverend Bishop of Paris doth frequently deplore) and when he had before violated his conscience by his change of Religion for securing his Kingdom. For who can with confidence expect any favour from him, whom he doth daily knowingly injure and offend? Besides, that confidence is not always the meer result of a good conscience, but is often raised in pious souls by the special influence of the Spirit of God, who as he doth more and more encrease it in those who continually and sincerely endeavour to persevere and go forward in a diligent observance of his will, and to raise their souls by a constant exercise of the dictates of Reason and Faith, above the animal or brutish nature; so doth he always withdraw the same from those who decline to brutish affections, and if they go on so to do, at last leaves them dispirited, and obnoxious to base and deceitful shifts and devices, whereby they pull down mischief upon their own heads, especially when this is mixt with ingratitude against great mercies. Nor can a sacrilegious and profane absolution, by those who cry peace, peace, when there is no peace, serve the turn, without a due repentance proportionable to the fault with all its aggravations, and a sound reformation. And for what fruits he might expect from their restitution, for the good of the Kingdom, his Parliament well informed him by the mouth of their worthy President Harlay, in that notable speech which might well have deserved a larger place here, had not so much been related already to that purpose from others. As they have all one common Name and Vow, so have they, faith be, certain heads of Doctrine wherein they all agree: as, that they acknowledge no Superior besides the Pope, and to him they give Faith and an absolute Obedience, and firmly believe that the Pope hath power to excommunicate Kings; but that a King excommunicate is a Tyrant, and that his Subjects may with impunity make insurrection against him. That every one of them who is initiated though but in the lower Orders of the Church, whatsoever crime he commits, cannot possibly incur the crime of Treason, because they are not at all any longer the King's Subjects, nor subject to his Jurisdiction. Thus are the Ecclesiasticks by their Doctrine exempt from the secular Power, and
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and lawfully may with impunity lay bloudy (violent) hands upon the sacred persons of Kings. This they assert in printed Books, &c. These false and erroneous Doctrines cannot be admitted by Kings, and therefore it behoves that they who maintain them should before all things renounce the same in their Schools. If they do not, they ought by no means to be suffered, as those who maintain a Doctrine devised to the subversion of the fundamentals of royal power and authority. If they do, yet are they not much more to be trusted; for at Rome and in Spain, where these new monstrous opinions flourish, they think one thing, but speak another in France: and as they pass into this or that Country, so do they take up or lay down these opinions. If they say that this, they may lawfully do by secret Dispensation, then what certainty can be had of their Doctrine, which is thus changed with their change of place, and is good or bad according to the times? This Doctrine they embrace and maintain in common (all of them) and it so thrives by little and little, that it is to be feared left in tract of time it infect the other orders, which are not yet levened by it. At first they had none more their adversaries than the Sorbonists, now many of them are their favourers, viz. those who received their first institution in their Schools. Others who are now training up in learning under them will hereafter do the like, and one day hold the chief dignities in the Senate; and if they shall think the same in point of Doctrine also, they will by degrees withdraw themselves from their duty of obedience to the King, set at naught the King's Laws, and suffer the Liberties of the Gallicane Church to become obsolete, and wear out; and lastly, will reckon it no crime of Treason which is committed by an Ecclesiastick. Then he goes on, and imminds him of the fruits which had already been produced from these principles; of Barriere, Varada, and Guignard, and Chartal, and of the last King's murder, against whom this ungrateful Society stirred up the people to sedition, nor were they thought guiltless of that murder; that in the late wars, of other Orders many persisted constantly in the King's obedience; but these conjointly and unanimously conspired against him with the inveterate enemies of the Kingdom, (the Spaniard) nor was there one of that Society found, who was of the King's party,
party, touches upon foreign examples, how in Portugal, they, and they only, deserting the cause of their Country, adhered to the Spaniards, and were the cause of the slaughters of so many Priests and devout Persons, two thousand perishing under the Spaniards in several manners; and by a singular indulgence obtained the Pope’s pardon of so many confessed slaughters: then having spoken of the reasonableness of the Decree which exterminates the Jesuites, and had been received without contradiction in all other Courts, had not they withstood it who were not well settled in the King’s obedience, and were hardly brought off from their inveterate hatred against him, and answered objections, he presents the humble obsecrations and obtestations of the Parliament for the continuance of it; and to these adds the humble supplication of the University; and at last imminds him of the regard which his Predecessors had always had to the intercessions of the Supreme Courts, at whose Petition or Advice they revoked or altered their Edicts, if they contained anything amiss; that this the Courts of the Kingdom beseech his Majesty, and promise themselves from his Grace, that he will please to suffer them to enjoy their authority entire, which indeed is the authority of the King himself, as that which depends upon him, &c. But all would not do; notwithstanding the intercession of the Parliament, the deprecation of the University, the dissensions of those he held both able and faithful to him; he had made an Edict, and it must be published; and the Jesuites restored, malgre mesme les avis de quelques-uns de son Conseil. And they must not only be restored, but moreover have a new Colledge built them at La Flesche, which the King endowed with an annual Rent of 12000 Crowns (Aurei) and prevailed with the Clergy for 100000 more toward the building of it; and he also orders that the hearts of Himself, his Queen, and their Successors shall be there interceded in a Church to be built by himself; and in the mean time a Father of that Society is admitted to the inspection and conduct of his own, being made his ordinary Preacher and Confessor, viz. Father Cotton, who presently thereupon began to shew his zeal for the Pope against a Sentence
Sentence of the Colledge of Divines passed two years before, wherein they had asserted the Liberties of the Gallican Church against the Pride, and Haughtiness, and Avarice of Rome; and among other things, that other Bishops have power to order the publick affairs of the Church within their own Diocess, as well as the Roman Bishop in his; and at his instance by the command of the King; for the Court could not be brought to consent to it, not only the marble Table whereon the Decree was engraved, but the Pyramid itself, with all the other inscriptions in detestation of that fact of Chastel, was taken down and demolished; and the printed Cuts of it prohibited; which being notwithstanding greedily bought up, diligent search was by the King’s command made for the brass Plate from which they were printed, which yet was not found till few days before the murder of this King also renewed the common hatred against the Jesuits.

