

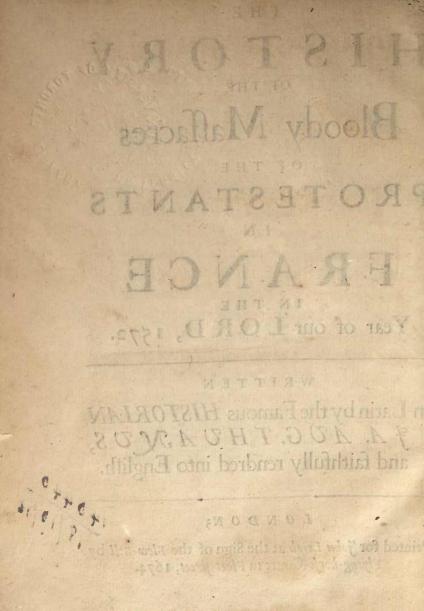


# 524 THE HISTORY Bloody Maffacres OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE IN THE Year of our LORD, 1572.

WRITTEN

In Latin by the Famous HISTORIAN FA. AUG. THUANUS, and faithfully rendred into English.

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A brief Introduction to the Hiftory of the MASSACRE.

HE Lords of the House of Guile, whether through the infligation of the 7efuites, whom they first introduced into France, and highly favoured, or through their emulation \* against the Princes of the Blood \* V.Discourse, sector fect. 40. 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 disfentions 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 \* \* V. Dife. by force gotten the young King Charles 9. into their hands, endeavoured by all means to \_ raife in his mind as great prejudice and hatred against the Protestants and the chief men of their

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their party as possible. The young King thus trained up in prejudice against them, and moreover from his youth inured to cruelty, and the flaughters of his Subjects even in cold blood, whereof by the D. of Guile he had been early made a spectator, was scarce out of his miv. D'fc. fea. nority when he was ivited 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 ber Country, be chose as a more safe and surer way to attempt that rather by secret stratagems and surprize than by open bostility. And therefore at an enterview at Bayonne between him with his Mother, and his Sister the Queen of Spain accompanied with the D. of Alva, baving 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 delign

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fign 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 v. Difc. sea. put themselves into a posture of defence, where- 43. upon broke out a CivilWar. But that being contrary to the defign to effect the business by Stratagem and surprize, it was in few months composed for the present; but shortly after, when the fame defign was again perceived to be carried on, and the like inevitable danger approached as neer as before, was again renewed in the former manner, and continued somewhat longer and hotter than before. Whereupon the King perceiving that the greatest dif- V. Difc. sect. ficulty was to beget and confirm in the Protefant Nobility a trust and confidence in himfelf, 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 fecurity, 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-

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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 fincerity and good intention, but moreover afford him a fair opportunity at the solemnization of the Marriage, of effecting his defign at last, which had been fo often and so long disappointed. All which having managed with wonderful art and diffimulation, he at last obtained what he defired, as in the following History is more particularly related. what longer and houter than before. upon the Ains perceiving that the greatest dif-

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# THE HISTORY OFTHE MASSACRES

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Protestants at PARIS, and many other places in FRANCE, in the Year of our Lord, 1572.

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1. The day of the Nuptials [between Henr. King Lib. 5'. of Navar and Margaret Silter to the King of France] drawing on; which was appointed the \* 15 th. of the Kalends of September; the \* August 18 th. King by Letters folicits Coligni, that he should come to Paris, having before given in charge to Claudius Marcellus Provost of the Merchants, that he should fee to it, that no diffurbance did arife upon Colignie's coming to Pa-A a ris.

July sth.

ris. Likewise Proclamation was published the third of the Nones of July, when he was at Castrum Bononia, about two miles from the City, wherein it was forbidden, that any of what condition foever fhou'd dare to renew the memory of things paft, give occasion of new quarrels, carry piftols, fight ducls, draw their fwords, especially in the King's retinue at Paris, and in the Suburbs, upon pain of death. But if any difference should arife among the Nobles concerning their Honour or Reputation, they fhould be bound to bring their plaint to the Duke of Anjou, the King's Deputy throughout the whole Kingdom, and to pray juffice of him: if they were of the Commons, they should betake themselves to the High Chancellor de l'Hofpital: 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 fame 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 fame pain of death. This was published for three days together, with the found of Trumpet in the Court, and through the City, and it was ordered that the publication fhould be repeated week by week upon the Sabbath-day. Alfo there was adjoyned to the guards of the King's body for his greater fecurity, a guard of 400 choice Souldiers; all which Coligni full of confidence and good affurance fo interpreted, as it the King defirous of the publick Peace, did (only) prepare a contrary firength 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 refolved "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 fircets of Paris, than to take up " Civil Arms again.

2. Among

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2. Among other letters there was one brought to bim being now come to Paris, written very fmartly after this manner. Remember that it is an established Decree of the Papilts, 'upon the account of Religion, and confirmed by the authority of Councils, that Faith is not to be kept with hereticks; 'in the number of which Protestants are accounted. Remember alfo that Protestants upon the account of the former "Wars, do lie under an eternal odium; fo that it is not to be doubted but this is the Queens refolution, that Protestants be rooted out by any means whatfoever. Add to this that ' it cannot be, but that a woman that is a firanger, and an Ita-' lian, descended of the race of the Popes, (whom they op-' pofe) and of a Florentine and guileful nature, fhould fludy all extremities against her enemies. Confider 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 diffemble his Faith, Religi-'on, Counfels, to fet 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 flaughters and butcheries of \* beafts: that he is \* And of men ' setled in this perswasion to suffer no Religion in his King- also, v. l. 24. ' dom but that which may uphold his flate, (according to the P. 275. opinion of his Master Machiavel) otherwise it would never be at Peace, fo long as two Religions flourished in it, and that 'it was inftilled into his ears that the Protestants did decree to spoil him of his Life and Empire. And therefore he would never fuffer 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 himfelf 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 Imperij. So Commodus of old commanded Julian, whom the owned and embraced as his Father, to be flain. Thus A a 2 An-28 2

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Antonius Caracalla, under pretence of mustering, flew the " prime youth of the City. So Lylander cut the throats of 'eight hundred Milefians called together under pretence of friendthip and fociety. So Sergius Galba raged upon fix thou-' fand Spaniards: and lately by the command of Antonius "Spinola, the chief men of the lile of Corfica were called toegether to a Feaft, and flain. In our memory did Christiern 'a King of a birbarous nature use the fame arts in the Massa-'cre of Stockholm. So heretofore Charles 7, though recon-"ciled to the Duke of Burgundy, yet abstained not from kil-' ling him, though he begged for his life. Nor are the discour-"fes that the King lately had with his mother at Blois un-"known. For when in a jocular manner profanely using, as his cuftom is, the name of God, he asked her whether he had not acted his part handsomely at the coming of the "O een of Navar? the Queen answered that he had begun " well, but these beginnings would little advantage him unless "he proceeded; But I, faid he, with often repeated oaths, will bring them all into your toils. From these words, the truth " whereof you may be affured of, you ought to take counfel, and if you are wife get out of the City, and fo from the " Court, as from a most filthy fink, with all the speed as may e flaughters and butcheries of \* oralls; that ad is

3. Coligni having read this letter, though he was not a little troubled at it, yet that he might not feem altogether to neglect the admonitions and intreaties of his friends, made anfwer ; ' That there was no place left for these fulpitions. " that he could never perfwade himfelf that fo great perfidi-'outnets could enter into to good a King, than whom France "for this many years never had a better." That Anjou indeed was more averle to the Protestant party, but that hatred would now ceale, even out of respect to the affinity con-"tracted with the King of Navar. For the reft, the League "entred into with England, and that which the King was 'now making with the Protestant Princes of the Empire, did "infficiently thew how the Rood affected to the Protestants, if when as he would have one of the Sons of the Elector Pablatine in his retinues and fome one of the English Nobles. AIL A a 2

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#### the Parifian Massacre.

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as Leicester or Burgleii, who were most forward for Religion. Moreover he had given his Faith to the Prince of Orange and Naffau his Brother concerning aids against the Spaniards, and that a great fupply was preparing in the place of those who were routed under Jenlis their leader. 'That John Galeacius Fulgofius, who lately returned from Florence, did affure them, that Colunus would lend the King two hundred thousand Aurei towards that War. That . ' the King's Ambaffador did carefully pry into the counfels 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 Stroffy and Polinius Garda do comemand at Broage, and upon the Coafts of Poictou was not prepared to any other use but to diffurb the Spanish Fleet, which being done, it shall go to help the Prince of Orange at Flushing. As for himself and his own particular fafety. all might be fecure of that; for that he through the King's means is reconciled to the Guifes, each engaging their Faith to the King, that they would neither of them hereafter impeach one the other. Laftly, that the King did all he could to make Peace at home and War abroad, and that he might e transfer the War into the Low-Countreys, and against the Spaniards. Wherefore he prayed the Author of the wri-' ting, 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 businesses, and better designs, but rather that they would, joyning their prayers with his, beg of God that he would profper things fo well begun, ' and bring them at laft to an happy end, for the good of the ' Church and Kingdom.

4. The fame things were pristen to Coligni from the Roebellers, which he did in as friendly manner take off with all moderation and conflancy. Therefore when they could not divert him from that mind, they fet upon she King of Navar with Letters dated 6 of the Eids of July, in which they de July 10th. hore him upon the fame accounts, that he fhould take care of himfelf, and not go to Paris. He was then at the Nuprials + Vid. 1.50. + of Henricus Condæus his Unckle's Son, and Mary of Cleve p. 787. his

\* Vid. l. 35. P. 559.

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his near Kinswoman, which were celebrated at Blandia a Cafile of Jo. Roan Marchionels of Rotelin, who was Mother to Frances of Aurleans \* last Wife to Lewis of Conde, within the jurifdiction of Melun. Therefore he despifing 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 ficft 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, defigned to finish the busines; wherewith notwithstanding he faid he he was not fatisfied : therefore he defired 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 faid, by way of fcorn, was tied up by fuperflition, and I know not what fcruples of conscience; and by that means great injury was done to his Margarite (fo he called his Sifter) who bore it very impatiently to have the fruit of her folong expected joy deferred.

5. When in the mean time Coligni preffed that the publick proclaiming of the Low-Countrey War fo 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 Counfellor or Officer of his Army to whole faithfulnels, industry and diligence he could commit fo great an affair. For fome were wholly addicted to the party of the Guiles; others had other faults of their own: of his Secretaries there was only Bernardus Fiza whom he could entrust with this fecret. At last it was agreed that the affair should be committed to Momorancy and Fiza: with which thews of unfeigned familiarity, as he took if, and ingenuous freedom, Coligni being deceived, would not perfwade himfelf any thing otherwife than of truly Kingly virtue, or think hardly of the most excellent King.

6. Amidst

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6. Amidft these delays (those) things, as it should feem, 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 conficience of Burbon was fully fatisfied: therefore when, upon the 16th. of the Kalends of September, they August 17th. were contracted by Cardinal Borbon in the Louvre, the next day after the Nuprials were celebrated.

An high Scaffold is crected before the gates of the great Church, by which they descended by stairs unto a lower Scaffold, which being on every fide railed in to keep off the multitude, did lead through the Church to the inner apartment commonly called the Chore. From thence another Scaffold encompaffed with rails did receive those that went out of the Chore toward the left gate, which reached to the Bilhop'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 Alanfon, the Guiles, the Colonels of the Horfe, the chief Peers of the Kingdom leading along the Bride, who lodged that night in the Bilhop's Palace. And from the other part, the King of Navar, with the Princes of Conde and Contie his Coufins, 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 afcended 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 Mafs, he with Coligni and Count de la Roche-fou eault, and the other Nobles of his Retinue went into the Bifhop's Palace by the contrary door afore mentioned; from whence after Mafs was ended, being recalled by D'Anvil, he came into the Chore again, and kiffing his new Bride before the King, Queen, and the Brethren, when they had entertained one another fome little while with difcourfe,

difcourfe, they returned into the Bifhop's Palace, where dinner was provided. And I well remember when as Mafs being ended, I was admitted through the rails into the Chore, and ftanding nigh to Coligni, while I fixed my eyes upon him, and curioufly obferved him, I heard him fay, difcourfing with d'Anville, and looking up to the Enfigns faitned up and down, and the fad Monuments of the Battel of Baffac and Moncountour, "That ere long thefe being taken down, others "more pleafing thould be fer up in their places: which words, then he meant of the Low-Country War, which as he thought was now refolved upon, others interpreted as though he had thoughts of a new Civil War, which he fo 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, Cufloms and Treatury are entertained according as is usual in a most fumptuous manner : a short time was spent in dancing; afterwards interIndes were brought in. The representation of three Rocks filvered over, upon which the three Brethren. the King, the Duke of Anjou, and Duke of Alanfon did fit, and feven more, upon which Gods and Sea-monfters were fet, 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 reft.

The next day being not able to rife 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 Wednefday, running at. Tilt, and interludes which had been a long while in preparing, were exhibited at the Cardinal Bourbon's Palace: there were reprefented upon the right hand the Mansions of the bleffed, and a little below the Elysian-fields posseffed by 12 Nymphs, on

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the other fide on the left-hand was represented Hell flaming with fire and brimftone, and full of sprights and frightful ghofts. The Brethren, the King, the Duke of Anjou, and the Duke of Alanson defended Paradise as they called it : which many Knights Errant feeking to break into, of whom Navar was Captain ; they were every one of them repulfed. and at last thrown headlong down into Hell. Then Mercury riding upon a Cock, and together with him Cupid came fliding down to the defendants, and then after much discourse with them returned into Heaven. Then the three defendants came to the Nymphs wandring in the pleafant 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 defendants being prevailed upon by their entreaties, the Knights Errant that were fhut up in Hell were releafed; who prefently in a confused skirmish break their spears : at last the Gunpowder that was laid by pipes about the Fountain being fired, fire broak forth with a great noile, and confumed all their Scenes, and fo all departed.

This flew was varioufly interpreted, for that the affailants who were moft of them Proteftants, did in vain attempt to get into the feats of the bleffed, and were afterwards thruft down into Hell: for fo they put a mockery upon the Proteftants, and others did bode that it portended fome mifchief. However, certain it is, that *Francis E. of Momoraney*, whether fulpecting fome evil, or being indifpofed by reafon of the toffing of the Sea, as lately returned from his Ambaffy in England, having obtained leave of the King, *went to Chantilly* for his healths fake; leaving in the Court Henry d'Anville, Carolus Meruvius, and Gulielmus Thorzeus (his). Brethren, and that very happily for that moft Illuftrious Family : for it was the general opinion, that the plotters of the following Maffacre would have comprehended them all in this confpiracy, had they not feared that Momorancy, who was now abfent, would have revenged it.

The next day being Thursday, there was running at Tilrs held in the Court-yard of the Louvre, in which on the one

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fide the King and his Brethren, together with the Duke of Guife, and the Duke of Aumale in the habit of Amazons; and on the other fide the King of Navar, with his party in Turkish habits, contended with their launces; Scaffolds being fet up on either fide, f om which the Queen-Mother, the King's Wife, Lorain, and all the Court-Ladies beheld the sports.

8. Two days before the Counfel concerning the Maffacre being not yet concluded, the King with great fhew of kindnels bespeaks Coligni (thus). 'You know, Father, (fo he cal-'led him upon the account of his age and honour ) what you ' undertook to me, that you would offer no injury, fo long as 'you are at Court, to the Guifes: and they again engaged, ' that they, as they ought, would behave themfelves toward 'you and yours honourably and modefily. I repole very great truft in your words, but I have not the like confidence 'in their promises. For, besides that I know the Guiles do by all means feek revenge, I know their daring and haughty 'nature, and in what favour they are with the people of Pa-'ris. 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 fouldiers well appointed, fhould at-" tempt any thing to your hurt; for that would be an injury to my felf : 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 fuspected), who, if any turbulent persons at-" tempt any thing, may be ready at hand to fecure the publick · Peace.

To fuch friendly difcourse Coligni easily yielded his affent out of a defire of domestick Peace, and being already overcome by the Court-flatteries : therefore a Regiment is drawn within the walls, without any suspition of the Protestants.

\* Lib. 51. He mentions a former Confultation between the Queen-Mother, Anjou, Cardinal Lorain, Aumale, Guife, Birage, and others in the fame Chamber, wherein Guife was afterwards by the King's Command killed, and afterwards in the fame buildings where the King himfelf Henr.3-here called Anjou, was murthered by a Fryer.

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varying according to the condition of places, and of the perfons admitted to the Council. For thus it was difcourfed 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 conflitute a new faction. The other is of the Guiles: nor will France ever be quiet, or that Majefty that is taken from Kings by the Civil Wars thence arifing, ever be reftored till the chief of their · Heads who disturb the most flourishing Empire, and the pub-· lick Peace, be firicken off. They, by the troubles of the Kingdom, have grown to fo great Power, that they cannot be taken away at the fame time : they are feverally to be tae ken off, and set one against the other, that they may destroy one another. Coligni must be begun with who only furvives of his Family, who being taken out of the way, it would much weaken the Momorancies, who lie under fo great an odium upon the account of their joyning with Coligni, But this is an unworthy thing, and not to be fuffered by you, (faid 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 · burdenfom to the Nobility, equal to Princes in honour, grievous to your felf, thould come to that height of madnefs and boldnefs, that he fhould count it a fport to mock at Royal Majefty, and every day at his own luft to raife Wars in the Kingdom. Certainly his madnels is above all things · by you, if you be indeed King, to be reftrained, that by his example all may learn to bear their fortunes decently, and "use them modefily. Nor only shall the faction of the Mo-'morances be broken by his death, but the power of the · Protestants shall be over-turned : of which, when he is the ' very heart and foul, in him alone the Protestants feem to 'live, and he being dead, they will fall with him. This 'is not only uleful, but necessary for fetling the publick · Peace, when as experience doth thew, that as one house can-

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II

370. The opinion of Alber- c to Gondi Coun. of Retz.

" not keep two Dogs, nor one tree relieve two Parrots, fo one 'and the fame Kingdom cannot bear two Religions. This ' may be done without danger or blame, if fome cut throat, ' as there are enough of them to be had, be fuborned to take 'away the life of .Coligni, encouraged by fome prefent re-' ward, and hopes of future ; who having done the thing, ' may make his escape by the help of a light horse prepared V. Dav. p 368, ' for that purpole. For then, without doubt, the Protestarts, who are very numerous in the City, supposing it to be done 6 by the Guifes, will prefently, as you know they are a furious fort of people, take up Arms, and fetting upon the Guifians, they shall easily be cut off by their greater numbers; (for 'the people of Paris are much addicted to them), and perhaps the Momorances to hateful to the Parifians, thall be involved in the fame tumult. But if the thing proceed not 'fo far, yet at least the blame of the fact, from which you ' fhall receive great advantage, fhall be tranflated from you 'upon the Guilians, (as bearing, yet in memory the murder of their Father ) whom, having destroyed their Rivals, you " Ihall foon 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 Counfellors 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 fhould be taken off, but that the Guifians fhould at fome fit opportunity be flain, as those whom the Queen ought in no wile to trust or spare. being heretofore grievoully and often offended by her. For fo the Counfellors ordered the matter, if the Protestants fhould go about to revenge the death of Coligni, they and the Momorances should in the conflict be oppreffed by the people, as being inferior in ftrength, but not without great lofs to the adverfaries; whom the King having drawn a great number of Souldiers, which he had then at his command, into the Louvre, fitting as a spectator, might at laft-

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laft fet upon, being broken, and weakened by fighting, and as though they had taken Arms without his command, and by way of fedition, might command them all to be flain together with the Nobles, as taking this or that party : for whiles they remained fafe, there would be no end of murmurs 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 diverfity of the perfons, but they all agreed in the executing of the matter. The Duke of Guife being at last taken into the privity of the fact, though otherwisc he knew nothing of the other Counfels, an Affafine was fought for, and prefently Mirevell appears, being as it feemed provided for that purpole; who having formerly undertaken to do fuch a villany, he fled into the Camp of the Protestants, but being affrighted by the danger of it, left he fhould feem to have done nothing, he treacheroufly flew Arthurus Valdræus Moius, and from Monfieur de that time often changing his lodgings, he concealed himfelf Muy at the in the house of the Guiles, in which Family he was brought fiege of Niort. up from a child. An house was also pitched upon in the Dav. p. 376. Cloyfter of St. German Auxerrois, as they call it, the houfe of Peter Pila Villemur, who had formerly been Tutor to the Duke of Guile himlelf; by which Coligni returning home, must needs pass.

Therefore upon the Friday, Coligni having dispatched much bufinefs in the King's Council, where Anjou was prefent, 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 promife from the King, the Duke of Guile and Teligny, betaking himfelf homeward, 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 that with a brace of bullets, whereof one firuck off the forefinger of his right-hand, and the other wounded him more dan-

dangeroufly in his left-arm, while Guerchius was upon his right-hand, and Rochus, Sorbæus, Prunæus upon his left, who, as likewife all that were there, were exceedingly afton ifhed at what was done.

But he with a countenance not diffurbed, only fhewed them the houfe whence the bullets came, and prefently commands Armanus, Claromontius, Pilius, and Francifcus Movinius, that they fhould go the King, and in his name acquaint him with what was done: then binding up his arm, and leaning upon his domefticks, he came on foot to his lodging, which was not far off: and when he was advifed by one of his company that he fhould fee to it, whether the bullets wherewith he was wounded were not poifoned, he anfwered, that nothing fhould befall him but what was ordered by God.

Forthwith they force the houfe whence the fhot proceeded, and breaking open the dores, found the Mufquet 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 horfe, was already fled to St. Antony's Gate, where changing his horfe, and mounting another that was ready for that purpofe, he made his efcape.

11. The King receiving the news, as if he had been aftonifhed at an unexpected accident, "Shall I never, faith he, be at "quiet? and must new troubles alwaies 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 diffurbed, 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 bim, and when as in their presence he was handled by the Chirurgions, he was heard amidst all his pain to fay (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,

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"for that I have received these wounds for his most holy "Names fake. God grant I may never forget his accustomed "mercies towards me. But when Ambrofius Paræus the King's Chirurgeon told him that the Gangreen growing on, his finger must be cut off, and did attempt to do it with an infirument that had no good edge, though he was forced to open and thut the thears three times, yet he gave no fign of fense 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 whilpered 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 fince they and theirs could not be fecure at Paris, they defire leave to depart. Upon this the King aggravating the matter to the higheft, and adding deeper oaths than before, promifed that he would take fuch revenge upon the Affafine, the authors and abetters of this fact, as fhould fatisfy Coligny and his friends, and fhould be an example to others for the future: that what was done was as great a grief to him as to any, but fince what was done could not be undone, he would take the greateft care that might be for a remedy, and would make all men underfland that Coligny had the wound, but he had the finart: and that they might be eye-witneffes of this thing, he defires them that they would not depart out of Paris.

And he difcourfing thus, Queen Katharine, who was then prefent, feconded, and faith, "The affront was offered to the "King, not to Coligny; and if this villany fhould not be "punifhed, it would ere long come to that pafs, that they "would even dare to fet upon the King himfelf in his houfe: "therefore all means are to be ufed most fharply to revenge "fo great a villany. Thefe words being spoken with much heat, and seeming indignation, the minds of Navar and Con15

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de were somewhat appeased, who did not believe there was any diffimulation, so that there was not a word more made of their departure out of the Cirv.

Presently some were fent to pursue the Affasine, though none as yet knew who he was. All the gates of the City are fhut up till fearch 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 houfe, who was then from home, were examined a part by Christopher Thuanus, and Bernardus Prevotius Morfanus, Prefidents of the Court, and Junes Viole a Senator : and the maid confessed that a few daies fince Villerius Challius, a fervant of the Guifes, brought a Souldier to that house, and commended him to her, as it he had been the Master of the house, being a very near friend and familiar acquaintance of his, and that therefore he made ale, 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 Assafine but a few days, said he was sent by his Master, (who diffembled his name, and called himfelf fometimes Bolland, fometimes Bondol the King's Archer) in the morning to Challius, to defire him from him, that he would have the horfes in readinefs, which he promited him. From all which discoveries it was yet uncertain who was the Affafine : but when as they both agreed in Challius, it was given in charge to Gaspar Caftræus Naucæus, Captain of the King's Guard, that he thould feize him, and bring him forth to examination. Then Letters are written to the Governors of the Provinces by the King, in which he detefted the fact, and commanded that they should make it their bufiness that all might understand that it did highly grieve him, and that ere long there (hould be given a molt fevere example of fo great a crime.

In the mean while d'Anville, Coffeus and Villarius Marthals, visiting Coligny about noon, faluted him in most friendly manner, and told him that that they did not come thither to exhort him to patience and fortitude: "For that, fay they, "these virtues are as it were natural to thee; thou hast been

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" wont to admonish others, and therefore wilt not be wanting " to thy felf. He answering with a smiling countenance, faid, " I fpeak truly, and from my heart, death doth nothing af-" fright me. I am ready most willingly to render to God " that fpirit which I have received from him, whenfoever he " (hall require it. But I do greatly defire an opportunity to " confer with the King before I depart this life; for I have " fome things to acquaint him with, which concern both " him, and the fafety and honour of the Kingdom, which I "am well affured none of you dares carry to him. Then d'Anville told him he would willingly acquaint the King with that (his defire); and having fo faid, he with Villarius and Teligny daparted, leaving Coffæus there, to whom Coligny faid, Do you remember what I faid to you a few hours fince? be wife, and take heed to your felf. What he meant by these words was not understood by all.

12. But when the King knew by d'Anville and Teligny his defire, he in thew feemed not unwilling to come to him about the afternoon. There came together with him the Oueen-Mother, with the Brethren, Anjou and Alanfon, Cardinal Borbon, Monpensfer, Nevers, Coffæus and Tavanius, Villarius, Meruvius, Thoreus, Momorancies Brethren, Marshals, Naucæus and Radefianus. These being let in, the rest are by the King's command thut out, except Teligny and a Gentleman of the Family, who flood at the Chamber-door; here it is published in writing, that some fecrets were discovered to the King by Coligny, but others deny it, and fay that the difcovery of this fecret was purpofely hindered by the Oueen, left the King, whole nature the began to diffruft, being mollified, and perfwaded by the word of Coligny, fhould change his refolution. That which was openly heard was this, when Coligny gave the King thanks, the King with a fad and troubled countenance did earneftly enquire of his state; and did protest, that what had happened to him was a very great grief to him. 'The wound is thine, faid he, but the pain is mine. But I fwear (then according to his min-" ner he fwore) I will fo feverely revenge this injury, that the ' memory of it shall never be blotted out of the minds of Cc 'men. 17

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'men. To this Coligny answered, God is my witness, before "whofe tribunal I now feem (ready) to fland, that I have been 'all my life long most loyal and faithful to your Majesty, and "I always, and with all my heart, defired that your Kingdom ' might be most flourishing and peaceable. And yet I am not 'ignorant that there have been fome who have called me 'Traytor, and Rebel, and a perturber of our Kingdom; but I ' truft. God will fome time or other judg between me & them, before whom I am ready, if it be his pleafure 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 <sup>c</sup> have been advanced by Henry your Father to many and great honours which your Majefty hath been pleafed to confirm to me; I cannot but according to that faith and love " that I have for your affairs, defire that you would not lee flip fo notable an opportunity of an happy enterprize, efpecially now that the breach is already made, and there are many tokens and pledges of your mind, as to the Belgick Expedition; fo 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 prefently almost before it be turned, a 'meffenger runneth and reporteth it to the Duke of Alva? 'Is it not a most base thing that 300 either Gentlemen or gal-<sup>6</sup> lant foldiers taken in Jenlis his fight, fhould by the command of Alva either be hanged, or undergo fome other kind of "punishment ? which thing I do yet perceive to be here in the Court a matter of jefting and laughing. A third thing " which I did defire to discourse with your Majefly about, is "the contempt of the Pacificatory Edict offered by those that s 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 witneffes. But as I have often told your Majesty and the Queen-Mother, I do " not think there is any furer way of preferving peace and pub-'lick tranquility, than by a religious and fevere observance of the Edicts. But they are so contemned, that of late at Troyes there was an affault made upon the fervants of the 1 . 199551 ' wife

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wife of the Prince of Conde: and when as the, according to the form of your Edict, had chosen a certain Village caleled Infula, in which our Religion thould be exercifed, yet notwithstanding, of late, a certain man, and a nurse, and an 'infant, that was brought to the holy font, were flain upon " the way whiles they were returning from a Sermen that was "made in that place. And this happened a little before the August 10th. 4th. Eid, 6til.

To this the King answered. 'I effeem thee, my Father, as "I have often affured thee for a valiant and faithful perfon, and one that is most careful for my honour. Lastly, I look "upon thee as one of the chiefest and molt valiant Commanders 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 iffued out, I have always wifhed, and do "with that it may be most diligently observed. And to that purpose I have taken care that some choice perfons should be fent through the Provinces, that may make this their bufinels; whom if thou doeft sufpect, others shall be fent in ' their places; (for in discourse he had faid he did fuspect them who had condemned him to death, and hanging, and fet a price of fifty thousand Aurei upon his head ). Then, that he might break off this difcourfe, he added, "I fee, my Father, that you speak earnestly, and that earnesinels may "hurr both you and your wounds. I will take care of this affair, (and again, fwearing by the name of God), 'I do affure you that I will most feverely revenge this injury upon the Authors of it, as if it were offered to my felf. Then he, there is not need of any great fearch for the Author of the fact, nor are the dilcoveries already made very doubtful. But it is enough, and upon that account, in the most humble manner that I can, I give your Majefty thanks that you are pleafed graciously to promise me to do me right.

Then the King taking afide that Gentleman of the houlehold that flood at the dore, commanded him to fhew him the 'bullet wherewith Coligny was wounded, and which was taken out of the wound, that he might look upon it. It was a brazen one: then he enquired of him, first, whether much bloud

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bloud flowed out of the wound ; next, whether Coligny did fignify the grievous pains he felt by out-cries and complaints. And having commended his conftancy, and the greatness of his mind, he commanded that Gentleman that he should not depart from him.

These things paffed for about the space of an hour in the Chamber of Coligny: the King drawing cut the time with wandring 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 fecurity, 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 Physicians, and chiefly Francis Mazilles the King's chief Physician, 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 counfel together, and John of Ferriers Vidame of Chartres, in the prefence of Navar and Conde, conjecturing what was indeed the matter, faid that the Tragedy was begun by the wound of Coligny, but would end in the bloud of them all. Therefore he thought it most fafe, that without delay they fhould depart the City : he produced teffimonies and tokens for his opinion from the rumors that were foread 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 Mass. Also it was openly spoken in discourse by the chief of the City, that at that Marriage (hould be poured out more bloud than wine. That one of the Protestant Nobles was advised by the prefident of the Senate, that he fould with all his family betake himfelf for some days into the Country. Besides these things, the counfel of Johannes Monlucius Bishop of Valence (when he was going Ambaffador into Poland) given

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to Roch fou-cault, that he would not fuffer himfelf to be intoxicated, and turned about by the fmoke and unwonted favour of the Court, which defervedly ought to be fuffected by all wife and cautious perfons, that he would not be too fecure to run himfelf into danger, and that he would timely withdraw himfelf, together with other Nobles, from the Court. But Teligny being of another mind, and faying that he was abundantly fatisfied of the fincere love and good will of the King, Ferrerius, and those that thought as he he did, could not be heard.

The next day the Page was again examined, and new witneffes produced. In this examination Arnold Cavagnes was engaged, for to Coligny did defire, and all things were done in fhew, as if there had been a diligent enquiry into the bufinefs.

The next day, when as Coligny, and by his command Cornaton in the name of his fellows (who, he faid, knew for certain that the Parifians, that is LXCI3 deadly enemies of Coligny would tumultuate, and take Arms), defired of the King and his Brother Anjou, a guard of fome Souldiers to be fet 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 fuspition, some, but few in number, of the Switzers of the guards of Navar. Moreover, for the greater fecurity, 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 mafters forthwith to affign 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 fuffered to come thither, nor should they spare the life of any that should do otherwife. Upon this occasion the Corporals went from place to place, and wrote down the names of Protestants, and advi-

adviled them to repair near to Coligny; for that the King would have it fo.

Thefe and fuch like figns and whifperings abroad, though they had been enough to have warned the Proteftants, if they had not been infatuated; yet by the conftant diffimulation of the King it came to pafs, that Coligny and Teligny could not perfwade themfelves that any fuch crudity was in his mind. Therefore when the Nobles entred into confultation in the Chamber of Cornaton, in the houfe of Coligny, upon the fame matter, and the Vifdame of Chartres perfevered in the fame opinion, that they fhould depart the City as foon as might be, and prevent that imminent danger, though with fome diladvantage to Coligny's health, who yet was that day fomewhat better. Teligny was of opinion, and Navar and Conde agreed with him that they fhould flay in the City, otherwife they (hould offer a great affront to the King, that was fo well affected towards them.