59. But before we proceed to the murder itself of this King, it will be necessary to take notice of some other Conspiracies against him; whereof some were contemporary with those of Barriere and Chastel, though not discovered till afterward, and some were since. The first of Nic. Malavicina the Pope’s Legate resident with the Arch-Duke at Brussels, who having every where fought for an assassin, at last light upon Ch. Ridicome a Dominican Friar of Gant, who was very ready to lay down his life for the cause of Religion; but before he would undertake this business, desired in the first place to have the authority of the Pope and Cardinal’s approbation; wherefore the Legate for his satisfaction gave him a writing under his hand in the name of the Pope and Cardinals, to that purpose; and having furnished him with Money, and blessed him with the sign of the Cross, he dismissed him, giving him also for his better security from discovery, a faculty or dispensation to wear a secular habit, of a Soldier, and to ride, dance, fence, &c. Being thus prepared for the business, the Jesuite Hoduma, to whom his Mother at confession had discovered the agreement, desired to see him, and having viewed him, disliked nothing but his little stature, saying that there needed a more robust man. In his
his journey at Vermand he understood that the King was reconciled to the Church, and came to the Crown by lawful succession, yet he went on as far as St. Denys, but from thence returned to Brussels to the Legate, and gave him this reason of his return; whereat the Legate shook his head, and telling him that the Bearnois (so he called the King) and all his party stood still excommunicated by the Pope, persuaded him to persevere in his purpose; to whom Ridicone answered, if I could see the Pope’s mandate, then it should soon be considered on. At the same time Pet. Arger of the same Monastery at Gant, having first treated with Malavicinus at Brussels, and then going to Rome, being returned from thence, likewise undertook the design of killing the King. Some time after Ridicone, with whom a servant of the Legates had afterward dealt in secret, went also to Rome, whether Malavicinus had returned, where being by him confirmed in his purpose, he took his journey by Milan, and having there communicated the business to the Spanish Ministers, he came into France about the same time that Alex. Medices the Pope’s Legate arrived there, the King being then reconciled not only to the Church but to the Pope also. At last being taken, when the King saw that the business could not be examined in a judiciary way without the great infamy of Malavicinus, and that not without some reflexion upon the Pope with whom he was already reconciled, and moreover casting some suspicion upon the Arch-Duke to the disturbance of the business of peace, whereof some overtures had been made by the Legate, he resolved to dissemble it, and dismiss Ridicone out of the Kingdom, requiring him not to return again upon pain and penalty of Treason. Being returned to Gaunt, he resumed his former design of killing the King, and after some secret conference at the Monastery of St. Vincent in the King of Spain’s Territories, he returned again into France, where being again apprehended, he was condemned and executed. At his Trial being asked how he could think of such a thing as to kill the King, he answered, that by the frequent Sermons from the Pulpit, and daily Disputations in the School, which he heard; and moreover the praises of James Clement,
Clement, as of a glorious Martyr who had devoted himself for the liberty of the French, everywhere resounding, not only at the Churches, but in the Markets, Streets, and at Feasts; he was easily persuaded that he should do a thing pleasing and acceptable to God, who should kill the cruel Tyrant, who without any right tore in pieces that most Christian Kingdom with the loss of so many souls; and therefore when Malavicinus did moreover furnish him with the authority of God and the Pope to that purpose, he readily undertook it; being put to the rack he made no other confession than he had done before. At the same time was also executed one Nic. Anglus a Capuchin Frier of St. Michel in the Diocese of Thoul in Lorraine, being convicted and condemned for the same crime. The next year after Ridicone was first apprehended, and while he was in prison, Ledesma a Minister of the King of Spain, employed one Pet. Owen a Carthusian Frier, who, for his dissolute manners being censured in his Monastery, had fled into Spain, to suborn an emissary to murder the King. Owen having treated with a Souldier in the King’s Army about it, to whom he had made great promises, was himself the next year after apprehended and convicted both by witnesses and by his own confessions; but was pardoned by the King in respect to the Carthusians, being satisfied to have taken the evidence in a judicial manner, whereupon he might when he pleased expostulate with the Spaniards. But shortly after these things ensued the Peace with Spain at Verbins, and not long after some hopes given of the restitution of the Jesuites, which was at last granted as we have seen: whereupon one might have thought that his enemies being all either subdued or reconciled, having reconciled himself to the Church, to the Pope, to those of the League who remained unsubdued, to the Spaniard, and to the Jesuites; that he should henceforward have enjoyed his Kingdom, his new Religion which had brought all these blessings with it, and his Misses too, at least his life, in safety. But alas, it may be feared he had forgotten to reconcile himself truly to his God, which made the rest but male facia gratia, que ne quocquam coit & rescinditur: For, when a mans ways please the
the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him. But while he was thus endeavouring to engage the Jesuites to himself, the Spaniard on the other side spared neither pains, nor cost, nor promises, that by their emissaries they might allure to themselves the minds of those who through the late Civil Wars were alienated from him, and under the specious colour of Religion might invite them to disturb the publick peace and quiet of the Kingdom, laying hold on all occasions for that purpose: and that they might discover his arcana & secret counsels, and from the knowledge of them, the better order their own designs, made it their main business to corrupt those who were employed by the principal Officers and Ministers of State. Thus among others, Nie. L'Offe, whom the Secretary Villeroi employed in decyfering letters, being corrupted by them with an annual pension of 1200 Crowns, continually discovered all the secrets of them to the Spanish Embassador. They had before corrupted the Marshal de Biron, and some other persons of Quality, which being discovered, brought him to his end about two years since; and now they not only again set upon the Count d'Auvergne, who had been convicted of Biron's conspiracy, and pardoned, but also the Seigneur d'Entragnes, and the Marquise de Verneuil, his beautiful and witty daughter, the King's Miss, to corrupt them, and that by no meaner or other agents than their Embassadors in France, Jo. Taxis, and his successor Bath. Sunica, who, to introduce him at first, made use of an English fugitive Th. Morgan, an actor in the Conspiracies against his own Princess Queen Elizabeth. The next year this same Embassador Suniga, first in person, and afterwards, to avoid suspicion, by his Secretary Brunellus, treated, and at last agreed with Lewis Merargues a Gentleman of Provence to betray Marsilles to the King of Spain; which both Merargues and Brunellus confessed, being apprehended in private conference in Merargues's Chamber; and in Brunellus his hose under his garter was a paper found, written in Spanish with his own hand, which confirmed the same. [Un memoire contenant le plan de son entreprise. Perex.] These things I the rather note, because of use as well to confirm the truth of their like practices.
practices in England, as to help to ground some conjecture on concerning the murder of this King.

60. While the Spaniards are thus active to continue their old, and make new friends in France, it is not likely they would be unmindful of the Jesuites, whom they had always found such ready instruments to serve them, and in other Countries were still as well affected to the interest of Spain and the house of Austria, though contrary to that of their own Countrey, as ever. Nor is it to be thought that the Jesuites would be so easily drawn off from their old Friend and Patron, by those little expressions of kindness, not sufficient to compensate their injuries received; and besides, might be doubtful whether proceeding from any real affection to them or not; especially considering their subjection to the same F. General, by whom the motion of their society in other Countries under their several Provincials, is in a correspondent uniformity steered; only 'tis probable, as becomes wise men, they would be cautious and wary how they did hazard the loss of what they had gotten, and therefore act upon pretty sure grounds: yet we meet with some instances of their affection to their old friend. For, to say nothing of F. Cotton, a prime man of the Society, and the King's Confessor, his consulting a supposed Daemoniac concerning the *King's life, the same Father is reported to have brought and recommended to the King a certain Spaniard, of whom the King a while after received from Monsieur de la Force Vice-Roy of Bearne and Navar, a description, with an advertisement that such a day he went from Barcelona into France, with intent to kill his Majesty, and shewing his letter to Cotton, commanded him to bring the man again, but Cotton returning a good while after, told him he was gone, and could not be found; and that not a year before the King was murdered he was in disgrace for writing * divers things to the Provincial of the Jesuites in Spain, which the King had revealed to him in confession: and that + the D. of Sully proved to the King that he was guilty of betraying his secrets. What these secrets were I find not; but this is to be noted, that he had then a great design in hand, which, whether the

* L. 132.
† P. du Moulin, Answ. to Philanax, Ch. 5.

* P. du Moulin, ibid.
† Foul. 9. c. 2.
A Discourse concerning the

Perefix, an. 1608.

fame or not which he pretended, and which is related by the D. of Sully, and from him by Perefix the Arch-Bishop of Paris, he had in pursuance of it raised a great Army, which startled both Spain and Rome. He had about two years before his death entred into a League Offensive and Defensive with those Hereticks and Rebels against the Catholick King, the Hollanders, whereof the Spaniards grievously complained, Don Pedro de Toledo representing to him that the ruine or conversion of the Hereticks was the common interest of all the Catholick Princes, and what great wars his Master had made upon that design: and was now, though the Pope had earnestly dehorted him from any more arming, going in person, with an Army of 40000 choice men, to assist the D. of Brandingburg with his Allies the Protestant Princes, in the busines of Cleves and Juliers, whereof the Emperor complained, as that which could not be without wrong to the Catholick Religion; and what was worst of all, this expedition was not doubted to be only a cover for some greater design, that business of Cleves falling out very opportunely to furnish him with a good occasion to commence the execution of his projects. While the King was raising this Army, in France was a great Book secretly kept by some Priests, wherein many did subscribe their fidelity and obedience to the Pope, many of the subcriptions in blood; and at Rome, (the Pope having dehorted him from arming) four months before he was murthed, was the Decree against John Chastel censured, and forbidden to be read, by an Act of the Consistory, together with the History of Thuanus for relating too plainly that horrid action of Chastel, and the part which the Jesuites had in it; and likewise a Book of Mariana the Jesuite, but not that which approveth the murthering of King's, which by that means, was in some sort, that is, tacitly and implicitly approved. At last, having as well ordered all things for the Government at home in his absence, as perfected his preparations for the Expedition, he was impatient to be gone from the City, partly through his eager desire of pursuing the exploit, partly boding and presaging some mischief to his person, if he should stay longer there. But
the Queen, to whom he had committed the Regency in his absence, assigning her a select Council, through the instigation of Conchini and his Wife, being very importunate with him that she might be crowned before his departure, he would not deny her that testimony of his affection, though otherwise very unwilling, and withal told her, 'That that Coronation did presage him some mischief, they would kill him; he should never go from that City; his enemies had no other remedy but his death; it was told him that he should be slain at the first grand magnificence that he should make, and that he should die in a Coach; which made him taken with a trembling when he was in one. He was counselled for the avoiding of the unhappy prophecies to depart the next day, and to leave the Coronation, which might well be done without him: but this extremely offended the Queen, and therefore to satisfy her, he said, with such success as was foretold. For the next day after the Coronation, when in the morning he had been very sad and pensive, one while casting himself upon his bed to sleep, then again when he could not sleep, arising to his prayers, doing this several times, in the afternoon he would needs go to the Arsenal to visit the Duke of Sully, who was there indisposed, though the Duke of Vendome imminded him that he had been warned to beware of the fourteenth day; but contemning the warning and predictions, out of a desire to conceal his fear, (just as he had done before in the restitution of the Jesuites, contrary to the advice and persuasions of his best friends) in the way his Coach being stayed by a stop made by two Carts accidentally meeting in a narrow street, he was stabbed between the second and third rib, and at a second blow to the heart, whereof he died presently. The Assassin was one Francis Ravaillac, formerly a Monk, but at that time a Solicitor. What motives, persuasions or instigations he might have to this wicked act, is much in the dark; but that it was, not out of revenge for any personal injury the meanness of his quality may induce us to believe; and besides no such thing was ever pretended or alleged. Nor was it out of hope of any temporal advantage; for then he