14. There was a fuspition left this thould be caried to the King by one that was then prefent, that was Buchavanius Bajancurius, one very familiar with the Queen, who prefently hafted to the Tuilleries, where a Counfel was held by the Confpirators under a colour of walking; there was the last time that they confulted of the manner of executing the defign. There were present besides, the King, Queen, and Anjon, the Dukes of Nevers and Angolesme, the Baffard, Biragus, Tavannes and Radefianus. ' And fince by the death of one man whom the Phyfitians did affirm was like to recover of his wound, the grievance of the Kingdom, which was nourifhed by him, " and diffuled into many, could not be extinguished, it feemed "good that it should be suppressed by the ruine of all; and 'that wrath which God would not have to be fatisfied with " the bloud of Coligny alone, fhould be poured out upon all ' the Sectaries. That was their voluntary refolution at first, and now by the event, necessity and force is put upon their counfels, 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

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"do fo long as the faction of the Rebels remains.entire after ' fuch an injury? who, when he was no way provoked, was fo long injurious to the King, and hurtful to the Kingdom? " whom now all might forefee, 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 loofe to the people, who are of themfelves ready enough, nor ought they any longer to withftand the will of God, which would onot that more mild Counfels should take effect. After the thing is effected, there will not want reasons whereby it may be excused, the fault being laid upon the Guissans, which ' they would gladly take upon them.

Therefore all agreed upon the utter ruine of the Protestants by a total flaughter. To which opinion the Oseen was even by her own nature and proper defign enclined; fome time was spent in deliberating \* whether Navar and \* The Duke of Conde Bould be exempt from the number of the relt; and as Guile was urfor Navar, all their suffrages agreed upon the account of his gent to have the Royal Dignity, and the Affinity that he had lately contraded. For that fact which of it felf could not but be blamed by ma- of conde flain ny, would be fo much the more blamed, if a great Prince near of Bloud to the King, joyned in a very late affinity, should be flain in the King's Palace, in the arms as it were of the King bated whether his Brother-in-law, and in the embraces of his Wife. For among the reft there would be no sufficient excuse, nor would those argu- they should comments prevail to excuse the King, which might cash the blame prehend the upon the Guifians. Concerning Conde there was a greater debate, he lying under the load of his Fathers faults : yet Brothers, who 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 himfelf as a furety for him, upon the account of that clofe and manifold relation that was between them; (for Conde had lately married Mary they were spaof Cleve the Sifter of Henrica Wife of the Duke of Nevers), did prevail that he should be spared, and exempt from the number of those that were defigned for the flaughter, as well as Navar.

King of Navar and the Prince with the reft. Dav. p. 370. It was also de-Marshald' Anville, and his professed the Catholick Religion, but were nearly related to Coligny; butred, because the eldest Brother Mar hal Momerancy was ab-(ent. Da. p.3705

15. Upon this the Duke of Anjon and Engolesme the Bastard depar-

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departing, as they rode in their Coach through the City, they fpread abroad a rumor as if the King had fent for Momorancy, and was about to bring him into the City with a felect number of horfe.

The very fame hour there was one apprehended who was suspected of the burt of Coligny, who confessed himself to be a fervant of the Guifes; which, when it was understood, Guife and Aumale, and others of the Family went to the King to remove that fuspition; and complain that they were oppreffed through the favour that was thewed to their enemics: that the ears of Judges were open to calumnies caft upon them, and that tho they were guiltlefs, yet they were manifefly fet againft : 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 diffemble it, and hoped that time, which is the best Master of truth, would at last inform him more certainly of the whole matter. But fince they find no place for their innocence, they did, though unwillingly, and as forced to it, defire that with his good leave they might return bome. This was done openly, and it was observed that the King answered to these things somewhat coldly, and the rather, that he might perfwade the Protestants that he bare no good will to the Guifians.

Upon this the King adviseth Navar that he should afford no occasion of mischiet to the audacity and violentness of the Guissians, things being so enflamed, and the people enclining to the Guissian 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.

Wife 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 every where 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

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

It was also told Teligny the very fame hour, that Porters laden with Arms were feen to be brought into the Louvre: but he contemned the meffage, and answered, that unneceffary fuspitions were fought for in this fad and difmal time, and forbad that this should be made known to Coligny, affecting the unfeasonable reputation of prudence and moderation, from his despising of reports, and confequently of dangers: and excusing the matter, as if those Arms were carried into the Louvre upon the account of a Castle represented and affaulted in a shew.

16. Forthwith Gnife, to whom the chief command of the execution of the whole matter was committed, calling together in the deep of night fome Captains of the Switzers, and the Captains of the French Troops, explains to them the Kings will and pleafure. 'That the time was come wherein, 'by the King's command, punithment thould be taken upon that head that was to hateful both to God and men, and alfo upon the whole faction of the Rebels : that the beaft was 'now in their toils: that they flould take care that he efcape 'not: that they flould not be wanting to fuch an opportune 'occafion, of obtaining a more glorious triumph than they 'ever yet obtained in all their former Wars, with the bloud 'of fo many Royallifts: that the Victory was eafy: that 'rich fpoils are propofed, which they might acquire without 'bloud, as rewards of their good fervice.

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

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Matters being fo disposed as to the foreign Souldiers, the Duke of Guise calls to bim, John Charron, Prefident of the Court of Revenues, (who, after a long canvasing, and often repulse, was at last put into that Office in the place of Marcellus Provest 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 fame 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 loft his dignity. He by often going to the Court, brought himfelf 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 themfelves apt enough to flirs, were certified, ' That it was the King's plea-' fure that they fhould take Arms to cut off Coligny and the other Rebels; that therefore they fhould fee to it that none were fpared, nor that those wicked men should be any where "concealed." So the King will have it, fo he commands, who ' also will provide that other Cities of the Kingdom do prefently follow the example of the Parifians. The fign at " which they fhould rife, is the tolling of the bell of the Pa-Lace-clock. The Mark whereby they thould be diftinguished from others, is white linen-cloath bound about their left ' arm, and a white cross in their hats. That good fore of " them thould therefore be ready with arms and good courage, 'and take care that candles be lighted in their windows ' throughout all their houfes : that no flir or tumult arife be-' fore the fign given. are joursed the Freedo

The commands and admonitions of Marcellus are readily received by the Corporals, Colonels, Captains and Wardfmen of the City, who put themfelves into a poflure with the greateft filence that the fudden frate of things would permit; fetting their Guards in the fireets and paffages, but at firft within dores. On the other part, the Duke of Guife and An-

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golesme did what they could that things might be done as they were ordered.

The Queen fearing left the King, whom the thought the did obferve still wavering and staggering at the horridness of the enterprize. (hould change his mind, comes into his Bed chamber at midnight, whither prefently Anjou, Nevers, Biragus, Tavannes, Radefianus, and after them Guife came by agreement. There they immind the King, hefitating, and after a long difcourfe had to and fro, upbraided by his Mother, that by his delaying he would let flip a fair occation offered him by God, of fubduing his enemies. By which speech \* the King finding him. \* He died in felf accused of Cowardife, and being of himself of a fierce less than two nature, and accustomed to bloud-shed, was inflamed, and gave year's after of a Bloudy-flux, command to put the thing in execution. Therefore the Queen proceeding, as laying hold of his prefent heat, left by delaying it thould was fafeetted, flack, commands that the fign which was to have been from poilon given at break of day should be hastened, and that the given him by Bell of the nearer Church of St. German Auxerrois should the procurement be tolled. and Brother

17. The Souldiers had for some time flood ready in their Anjos. v. l. 57. Arms drawn up in the ftreets, expecting the fign with greedy ears and defires: by whole clattering and unufual noife at fo unfeasonable a time, the Protestants who lodged by the King's command in the neighbouring 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 injurioufly repelled by the Guards that flood near the Caffle, then railed upon, and reviled; laftly, they were beaten ; the first blow being given by a Gascoign, and one of them having received a blow, the rest fell upon ibem.

Which

\* She lived to prosure the exsirpation of all ber Posterity, and to see the death of all her lons but Anjou, who survived ber but fem months, being after a furious rebellion again A him by Guise and this failion, murdered by a Fryer. Auguft 24th. + He was flain an March following, before Rochel. 155.

28

Which the \* Queen understanding, being impatient of all delay, the thence rook occasion to tell the King that the Souldiers could not now be reftrained, that he thould command the fign from the Palace prefently 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 otherwife than he defired. Therefore by his command the Bell of St. Germans Church is tolled before break of day ix Kal. VII br. which day is the Feaft of St. Bartholomew, and fell upon a Sunday. And prefently Guife with Engolessie and † Aumale go to Coligny's house, where Cofferius kept Guard.

Mean time Coligny being awakened, he underflood by the noise that they were risen into fedition, yet being secure, and even fure of the good will of the King, whether through his own credulity, or through the perfwasion of his Son-in-law Teligny, he thus thought with himself; that the people were ftirred up by the Guissians, but as soon as they should see the King's Guards under the command of Cossenius 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 difcharged in the Court-yard of the houle, then at laft, but too late conjecturing what the thing indeed was, he rofe from his bed. and putting on his night-gown, he raifed himfelf upon his feet to bis 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 fulpecting nothing, immediately opened it; ftrait-way \* Coffenius going in, la Bonne meeting him, is stabbed with daggers; which, when the Switzers who were in the Court-yard faw, they fly into the house, and shutting after them the next gate of the house, they barracado it up with Chefts, and Tables, and other houshold-fluff, one only of the Switzers being flain in that first conflict by the Coffenians, by a Mulquet discharged. At last the Gate being forced open, the Contpirators strive to get up the ftairs, They were Coffenius, Abinius, Corboran, Cardillac. & Sarlaboun, chief officers of the Companies, Achilles, Petruccius

\* He was stain 18 Apr. following, before Rochel, l. 56.

of Siena, all clad in Coats of Male, and Belmes a German. educated from a child in the Family of Guile; for Guile himfelf, with the reft of the Nobles and others, remained in the Court-yard. In that noife, 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 fee, faith he, (with an undaunted counte-' nance), what is doing ; I am prepared patiently to undergo " that death which I never feared, and which I have now long " fince embraced in my mind. Happy am I who shall per-' ceive my felf to die, and who fhall die in God, by whole Grace I am raifed 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 caufe of your deaths. The prefence of God, unto whole goodness I commend this foul " which shall shortly fly from my body, is abundantly fufficient. Which as foon as he had faid, they go into an upper room, and thence through the roof every one his way.

Mean while the Confpirators, breaking open the Chamberdores, rufh in; and when as \* Befmes, with his fword drawn, \* He was killed asked of Coligny who flood by the dore, Art thou Coligny ? about two years He, with an undiffurbed countenance, anfwered, I am he: after, 1. 60. but, young man, reverence my gray hairs; whatfoever thou doeft, thou canft not make my life (much) fhorter. Whiles he faid fo, Befmes thraft bis fword into bis breaft, and drawing it forth, flruck him with a back-blow over the face, whereby he quite disfigured him: then with repeated blows he fell down dead. Some write that thefe words, fhewing his indignation, fell from Coligny as he was dying. If at leaft I had died by the hand of a man, not of a feullion. But Atinius, one of the Affailnes, repeated it fo as I have written, and adds, that he never faw man in fo prefent a danger bear death with fuch conflancy.

[Much otherwise did Guise bear the sense of his less apparent approaching death. For when after his conspiracy and rebellion in

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 baving before neglected the warnings of his friends, at last began to be (nspitious of bis danger though nothing visible appeared, his vehement fear so prevailed over his dissimulation, whereby be endeavoured to conceal it, that his whole body, though he fate by the fire, shaked and trembled, and, to immind him of this prefent fact, a stream of bloud 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 midit of this his fear and languishing, he was by one of the Secretaries, who knew nothing of the d fign, called into the Kings Privy Chamber, whereupon, having faluted each of the company, as if he took his last farewell of them, going directly thisher, be was no fooner entred, but the dore was boulted, and one of those who were appointed for the business, struck a dagger through his throat downward into his breaft, whereby his mouth was presently filled with bloud and stopped, that he could not speak, but only fetch so deep a groan as was heard with borror by these who stood by. This stroke was seconded by many others upon his head, break, belly and grown. And to this end be came, not as Colinius from his Prayers, but, after all bis other wickedness, from his whore, with whom he had indulged the night. and therefore came later than the rest this morning into the Counsel. Thu. 1. 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 Guife asking Befmes out of the Court-yard, whether the thing were done? when he answered, it was done, he could not perfwade Angolefme unlefs he faw it. Therefore Guile replying, and bidding him throw down the body, it was thrown out of the window into the Court-yard, as it was all \* He mas after- besmeared with bloud; when \* Angoles me not believing his own eyes, wiped off the bloud from his face with his handkerchief, and at last perceiving it was he, and as fome add, kicking the corps in fcorn, going out of the houfe with his fellows into the way, Go to, fellow Souldiers, faith he, let us profecute what we have to happily begun; for to the King commandeth :

wards stabbed to death. l. 85.

mandeth : which words being often repeated, when forthwith the Bell of the Palace clock rang out; they every where cryed, Arm, arm, and the people prefently ran to Coligny's house ; then the carkass after it had been abused in a ftrange. manner, is caft into the next Stable, and at last cutting off his head, (which was fent as far as Rome), and his privymembers, and his hands, and his feet, they dragged it about the fireets to the bank of Siene; which thing he had formerly prefaged by an ominous word, though he thought no fuch 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 fcorched, not confumed; that he might as it were be tormented through all the Elements, flain upon the earth, drowned in the water, burnt in the fire, and hanged in the air. There when (his corps) had been exposed for fome days to the luft 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 himfelf from the danger, being near of kin, and nearer by friendship to the dead, took care that he fhould by fome truffy men be taken down by night, and committed to the earth in a Chapel at Chantilly.

In Coligny's house were flain in the tumult whosever they met, or found hiding themselves; and then the Souldiers betake themselves to plunder, and breaking open Chefts, they take away mony, and other precious things, only they preferve letters and papers, for so the Queen commanded.

18. Thence Nevers, and Tavanner, and Monpenfer, (who joyned himfelf to them, through the hatred that he bore to Protestants) ride armed through the City, and sparsed on the people that ran already, telling them, 'That Coligny and his 'Affociates had laid a plot against the King, the Queen, the 'King's Brethren, and Navar himself, and that it was detected 'by the fingular Grace of God, and that the King prevented 'them

<sup>5</sup> them only in time: therefore, that they fhould not fpare the <sup>6</sup> bloud of those wicked men, who are the capital enemies of <sup>6</sup> the King and Country, but that they should fly upon their <sup>6</sup> goods as spoil lawfully gotten; that it was the King's plea-<sup>6</sup> fure, that that pestiferous serpentine feed should be extirpa-<sup>6</sup> ted, that the possion of herefy being extinguished, there <sup>6</sup> should for the stature not fo much as a word be spoken of <sup>6</sup> any Religion but that of their fore-Fathers.

Then all being let loofe to fatisfy their hatreds, every one profecuted his enemy and rival with embittered minds. Many brake into houles through defire of prey; all ran upon the flaughter without diffinction. At the fame time Francis Count de la Roche fou cault, being for his facetiousnels and pleafantness in discourse very gracious with the King, when as but the day before he had, though unfeasonably, drawn out the night till late in jefting 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-foucault's house, and telling him he had something to acquaint him with from the King; Roche-fou-cault himfelf commanding the dores to be unlocked, he is admitted in; when he faw men, as he thought, in difguifes, supposing the King was not far off, who had fent men in jeft to beat him, he beggeth them that they would deal better with him : but miferable man, he found that the thing was not to be acted in jeft, but in earneft; when his house being plundered before his eyes, he himfelf half naked, was most cruelly butchered by one that flood by him.

Alfo Teligny the fon-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 flain.

Antonius Claromonlius Marquess of Revel, Brother, by the Mother, to Prince Porcian, who had a contest with Ludovicus Claromonlius Bussies of Ambois, concerning the Marquesat of Revel, came to Paris in the company of Navar, hoping there to put an end to his troublessme controvers. But the matter had a quite other end than he expected: for when

in

in that tumult he fied into the houfe that was next to his, at length he fell into the hands of his Coufin-German, purfuing him, who being his enemy upon no other account but the matter in controverfy, cruelly flew him. But not long after the controverfy being brought to an hearing, fentence was given for Buffus, but with no more happy fuccefs : for by virtue of an Edict afterwards made in favour of the Proteflants, the fentence was repealed, and Ludovicus himfelf was for a far different caufe, with the fame cruelty beheaded.

Antonius Marafinus Guerchius a ftout man, who the day before had asked Coligny that he might lodge in his houfe, when, being in diffrefs, he had not time to hide himfelf, taking his Cloak upon his arm, and drawing his fword, he for a long time defended himfelf against the Affasines; yet he flew none of them, being all in Coats of Male, but at last was overpowred by the multitude.

The fame calamity involved Baudinens. (the Brother of Acierius) Pluvialius, Bernius, being cruelly flain by the King's Souldiers : as alfo Carolus Quellevens Pontius, Prefident of Armorica, who had married Katharina Parthenza, daughter and heir of John Subizius : but the Mother of Parthenza complaining of the frigidity of her fon in-law, a Suit had been commenced to diffolve the Marriage, but was not yet determined. Therefore, when the bodies of the flain were thrown down as they were flain before the Palace, and in the fight of the King and Queen, and all the Court retinue, many Court-Ladies not being affrighted at the horridnefs of fuch a fpectacle, did with curious eyes fhamefully behold the naked bodies, and efpecially fixing their eyes on Pontius, did examine if they could by any means difcover the figns of his frigidity.

Carolus Bellomanerius Lavardinus, the Kinfinan of Pontius, and fometime Tutor to the King of Navar in his childhood, fell into the hands of Petrus Lupus Prefident of the Court, a good man, who when he would have faved him, and was commanded by the Emiffaries of the Court to difpatch his prifoner; he, as he was a man of a ready and pleafant wit, asked fo much time as till he could raife his paffion; by which E e fpeech

fpeech he for fome time eluded their cruelty; but by and by a Meffenger 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 flabbed Lavardinus with daggers, and then threw him over the Mill bridge into the River.

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

Briolins a Gentleman who was Tutor to Marquels Conte in his childhood, venerable for his grey-head, being now an old man, was likewife flain in the embraces of his Pupil, who ftretched forth his arms, and opposed his own body to the blows.

Truly lamentable was the spectacle of Franciscus Nompar Caumonlius: who had lodged in that neighbourhood, but which fortune, fporting after her manner, mingled with an event of unexpected joyfulnefs : he with his two fons, whom he loved with a paternal affection, being taken in bed by the murderers, who profecuted him with his children, not through an hatred of his Religion, but through hope of gain, was flain with one of his fons: the other being all bloudy with the bloud that flowed upon him, faving himfelf from their blows. as he could at that tender age, (for he was hardly twelve years old), by the interpolition of the dead bodies, diffembling himfelf dead, he was at last left by them for dead : a little after, more ran flocking to the house for prey, of whom fome commended the fact, as well done; (for not only wild beafts, but their whelps are altogether to be defiroyed); others that had more humanity, faid, this might be lawful to be done upon the Father as guilty, but the innocent off fpring, which perhaps would never take the fame courfes, ought to be spared. Among those that came toward the evening of that day, when as one did highly detelt the fact, and faid God would be the avenger of fuch impiety, the boy firetching his limbs,

limbs, and a little lifting up his head, gave figns that he was alive: and when he asked him who he was, he answered not unadvifedly, that he was the Son and Brother of the flain, 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 defired : 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, Godfry Caumont his Unckle being dead. and leaving only one Daughter. Being raifed by the King to great honours, of which he carried himfelf worthy, as Colonel of the King's Life-guard, and Governour of Bearne, he feems to be preferved from that danger by the fingular Grace of God, that he might by his numerous off fpring, 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 Anceftors.

The fame day were flain these Protestants of great note, Loverius thrown out of a window into the high-way, Montamarius, Montalberius, Roboreus, Foachinus, Vafforius, Cune-. rius, Rupius, Cobombarins, Velavaurius, Gervafius, Barberius, Francurius, Chancellor to the King of Navar, Hieronimus Groletins Governour of Aurleance, and Califus his bafe Brother, who were both inhumanely dragged about the ftreets, 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 Poictou, a man of great integrity, and one that was very folicitous 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 fent by Stephanus Fergo Petauderius, (who lought after his Treafurer-thip), after the payment of a great fum of mony, cru-y Ec 2

elly murdered, and thrown into the River, and Patanderius is, by the commendation of Monpenferius, whole affairs he managed, put into his office.

Alto Dionyfius Perrotus the Son of Æmilius, Senator of Paris, (a man not lets renowned for his integrity than his knowledge in law), worthy of fuch a Father, underwent the fame fortune.

19. Nor did they spare those whom Navar (being advised fo to do by the King ) had brought into the Palace: for they were by the King's command made to come down from their Ma-Iters chambers into the Court-yard, and being brought out of the Palace, their fwords being taken from them, they were many of them prefently flain at the Gate; others were hurried to the flaughter without the Palace. Among these were Pardallanius, Sammartinus, Burfins and Armannus, Claromontins, Pilius, famous for his late valour in defending the Temple of St. John. He, when he was led out to be butchered, flanding before the heaps of the flain, is faid to cry out, "Is " this the King's faith? Are thefe his promifes ? Is this the " peace ? But thou, O most great and most good God, behold " the caufe of the oppreffed, 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 flood by; Take this from me as a remembrance of my unworthy death: which gift he not accepting under that condition, whiles Pilius faid these things, he was thrust into the fide with a spear, of which wound he fell down and died.

Leiranus now grievoufly wounded, but efcaping out of the hands of the murderers, rufhing into the Queen of of Navars chamber, and hiding himfelf under her bed, was preferved; and being carefully commended by Margaret to the King's Phyfitians, was healed. Bellonarius formerly Tutor to the King of Navar, having a long time lien under the Gout, was flain in his bed.

The King received to his grace Grammontanus Lord of Gascoign, Johannes Durforlius Duralius, Joachimus Roaldus Gamarius, and Buehavarius, having promited to be faithful to hum: and they were worth their word. Then

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 fuch a course as would extirpate all causes of furure wars. That Coligny, the author of these troubles, was flain by his command, and that the faine punishment was taken, throughout the City, upon those wicked men who were infected with the poilon of superstition : That he remembred what great mischiefs had befallen him from them, Navar and Conde, who had headed a company of profligate perfons, and feditioufly railed 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 contanguinity, and the lately contracted affinity, and laftly 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 thould thortly receive the just deferts 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 Anceftors, that is, to the Roman Catholick Religion : for he would have only that Religion profeffed in his Kingdom which he had received from his fore-Fathers. Therefore, that they fhould look to it that they do comply with him herein, otherwife they might know that the fame punishment which others had fuffered, did hang - Solisioia Aus and over their heads.

To this the King of Navar did moft humbly beg, that no violence might be offered to their conficiences not perforts, and that then they would remain faithful to him, and were ready to fatisfy him in all things. But Conde added, that he could not perfwade himfelf that the King, who had engaged himfelf by folemn oath to all the Protettant Princes of his Kingdom, would upon any account violate it, or hearken to their enemies and adverfaries in that matter. As to Religion, that

that was not to be commanded, that his life and fortunes were in the King's power to do with them what he pleafed; 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 refolved never to recede from his Religion, which he knew affuredly was true, no, not for any prefent danger of life. With which anfwer the King being highly provoked, he called Conde flubborn, feditious, Rebel, and the fon of a Rebel, and told him, that if he did not change his mind within three days, his head fhould pay for his obflinacy.

20. Many of the Proteftant Nobles had taken up their lodgings in the Suburbs of St. German, and could not be perfwaded to lie in the City. Among thefe were Johannes Roamus Frontenæus, Godofridus Caumonlius, Vidame of Chartres, Gabriel Mongomerius, Jo. Lafinius, Bellovarius, Segurius Pandallanius, and others. The deftroying of whom was given in charge to Laurentius Maugironus: and befides Marcells was ordered to take care that 1000 Souldiers of the City Trained-Bands fhould he fent thicher to Maugironus, who went but llowly on in his bufinefs.

While this was doing, tidings came to Mongomery of the rumor of taking up Arms in the City, who fignified the fame to the Vidame of Chartres, and prefently they met all together, uncertain what was to be dones for that many confiding in the King's faithfulnefs, perfwaded themfelves that this was done without the King's command, by the Guifians, encouraged by the forwardnefs of the feditious people, therefore they thought it was beft to go to the King, and that he would fuccour them againft any violence.

In that doubtfulnefs 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 Parislans 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

whiles they passed the River to go thither himfelf. And when he came to the gates, it did too late appear that they had miftaken the keys, therefore while they fent for others, it being now broad day, the Switzers and others of the King's Guards paffing the Siene, were feen from the other fide : and upon the difcharging of a Gun on the other fide of the River. as was thought by the King's command, the Affociates take counfel to fly, and before they came, were gotten a good way off. Guile purfued Mongomery and others to Montfort, but in vain, and meeting with Sanleodegarius, he commands him that he should follow them with tresh horfes. There were fome fent to Udencum, and to Dreux, who flould intercept them if they went that way : but all in vain.

Franciscus Bricomotius, who could not be deftroyed in the tumult, flies to the English Ambaffadors lodgings, + where he + In Bernardifor fome days lay hid. Arnoldus Cavagnius allo hid himfelf porum caio. not far from hence, with a friend, who tearing the danger, defired him to provide for himfelt; but both being taken, were caft into the Palace prifon, and with that event which we shall thew apon.

In the mean time Guife, with Aumale and Angoleime, 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 alligned to them in particular, whiles the people incited by the Sheriff wardfmen and tything men that ran abour, did furioufly rage with all manner of licentiousnels and excels against their fellow-Citizens, and a fad and borrid face of things did every where appear. For the fireets and ways did refound with the noife of those that flocked to the flughter and plunder, and the complaints and doleful out-cries of dying men, and those that were nigh to danger were every where heard. The carkaffes of the flain 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 fireets, bloud did flow in fuch abundance through the chanels of the fireers, that full ftreams .

streams of bloud did run down into the River : the number of the flain, men, women, even those that were great with child, and children also, was innumerable.

Annas Terrerius Chapius, being eighty years old, and an Advocate of great name in the Senate, was flain. Alfo Jo. Lomerius Secretary to the King, having compounded for his fafety, was thrown into Gaol by Johannes Parifiens Judge of Criminals, and having fold \* bis Estate at Verfailles to his adverfary, with whom he had a Suit depending about it, at a low rate, and leaving his office upon the account of another, was afterwards flain by the command of those with whom he had those dealings. Magdalena Briffonesta the Relick of Theobaldus Longiolius

Magdalena Briffonetta the Relict of Theobaldus Longiolius (an Irifh-man, Mafter of the Requests) Neece of Cardinal Gulielmus Briffonettus, 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 houshold Chaplain, she would have fled out of the City, being discovered by the cutthroats, and in vain put to renounce her Religion, being thrust into the body with pike-flaves, 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 deflroy 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 lass Mathematicks, in Prelæs Schola, of which he was Master, and afterward in the King's School, he at lass brought erroneous do-Atrine into his Philosophy, whemently 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

\* Verfalium fundum.

† In Eesnardinorum caio.

did what in him lay to promote Learning, inftituting a Mathematick Lecture, to which he gave out of his own Estate a yearly flipend of 300 pounds. He being drawn out of his Cell, wherein he had hid himfelf, by fome murderers fent by Carpentar, his Rival, who also promoted the sedition, after he had payed (fome) mony, receiving fome wounds, was thrown out of a window into the yard, whereby his bowels gushed out; which the boys, fet on by the fury of their enraged Masters, threw about the streets, and whipping his carkals with fcourges in reproach to his profession, dragged it about in a most shameful and cruel manner. Which thing, when it came to the hearing of Dionyfius Lambinus, Monstrolienfis, King's profeffor of humanity, and of both Languages, and who, by many books that he had published, deferved well of Learning, and he was otherwife 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 fo deep an impression upon his mind, that he fell into a most grievous difease, 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 feditious, by those that favoured the King's party, and the peace of the Kingdom.

21. This fury did extend it felf to those that never professed the Protestant Doctrine. For Gulielmus Bertrandus, Villemorius Mafter of Requests, (fon 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 flain by cut-throats fent by the above-mentioned Fergo.

Alfo Facobus Poliardus, a Senator of Paris, and Fellow of the Sacred Colledge, otherwife an unquiet and quarrelfome man, and one that was troublefome to the Parifian Captains, when he had for fome days lien hid in the house of a Prieft, his Friend, being discovered by the pratling of a Girl, was at length delivered into the hands of the murderers, and by one Cruciarins, (that was his name ), a Goldsmith, after he had for fome time kept him between hope and fear, had his head cut off. I have often beheld and heard that man that very well Ff

deferved

deferved a Gallows, in a firange kind of cruel madnefs boaft, firetching forth his naked arm, that with this arm he had in that maffacre flain above 400 men. Afterward, whether induced to it by repentance,, or the terror of his conficience, he put on hair-cloath, and being infamous for fo many murders, that he might avoid the fight of men, he went into folitude, profeffing the life of an Anchoret : where yet he could not forget his cruel nature : for in thefe late wars he was accufed, and almost convicted, that by the help of fuch men as himfelf, he had cut the throat of a Flemith Merchant, whofe neceffity compelled him to repair to his Cell.

Lastly Perrus Salfeda a Spaniard, † who stirred up the Cardinals war, of which we have spoken before, though he was no way enclined to the Protestant Doctrine, was the same day shin by those who sought to revenge a former injury.

[One Ronlart a Catholick, and Canon of Nostre Dame, and also a Counsellor in the Parliament, uttering certain speeches in mission this lawless kind of proceeding without justice, was apprehended, and committed to prison, and murthered as diforderly 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 Ambassfador, p. 246.]

And many of the Nobles escaped with great danger, and especially Thorens, who warned Coligny when Cossenius was defigned to guard him, that he could not be committed to a more deadly enemy; and that now it was true that the seep 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 Mernoins were spared. Cosfaus his life was also in danger, for that he joyned with the Momorancies, and favoured not the Guistans.

Bironus in the Armory fearing upon the fame account what would become of him, planting two Culverins against the City, fortified himse's till the sury of the people and the guards ceased.

† Vici in Mediomatricibus præfectus.

Among the Protestants that were of any note, there escaped by a rare kindnels of fortune, Job. Saucomonlius, Sauromarius Cugius Bricomolius Junior, and some few others, Jacobus Cruffolius Acierius, by the commendation of his Brother Antony † Duke of Uzes, and command of the Queen, with some † Uticensium others of the Nobility, were preferved by the Guissians to this ducis. intent, as it was reported; that they might cast the odium of the Massace 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 preferved ever obliged to them. Nor did their expectations fail them.

Gulielmus Altamarus Fervacius did endeavour to procure the fame tavour from the King for Franciscus Moninius, but all in vain; but he being discovered by his means, firait-way it was given in command to Marcellus to cut him off by the cut-throats. That day were flain to the number of two thoustand.

Toward the evening Proclamation was made to the multitude by found of Trumpet, that every one fhould betake himfelf to his own home, nor might any ftir abroad; that only the King's Guards, and the Officers with their Troops of Horfe, fhould go about the City upon pain of death to them that did not obey: fo that when it was thought that there was an end put to those flaughters and rapines, the fame maffacre and liberty of plundering was continued the night following, and the days following.

22. The fame day the King, whether troubled at the horridnels, or fearing the odium of the fact, by Letters directed to the Governors of the Provinces, cafteth the odium upon the Guifians, telling them 'That the fedition was raifed without 'his privity or confent: that they, as foon as they perceived 'that the friends and kindred of Coligny, whom he fill cal-'led coulin, did intend to revenge the wound given him, that ' they might be before-hand with them, flirred up fo great a ' party of the Nobles and Parifians, that they, by their help, ' cut off the Guards that he had affigned to Coligny, and as ' many of his friends as they met: and this example was fol-

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clowed

'lowed with fuch fury and violence throughout the City. ' that fuch a remedy as might be wilhed, could not be applied 'in any due time. Now at last the fedition that seemed to 'be allayed, was again upon old grudges between the two ' Families, revived ; which thing, fince it hapned contrary to ' his will, he would that all thould understand that the Edict ' lately published, was not thereby in any part violated : but " he did command that it fould be religioufly observed, and that the Governors thould fee to it, that mutual flaughters ' thou'd not be committed in other Cities, nor that they " thould 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 Coufin Conde, ready to ' undergo the fame fortune with them. The fame day were Letters of the fame contents written by the Queen, fent not only through the Kingdom, but to the Dyet or Affembly of Switzers, and difperfed by the King's command through England, and divers places in Germany.

ngland, and divers places in Germany. 23. The next day flaughters and rapines were continued. Petrus Platius President of the Court of Customs, a man cminent for his gravity, learning and integrity, (whom one Michael by name, Captain of a Band, had the day before cheated of a great fum of Gold ) by the help of flingers lent to him by Nic. Bellofremontius Senescæus, and Carronius Provost of the Merchants, defended himself from the fury of the people. That Senefceus was lately by the King put into the place of Innocentius Triperius Monstrolius, great Provost del' Hefpital: under whom that Office, whole jurildiction belonged only to fome mean perfon of the King's Retinue, after that began to be conferred upon Gentlemen, as all those things which belong to the Mafter and Colonels of the Horfe. 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 fo much their jurifdiction was diminished. That so large jurisdiction for some time after the death of Monstrolius had ceased, which at last the King con-

conferred upon Senescæus, for the Nobleness of his Family, and fuch learning as with us is rare in a military perfon. Therefore Senescæus coming this day from the King to Placius, told him that though the King refolved utterly to root out the Protestants by flaying them, that there should not remain one that piffeth against the wall, yet that for many reasons he would give him his life, and fent him to conduct him to the Louvre, for that he did defire to learn from him many things concerning the affairs of the Proteflants, which it behoved him to know. Then Placius defired to excuse himfelf, and defired that he might flay till the fury of the people were fomewhat allayed; that in the mean time he might be kept prisoner wherefoever it pleased the King. On the other fide Senefcæus, who had received fuch command from the Queen, did haften him, that he fhould without delay obey the King's command, and alligned him Pezovius, one of the privy leaders of the Sedition, for his greater fecurity as he faid : 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 ftable of a publick houle; and his houle lay three days open to ranfacking, his wife being fled, and his children wandring hither and thither. His office, which in his absence, in the time of war was managed by Stephanus Nuellins, a factious and bloud-thirfty man, and who was believed to have hired these cut-throats against the life of Placius, was by him obtained of the King.