Per. p. 489: Quære, who was this Conchini who put this into the Queen's head? I think an Italian of Florence.
would have fled, and endeavoured to have saved himself, which he did not in the least; but therefore upon the score of Religion, which is further manifest; for it seems he had in him some of the leaven of the League, and was persuaded that the King went to overthrow the Catholic Religion in Germany. He + said that the King made War contrary to the Pope’s liking, and boldly alleged, at his examination, this reason for what he did, That the King had a design to make war against God, because he prepared war against his Holiness; for making war against the Pope, is the same as to make war against God. This is further confirmed by his carriage both at his Apprehension, Examination, and Execution. When he had redoubled his stroke, and offered a third, he never so much as stirred from the place, or offered to conceal the knife, but stood still, as if he desired to be taken notice of, and gloried in the exploit; and (which may also help to satisfie us that he did it not of his own mere motion) at his examination, were evident marks found in him of the Doctrine of the Jesuites, and to the Divines who were sent to him, he shewed himself perfectly instructed in all their distinctions and evasions about Rebellion and King-killing, though otherwise very ignorant in all other Learning. Lastly, at his Execution, such was his constancy in the midst of his terrible tortures, as strongly confirmed the suspicion that certain Emissaries under the masque of piety had instructed and enchanted him by false assurances that he should dye a Martyr, if he killed him, whom they made him believe was the sworn enemy of the Church: and possibly he might have been charmed by some such incantations as were heretofore used to Barriere; and yet, as ‘tis said, he did confess thus much, that he had informed Father d’Aubigny of his intended murder, and shewed him the knife; but it was in confession, and therefore not to be revealed; and the Jesuite upon examination protested that God had given him the grace, that as soon as any thing was revealed to him in confession, he presently forgot it. The Jesuites were generally suspected and censured as guilty, and several suspicious passages in their Sermons lately preached, particularly by F. Hardy and F. Gon-
F. Gontier, were called to mind: and thereupon the Parliament ordered the Jesuite Mariana's Book de Rege & Regis Institutione to be burned by the common Executioner: and afterward condemned a Book of Suarez (Defensio Fidei Cath.) as containing many Seditious and treasonable Principles; and after this another of another Jesuite, Ant. Sanctarellus (de Hæresi, Schismate, &c.) printed at Rome with the approbation of the General, and at the same time questioned F. Cotton, and other chief men of their Society about their Doctrine in this respect; but this was many years after the murder. But that the History is so sparing in this particular of the accessories, it self gives us a good reason: the Judges themselves who examined him, says Perefix, durft not open their mouths, and never spooke of it but with a ftring of their shoulders; and that some grand thing was hushed up, may be supposed from the publick complaint of the Prince of Conde and others five years after, that the discovery of this murder was stopped, and not fully prosecuted. It should seem domestick and foreign jealoufies conspired in it. But that it was not done without the privite of others, is further confirmed from the Predictions of it, the general bruit which fore-ran it, and the King's enemies confident expectation of it. His enemies, says Perefix, were then in a profound silence; which possibly was not caused by their consternation and fear of the success of his arms, but for the expectation they had to see some great blow, which was all their hope. It was foretold in an Almanack brought to Perefixius out of Spain, printed November before; which Gassendus, though he doubts not but the Artist might have some dealing with an evil genius, yet thinks he might foresee by other means, as being privy to the conspiracy, which indeed is the more likely because it was composed by a Beneficiary or Beneficed man of Barcellonia or Barcinonia, from whence the Spanish Emiffary above mentioned came to Paris to Father Cotton, by whom he was recommended to the King. And perhaps of the same kind with this was that Prediction of his approaching death by a determinate blow, which was found written in a paper upon the Altar at Montargis. The Provost of Serres,
A Discourse concerning the Pluviers, who, 'tis said, was a Jesuite in Faction, and had a Son a Jesuite, being accused to have said the same day that the King was murthered, that he was slain or wounded that day, strangled himself in prison. And indeed such and so many were the predictions and reports of it at the time, and before it was done, which are mentioned by *Gassendus, Peresfix, and others, as make it very apparent that it was generally fore-known both in Spain and Italy, or at least that there was then many emissaries sent out to do it, and that it was confidently expected that it would certainly be done. Only it is somewhat strange that those circumstances, at his next Solemnity, in his Coach, and the very day of the month, should be so precisely foretold, as it seems it was in that manner that he gave credit to it, though no credulous person, and was so sad and dejected, that he was like one condemned to death, though by nature neither fearful nor melancholy. He had advertisements to this purpose by his Embassadors, and namely by Jo. Bochartus from Venice; and by others from twenty several places. But it seems it was decreed, the Decree was gone out, and it must be executed.

This end had Henry le Grand in the height of his Grandure; much like the fall of some stately structure deceitfully built upon an infirm foundation, when just raised to its height. He was frighted in his youth into a change of his Profession, for the saving of his life, (the first, but bitter fruit of his being unequally yoked) but that being only through terror and constraint, he returned again, when he found a convenient opportunity to the open profession of his own Religion. It was about the eighteenth year of his age, when his youth might make his yielding to so extraordinary terror, heightned by the sad spectacle of the horrid murthers of all his friends, the more excusable. About eighteen years after, when he was grown up to maturity, about the thirty sixth year of his age, and had given some testimony of his constancy in his Profession, and for his encouragement had received no small testimonies of Divine favour, not only preserving and conducting him safe through many dangers and difficulties, but leading him by the hand to the possession of the
the Kingdom, and making way for him by the extirpation of a whole Family, another Trial was assigned him by the great Agonothetes; who never ceaseth to provide new matter and occasions of trial and exercise for all those who once apply themselves to his service, till either by many mutual experiments given and received of their fidelity and constancy to him, and of his admirable Providence never failing them, but ordering all for their good, they become more than Conquerors, and well settled and confirmed in his service, (one great reason of the difficulties and adversities wherewith good men are frequently exercised) or on the other side, after many acts of unfaithfulness, whereby their courage and resolution is more and more broken and abated, they become easily affrighted or allured from their duty, and at last either wholly deserting, or little regarding the same, are accordingly by him abandoned to the deceitful and pernicious courses of their own lusts and devices. The former was a trial whether he would be frightened or forced from his fidelity; this rather whether he would be allured from it. In the former he failed; and now having had time to repent, and resume new courage and resolution, he is again called upon the stage; and in the first assault he behaved himself not much amiss. For, who can mislike his referring all to the determination and advice of a lawful General, or National Council, had he been sincere, and continued constant in this resolution? Nor did he want encouragement in this respect from the forward and courageous opposition which on his behalf was made against the Pope's Bulls, by his Subjects even of the Roman Communion, and not only by the Civil Power, but the Clergy also concurring therein; who moreover gave him a fair opportunity, and kind of invitation either by setting up a Patriarch in France, (which had been very agreeable to the first flourishing state of the Church after the times of Persecution) or by restoring to the Arch-Bishops and Bishops their ancient authority (which was in some sort done, and held for four years after) to have cast of that Antichristian yoke of the Papal Usurpations, (under which he afterwards, neglecting that opportunity, unhappily enslaved himself and his Kingdom
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dom) and so having reformed that grand, abominable abuse, he might with the more facility, afterwards have established, by the mature deliberation of a lawful Council, such a Reformation of the Gallican Church as perhaps might not have been inferior to any which hath been made in other places. And afterwards, when he resolved to be reconciled to the Church, they admitted and absolved him, notwithstanding the Pope's Legate opposed it all he could, contending that he could not be absolved by any but the Pope. But these things which might have given encouragement to a conscientious and truly pious mind, to constancy and further dependance upon God, to him perhaps proved a further tentation; their fidelity to him making their persuasions to change his Religion the more prevalent with him; especially concurring with a more powerful motive, viz. the reducing of the rest of the Kingdom to his obedience. And therefore, though like David he waxed stronger and stronger, and the League, like the house of Saul, waxed weaker and weaker, yet in about half the time that David was kept out of the greatest part of his Kingdom, he began to yield to the tentation. And first, when the Leaguers, through the incitations of the Pope and the King of Spain, were about to assemble to choose a Catholick King, (though that was not unlikely to break their party by their emulations and divisions concerning the person) forgetting his former resolutions, and neglecting his conscience, instead of dependance upon the Divine Providence, he applies himself to humane Policies, and resolves to change his Religion, without staying for the determination of a lawful either General or National Council. And this, after a few hours instruction, whereby he pretended he was much informed of what he was ignorant before, being solemnly done, he next, not long after, by a special Embassador makes supplication to the Pope to be admitted to his favour. And though he had presently hereupon two notable experiments, by the attempts of Barriere and Chastel, of the vanity and deceitfulness of such shifts and humane Policies, without the favour of the Divine Protection and Blessing, (besides a faithful and sound admonition from
from the good Queen Elizabeth yet his confidence and reliance upon God, being before weakened, (it commonly proving with perverted minds as with corrupted stomachs, which turn their natural food, and nourishment into the nourishment of their disease) these did but provoke him to the more earnest pursuit of humane politick means; and therefore again, when he had already broken the party of the League, and Paris, wherein their chief strength lay, had submitted to him, and besides all this, the Pope had unworthily repulsed his Embassador, and given him a just provocation, (which certainly he might have improved, with the concurrence and good liking of the French Nobility and Clergy, toward the reformation of that abominable abuse of the Papacy, which is the original or prop of all the rest) he was notwithstanding easily wrought upon at the slight intimation of the Pope, (who, when he saw it was in vain longer to oppose him, was very willing to receive his submission) to send another Embassador, and basely prostrate himself to him: basely I say, because it is not likely that he did it out of Conscience or Religion, but rather out of fear of Emisaries and Affailiers, which is expressly mentioned by his Agents to the Pope, as a motive to his reconciliation: and for the same reason, 'tis likely, as hath been shewed before, he at last, notwithstanding all persuasions, earnest intercessions and supplications to the contrary, restored the Jesuites again, and among other favours subjected the government of his conscience to them. This was the foundation upon which he built his Greatness, which having laid for his security, he presently set himself to heap up Treasures, and at last raised a great Army for the execution of some grand design, which, whatever it was in truth, he pretended to be for the promotion of the Christian cause against the Infidels. But alas, all was built upon a sandy foundation; he had forsaken the rock of his salvation, and relying upon vain policies had ungratefully forsaken him, by whom he never had, nor should have been forsaken, so long as he continued faithful and constant to his duty; and prostituting his conscience to obtain a staff of reed, had broken the staff of his surest confidence, aggravating also the offence of his
his spiritual Fornication, and the burden of his galled conscience (which is always heaviest in times of danger) by persisting in the continual scandals of his Amores, whereof the Arch-Bishop Perefix often complains, as justly to be blamed * in a Christian Prince, a man of his age, who was married, on whom God had conferred so great mercies, and who had such great enterprizes in his hand. This was it which made his apprehension of his approaching death so strong and lamentable, and subjected him to the effects of that Religion to which he had subjected himself, as those who consult and crave the assistance of witches and evil spirits, make themselves thereby the more obnoxious to their power and malice. Thus did he fall from that Grandure which by the space of near another eighteen years he had been raising upon this false foundation. Such profane policies subjecting Religion to a subservience to secular ends, though successful for a while, yet frequently at last concluding in an unhappy catastrophe. Nor could the specious pretence of his grand design find acceptance with him, who prefers obedience before sacrifice. This was it which was in general foreseen and foretold by our good Queen by a more genuine spirit of Prophecy, and from better Principles than they were moved by who foretold the same indeed more particularly, but yet only like witches and evil spirits, who foretell the storms they mean to raise. And she herself, who built her assurance upon a better foundation, continuing constant to the last to her Conscience and Religion, and to her God, was by him constantly blessed and preserved to the last, during a Reign more than twice as long as his, and from conspiracies neither fewer nor in themselves less dangerous than those against him: and this was it which made her to hear the full relation of a horrid conspiracy against her person with that undaunted courage which amazed him who should have been the actor of it, to behold it: and with admirable constancy to contempt the many like conspiracies which she certainly knew were at one and the same time by the Seminaries and Spanish Ministers in agitation against her, reposing her confidence in him whom she knew was able to save her, with this pious ejaculation, Thou art my
Original of the Powder Plot.