24. Such cruelty raging every where, while the Heavens feemed more than ordinarily ferene, an accident hapned whereby the minds of the enraged people were after a firange manner inflamed. An Oxyacantha, which is a kind of fhrub which they call *white-thorn*, growing in the Church-yard of St. Innocents, did, whether of its own accord, which fometimes 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 impoftors, did in an unufual time *pat forth* its flower. All which, the factions flattering themlelves in their madnefs, did refer to God, fignifying by thefe tokens, that amedid ha

that what they had done was acceptable to him. And therefore they faid, that the Heavens did rejoyce to fee the Maffacre of the Protestants. And James Carpenter alluding to the Month in a writing that he published, called that light Augusta. Therefore the seditious flocking together at the fame of the bloffoming thorn, did skip about with great joy: which they allo teffified by the unufual beating of a Drum. though without command, (for even that they might do then ) and fo interpreted it, as if the Protestants being rooted out, the Catholick Religion, and the Kingdom of France thould recover its ancient splendor and flower. But the Proteftants argued otherwife; and if this were to be looked upon as a Miracle, they faid this was portended by this fign; that though the Church might feem by this wound to be utterly extinct, yet it should come to pass that it should in a wonderful and incomprehenfible manner revive and flourish; which also they did confirm by the example of the wonder shewed to Mofes in the bufh, which, though it burned, yet was it not confumed. They added, that it might be faid rather to belong to the commendation of innocence, than the approbation of butchery, becaufe the thorn bloffomed in a place which took its name from Innocents.

The fame day fome drawn out of the King's Life-Guard by Gafpar Caftreus Nancæus, are by the King's command fent to † Chaftillon, to take and bring Coligny's wife and children, as alfo the fons of Andoletus. But Franciscus the Eldeft Son of Coligny, and Vidus Lavallus the Eldeft Son of Andoletus, had already faved themselves by flight: "All the reft are taken, and brought with all their precious housholdfluff to Paris.

25. It was the King's defign, that as foon as the flaughter of Coligny and his followers had been performed, the Guifes fhould immediately depart the City, and go every one to his own houfe, that thereby all might take notice, that whatfoever 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 Guife) did intercede: (feeing) the King was at first enraged only against

+ Castillionem ad Lupam.

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againfi Coligny, as not yet forgetting his flight from Meaux, drew him on, who yet wavered, to the flaughter of all the Proteftants in the City; fo that not knowing where he fet his toot, they brought him by degrees to this pafs, that he fhould take the whole blame upon himfelf, and fo eafe the Guiffans, who were not able to bear fuch 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 fame mind as if it had been offered to himfelf.

Thereupon the Queen and Anjou took occasion to thew the King, 'That it he perfitted in his former diffimulation, " things were come to that pafs, that he would endanger the fecurity of the Kingdom, his Fortunes, Riches, and Repue tation. For the Guifians, who do by these Letters, and otherwife, understand the mind of the Momorancies, being " men defirous of troubles, and feeking 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 in-'jury: that they will fill keep them under pretence of defending their fafety, which they fay is aimed at by the enemy; and fo that which was thought to have been the end of a " most bloady war, will prove to be the beginning of a more dangerous one. For the remainders of the Protestants, " who fee their matters diffreffed, will, without doubr, ga-"ther then lelves to the Momorancies, who are of them lelves frong, and thence will take new firength and fpirits : which " if it thould happen, what a face of the Kingdom will ape pear, when the name and authority of the King's Majefty. being flighted and trampled upon, every one shall take liberty " to himfelf, and indulge to private harred and affections according to his own luft? Laftly, what will foreign Princes thinkf of the King, who fuffers himfelf to be over-ruled by his " fubjects, who cannot keep his fubjects in their dury, and " laftly, who knows not how to hold the reins of legal power? There-

# The History of sit

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<sup>5</sup> Therefore there is no other way to prevent fo great an evil, <sup>6</sup> but for the King to approve by his publick Proclamation, of <sup>6</sup> what was done, as if it had been done by his command. <sup>6</sup> For by this means he fhould take the arbitrement and power <sup>6</sup> to himfelf; and on the one hand difarm the Guifes, and on <sup>6</sup> the other hand keep the Momorancies from taking up Arms; <sup>6</sup> and laftly fhould bring it about, that the Proteftant affairs <sup>6</sup> now already very low, fhould be feparated from the caufe of <sup>8</sup> the Momorancies. That the King ought not to fear the <sup>6</sup> odium of the thing: for there is not fo much danger in the <sup>6</sup> horridnefs of a fact, (the odium whereof may be fomewhat <sup>6</sup> allayed by excufe), as in the confeffion of weaknefs and im-<sup>6</sup> potency, which doth neceffarily bring along with it con-<sup>6</sup> tempt, which is almost deftructive to Princes.

By these reasons they easily perswaded an imperious Prince, who less feared hatred than contempt, that he might recall the Guissians to obedience, and retain the Momorancies in their loyalty, to confirm by publick teftimony, that whatfoever 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 fitting 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 Co-'ligny, and wicked men falfly pretending the name of Re-'ligion: but that he had forgiven them by Edicts made for the publick Peace. That Coligny, that he might leave no-" thing to be added to his wickedness, had entred into a confpiracy how to take away him, his mother, his brethren, and 'the King of Navar himfelf, though of his own Religion, ' that he might make young Conde King, whom he deter-" mined afterwards to flay likewife, that the Royal Family being extinct, he usurping the Kingdom, might make him-'felf King. That he, when it could not otherwife be, did, ' though full fore against his will, extinguish one mischief by another, and as in extream dangers, did use extream remedies.

' dies, that he might extirpate that impure contagion out of ' the bowels of the Kingdom. Therefore, that all fhould ' take notice, that whatfoever had been that day done by way ' of punifhment upon those perfons, had been done by his ' fpecial command.

After he had faid thefe things, Cbrillophorus Thuanus, chief Prefident, in a fpeech fitted to the time, commended the King's prudence, who, by diffembling fo many injuries, had timely prevented the wicked confpiracy, and the danger that was threa ned by it, and that that being fuppreffed, he had now fetled peace in the Kingdom, having well learnt that faying of Lewis XI. He that knows not how to diffemble, knows not how to reign.

Then the Court was 'commanded that diligent enquiry fhould be made concerning the confpiracy of Coligny and his Affociates, and that they fhould give fentence according to form of Law, as the heinousnels of the fact did require. Then laftly Vidus Faber Pibraccius, Advocate of the Treafury (or Attorney-General) flood 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 prefervation of the memory of it? whether the orders of Judges and Civil Magistrates, which he had complained were corrupted, should be reformed? And laftly, whether by his command there fhould be an end put to the flaughters and rapines? To these things the King answered, that he did command the first; that he would take care about the fecond, and that for the third he did give command by publick proclamation through all the fireets of the City, that they fhould for the future abfain from all flaughters and rapines. Which declaration of the King aftonished many, and among the rest Thuanus himfelf, who was a man of a merciful nature, and altogether averse from bloud, and feared that example, and the danger that was threatned thereby : who also did with great freedom privately reprove the King, for that, if the confriracy 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. Bartholomews-day, using those verses of Statius Papinius in a different case,

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

So that he feems to have commended the King's art by a fpeech fitted to the prefent 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 Bilhop 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 bloudy 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 fince the odium of it could not be wholly abolished, yet that it might by fome means be mitigated, he perfwaded the King and Queen, that to the things being now done, they fhould, though in a prepofterous manner, apply the authority of Law; and that proof being made of the confpiracy, judgment (hould be paffed upon the confpirators in form of Law; which thing Thuanus himself approved, being confulted 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 tull Court in a great affembly of people, and thanks were returned to God, for that things had fucceeded fo happily, and according to their defires. And the fame day an Ediët was publified, wherein the King declared, that 'Whatfoever had happened in this matter was done by 'his express command; not through hatred of (their) Reli-'gion, or that it fhould derogate from the Edicts of Pacifi-'cation, which he would have to fland ftill in force, and to 'be religioufly obferved, but that he might prevent the wicked 'confpiracy of Coligny and his confederates. Therefore, that

<sup>6</sup> that he did will and command that all Proteflants fhould <sup>6</sup> live at home quietly and fecurely under his protection and <sup>6</sup> patronage, and did command all his Governors to take di-<sup>6</sup> ligent care that no violence or injury fhould be offered to <sup>6</sup> them, either in their lives, goods or fortunes; adding a fanction, that whofoever did otherwife, fhould underftand that he did it under pain of life. To thefe things a claufe was finally added, which the Proteftants did interpret to contradict what he had faid before; that, <sup>6</sup> Whereas upon the ac-<sup>6</sup> count of their meetings, and publick Affemblies, great trou-<sup>6</sup> bles and grievous offences had been flirred up, they fhould <sup>6</sup> for the future abftain from fuch meetings, whether publick <sup>6</sup> or private, upon what pretence foever, till further order was <sup>6</sup> taken by the King, upon pain of life and fortunes to thofe <sup>6</sup> that difobeyed.

26. Thefe Edicts and Mandates were diverfly entertained in the Provinces, according to the divers natures and factions of the Governors; for those that were addicted to the party of the Momorancies, 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 Meanx, as being nearest, where the fame day that the Maffacre had been at Paris, above two hundred were thrown into prison by Coffetus Advocate of the Treasury, an impudent man, who was chiefly affisted by Dio. nyfius Rollandus an Apparitor, and Columbus a Mariner. The next day they fet upon the Market that is out of the City, and the men being flipt away, they fell upon the women, whereof 25 were flain, and some of them violated by the rude murderers. The day following, after they had every where rifled the houfes of the suspected, they come to those that were imprisoned, who being called out one by one by Coffetus himfelf, were there flain as Oxen, by Butchers, in a Slaughterhouse, 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 Coffetus exhorts the neighbouring places that they fhould proceed in what had been fo hap-Gg 2 pily

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pily begun. But the prefence of Momorancy Prefident of l'Isle la France, who was then at Cantilia, not far from thence, did hinder the feditious from firring at Senlis.

But great was the rage at Orleans, which being once or twice taken by the Protestants, the lad ruines of the demolifhed 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 Cam. pellus Bovillus, one of the King's Counfellors, whom being ignorant of what had happened at Paris, Curtius a Weaver, the leader of the feditious, with fome of his party, went as it were to vifit in the evening; he thinking that they came as friends to fup 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 Purfe, which being delivered, they in the midft of their entertainment flay their Hoft. From thence, as if this had been the fign given, they flock together for three days 10 murder and spoil; above 1000 men, women and children, as it was thought, were flain ; part were caft into the river Loire : those that were flain without the City were thrown into the ditch. Great was the plunder that was taken in all that time, and efpecially the copious Library of Peter Montaurens (a learned man, who died four years fince of grief of mind, at Sancerra) furnished with Books of all' forts, especially with mathematical Manuscripts, the greatest part of them Greek, and corrected and illustrated by the labours of Montaureus himfelf, as allo with inftruments ufeful in that Science, contrived with admirable artifice, was with a most barbarous outrage taken away.

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

The fame was done at Angiers, they beginning with Johannes Maffonius Riverius, who was most barbarously flain as he walked in his Garden, by a cut-throat let in by his Wife, who sufpected no such thing: as also others. Barbeus Ensign of the Prince of Conde's Regiment efforced the danger by flight,

as alfo Renatus Roboreus Breffaldus, one that was very troublefome to Priefts, 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, prefently set guards at the City-gates, that none might flip forth : and having upon 3 Kal. VII bris, cast August 30 th. all the sufpected into prison five days after, by the command Anna Valdraus Simphalius, Governor of Troyes, upon the infligation of Petras Bellinus (who, as was believed, came lately from Paris with private commands) they were brought out one by one, and flaughtered by the cut-throats, and buried in a ditch digged in the very prison: and prefently after, the King's Proclamation, wherein they were commanded to leave of killing and spoiling, was published by Simphalius, who, as it is taid, received it before the flaughter was committed.

At Vierzon, when as at the yet uncertain report of the news, the Gates of the City were thut up by the diverfity of Letters that were fent in the King's Name, the Townfmen held their hands for fome time from violence, contenting themfelves to have caft the fulpected into prifon, till at laft flirred up by the example of the men of Orleance, they raged with the fame madnels againft the imprifoned. Francifcus Hottomannus, and Hugo Donellus, who profeffed Civil Law in that City, by the help of their Scholars, and efpecially of the Germans, efcaped the prefent danger.

Two days after the uproar at Paris, the Regiment of Horfe that belonged to Ludovicus Gonzaga, under pretence of muffer, and receiving their pay, feized on *la Charite*, a Town lying upon the River Loire, below Nevers, and the people being flirred up by Letters from Paris, 18 were flain in the Town; *Petrus Mebelinus*, and *Johannes Lerius*, well known by his voyage into America, did beyond their hopes escape the hands of the murderers, and fled to Sancerra.

27. The greatest Massare 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 Francifeus

August. 29 th. Conchiliatorum equitum torque donatus.

Rodanenses Regii. cifcus Mandelotus, Governor of the Town, under pretence, as he faid, that the King's Guards might protect them from the rage of the people : but many while they are lead by the feditious, as if it had been to prison, are flain in the blind lanes of the Town, and prefently caft 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 deferved end, being executed at Claremont in Auvergne. Three days were spent in rifling houses, and finding out those that were fuspected : 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, fince it began to be bestowed upon unworthy perfons ) came from the Queen with inftructions and letters of credence, bringing allo 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 thould follow the example of the Parifians. Mandelotus, a prudent man, though he was looked upon as enclined to the Guifian 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 faid 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 pleafure. 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 feveral prilons; for the King's prifons upon the River Rhone were not able to receive fuch a multitude. Upon this, Petrus Antiffiodorenfis Chamberlain of the City, a man wicked and infamous for difhonest lusts, rode poft, 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 plealure, that the Protestants that were taken, or could be taken, should be flain

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 fecret, yieldeth, and turning to the meffenger of fo horrid a fentence, I will, faith he, fay to thee Peter, what Chrift heretofore faid to Peter; whatfoever thou bindeft, let it be bound; and whatfoever thou loofeft, let it be loofed; and prefently all ran to the flaughter and spoil, Morniellus and Clavius, wicked men, and ready for any milchief, joyned themfelves to Boidomus. When they would have had the help of the Common Hangman in that matter, he refused, and faid that he was ready to obey the fentence of a lawful Magistrate, but he would not meddle nor trouble himfelf with fuch promiscuous executions : when the same thing was commanded, the guards of the Caffle, they likewife being much moved at the motion, answered with disdain, that they were no Hangmen, nor did such dishonourable employment become Souldiers : those miserable men never injured them : therefore they hired men from the Shambles, and thamelels perfons 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 confitted of 300 Townsmen, who did readily undertake against their own fellow-Citizens, what hangmen and ftrangers had refolutely refused. Out of thefe Bands therefore are cholen all the verieft rake-hells, and they leading on, they ran violently to the houle 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 Celeftines, where a great flaughter was made : whiles Mandelotus, with Sallucius Manta Governor of the Caftle, ran with all speed to the tumult railed by the people in the suburbs next the River Rhone, they make an affault upon the Arch-Bishop's house, where 300 chief Protestants were, by the Governor's order kept in prifon : and first carefully examining their purfes, they most barbarously flew them, praying unto God, and imploring the faith of men. A milerable fad fight ! Supplices & while the Sons hanging about the necks of their Fathers, and Dei homi-numq; fidem Fathers embracing their Sons, Brethren, Friends, exhorting implorances. one

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one another to conflancy, they were flain like theep by merciless Butchers, Porters, Water-men, among the fad lamentations and horrid cries that did refound all over the City. Which thing Mandelotus in all hafte returning from Guilloteria, but yet after the thing was done, feemed to be much troubled at. as if it had been done without his confent or privity ; and coming to the place of the Maffacre, 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 diffimulation, 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 fame Butchers went to the publick prifon, upon Rhone, and raged against the prisoners with a new fort of cruelty; and miferably 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 flaughters and plundering; houshold-stuff is carried out of houses, and wares out of thops: 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 fight of the bodies of the flain lying in the Court of the Arch-Bilhop's houfe, commanded them to be put into boats, and carried to the other fide of the River, that they might be buried in the Church-yard of the Monastery of Asfnay. where was formerly the Altar of Lions, and fent men thither to see them buried. But the Monks faid they would never fuffer that, and that those carkaffes were unworthy of burial. Therefore, upon a fign given, there is a concourse mide, and they are thrown by the enraged people into the River; the groffer 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 flaughte: flay here. For not long after the (two) Brothers, Darutii, Merchants of great account, Labellaus, Galterus, and Floccardus. honourable Citizens, being brought out of the prison, had their throats cut, and were cast into the River Rhone. Among

Among these flaughters some escaped by the help of the guards, and the favour of Manta the Governor, among whom were Fo. Ricaldus, and Antonins Callia, Pastors of the City. when as Foannes Anglus, chief Paftor, was flain in the first tumult. It is faid that 800 of all kinds and fexes were barbaroufly flain: the carkaffes of the flain fwimming down Rhone to Turnonium, lay fo 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 detefting the authors of fuch a villany, though they had no favour for the Religion of the Protestants, to remove that lad spectacle, they fet men to thrust the bodies off with poles from the banks, which the fwift fiream 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 fprings they drink of the water of the River; the Townfmen, befides the deteftablenefs of the villany, were grievoufly distreffed; when as they would not use the fishes and water that they could be supplied with only from Rhone; yea, they abhorred the very fight of the River.

28. But in Dauphine and Provence things were carried after far another manner. For Claudius Sabaudus Count of Tende, who was very nearly allied to the Momorancies, when Letters were brought him about the fame bulinels by Folephus Bonifacius Mola, who two years after came to an + un. + Being execuhappy end at Paris, ingenuoufly answered that he did not ted, and his think that that was the King's pleafure, but that fome that quarters fet upwere evilly affected to the publick Peace, did falfy pretend his on the Cityname, when as not many days fince he had received quite other gates. 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 difease, to the great grief of the people of Provence, not without fuspition given him by the Emissaries of the feditious.

In Dauphine, Bertrandus Simienus Gordius, educated in the Family of the Momorancies, receiving the fame command,

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he exculed himfelf, pretending the great danger he was like to be in from the powerfulness of Mombranius, and other Protestants in \* Savoy and Dauphine, yet fome were flain at Valence.

\* In allobrogibus.

Alfo at Romans there were fome flain, though it were late Septembr. 22. 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 feven were stabbed with daggers by the raging people.

> Allo Santeranus Governor of Auvergne, who allo was well affected to the Momorancies, uled the same moderation, and made the fame 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 fuch commands, unless the King in perfon did command him.

Greater was the fury that did rage at Tholonfe: for news of what had been done at Paris being brought prid. Kal. VII br. which was the Lord's-day, upon which the Protefants went out of the City to Caffanetum to Sermon, firaitway the Gates were fhut up, and care was taken that no one should go out, but that whofoever would might come in. But many of those that had gone out would not return into + Podium Lau- the City, but went thence to + le Puy, St. 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 moleftation should be offered to the Protestants. The day following, Guards being fet at the Gates of the City, and in the Streets, those that were suspected are some of them distributed into Monasteries, others are caft into the common prifons; fome 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 prifon, where prefently in the night, by certain cut-throats cholen 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 barbaroufly flain, and among them fome Senators, and in the first place Foban-

August. 31.

rentii. \* Regium montem.

Fohannes Corafius : 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-Bilhop's houle,.

At the fame time, but with greater flaughter, were things carried at Rouen, where Tanaquilius 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 withftand the violence of the feditious, (and especially of those who, the year before, were, by the decree of the Judges, delegated from Paris, proferibed, 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 prifon, and afterwards 15 Kal. of VIII br. being called out one by one by the voice of Septemb. 17: the Cryer, were cruelly flain by those Émissaries, 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 fexes and all ages were flain, and their bodies being ftripped, were caft into the ditches ad Portam Caletenfem, and their garments all bloudy as they were, were diffributed among the poor, they feeking even by these murders to ingratiate themfelves with the people. This the Senate was in thew offen led 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 flipping 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 flain in those tumults + It was crethroughout the Kingdom, by feveral ways; though I believe dibly reported that there were the number was fomewhat lefs.

[In September, Caftres, a City in la Paix Albigeois, which fain above 40000 Huzowas held by the Protestants, when after great promises by the nots in a few King for their Safety, it was delivered into the hands of Creuseta days, faith Da one of the principal of the neighbouring Gentry, it mas by him vila, P. 376. cruelly plundered, and laid waste.

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[ In the beginning of October happened the Maffacre 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 perswaded Franciscus Banlo, a very rich Senator of Burdeaux that be should leave bis 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 Parifians they (bould 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, Orleance, and other places, be 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 busines, 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 Aughters, being admonished so to do, as is believed by Stozzins. who had a defign upon Rochel, or who did fear, left that should binder his attempts. But when as about that time Monpelatus came to Blaye, as though the fign for effusion of bloud had been given by his coming, certain men were flain in that Town. But when he arrived at Burdeaux, the people began to rage, and the feditious to run up and down. Enimundus thundered in his Preaching more than ever : at last, after some days private discourses of Monpelarus with Monferrandus, though it be uncertain whether bedid discourage or personade the thing, when Monpelatus mas departed, (who) a little while after died of a Bloudy Flux, V Non. VIII br. which fell upon a Friday, the Magistrates of the City, with their Off cers, as they were fent, came after dinner to the house of Monferrandus, bringing with them leved & impudently wicked men, who were drawn together by Petrus Leftonacus, and receiving the word of command from bim, they ran through the City to the flughter, being distinguished by their red Caps, a fign very agreeable to their bloudy design. They began with Joannes Guillochius, and Gul. Sevinus, Senators, who were both cruelly murdered

Octobr. 3.

murdered in their bouses, which were presently rifled. Also Bucherus the Senator, who had redeemed his life of Monferrandus for a great sum of mony, did hardly escape the danger, whole bouse was also plundered. Then promiscuous slaughters and rapines are committed for three days together throughout the City. wherein two hundred fixty four men are faid to be flain, and the Maffacre bad been much greater, had not the Caftle of Buccina and the other Castle of the City yielded an opportune place of refuge 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 guiet at Paris and at Court, where, by the Queens special command, and the diligence 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 bloudy a fact either in the Kingdom or with foreign Princes. Among those Commentaries which he did every day diligently write, which were afterwards deftroyed by the Queens command, there was a paffage in which he advifed the King that he fhould be sparing in affigning the hereditary portion, which they call Appennage, to his Brethren, and in giving them authority, which having read, and acquainting Alanfon with it, whom the had perceived to favour Coligny; This is your beloved cordial friend, faith the Queen, who thus advised the King. To whom Alanfon anfwered, '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, wherein, among other reafons that he gave for the necellity of a War with the Spaniards in the Low-Countreys, this was added, as being omitted in the Speech which he made to + v. Walfingthe King, left it fhould be divulged, and therefore was to be ham's Letter fecretly communicated to the King, that if the King did not 14 Septemb. accept of the condition that the Low Countreys offered, he 1572 in the should + not transfer it to his neighbours of England, who, Ambaffador, though they were now, as things flood, friends to the King, if p. 241.

once

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once they fet footing in the Low-Countreys and the Provinces bordering upon the Kingdom, would refume their former minds, and being invited by that conveniency, of friends would become the worft enemies to the King and Kingdom. Which being likewife imparted to Walfingham, Oueen Elizabeths Ambaffador, and the Queen telling him, that by that he might judge how well Coligny was affected towards the Oseen 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 Mistrefs; but this he knew, that that counfel did favour of one that was faithful "to the King, and most studious of the honour of France, and 'in whole death both the King and all France had a great · lofs. So both of them, by almost the fame answer, frustrated her womanish policy, not without shame unto her felf.

About the end of the month wherein Coligny was flain, the King fearing left the Protestants should grow desperate in other Provinces, writes to the Governors with most ample com-Carnii Comes. mands, and principally to Feliomrus Chabolius Prefident of Burgundy, in which he commanded that he fhould 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 laft 'Edict: but that he might prevent the confpiracy made by "Coligny and his confederates against the King, the O seen, "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 fecurity from the Prefidents, fhould 'live quietly and fafely under the King's protection, upon e pain of death to any that fhould injure or moleft them in any ' thing. On the other hand, he should admonish the Protestants 'that they thould keep themfelves quiet at home; and becaufe ' in their Meetings and publick Affemblies there used to be fuch Counfels among the Protestants as were fuspitious to Catho-

#### the Parisian Massacre.

'Catholicks, and which might put them upon new flirs, there-" fore, that they fhould abstain from those meetings, and ex-'pect the fame favour and fafety from the King's clemency 'and goodnels as he doth exercise towards others. But if ' they should foolishly neglect this advice, command and ' promife of the King, and should prefume to meet publickly, fir up troubles, and take up Arms under colour of their own ' defence, he would then proceed against them as against Re-To the fame effect were Letters fent to Melchior Mon-· bels. pesatus, Prefident of Poictou, Pria Prefident of Toures, and the Prefidents of other Provinces. Chabolins 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 bloud fhed in Burgundy; many returning either through fear, or of their own accord, to the Religion of their Ancestors, renouncing the Protestant Do-Ctrines. Only Claromontius Travius of the prime Nobility, whole Sister Helena Antonius Grammontanus had married, was, when the news was hot, flain at Dijon, in the absence of Chabotius, by the people. Those that were suspected as Mascon, being by the King's command apprehended and caft into prison by Philibertus, suffained no further damage.

30. So foul a tempeft in France being in fome fort allayed, and the liberty of killing and plundering repreffed, when the more prudent, that yet no way favoured the Proteftant party, did, upon the fad thought of the prefent flate of things, by little and little, come to themfelves, and abhorring the fact, did curioufly enquire into the caufes of it, and how it might be excufed, they thus judged, 'That no example of like ernelty '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 excufed by the fenfe of injury newly offered, or their 'rage did only exercife it felf upon those whom it was their 'intereft to remove out of the way. For fo by the command 'of Mithridater King of Pontus upon one meffage, and the fignifi-

#### The History of

The Sicilian Vefpers. ' fignification of one Letter 40000 Romans were flain in one ' day throughout all Afia. So Peter King of Arragon com-'manded 8000 French-men to be flain- in Sicily, who had · feized upon it in his absence : But their case was far different from this: For thole Kings exercifed their rage upon firan-'gers and foreigners, but this (King) upon his own fubjects, ' who were not more committed to his power than to his faith and truft. They were obliged no otherwife by their faith given than to the firangers themfelves, but be was bound in a late league with his neighbouring Kings and Princes, to keep that Peace which he had fworn to. They 'used no arts unworthy of royal dignity to deceive them, be, " for a fnare abused his new engaged friendship, and the facred 'Nuptials of his own Sifter, whole wedding garment was even stained with bloud. These are the vertues that use to <sup>c</sup> be commended in Kings, Justice, Gentlenefs and Clemeney; but favageness and cruelty, as in all others, so especially in <sup>6</sup> Princes use to be condemned. Famous through all ages was Publius Scipio, who was wont to fay he had rather fave one 6 Citizen, than flay a thousand enemies; and Antonius, who " was called the Pious, did often use that faying. Kings indeed have power of life and death over the Subjects of " their Realm, but with this limitation, that they should not <sup>c</sup> proceed against them till their cause was heard upon a fair " tryal. This rage and blindnefs of mind was fent by God "upon the French, as a judgment for the daily execrations and " reproaches of the Deity, from which the King himfelf, ill educated by his Mother, and by those Tutors that the ap-' pointed him, did not at all abstain; the example whereof <sup>e</sup> proceeding from the Court to the Cities, and from the Cities to the Country-Towns and Villages, they now at every " third word, fwore by the head, death, bloud, heart of God. "Moreover, the patience of God was even wearied with their "Whoredoms, Adulteries, and fuch lufts as are not fit to be fpoken. Laftly, nature it felf doth now exposulate as it "were with God for his fo long patience and forbearance, nor " could the Country of France any longer bear fuch prodigious wickednels. For as for the causes which are pretended 6 against

#### Of the Parisian Massacre.

against Coligny, they are feigned with fuch improbability. that they can hardly perfwade children, much lefs can they be proved. For how is it probable that Coligny should enter into fuch a confpiracy 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 promifes ought to be obferved, he came to the King guiltless, altogether abhorring a Civil War, and folicitous only about the Belgick War? But whereas they fay he confpired after he had received his wounds, this hath lefs colour of truth. For how could Coligny that ' was indifposed by two such wounds, now grown old, dif-'abled in both his arms, one of which the Phyfitians talked. of cutting off, rife with three hundred young men that attended him, against an Army of fixty thousand men, that bare him deadly hatred, and that were well appointed with · Arms? How could he in fo little time confult concerning fogreat and vaft a defign ? for he lived hardly forty hours afe ter he had received his wound, in which all conference was forbidden him by his Phyfitians. Then, had he been accufed of any crime, was he not committed to Coffenius and 'his guards, and the paffages being every where fecured, was 'he not in the King's power, that he might in a moment, if 'it had to pleafed the King, been thruft into prifon ? and wit-' neffes being prepared, after the manner of judicial proceed-'ings, might he not have been proceeded against in form of "Law? Moreover, if Coligni with his Dependents and Clients 'had confpired against the King, why must needs the rest that ' were innocent, fo many Noble Matrons and Virgins who ' came thither upon the account of the Marriage, fo many a e great-bellied women, fo many ancient perfons, fo many bedridden perfons of both Sexes and all professions, that were ' ignorant of these last counsels of Coligni, be comprehended ' in the fame guilt ? To whom doth it not feem abfurd and 'most ridiculous that Coligni should at so unseasonable a ' time confpire against Navar that professed the fame Religion with him, and whom he had in his power for four years

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' years together? Thus many did difcourfe, and fo 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 pofferity would never forget an act of fo great ' unworthinefs.

### Typographical Errors to be Corrected as followeth, in

He Hift. of the Maffacre: Pag. 5.1.1. Burleigh, 1.7. Cofmus, p. 7.1.4. compact, p. 8.1.10. when he, 1.36. Palace near the Louvre, p. 12.1. 1. receive, p. 13.1.28. Antonius Marafinus Guerchius (*without commas*), fo p. 14. 1. 2. Rochus Sorbaus Prunzus, 1.7. Armanus Claromontius Pilius, 1.8. Moninius, 1.26. racker, p. 18.1.7. your Kingdom, p 21.1.9. as he did, p. 28.1. 17. Coffenius, 1.36. Atinius, I. 37. Sarlaboux, p. 29.1. 5. Merlin the Minifter, Coffenius, 1.36. Atinius, I. 37. Sarlaboux, p. 29.1. 5. Merlin the Minifter, Coffenius, 1.36. Atinius, I. 37. Sarlaboux, p. 29.1. 5. Merlin the Minifter, Coliguy, p. 32.1. 22. Claromontius Marqueis of Rencl, p. 34.1. 19. Caumontius, p. 35.1. 25. Montalbertus Roboreus, Joach. Vafforius Cunerius, Rupius, Columbarius, Velavaurius, Gervafius Barberius Francurius, p. 36.1. 15. Armanus Claromontius Pilius, 1.2. Bellovarius, 1.36. Durfortius Duracius, 1.37. Gomacius & Buchavanius, p. 40.1. 36. Perionius, p.41.1. 13. Languages, who had private feuds and contentions with Carpentar, 82.1. 22. to thofe, 1.30. Roliardus, p. 43. 1.2. Sancomontius Sauromanius, 1.3. Bricomotius, p. 53.1.31. Meletinus, p. 57. 1.17. Arles, where, 1.36. Iufpition of poifon given, p. 58.1. 2. Mombrunius, p. 62.1.20. Helionorus Chabotius, p. 63.1.11. Chabotius.