my God, my times are in thy hand: not, They will kill me, I shall never go out of this City, I shall dye, &c.

62. The same distinguishing Providence might be further observed in another History, to which this is a proper introduction; but leaving that to the observation of others, I will here conclude with some REFLECTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS upon what hath been already related, that we may see what use and improvement may be made of it.

1. And first in the History of England, we may plainly behold the continuance of the combination of Rome and Spain, which was the occasion of that part of the discourse, even to the very time of those consultations, which were designed to commence in execution immediately upon the Queen's death; which may therefore reasonably induce us to believe that it did not then cease; but was continued in, and produced at last, that monster of all devilish and infernal conspiracies of blowing up the whole State at one blow.

2. We may therein also clearly perceive the justice, reasonableness, and even necessity of those Laws, which in the Queen's Reign were made to prevent and restrain those wicked practices of the Jesuites, and other Romish and Spanish Emissaries, and their disciples; which hath been acknowledged by some of the more sober Priests.

3. We must also therein take notice of the admirable Providence of God in the preservation of that Queen from so many, so various, so mysterious secret conspiracies, (the truth of which is further confirmed by the like practices of the Romish and Spanish Agents in France, and other places about the same times) and from so great open hostility, one while diverting, another while defeating her enemies, and making her victorious: and this notwithstanding the several excom- *V. sect. 26, munications, and solemn excreations and imprecations of several Popes one after another against her; as of Pius 5. Greg. 13. Sixtus 5. and Clement 8. which were all not only ineffectual, but rather turned into a blessing unto her.

4. In the History of France compared with the other, that distinguishing Providence, which was the occasion of that part
of the discourse, is no less conspicuous and observable in a
most remarkable judgment of God upon all those who either
persecuted, or deserted, or so much as refused or neglected that
reformation of Religion which he happily established and
defended; for in this last sort also we have noted it, though
by the by, and this notwithstanding all the incitations and
encouragements of several Popes and Cardinals. So that
here we have a most remarkable example of their Curses turned
into a Blessing, and their Blessings into a Curse.

5. And here if we take for Principles the two last of
Bellarmines Notes of the true Church of Christ, the one, the
unhappy exit or end of those who oppose the Church. 'For (as
he adds) although God punisheth his, and whips them, yet
at length he casts the rod into the fire; Deut. 32 43. Praise
his people ye Nations, for he will avenge the blood of his
servants, and render vengeance upon their adversaries: the
other, the temporal felicity by the Divine Providence conferred
on those who defend it. For never, says he, did Catholick
Princes cordially adhere to God, but they most easily became
triumphant over their enemies. If, I say, we take these for
our Principles, it will be very easy for any one, upon what
hath been here related, to make the conclusion; viz. which
is the true Church of Christ, and which the meretricious and
adulterous, who have been true Catholick Princes, and who
the Kings of the Earth who have committed fornication
with the great Whore, the woman drunken with the blood of
the Saints; and this will further appear from what follows.

6. And therefore in both these Histories we may also take
notice of the actions and practices of the Popes and their party,
their Adherents, Agents, Emissaries and Disciples, viz. exci-
ting and fomenting wars and invasions among Christian
Princes, with breach of publick Faith; seditions and rebel-
lions by Subjects against their own Princes, and the murders
of Princes by their own Subjects, encouraged thereunto by
an impious pretence of absolution from their duty of Obedi-
ence, and even oaths of Fidelity, and by promise of Reward,
even of greatest eternal Reward, for that which hath been
abhorred
abhorred by all other Religions, and always reputed contrary even to the Laws of Nations and of War; and persecutions and horrible slaughters of Christian people by their own Princes: and all this by an abominable abuse of Religion, and the most sacred and solemn parts of Religion; and only for their own cause, for the upholding of the Papal Innovations, Usurpations and Antichristian abuses.

Note; The persecutions and slaughters of Christian people excited by the Popes, upon the account of Religion, since the first appearing of the Waldenses and Albigenses, may be thought, for the numbers slain, to come near, if not to equal the Heathen persecutions, or rather much exceed them. In the first persecutions against that people, which were raised whether by the exhortation, or decree and command, as some say, of Pope Innocent 3, are reckoned to be slain in France alone 1000000 of people; and of later days have been reckoned 150000 Christians, within the space of scarce 30 years, consumed by the Inquisition. But these are things out of our present story.

7. We may here likewise observe the nature and manner of their actions and practices, which consist of the two great species of injustice, vis & dolus, violence and fraud, open force, and secret and mysterious practices and machinations, and so make up a compleat mystery of iniquity. The one we may behold not only in the Spaniard's Forces raised and employed at the instigation of the Pope and his Agents, but also in the Forces raised by the Popes themselves (who pretend themselves Vicars of the Prince of Peace, and as Christian Bishops, should be the Preachers of Peace, and not the Trumpets of War) both against the Queen of England and the King of France: and the other in the secret practices of the Jesuites and other Confessors and Emmissaries, exciting to Rebellions, and to assassinate Princes.

8. And here taking another of Bellarmines Notes of the true Church, viz. Sanctity of Life of the Authors and Propagators of the Religion; and our Saviour's rule, By their fruits ye shall know them; together with his Apostles Catalogues of the works of the Flesh, and of the fruits of the Spirit; for our Principles, it will not be difficult to conclude whether these
men be the Authors or Propagators of the true Religion, (for here, for their Religion that only is to be taken about which the difference is, and for which they contend, seeking by these means to maintain and promote it) or rather of an abominable innovation, and corruption of the true Religion; and whether their Church be the true and faithful Church of Christ, or rather that mystery of iniquity, that abomination of desolation, that man of sin and son of perdition, who hath set up himself in the Temple of God.