The Hift. of the Powder-Plot: Pag. 8. 1. 27. Harrington, p. 14. 1. 30. deteft, p. 15 1. 21. for wikes, r. de Vie, p. 16. in marg. So on the, p. 22. 1. 27. dele Book entituled, 1. 29. for Provincial, r. Father General.

returned in the solution whom which in the new works

## A TRUE NARRATION

Of that Horrible CONSPIRACY

AGAINST

# King JAMES

And the whole PARLIAMENT

OF

# ENGLAND,

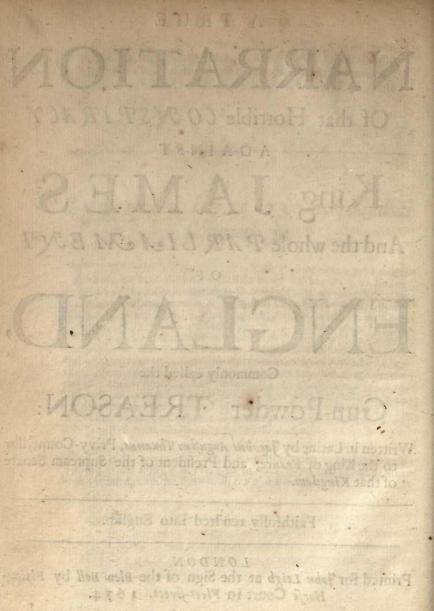
Commonly called the

## Gun-Powder TREASON:

Written in Latine by Jacobus Angustus Thuanus, Privy-Councillor to the King of France; and Prefident of the Supream Senate, of that Kingdom.

Faithfully rendred into English.

LONDON, Printed for John Leigh at the Sign of the Blew Bell by Flying-Horse Court in Fleet-street. 1674.





The History of the Powder-Plot, Translated out of Thuanus, lib. 135.

CIDIOCV.



Ow shall we in a contiued Relation declare that Horrid, and by all Parties juftly \* detefted Confpiracy entred into aagainst the King of Great Britain; which being difcovered about the end of this year [1605] was in the next year suppressed by

\* So detestable it seems it was to some of the Students of the English Colledge at Rome, that being informed of the discovery of the Plot, Sixteen of them (abborring such jugling and bloody Defigns) for look the Colledge, Ript into France, fome of

fulted,

the Death of the Confpirators. them turning to the Church of England, whither they came. Foulis, Hift. of Popifh Treasons, li. 10.c.2. p. 692.

To the Petition for Liberty of Confcience made by the Papifts in the former Seffion of Parliament, and rejected by the King, there was a rumour there would be another preferred at the next Sellions, (which had been now often deferred) which thould be in no danger of being denyed as the former. but thould carry with it a neceffity 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 wayes suspicious King, fearing nothing worfe, did make it their business to avoid such Petitions, and that necessity that did attend them. But among the Conspirators it was con-

fulted, not, how they might obtain the Kings favour, which they now defpaired of; but how they might revenge that repulfe, 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 confettions, Robert Winner (to whom Ofwald Tesmond alias Greenwell, of the Society of the Jesuits joyned himself as his Companion) was by the advice of Hen. Garnet, Provincial or Superiour of the faid Society in England (Robere Catefby and Francis Tresham of the Gentry, initigating) privately sent into Spain, in the name of the Catholicks, with Letters Commendatory to Arthur Cressell of the society living in Spain, and with Commands to the King; of which this was the fumme.

That he fhould forthwith fend an Army into England, for which the Catholicks would be ready in Arms as foon as it came over. In the mean while that he fhould affign yearly Penfions to fome Catholick Gentlemen. Furthermore, that he fhould infinuate it to the King, that there were fome Gentlemen and Military perfons that were aggrieved at the Prefent flate of things, whom he might eafily draw to his Part, by relieving their neceflities. And whereas the greateft difficulty, after the Landing fuch an Army, would be for fupply of Horfes; they in England would take care to have Two thouland Horfes ready provided upon all occafions.

This thing was fecretly transacted by the Mediation of Crefwell with Petrus Frances 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 affistance : that it was also agreed among them of the Place of Landing. For if the forces were great, then Kent and Effex would be most commodious for their Landing; if less, Milford in Wales; and that King Philip had promifed by Count Miranda toward that Expedition Ten hundred thousand Crowns. Stored with these promises, Winter returns into England, and acquaints Garnet, Catesby, and Tressam what he had done.

Dec. 1601. Mandatis.

2 ..

Decies centena ameorum CID.

Thefe

These things were transacted under O Elizabeth : who dying about this time, Christopher Wright who was privy to these Matters, is speedily fent into Spain, who bringing the News Mar. 1603. of the Queens Death, preffeth the bufiness of the Pensions and Sir will. Stanly. the Expedition. With him was fent from Bruxells by William Stanly, Hugh Owen, and Balduinus, (one of the Society of the Jesnits ) Guido Famkes, with Letters to Creswell that he 22 Jun. 1602. thould speed the business. To him was given in Command, that he fhould fignifie 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 thould by no means desift from fo laudable an Enterprize. That Milford lay open for an easie Landing to Spinola.

But the flate of things was changed by the death of the Queen, and King Philip returned an Anfwer worthy of a King, that he could no longer attend to their Peritions, for that he had fent Ambaffadors into England, to treat of Peace with the new King. and an and i gurant the naresh die O

Therefore despairing of their defign as to King Philip, the Confpirators fly to their last and desperate Counfels, and in the full place they make it their businels to fatisfie their Confciences, and that being done, they confirm their refolutions 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 ipfo jure separated from communion of the Faithful, are every year on Holy Thur/day, excommunicated Cana Domini. by the Pope. And this holdeth not only in Profeffed Hereticks, but in those that are covertly such , because being reputed ipfo fure Excommunicate they do incur the (fame) Penalties, which are ipfo facto' deferved by profeffed Hereticks. From thence it follows, that Kings and other Christian 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 fhould be reconciled to the Church. When it is faid that the Church, the Common Mother of all, doth thut her bosome against none that B 2 return

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return to her, this is to be underflood with a diffinction, 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 Succeffion in the Kingdom. For Herefie is a Leprofie, and an Hereditary Difease : and to speak more plainly, he loseth his Kingdom that deferteth the *Roman* Religion : he is to be accurfed, abdicated, proferibed; neither is he, nor any of his Posterity to be reftored to the Kingdom : as to his Soul, he may be absolved by the Pope only.

Thinking themfelves abundantly fecured within by thefe reafonings, they begin to feek outward firengthenings to their Confpiracy : and chiefly Secrefie, which they fealed by Confeffion, and the receiving of the Sacrament. To this end there was an Oatb drawn up amongst them, in which they did engage their Faith by the H. Trinity and the Sacrament, which they were prefently to receive, that they would neither directly nor indirectly by word or circumftance difcover the Plot now to be communicated to them, nor would they defift from profecuting it, unless allowed by their Affociates.

Thus being encouraged by the Authority of their Divines, they betake themfelves 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 aforementioned Fawkes called out of Flanders.

Catesby, the Author of this Tragedy, thought it not enough that this, or that, or any fingle perfon should be aimed at, but that all, together, and at the same time, should be comprehended in this Confpiracy.

11 1100 . 110

May, 1604.

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For so he reasoned with himself.

The King himfelf might many wayes be taken away, but this would be nothing as long as the Prince and the Duke of *Tork* were alive: again, if they were removed, yet this would advantage nothing folong as there remained a Parliament, fo vigilant, fo circumspect to whatever might happen : or if the Parliament could or the chief Members of it, could be defiroyed, there would remain fill the Peers of the Realm; fo many Prudent Perfons, fo many powerful Earls, addicted to that Party, whom they could hardly refift, and who by their Authority, Wealth and Dependants, would be able, if occasion fhould be, to reflore things to their former flate. Therefore not by delayes, but at one blow all were to be fwallowed up, and fo laudable an Atchievement 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 Councel, 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 Counfel do meet together.

Here Cates by thought a convenient place to execute his fo long fludied and digefted Plot : and having made a Vault, and floring 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 thefe words, 'That there was only one way left to be 'delivered from fo 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, faid he, that this Head of thine.fo 'dear.

<sup>c</sup> dear to all good men thould be fo fruitlefly exposed to fuch <sup>c</sup> danger. The butinefs may be undertaken and accomplifhed, <sup>c</sup> yet fo s that you and fuch as you are may full be prefer-<sup>c</sup> ved for further confulting for Religion and the Publick <sup>c</sup> weal.

Then he opens his defign in very plaufible words, and with like Artifice fhews him the manner how it was to be effected. *Piercy* agrees, and prefently 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, Cateshy's Servant, a dextrous Fellow, and one in whom his Mafter did much confide, being, leaft he fhould fufpedt any thing, taken into the privity of the Fadt, when at first he feemed to be moved at the horridnefs of the thing, he is fent to Tefmund alias Greenwell, (for those men, that they might the better be undifcovered, went under two Names, fometimes under three) by whom he was perfwaded, and ftrangely confirmed to the Execution of the defign, being made fentible of the Meritoriousinefs of the work. Afterwards Robert Keyes, and after him Ambrofe Rockwood, and John Grant, were taken into the Plot. III Eid. Xbr. the Vault was begun, Chriftopher Witthie, 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 arifeth from the hardness of the Wall, and the thickness of three Ells; fo that under a long time the work could not be finished, and there were now but a few dayes to the fitting of the Parliament.

And now the pertinacious indufiry of the Workmen had almost beat its way through the middle of the Wall, and they feemed not fo much to want good minds (to the work) as time, when as the Parliament was put off till the Month of October. Then was Defpair turned into Joy, with certain confidence that they should effect their defign : and it was obferved that whiles they briskly beat upon the Wall, there was a noise heard upon the other fide of the Wall. Thither Fawks is fent to enquire out the cause. He brings word back that there

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Dec. II.

there was a Cellar under Ground, from whence they were removing Cole, he beinft lately Dead who had hired that Cellar for his own ufc. Therefore the Confpirators thinking that Cellar more commodious, by the help of Piercy, let out their other Houfes, and bring all their Materials & hopesinto this. Such was the opportunenels of the place (for it was almost directly under the Royal Throne) that fo feasonable an accident did make them perfwade themfelves, that God did by a fecret Conduct favour their Attempt. These things happened about the Feast of Easter. The Gun-powder is at their leifure carried into the Cellar from Catesby's House over against the Palace, where it had been with great care and diligence brought together; Firft, Twenty Barrels are layed in and covered with Billets and Faggots.

Then the Confpirators being fure of the good event, began to confult what was to be done after they had effected their Plot: First, they confider'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 fufficiently provided. They had alfo provided that the Peers and Gentry addicied to Popery, fhould, as much as might be, be exempt from danger. Laftly, they debated concerning calling in Forreign Princes to their affiftance; but being doubtful of their faith and fecrefie, they thought fit not to fend to them till they had accomplified their defign; for commonly fuch Actions are not commended but by their Event.

They paffed their Judgments upon them feverally, the Spaniards feemed to be more opportune for them, but too remote, and too flow in raifing Forces. The French was near, but fearful and fulpected for the clofe league he held with the Dutch. The most prefent help was from Flanders, from whence they might most commodioufly expect Supplies; for which Stanly was defigned the Captain or Commander,

Moreover,

Moreover, that they might the more cafily deceive the world, and leaft by their patting to and fro to those places they fhould give fome cause of Sulpition, they go their feveral wayes; fome into the Countrey, some a great way out of the Island, waiting for the time appointed for the Execution. Farks 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 Angust.

Catesby, that he might not be idle in the mean time, gets Francis Trefham and Everard Digby to his Party, agreeing with them for Supply of Money, and the former promifd Two thousand pounds of English Money, the other Fifteen hundred. Piercy, that was prodigal at another mans charge, promifed what foever he could for ape 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 reft, upon fulpition, leaft by the moifinefs of the place, the former fhould have been fpoiled; and again, they are all covered over with a great heap of flones and wood

And now the time of the Parliaments convening drew on, which was again put off till the Nones of November. Therefore the Confpirators did again repeat their confultation, and fome were appointed who, on the fame day that the Enterprize was to be Executed, fhould feize upon the Lady Elizabeth (the Kings eldeft Daughter, who was brought up under the Lord Farrington in Warwick fhire) under pretence of an Hunting Match, which Everard Digby, who was privy to the matter, had appointed with great preparation at Dunchurch. Her they decreed publickly to Proclaim Queen.

They taking to themfelves the Titles of the Affertors of liberty, did nothing lefs at first than profess themfelves the when the blow was first given People, but purposed to hold that in sufpense for some time, --but the fuces and by a Proclamation published in the Queens name to redress thereof doubtful, great grievances for the present, and feed them with hopes of to father thefatt more for the future, till the Faction growing strong, either by on the Puritans. favour or severity of new Edicts, they might draw the People lis, p. 690.

5 Nov.

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to their Parts and Obedience; and the odious fuels of their fact fo by degrees difcovering it felf would in time, and together with their good fuccels grow off.

Nor came it in fo 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 deferved well of them that vaft ruine would over-whelm.

Now all things are ready, and the laft Scene was going to be Acted, when as by the unfearchable Judgment of God, one who defired to fave another, brought defiruction both to himfelf and his Affociates.

There were ten dayes 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 dayes of the Seffion; forafmuch as fome great, and fudden, and unfulpedted milchief did threaten that Meeting.

The hand of him that wrote it was unknown, and the writing it felf purpofely fo ordered, that it could hardly be read. No date to the Letter, no fubfcription, no infcription put to it, and the whole composure of words ambiguous.

The Lord Monteagle was doubtful what he fhould do; therefore late in the night he goeth to Robert Cecil Earl of Salinbury, 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 fhewed it to the chief Councellors, Charles Howard, Chief Admiral of the Seas, the Earl of Nottingham, to the Earls of Worcefter, and Northampton.

The thing being confidered of amongst them, although at first fight 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 Royfon, to Hunt. It feemed good to them to determine nothing before they had confulted the King. For they faid that they had oftentimes experienced the quick apprehension, and happy conjecture of the King in unriddleing things that were liable to greatest doubtfulnes.

Upon the Calends of November, the King returned to the City, and forth with Cecil taking him afide, unfolds the matter, and thews him the Letter, which it feems worth while to infert here for the perpetual remembrance of it; forafmuch as not without caufe it afforded fuch matter of difpute between him and his Councellors.

<sup>c</sup> The love which I bear to fome of your Friends makes <sup>c</sup> me careful for your fafety. Wherefore I advife you, as you <sup>c</sup> love your life, that you would invent fome excufe for your <sup>c</sup> ablence from the Parliament. For God and Men, as it were <sup>c</sup> by agreement do haften to punifh the wickednefs of this <sup>c</sup> Agt. Do not make light of this warning, but depart as foon <sup>c</sup> as you can into your own Countrey, where you may fecurely <sup>c</sup> expect the event. For although no figns of troubles do <sup>c</sup> appear, yet I admonifh you, that that meeting fhall receive <sup>c</sup> a terrible blow, and fhall not fee who fmiteth them. Do not <sup>c</sup> defpife this difcovery, it may be profitable to you, it cannot <sup>c</sup> hurt you. For the danger is over as foon as you have burnt <sup>c</sup> this Letter. I hope by the grace of God you will make good <sup>c</sup> ufe of this Counfell, to whole protection I commend you.

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

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

On the other fide the King, in whofe breast the first sufpition had now taken deep root, urged the foregoing words, That affembly shall receive a terrible blow, and shall not fee who similarly

fmitterb them. And whiles walking in the Gallery he deeply thought of thefe things from one particular to another, it came into his mind that a fudden blow by Gun-powder was intended by those words : For what more fudden then a blow by Gun-powder?

Thus the King and Salisbury to broke off their difcourfe, that the King did throngly perfevere in his conjecture. Salisbury to free the Kings mind from fears and cares feemed in his prefence to make light of this notice given; but in the mean time admiring within himfelf the Kings uncouth and unufual interpretation, and to prefently fulpecting it, did conclude, that it was not lightly to be regarded.

The next day the thing being again confidered of by the King, and His Counfellors, it feemed good that the Palace with the places near adjoyning, fhould be diligently fearched, and that bulinefs was alligned to the Lord Chamberlain, who upon the Monday which preceded the Parliament, about the Evening, that he might give no occafion of Rumours, goes with the Lord Monteagle to those places : entring 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 boufes being there prefent, he was Wardrobe. asked for what use they were brought in thither ? they underflood that the house was hired by Percy, and that heap was brought in by him.