2. We may here also behold the Principles from whence all these actions and practices have proceeded, viz. 1. That the Bishops of Rome, as successors of St. Peter, have a supreme power and authority derived to them from Christ over all Christian Persons and Churches, all Nations and Kingdoms, all Princes and States. 2. That by this power and authority they may lawfully absolve subjects from all duty of Obedience and oath of Fidelity to their otherwise lawful Princes and Governors, and deposing them, may dispose of their Kingdoms and States to whom they think fit. 3. That Princes excommunicate by the Pope are no longer to be obeyed by their Subjects, but to be deprived of their Kingdoms and lives. 4. That to rise in Arms against such Princes excommunicate, or by any means to murder and destroy them, is not only lawful, but moreover meritorious even in their own subjects; and that to die in such an attempt is martyrdom, &c. And of all this we have here a more effectual evidence than only from the writings or printed Books of some private men, viz. in the Bulls and Acts of the Popes themselves, of Universities and Colleges of Divines, the frequent Sermons of their Preachers, and Instructions of Confessors, and Practices of their Penitents.

Note; It is here to be noted that besides these Practices and Principles so pernicious and destructive to the Sacred, though Civil Right of Princes and States, and the peace and quiet of Common wealths, there are others no less pernicious and destructive to the Church, and to the Salvation of particular persons, which, because they come not within the compass of this History, we take no notice of.

10. And
And here we may see what is the Religion of these men. For though there be other points in controversy, whereof many little more than mere verbal, about words and expressions, which are kept up only through heat of contention, and might easily be agreed by sober, judicious, and disinterested persons; and others originally only the private opinions of some men of great authority in their times, wherein the substance of Religion is no more concerned than in the speculations of Philosophers, though now commonly received and adopted into Religion by the Popes and their Faction, whether for secular advantage, or to hold up their pretended Infallibility; yet these are their kekxi dezi, their fundamental and ruling Principles for which they contend; the Principles from whence all these Persecutions, Wars, Murders and Murders have proceeded, and the Religion, que nunc novo exemplo Martyres facit, as Del Rio speaks in the case of Garnet whom he and Bellarmine will needs have to be a * Martyr whether he will or not. But perhaps some may say that this is not the faith or practice of all of that communion. Nor do I think it is, but that many are better Christians than to be imposed upon by the strength of such delusions; such especially who living in such Churches as continue in that communion, are not satisfied to separate from their own Church, though they clearly perceive and abominate these abuses, and heartily desire their reformation; and many such I doubt not but there have been and still are among the most sober, judicious, and pious of the French, even of the Clergy. And though I am very willing to think charitably of many of our English Romanists, yet I see not how they can be excused who separate from the Church of England, which is and ought to be their own Church, (so long as it continues a member of the Church of Christ, which an unjust excommunication by an apostate Church

* V. Sandys Europæ spectaculum of their Head Affertions, p. 24. in 4 to.

† Vindic. Areopag. c. 27. p. 124.

* To whom we may say with Optatus, lib. 3. Si illos videri Martyres utcunque probate illos amasse pacem, in qua sunt Prima Fundamenta Martyrii: ant delirias Deo placitam unitatem, ant habuisse cum fratribus charitatem. Nam omnès Christianos frater esse probavimus. — Charitatem illos non habuisse manifestissime confutatis, sine qua nullum vel nominari potest vel esse martyrum, faith be to the Donatists, p. 99.
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Church cannot hinder) to join with such a Faction. Nor
do I see how they can be excused who refuse to take the Oath
of Allegiance, which I am very confident not a man of the
ancient Christians would have refused: and it is hard not to
think that because they received not the love of the truth of
ferved to them, that for this cause God hath sent them strong
delusions that they should believe a lie, &c. But notwithstanding that some, who for the reason mentioned continue
in that communion, may by the mercy and grace of God
escape these delusions, yet it is apparent that these are the
Doctrines of the Pope, the Church and Court of Rome, and
of the Jesuits; and the rest are generally so seasoned and
leavened with such conceits of the Pope's authority, as are
easily improved into these when ever occasion is offered, espe-
cially if any thing of private interest intervene, as is very
observable in the History of France, (though they of all Pa-
pists are least inclined to favour the Papal Usurpations,) where
scarce a City, unless restrained by the powerful presence of
some of the loyal Nobility, or inhabited most by Protestants,
but did, or was ready to revolt to the League at every occa-

II. And here again, if we take for our Principles two more
of Bellarmine's Notes of the true Church, viz. *Sanctity of
Doctrine, containing nothing false as to the Doctrine of Faith,
nothing unjust as to the Doctrine of Manners: and, † Agree-
ment in Doctrine with the ancient Church: we may hence also
conclude whether this Church of Rome hath continued a
ture and faithful Church of Christ, or hath indeed made that
defection, which was foretold should succeed the dissolution
of the Roman Empire; as the Christians in all ages have una-
animously and universally understood that which should be ta-
ken away, and become the Mother of Harlots and Abo-
minations of the Earth, which is expressly said of the mysti-
cal Babylon, the great City which then reigned over the
Kings of the Earth; the woman drunken with the blood of
the Saints; whether there reigneth not that man of sin, the
sin of Perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all
that is called God, (above all nominal Gods, as Kings and Em-
perors)
perors) or that is worshipped (or reverence) so that he, as God, sitteth in the Temple (the Church) of God, (though adulterous and apostate Church shewing himself that he is a God (above all earthly Gods as Kings and Emperors, and the immediate Vicar of the true God). For the Doctrine of the Primitive and Ancient Church, how contrary that is to these Principles and Practices, every one may see in the sacred Scriptures, and it is almost vulgarly known from the writings of the ancient Christians commonly cited as to obedience to temporal Princes and Magistrates. But be this never so evident, I know it will be hard to persuade one, who hath been trained up in the Popish Principles, to believe it. Not only the prejudice of Education, but more particularly the opinion of the Perseverance and Infallibility of the Church, which above all things from their tender years is deeply rooted in their minds, will be a great obstacle and stumbling-block in their way. But let them take heed that a too particular application of a general promise do not deceive them. The Jews had as express promises as any they can pretend; and were as zealous as they are now; and yet were deceived with lying words, saying, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, as they do now the Church, the holy Catholick Apostolick Roman Church.

12. Here also such Princes, as having escaped these corruptions, will again subject their necks to the Roman yoke, may see what a snare they involve themselves in, and what a slavery they must lie under to the Papal Tyranny; how dangerous it is to have their peoples minds infected with these Principles, and their consciences directed by such Guides. And here, if there be any truth in that speech of Cardinal Perron: 'That so long as the Kings of France have kept good terms of concord with the Popes, they have been the more prosperous, and, on the contrary, when they have jarred with the Holy See, they have been infected with boisterous storms and tempests; here, I say, if this be true, they may perceive

**Cum super Imperatorem non sit nisi solus Deus, qui fecit Imperatorem, dum se Donatus super Imperatorem extollit, jam quasi hominem exesset metas, ut se, ut Deum, non hominem estimaret, &c. Opratus l. 3. which with more reason may be said of the Pope.**
perceive the true reason of it, viz. in the one case they were free from the molestation of the Popes and their Emmissaries; and in the other they were infested by them. But how little truth there is in that assertion may partly appear by what hath here been written, and is also proved by our late learned King James in his solid confutation of it, by instances not only in France but other Countries also. And in England who hath been more prosperous and successful than she who wholly cast off the Pope’s authority, and would not be courted to so much as to admit his Legate? and who more unhappy than they who have too much complied with them?

13. Lastly, we must here take notice of that which cannot but administer matter of grief to all true and cordial Christians; and that is the scandal of these Principles and Practices; the occasion thereby is given to those who are not well acquainted with the Doctrines and Practices of the ancient genuine Christians, nor have well considered the great evidences of the truth and excellence of the Christian Religion, to suspect it to be no other than what they apprehend it to be in the lives and actions of such spurious professors of it, viz. a mere Imposture with great subtility and artifice managed for secular ends; and the injury which thereby is done to the holy Martyrs, when we shall see Rebels, seditious Traytors and Parricides honoured and magnified as Martyrs, and that not by the vulgar only, but by their Popes themselves and Cardinals; by their learned Writers in printed Books, and Preachers from their Pulpits; nay, when we shall see Relations in printed Books, and representations by printed Cuts and Pictures of most horrible persecutions and martyrdoms pretended to be suffered, where in truth was no such matter, what a temptation may this give to weak, unlearned or prejudiced minds to suspect that the ancient holy Martyrs either suffered not at all, or if they did, were only such turbulent spirits or poor deluded souls as many of these? Nor hath the holy providence of God escaped their prophane abuse by entitling it to such trifles as a prudent Historian would disdain to mention, and palpable lyes, as may be seen in
in Sanders, Ribadeneira, and other such like Writers. To which if we add the abuse of miracles by lies and forgeries, we shall find that the gates of Hell, that is, the counsels have prevailed against these degenerate successors of Peter with a witness. Nor could a more effectual means be devised for the subversion of Christianity and all Religion, not the very arms of Mahomet and his sect, than this mystery of iniquity; nor, if it be well considered, hath the whole World produced any thing which doth better deserve the name of Antichrist. And indeed, if we consider the present growth of Atheism and Infidelity among us, and trace it to its roots and original, we shall find it all to be of an Italian Extraction, and from thence propagated to France, and so to England and other parts. Nor shall we find any other reasons for it than what are here mentioned; the Italians perceiving better what is acted among themselves, than those who are more remote. For let the Italian subtility be what it will, I think it is plain that they have made no deeper search into either the secrets of Nature or of Antiquity (from one or both of which they must derive their principles, if they have others besides what are here mentioned) than other Nations have made.

63. And now, before I conclude, I must crave leave to make this address to several sorts of persons distinctly. And first to all Christians in general, that they will seriously consider, whether they be not obliged for the honour and reputation of our holy Profession, and whether our great Lord doth not require it of them, to declare against this Romish Faction, and their Unchristian, or rather Antichristian and abominable scandalous principles and practices; that is all National Churches and Universities publickly by solemn Decrees and Protestations, if not by excommunication; and all particular private Christians by abstaining from their communion, and coming out of that Babylon, that they be not partakers of her sins, and receive not of her plagues.

2. To those who are not of that Communion, and have hitherto escaped those delusions, that they beware that they be not again entangled therein. For it had been better for them not to
have known the way of righteousness, than after they have known it, to turn from the holy Commandment. 2. That they be careful that they do not hold the truth in unrighteousness, (Atrocius sub sancti nominis professione peccatur) but walk worthy of their vocation, &c. worthy of God who hath called them to his Kingdom and Glory, out of darkness into his marvellous light, as children of the light, and have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them, and as becometh the Gospel of Christ: and that while they separate from the scandals of others, they themselves do not administer occasion of scandal to others. 3. That they who are in authority, whether in Church or State, be careful both by their example and authority, as much as in them lieth, to discourage and suppress all manner of vice and debauchery; and to encourage and promote all manner of virtue, and particularly piety and devotion in Religion. For as vice and debauchery, and even coldness and indifference in matters of Religion in any man, makes him the more obnoxious to the delusions of the Papists; so they well perceiving so much by experience, are not without reason believed to endeavour first the debauching of the Nation, that the people being thereby the better prepared and disposed to receive their impressions, they may the more easily compass their design; as Physiots, who cannot immediately cure the present distemper of their Patient, are fain many times by art to divert it into some other disease which they hope more easily to cure. Nor do the Papists look upon debauchery as a more dangerous disease than that they call hereby. This is such a means as is of natural efficacy to obviate and obstruct the endeavors of the Papists, but of all most likely to be effectual by the blessing of God upon it; whereas the neglect of it doth both naturally expose the people to their delusions, and is most likely to provoke the judgment of God to give them up to be deluded by them. Nor need Governors to fear that their people will prove less morigerous and governable, by being more devoutly affected to Religion: but may well hope the contrary, provided they will require nothing of them that may be thought contrary to Religion; which
which certainly they need not, Christianity containing nothing inconsistent with any solid principle of policy.

4. That they be careful to walk worthy of their vocation particularly in that wherein the Apostle doth particularly instance, and which he earnestly urgeth, *endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace, and* doing according to the truth in Charity; (Eph. 4. 1, 3, 15.) for it must be remembered that *separation* and division among Christians is, like homicide, generally unlawful; and though the one as well as the other, in certain special cases, and under certain circumstances, may be not only lawful, but an indispensable duty; which the Romanists cannot with any reason deny, since it hath been the judgment and frequent, indeed too frequent practice of that Church, both anciently, and of later ages; as is apparent in their excommunications of whole Churches, even all or most of the Eastern Churches, and in the last age many of the Western, for no other cause but the reformation of many scandalous abuses, which the Church or Bishops of Rome by their Agents had transfused into them, whereby they do unanswerably justify our separation from them (were not themselves the authors of it) for just and necessary causes: yet ought not this to be done but with great caution and mature deliberation, and under such conditions as these; 1. That it be *just and necessary*, for just and necessary causes. 2. That it be done with *Charity*, and with intention and desire to return to communion again as soon as the causes of the separation are removed and reformed. 3. And therefore that it be done with *Sobriety*, not widening the difference, or quarrelling at such things as may be, or ought to be tolerated, such as being in their own nature indifferent, are left to the prudent ordering and disposition of each particular National or Provincial Church, so as may be best for order, decency, and edification: that it proceed no further than for just and necessary causes it ought, lest if we measure truth, as for example in this case, by its distance from Rome, we not only with many errors and abuses cast off some truths and useful matter of decency, but also become guilty of breach of Charity, while not insisting only upon

Unaquæq; Provincia abundet in suo senfu,&c. Hier. ep. 28. v. can. ult. Concilii Ephes. fin.
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upon what is just matter of exception, we contend about that which is capable of a charitable construction. That these conditions are necessary to be observed to make breach of communion between several Churches justifiable in either, I think no Christian will deny. And therefore as those Churches which shall contrary to these conditions make a separation from others, do thereby transgress the Law of Charity, and become guilty of Schism; so much more do they who shall so separate from their own particular Church to which their habitation and abode doth subject them as special members; and besides to their Schism and breach of Charity add also the guilt of disobedience; and, which ought well to be considered among us, do thereby, though contrary to their intention, effectually cooperate with the Romish Agents in the promotion of their grand design, one of whose principal methods for the subversion of the Reformed, and restauration of the Popish Religion, as might plainly be demonstrated, is the raising and promoting of Sects, Factions and Divisions among us; which were there no other obligation upon us, ought in reason to make us very wary how we do that which gives so great advantage to the common adversary. 5. That they who are of chief authority in the Church be very cautious not to administer unnecessary occasion of separation to the weakness of their brethren; which may be, and frequently is done by these two means especially; 1. By rigorous pressing of things in their own nature indifferent. For though these things be left to the prudent ordering of each particular National or Provincial Church; yet when through the weakness and scrupulosity of many they become matter of offence and scandal to them, and so occasions of separation, in that circumstance they cease to be indifferent, and it would be no less contrary to Prudence than to Charity to impose or longer strictly to require them, and is plainly contrary to both the Doctrine and the Practice of the Apostle, (v. Rom. 14, & 15. & 1 Cor. 8. & 9. 20, 21, 22. & 10. 22. -- and 2 Kin. 18. 4.) especially in so dangerous a circumstance as this, when it gives so great advantage to such an adversary, who so studiously and industriously endeavors our
our divisions, it can never be approved as any way consistent with prudence, and that care of the flock which all faithful pastors ought to have, not to allow at least such indulgence and liberty in such things as is necessary to the preservation of unity in the Church. 2. By scandalous coldness in Religion and worldliness in the Clergy. It is certain both from reason and experience, though perhaps not commonly observed, that there is scarce any so universal and powerful a cause of separation and factions as this. For the generality of people do rarely judge by any other rule than that of our Saviour, by their fruits, and are therefore very apt to judge of the truth of mens Doctrine by the virtue and piety of their lives and actions. And there is a certain authority of reputation which ought always to accompany authority of Jurisdiction, and is in truth the more powerful of the two to retain people in a sweet, voluntary, and so more perfect obedience; and this being lost, the other which alone holds them only in a kind of violent and forced, not natural and genuine, obedience, is very difficult to be managed, very hazardous to be cast off, and is seldom of long duration. Now the former, which is the proper authority of the Church and Clergy (for what is coercive more than bare excommunication, is in truth a branch of the Civil Authority) can never be retained by only abstaining from those we call scandalous sins, but by the constant, sincere and vigorous practice of those great virtues of Religion, Humility, Meekness, Heavenly-mindedness, contempt of the World, devotion in Religion, and zealous endeavors for the Salvation of Souls; without which the observance of the rules only of ordinary moral virtues will be attributed rather to humane Prudence than to Religion. But to see men zealous for the accidents and formalities of Religion, and cold in the practice and promotion of the great essential and substantial parts, and the very business of it: to hear men cry up morality as if there was nothing more in Religion than that, and yet in the practice even of that to come far short of the very Heathen Moralists: to see men prophanely turn the sacred Profession into a kind of trade; to design it, and apply themselves to it no otherwise than
than others do to civil or secular employments, as a means to get a livelihood, to get wealth, honour and preferment in the World, and when they have, and perhaps by indirect means, heaped Living upon Living, and Preferment upon Preferment, accordingly use or rather abuse the charity of our Ancestors, and the revenues of the Church in such indulgence to Pride, Ostentation, voluptuous or delicious living, as would be scarce excusable in the religious Laity; nay to vie with them in such vanities, or inlatiably to heap up treasures, not for the necessary relief of their own Families, but to raise great Families in the World, even of their more remote relations (that which the time hath been hath been held no less than sacrilegious) without any regard to such works of Charity, and the promotion of Christianity as all good Christians, according to their ability, are obliged to. These things, to which might be added the general decay and neglect of the ancient discipline, do more effectually weaken the proper authority of the Church and Clergy, than any Ecclesiastical Canons or Civil Laws can establish it; and being naucious in the sight of the people, provoke the more religious to run to private meetings and sects, and the rest to jealousie and suspitions of all Religion, to Infidelity, Irreligion and Prophaneness; and so in both give great advantage to the Romanists, and help forward the promotion of their labours and designs. The truth whereof is confirmed by the happy successes of those who take a contrary course. For thanks be to God we are not without some, who by their good employment not only of the revenues of their Ecclesiastical preferments, but also of their private fortunes, their virtuous and pious lives, and their fervent, sound and profitable Preaching, prevail with many of the several sorts of Non-Conformists to become their auditors, and reclaim them. And were there some good and effectual course taken that we might have more such lights set up in the more conspicuous Candlesticks of the Church, we should find that the most effectual means both to dispel the mists of Separatists, and keep out the Romish Fogs from overwhelming us, and to promote and establish the honour and authority of the Church and
and Clergy. Nor would the blessing of God be wanting to the pious use of such means. 6. That they, the Clergy especially, will take example by their adversaries, and not be less studious and industrious by just and proper means to promote and propagate the true Religion in its genuine purity and simplicity, than they their errors, abuses and corruptions of it by indirect and evil means. They compass Sea and Land to make Proselytes, &c. and to that end have heretofore readily encountered all difficulties and dangers, though now they cannot much complain of either, and spare no pains nor cost. We, of this Nation particularly, have long since had a large harvest proposed to us, and nothing wanting to encourage us to the work but our own good will and zeal for our Masters service; nay, like sloathful servants have been whipped to our work, and both Conformists and Non Conformists have had their turns. It were well if at last we would be sensible of this duty, before a third party come and drive both to that which neither of themselves would willingly undertake. Can we believe a Divine Providence, and yet think the discovery of that other World was a casual thing? or can we acknowledge a Divine Providence in that, and yet believe there was no other design in it than to employ our Seamen, or furnish us with Tobacco? we have reason to believe that this neglect hath not been dissembled hitherto, nor will escape unpunished for the future, unless timely amended. 7. That they will not be less vigilant and active for the preservation of their Religion, and with it of their lives, liberties and fortunes, and all that is dear unto them, than these sons of Perdition are to confound and destroy them; and to that end make diligent search and enquiry into their present mysterious practices; for the discovery whereof much light may be taken from the due consideration of their former practices, and of their principles. Their end in general is pretty well known; and what latitude they are like to take to themselves in the choice of means for attaining that end, may not only be conjectured by their former practices, but demonstrated unanswerably from their certain principles. From which considerations, though a man that is willing might easily satisfy
himself what they are now doing, yet because some who are concerned to be convinced of it, will not perhaps be so satisfied, and because to the more effectual prevention of so great a mischief a more particular discovery of the matter of fact, and of the instruments and circumstances of it may be necessary, all who have any love to their Country, or regard to the interest and safety of themselves or their relations, though the consideration of Religion should not move them, are concerned to use their utmost endeavour in it. But if neither the consideration of the horrid confusions and massacres heretofore raised in France by these Furies; nor of their continual Treasons and Conspiracies against Queen Elizabeth and her Kingdoms, which they then would have betrayed to the invasions of the King of Spain, as now probably they would to the King of France, that is, those who steer their motions, though their common agents may be generally ignorant of the design; nor of that horrible Gunpowder Conspiracy against King James, the Royal Issue, and flower of the English Nobility and Gentry; nor lastly of our late Civil Wars, which may in time be justly proved and demonstrated to have been the product of the Romish machinations, to which might be added their restless endeavors for the subversion of our Government, and for the breaking of the great Metropolis of this Nation, as the two main obstacles in their way; if all this, and besides all the safety of his Majesties person, which perhaps may be further concerned in it than is commonly apprehended, be not sufficient to awaken us of these Nations to a speedy vigilance and activity before it be too late, to discover and detect their machinations, and courageously oppose their proceedings; especially those who are in authority within their several jurisdictions to look narrowly, if not into their matters of Religion, yet at least into their provisions of Arms and Ammunition, into their correspondencies and secret negotiations and engagements, and especially to discover those who under several disguises not only insinuate themselves into familiarity with persons of Quality, and creep into their Families under the notions of Physitians, Painters, and other employments,
ments, but also get into publick offices and employments, and perhaps to be chosen into the Parliament itself, it may be feared we shall ere long smart for our stupidity and supine negligence.

3. To those who still continue of the Roman Communion, and are in danger to be drawn in to engage in such undertakings for the promotion of their Religion by fraud and force, by disturbance or subversion of Governments, raising or fomenting wars between Christian Princes and States, and such like means, that they will well consider the justice and piety thereof. For most certain it is, and agreed on all hands that they are contrary to the means used by our Saviour, and his Apostles, and Disciples, and their Successors for the original propagation of the Gospel. Nor ought it to be replied, as some have impiously said that that was for want of force, for he who could command legions of Angels is not to be thought to have wanted force if he had pleased to make use of it; nor had the Christians, for many ages before these Unchristian Doctrines were ever thought of, less power in the World than they have had since, or less occasion to have made use of it, had they thought it lawful; and besides, it is no less contrary to their Doctrine than to their Practice.

2. The use of such means is most injurious and scandalous to the most holy, pure and innocent Religion, which hath been always most propagated and glorified by the magnanimous, sedate and constant sufferings of its genuine Professors, but always most dishonoured by the furious, violent and perfidious practices of the Spurious Zealots of the abuses of it.

3. It is contrary to the very nature of the true Religion, and the express Doctrine of the sacred Scriptures.

4. It is condemned by the judgment of God, disappointing, blasting and confounding all attempts of that nature in these Kingdoms for near an hundred years together. Nor will their zeal and good intentions excuse them; Paul had as much of both when he persecuted the Christians as they can have; and of the Jews he testifies to the Romans that they had the zeal of God, but not according to knowledge; and our Saviour told them that they who should kill his Disciples would think they do God good service in it. Nor will their following of the
probable opinions of their Confessors excuse them; for when blind guides lead the blind, both fall into the ditch, as our Saviour faith. Nor will it be much comfort to them who dye in their sins through the Priests default, that the Priest also shall answer for it, as the Prophet faith. But that which is the secret root and main prop of their delusion, and most effectually deceives them, is an unhappye mistaken opinion deeply rooted in their minds of the infallible authority of the particular Church of Rome. For, as Cardinal Perron hath well argued, if these things be unlawful which have for so many ages been acted by the Papal authority, (& that interposed with all the formality and solemnity that could be) it would follow that the Pope hath been Antichrist, and the Church of Rome the Synagogue of Satan for so many ages past. This is it, whatever other specious arguments and pretenses are alleged, which makes them no less obstinate in their errors than the Jews are in theirs. A deceived heart hath turned them aside, and they cannot deliver their soul. But if they will but, 1. Lay aside the prejudice of Education; 2. Consider the great evidence there is that these things are contrary to Christianity; 3. And with that compare the little real ground there is to believe this pretended infallible authority, it may by God’s blessing be a good means to undeceive them; but then as to the third particular they must deal candidly and impartially, setting aside, 1. Such proofs as concern only the perseverance of the Church of Christ in general, 2. Such as concern only the authority of particular Churches over their own members; for neither of these make anything for the Church of Rome more than for any other particular Church; & then what else they can allege will be found to be far short of what the Jews might allege to prove that they are still the true Israel of God. But the confounding of these things is that which imposes upon their minds and judgments. The ancient Apostolick Creed, and what-er other rule of Faith is mentioned by Irenæus, Tertullian, or any of the Ancients, and were held to contain the sum of the Christian Faith, are to this day generally received and believed by all the Christian World; so that Christ hath still a Church upon Earth
Earth what-ever become of the Church of Rome: the like may be said of the sacred Scriptures; but in none of these is the least mention of any such infallible authority of the Church of Rome; no, nor of any such authority of the Church of Christ as the Church of Rome does pretend to. Nor is there any colour or pretence of proof that that authority was ever in any one age to this day the general belief of the Christian World; no, nor so much as of the Church of Rome it self for 700 years, I may truly say for 1100 years and more. 2. That they will likewise well consider the prudence of such undertakings, the Nobility and Gentry especially of these Nations, who embrace the Roman Religion. They have had almost an hundred years experience of the ill success and unhappy consequence of such attempts to themselves and their party, whereby they have only made a rod for their own backs, provoking and exasperating the severity of Laws against themselves; and when the Roman Agents had lately dissolved the Government, and brought all things into confusion, as is not a little apparent they did, when they had crept into the Court, and infinuated themselves into the several Factions of the Kingdom, by underhand dealings incensing them one against another, what did they advance their cause by it, but only involved themselves in the same publick calamity wherein they embroyled the Nation? The Emissaries are men who have neither Estates nor Fortunes to lose or hazard, nor wives and children to suffer with them; and if their attempts prove unsuccessful, can easily retire to their Colleges again beyond Sea. And their motions and actions are steered by foreigners, who sit far enough out of all danger, and in great security expect to make their profit and advantage of us all. So that both these have hopes of advantage without any, or any great hazard, only the more honest and well meaning Nobility and Gentry do certainly run a very great hazard without any probability, if things be rightly calculated, of much mending their condition at the best. For did they now suffer something in their Estates according to the Laws (which certainly would never much be pressed), did they not continually incense the King-
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...dom against them by restless attempts, through the instigations of the Emissaries, endangering the peace and quiet of it; yet is that in some measure recompenced by their freedom from the trouble and charge of divers publick employments; and the rest would be dearly bought off by enslaving the Kingdom again to the Roman Usurpations; and that with so much hazard both to themselves, as in respect of conscience and the justice of the undertaking, (for there is but little of true Christianity in him who will not readily suffer a greater loss, rather than venture upon an unlawful or but doubtful action): so also of the prudence of it; (for the higher they go in their attempts, there is no doubt but it will fall more heavy upon them, after so many and great provocations, if they miscarry therein, and of that the danger is greater than can easily be foreseen); and to the Kingdom in general, the peace and prosperity whereof they ought to desire and endeavour upon the account both of natural duty and of interest. For whatever some, who do not well consider it, may promise themselves, those who have Estates and Fortunes here, be their Religion what it will, are like to have their shares of whatever publick calamity or mischief is brought upon the Nation; which they who at Rome and from other foreign parts do Bee the motions of the Emissaries and other sticklers here in that cause, are not much concerned to consider. * * *

4. And lastly, to those who either through weakness and inconsiderateness are scandalized at these and such like wicked practices of the Romanists or any others professing Christianity; or through wilfulness and wickedness do make use thereof to confirm or encourage themselves in their affected infidelity, who having first finned themselves into despair of any good by the observance of Religion, at last seek to encourage themselves against all fear of evil by the neglect of it. This last sort I intended not among Christians in general, and yet do here join them with the other sort here mentioned, because what is to be said to those may be said also to these. The scandal and ill use that is made of these practices is either more particular from abuse of pretended miracles and martyrdoms, whereby some may be induced to doubt of the ancient Christian Miracles and Martyrs; (and for satisfaction in this particular, I shall here for brevity sake refer them
them to the writings already written and extant in print, some in
the English Tongue, of the verity of the Christian Religion) or
from such practices in general, of men in great place in Church
or State, or repute for Learning, as are thought inconsistent with
a real belief of what they profess, whence some who affect to
know more than the vulgar will needs persuade themselves and
others that all such are Atheists and Infidels, and thereupon bring
all Religion under a suspicion of being nothing else but a more
refined piece of policy; and because I have found by experience
that many have no better arguments for their affected infidelity
than this, and yet few of those who have written of the verity of
the Christian Religion have taken any notice of it, or thought it
worth a particular answer, I shall recommend these things to
their consideration: 1. That this is no argument or evidence
against Religion, but only a bare supposed opinion and judgment
of such persons without any evident and express ground or rea-
son for it. 2. That the opinion or judgment of great State-
men or Scholars, meerly as such, is of no greater authority in this
particular than the judgment or opinion of other men; for such
men may in general well deserve that reputation which they
have, and yet be utterly ignorant of those Principles which are
necessary to be known to ground a judgment in this case. There
are very rarely found any men that are well skilled in all the
parts of Learning, or of some one profession; as for example
of the Law, some are good Conveyancers, who are very unskil-
ful in Bar-Practice; many good Chancery-men who are no great
Common Lawyers, &c. So in Divinity, some are well skilled in
Textual, some in Polemical, or Scholaftical, some in Cajuifical
Divinity, and yet but meanly skilled in the other parts of it; and
this part which considers the evidences of Religion, is but rarely
studied by any but such as have to do with Infidels, each man or-
dinarily applying himself especially to that part to which his pe-
culiar employment engageth him, and usually men in great place
have of all others least leisure for this particular study. 3. But
were their judgment never so considerable, yet could it not in
this case be certainly concluded from their actions. For, 1. It is
agreed by all sorts of men, Christians and Heathens, and daily
experience confirmeth the same, that men frequently act contrary
to
A Discourse concerning the
to their settled judgment; and who may not often truly say, Video meliora proboq; deteriora sequor? Nor is the thing it self more apparent than the reasons of it. But I shall not here trace it to its first and original causes, but only shew it in its next and immediate causes, which are Surprize, Impotency, and Presumption. From Surprize there is certainly no man whose care and caution can always secure him, that he may not sometimes through the heat of passion or suddenness of a temptation be overtaken. This we may all observe in our selves, and in most we familiarly converse with. Nay, our very caution it self in many things makes us apt to be surprized by fear, and thereupon to do those things we otherwise would not, or neglect what we would otherwise do. And though there be not a like Impotency in all, yet is there more or less in every one, whence men often do themselves contrary to what they would advise their children or dearest friends. We daily see those who doubt not the directions of their Phylistians to be good and necessary to be observed, yet frequently overcome to transgress them to the hazard of their health and life it self; nay Phylistians themselves do the same, whereof I could give a late notable instance in one of the most famous of his time. Nor are we to think great Statesmen, Polititians and learned men more exempt from all impotency than others are. It is sufficient that they be well qualified for the places they hold, to which their very impotency in some respects may sometime be a special qualification; and they who are not easily overcome by one passion or affection, may yet be perfectly enslaved to another. What is wanting to these two causes is frequently made up by Presumption, whether upon God's mercy in general, and hope of pardon upon an intended repentance afterward, or upon the priviledg of being within the pale of the Church by profession of Christianity, or being members of the Catholic Church, or zealous for the party they espouse, that is as the Prophet faith, Trusting in lying words, saying, The Temple of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord; a Presumption so powerful heretofore, that notwithstanding that reproof, and after a notable experience of the vanity of it, we find it in our Saviour's days still continued, and again reproved by John Baptist; Think not to say within your selves we have Abraham
Abraham to our Father, &c. Mat. 3. 9. And yet after all this, as experience sheweth, still prevalent in our days, and very common among the Romanists and the Disciples of the Jesuites, especially their new Proselytes, who seem to hope for indulgence in their sinful courses, or to expiate the same, by their zeal for the Church; whereunto great occasion is given by their abominable abuse of Absolution, Commutation of Penance, Indulgences and complying Conduct. 2. These actions may proceed from error in the understanding, and ignorance or mistake about some particular Christian Doctrine, through an erroneous Conscience thinking that to be lawful, or a Christian duty, which is absolutely unlawful; and this may be consistent with a firm belief of the Christian Doctrine in general. And this I take to be in truth the case of the Romanists, and that they are given up to believe a lie through strong delusions, wherein they do not more deceive their disciples than they are themselves deceived; for do but admit me one or two of their Principles, and there is nothing so monstrous in their actions but I think I can easily prove it lawful. I had therefore intended to have shewed from what Principles those actions have proceeded; that those Principles are mistaken, and are no Christian but rather Anti-Christian Doctrines; what hath been the cause, occasion and progress of that mistake; and lastly, that this defection from the Christian Doctrine and Manners hath been foretold by the first Propagators of the Christian Faith, in that manner as I think would not only do much to the removing of the scandal, but moreover afford no inconsiderable evidence to the truth of Christianity itself: but that I fee would be too long for this place and time; but I am well assured of the truth of what I say, and doubt not but ere long it will be made manifest.

3. There is one cause more from whence men may act contrary to Christianity, and that in the highest degree, and yet without the disbelief of the Truth of it in general, or of any particular Doctrine of it: and that is through desperation, the case of some who believe and tremble, Ja. 2. 19. When men by frequency and long continuance in sin against the light and checks of conscience have linned them-
themselves into this desperation, this is often an occasion to
them to a further progress in wickedness, even to the height
of the most enormous sins, though they neither do, nor can
doubt of the truth of the Christian Religion, no more than
do the Devils who believe and tremble; for there is no sin
which is not confess'd with a full persuasion of it in such as
are once become desperate indeed. Even scoffing at and
abuse of Religion to evil ends are no certain arguments of
unbelief in such as use them. There may be and are false
Professors of Atheism and Infidelity as well as of Religion it
self. There is more or less of humane frailty in all. Too
many sin against knowledge, and some thereby sin themselves
into despair, and then run on into all wickedness against that
Belief which they would fain cast off if they could. And there
are so many causes and occasions of sins besides unbelief, that
they cannot in reason be attributed to it alone. 4. And
lastly, considering the strange wild fancies, which we often
see men, learned men, and otherwise sober men, fall into;
considering the great force & prevalence that the will & affec-
tions have to by-pass, blind, and corrupt the judgment; con-
idering the power, and malice, and subtilty that, according
to the Scriptures, the God of this World hath to blind mens
minds that they should not believe the Gospel of Truth, it is
not to be doubted but such there are who do not believe it;
but then the very same reasons may satisfy us what little cre-
dit there is to be given to the opinions of such men, with-
out better reason; and yet I know and have found by expe-
rience that some professors of Infidelity have no better rea-
sons than this; they are like men in a panicke fear, where
every one is afraid, but none knoweth the cause, only he sup-
poseth the rest do, and is so much more afraid by how
much the more in number they are whom he supposeth to be
in the same passion with himself: so, many who have no rea-
son at all for their unbelief, yet suppose others have, and would
fain be thought as wise as they.

This I thought necessary to add as an Antidote against
that poison which some might suck from those scandalous
Practices and Actions which have been here related.

FINIS.