Moreover the Chamberlain foying Fawks flanding in a corner of the Cellar, asked who he was, and what bufinels he had there? Who answered, that he was the Domeflick 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 feen, and conjecturing worfe things then formerly they had done. For it came into Monteagles mind upon the mention of Percy, that he was highly addicted to the Popilh 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 fulpition.

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

Percy,

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Percy, where he feldom refided, was not brought in thither to no purpofe, and that that Servant of Percy whom he faw in the Cellar, looked like a desperate, wicked Knave.

All which things did increase the Kings suspination, who would have that Vault further fearched again; but least if nothing were found, the Counsellors should make themselves ridiculous to the People, as if they were asraid of every light report; and moreover, fearing, least whiles they appeared to suspect Perey, who was allied in Blood to the chiefest Peers of the Realm, they should feem to suspect the Earl of Northumberland himself: yet when the fastery 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, Juffice of Peace for Wessminster, that in the dead of the Night he should go with a convenient company to that house, and should rake Wineard a long with him, under pretence that he had loss fome Hangings and Tapestry.

Thither Sir Tho. Knevet going, finds Fawks, Percy's Domeflick Servant, who under a feigned name called himfelf John Johnson, before the House booted and habited for a Journey; and he gives command prefently 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 felf, and asterward 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 cafe being now defperate, he of his own accord confeffed the Crime, and with an unappalled countenance (as he was a man of a refolute mind to undertake any defperate attempt) he added, that it was well for them that they found him before the houfe, now lately come out of the Cellar, in which all things were ready : for if they had found him within, he would not have flood to have buried himfelf and them together, by putting fire to the Train.

Knevet

Knever having discovered the matter, returns forthwith rejoicing to the Palace, about Four a Clock in the Morning, and acquaints Saliabury and the Lord Chamberlain; who prefently with a noise ruth into the Kings Bed Chamber, and tell him the Treason was detected, and they had the Author of it in Cuftody 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 fome this way, some that way, and meet together at Holbech at the house of Stephen Littleton, in the borders of Staffordspire.

Thither came those that were privy to the Conspiracy out of Warwick shire and Worcester-shire; although they were ignorant of the discovery of the Plot, having taken away by force from Gentlemens houles their Warr-hoss; 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 trufted that great numbers of Men, and a confiderable Army would flock into them, as foon as they fhould appear in Arms. But the Lieutenants and Sheriffs being before, while the Treafon was only fulpected, Commanded by the King to ride about their Counties, their attempts were all made void, and fcarcely an Hundred of all that number appeared in Arms. And they were encompaffed by *Richard Walfb*, High Sheriff of the County of *Wor*eeffer, who came upon them unexpectedly with a firong power of Men, fo that they could not efcape.

When despairing of Pardon, and their troubled Confeiences 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 fuddenly burnt the Faces, Sides, Arms, Hands of the Befieged, that they were rendered unable to handle their Arms, and so lost their firength and courage together.

Catesby and Percy, that were most active, together with Tho. Winter, while they betake themfelves 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 the

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the Wrights were flain; Grant, Digby, Rockwood, and Bates were taken Prifoners. Trefham whiles thifting his Lodgings in London, he fometime efcaped, yet at laft was taken. Robert Winter and Littleton a long time wandring up and down the Woods, at laft 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 feverally diffeovered the whole feries of the matter as we have before recounted, and taxed none in Holy Orders, which many looked upon as purpofely avoided, becaufe they were bound by Oath not to do it. When as Francis Trefbam had before he dyed in Prifon of his own accord nominated Henry Garnet, being admonifhed thereof by his Wife he wrote a Letter to the Earl of Salisbury, and excufing his too rafh confeffion, he fo difebarged Garnet as much as in him lay by a folemn adjuration interpofed, that he did entangle himt felf in a notorious lye, affirming that he had not feen Garnet

+ He took it term in a notonous type, animiting + that the had not term ourmet apon his Salva- of fixteen years; when as it did appear afterward by the contion, even in feffion of Garnet + that they had often and for a long time articulo mor- together conversed one with another, before the fix Moneths tis, (a lamentable thing) for last past.

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 bouse three or four times since the Kings coming in; and that they were at Erich together the lass Summer, and that Garnet and she were not long since with Mr. Tresham at his bousse in Northampton-shire, and flayed there. Proceedings, ibid.

CIDIDCVI. Digby confeffing the matter as it was in truth endeavoured the fought to to excuse the horridness of the Fact, which he acknowledged clear all the fe- and feemed to detect, by the desperateness of their condition : fuits of those For being made to hope that the new King, upon his coming to they themselves the Kingdom, would indulge liberty of Confeience to those of the bave now con-Popith Religion, and would permit the exercise thereof with fession erettriction; This being denyed, it drove those miserable proprio. Promen unadvifedly to permicious Counfele.

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

Here the Earl of Northampton and Cecil, (who together with the Earl of Nottingham, Suffalk, Worcefter. and Devonshire, did fit 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 perfons 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 raifed 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, Ambrofe Rockwood, Robert Keies, and Guido Fawks, who confessed that they had wrought in the Vault, were Executed at Westmonoster in the Old Palace yard near the Parliament house.

Upon this many, who for this caufe were banifhed, or of their own accord changed their Native Soil, were most courteoufly received at Calice, by Dominick Wikes, the Governour Vicusthere; for fo the King commanded.

Of whom one was of fuch a perverse mind that when Wikes did shew himfelf 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, faith 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 wholsom a defign to perfection.

Which as foon 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 fo I remember I have heard Vicus often fay, 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 The Plot being discovered, the Parliament among publick rejoycings was held with great fecurity. To whom the King made a most weighty Oration, and set forth the inexpressible Mercy of God over all his works, towards Humfelf, his Family, and His whole Kingdom, largely aggravating the thing from its several circumstances. This temperament being \* with great

\* And this con- Jultice added, That he did not fay, All that were addicted to the elufion with no Romifh Religion were to be included as guilty of this Crime: as upon the for that there were many among them, who although they are one part many involved in Popifh Errors (fo be called them) yet had they not loft honeft men, their true Loyalty to Princes, but did obferve the Duty both of a feduced with Christian man, and of a good Subject ; and that he in return had fome errors of Christian man, and of them : and that he thought the Severity of the yet remaine Puritans was worthy of flames, who deny that any Papift can be good & faith-received into Heaven.

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 faid 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 likewife was worthy the Wifdom 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 fhould be made of this Confpiracy in Parliament, every one fhould fpeak and think honourably of them. Which thing was done for the refpect that he bore to the Spaniards, with whom defiring 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 fulpicious 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,

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that his People might behold the most secret recesses of his beart.

But when he judged it might conduce much to Example and Publick Security, that he thould feverely punifh the Authors of 6 horrid a Crime, and becaufe there was a fulpition arifing from Letters, Confeffions and Proofs made, that Gerard alias Brek, Hen. Garnet, Ofwald Tefmond alias Greenwell, were either privy to, or promoters of this Confpiracy; therefore upon the XVIII. of the Kalends of February, a Proclamation 14 Jan. is publifhed against them, and a reward proposed to him that thould difcover and bring them to their Tryal, as alfo a Penalty added against those who after the publifhing of this Proclamation thould entertain, nourifh, conceal, or be any way aiding the perfons named in that Proclamation, or fhould at all indeavour that those who are accused of this horrid Crime should not be found out and apprehended.

In order hereunto diligent fearch is made, and firict enquiry after them, who concealed themfelves; at length Hen. Garnet and ————Hall and Garnets Servant were taken in the houfe of Abington a Papilt, and fent to London, and caft into the Tower. The wretched Servant for fear leaft he fhould be forced by torments to accufe his Mafter, or defpairing upon fome other account, did lay violent hands upon himfelf in the Prifon, and with a blunt knife (for he was not permitted to have a keen one by him) he cut up bis 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 himfelf afterward confessed.

At first he denyed 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, refolves 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 fecretly imploys a man, who by deep groans, and frequent complaints against the King, and his Counsellors,

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and the deplorable condition of the Catholicks in England, did in the end perfwade Garnet that he was Popifhly enclined, and fo crept into intimate familiarity with him. This man he fends with a Letter to a Gentlewoman, that was Imprifoned for her Religion, who kept her family at Whitweb and other places, and received with great hofpitality 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 likewife to Rookmood the Prieft, who was Prifoner in another Prifon, and wrote his Letter with Ink in the middle, about fome familiar matters that any one might read, but left broad Margents on both fides, which he filled with his Secrets, written with the juice of an Orange, denying all whatfoever he had confeffed before the Lords. As to the Spaniff Expedition, he faid he had obtained the Kings Pardon. As to this laft Confpiracy he fhould avoid Judgment, becaufe he knew they could make no fufficient proofs againft him. But however it went, he added, having too high an opinion of himfelf, that which was fpoken of the only Redeemer of the world, It would be neceffary that one man fhould die for the People.

The Letter was by the Kings Councellors, who finelt out the cunning, held to the fire, and prefently the writing appear'd, and the fraud was difcovered.

He being every day more and more confident of his inftructed Keeper, told him he did exceedingly defire to have fome conference with Hall, his Companion. He promifed to bring it about, and brought both of them to a place where they might eafily hear one another, and where he himfelf to avoid all fufpition might be feen by them both. In the mean time, be placed two men of known credit near the place who (they knowing no fuch thing, and minding only the return of their Keeper who was gone abroad) might hear whatfoever paffed between them. There each of them freely difcover'd what they had confeffed, what they had been Examined about, what excufes and evafions (for thefe were their words) they had

had prepared for every particular, and many other fuch things, which being carefully taken, were delivered to the Counfel in writing. The next day (the Prifoners fuspecting no fuch 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 + fifly + upon his Sonl. denyed it, and forlwore it upon the word of a Frieft.

At last, Hall having confessed the Fact, and he finding that with fo many there was no avoiding it, begged Pardon for his contrary affe- deteftable exeveration which he fought to elevate by a forced Interpretation wounded the or Equivocation. And professing that he would speak the Lords bearts to truth ingenuously, He answered, that be had bitherso fo con-bear him. Prostantly denyed it, because he knew that no man (living) but one, (be meant Greenwell, could accuse him as guilty of the late Fact. But now that be faw himself encompassed with such a cloud of witneffes, he would no longer diffemble, 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 be, who had a contrary command from the Pope, that he should not engage in any Conspiracy refused to bear 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 elfe when be did fo, but only prayed God that in the next Parliament no grievous Lawes might be made against she Recu-Sants : To 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 <sup>26</sup> Mar. is arraigned at the Publick Tribunal in London:<sup>4</sup> [Guild Hall.] \* The reason whereof the Earl

Here the Crimes are layed to the charge of the Pritoner, by of Salisbury de-Sir John Crook, which are afterwards enlarged on in a long clared at bis Speech by Sir Edward Cook, the Kings Attorney General. Tryal. See the Then Proceedings,Y

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reiterating it ceedings, Y 3.

Then after Garnet had faid fomething for himfelf, and especially fomething concerning Equivocation, he was Examined by Cecil and others, that fate as Judges in that cafe. 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 discuffed that Chapter of Nos fanctorum, the ground, as he faid, of this and such like Confpiracies.

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

His Plea for himfelf was only this, that although he did a long time before know of the Confpiracy, by common fame and Rumours, (for Greenwell only informed him of all the particulars; but under the Seal of Confeffion, by the Laws of which he was forbidden to difcover it to any man living): yet that he did admonifh Greenwell to defift from the Fact which he did very much difapprove of, and to hinder others engaged in Confcience or privity in it.

Here Cecill feverely reproved bim; 'For, faid he, if he did 'difapprove of the Fact, why did he afford Greenwell the be-'nefit of Abfolution before he had by his penitence given tefti-'mony that he did truly and from his heart deteft the Fact? 'Furthermore, when as he underflood the matter from Catesby, 'where there was no Seal of Confellion, this was fufficient to 'have made a difcovery of the Plot if he had fo highly abhorred 'it as he did pretend.

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

'That Catesby and Greenwell came to him to require his 'advice upon the matter, and that the whole bufinefs might 'be refolved among them. That Tefmund ( for fo he was. 'now called, who e'rewhile was Greenwell) and he, did not 'long agone confult together in Effex of the Particulars of this 'Confpiracy.

\*Confpiracy. 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 then by the way of Consession, all that he answered was, that what so were head figned with his own hand, was true.

Being brought to Execution the Third of May being Inventio crucis [Holy rood day] he faid, 'he came thither that day to 'find an end at length of all the croffes that he had born in this 'life; that none were ignorant of the caufe of his punifiment; 'that he had finned against the King in concealing it; that he 'was forry 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 fo horrid and inhumane a Fact should be 'attempted by Catholicks, was that that grieved him more 'then his death. Then he added many things in defence of Anne Vanx, who was held in Prison, and lay under great sufficient tion upon his account.

Being accufed that he had while Q. Eliz. was alive received certain Breves from Rome, in which he and the Peers v. Proceedings, inclined to Popery were admontified, that when that miferable 3. Woman should bappen to die, they should admit of no Prince, how nearly sever related in blood, but fuch as should not only tolerate the Catholick Faith, but by all means promote it; he faid, he had burnt them, the King being received for King. And when he was again Examined upon the fame things, he referred Henry Montacute who asked him about it, to his Con-The Recorder of London.

Being taxed for fending Edmund Bainbam to Rome, not toreturn to the City before the Plot Should take effect; This he thus exculed, 'as if he had not fent him upon that account; but 'that he might inform the Pope of the calamitous flate of Eng-'land, and confult with him what courfe the Catholicks flould -' take; and therefore referred them again to his Confeffions.

Then he kneeled down upon the Stage to bis Prayers, and looking about hither and thither, did feem to be diffreffed for the lofs of his life, and to hope a Pardon would be brought him from the most merciful Prince : Montacute admonished him that he flould no longer think of life, but if he knew of any Treachery against the King or Kingdom, that he should as a dying man prefently difcover it; for that it was now no time to Equivocate. At which words Garnet being fomewhat moved, made answer, 'that he knew the time did not admit of Equivocation; that how far and when it is lawful to Equi-'vocate he had otherwhere delivered his opinion, that now he ' did not equivocate, and that he knew nothing but what he had confessed. Then he excufed himself that he did at first diffemble before the Lords; 'That he did so because he did not think they had had fuch teftimony 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 himfelf. 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

\* He faid alfo. to take beed they enter not into any Trealogia, edit.

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' dear Brother in this Conspiracy. Then praying that the \* Catholicks in England might not fare the worfe upon his ac-Iexhortthem all count, he croffed himfelf, and after he had commended his Soul to God, the Ladder being taken away, he was hang'd to death. In his behalf Andreas Eudaimon-Johannes a Cretian, of the lons, Rebellions, fame Society, wrote an + Apology, in answer to Sir Edw. Cokes or Infurrettions (Book Intituled) Actio in Proditores, (for so much the Title against theking. doth imply) published four years after, and approved by Against which Claudins Aquaviva Provincial of the Society, in which chiefly perote bis Anti- the Doctrine of Equivocation is defended and explained from Scripture, Fathers, Schoolmen, and Thomifts; and the ne-Lond. 1613. 4. cellity and matter of the Seal of Secrefie or Confession is debated.

and the chief beads 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 Treafon.

Then fome things are related of his Conftancy at his Death, which are not related in the Hiftory of it. And as a conclufion of his Commentary, there is the memorable Story of the Straw upon which the Effigies of the Dead was leen, at which he faith his Adverfaries were very much diffurbed.

Whiles the Body was quartered by the Hangman, fome drops of blood fell upon the Straw that was there provided to light the fire. John Wilkinfon who was there prefent, that he might gather fome relique of the Body of Garnet, carried home with him in Ear, that was for inkled with blood, and deposited it with a Gentlewoman, who kept it with great veneration in Hu. Griffich's a Christal-glass. Afterward it was observed with great admi- wife. ration, that the Effigies of Garnet was plainly expressed in that blood.

Then with great Zeal was the fame of the Miracle fpread abroad; which others did prefently elude by a contrary conflruction; faying, 'It ought to feem no wonder if a man 'brought up among Exiles in *Flanders*, improved at *Rome* in 'Italy, authorized to a Confpiracy in his own Countrey, and 'breathing nothing but revenge, did as long as he lived thirft 'after the blood of his Countreymen, fhould when dead deferve 'to be pictured in blood. So dangerous a thing it is in thefe corrupt times to fay any thing for the honour of any man in those things which do exceed belief and the common course of Nature, which may not prefently be retorted to his difparagement.

This end had this Confpiracy; the ftrangeft that either our, or former ages do make mention of, for contrivance, daringnefs, or cruelty. For it is often heard of, and fame doth deliver it down to pofterity, that many Princes are cut off by Treachery, many Common-wealths are attempted by the fnares and falthood of their Enemies; But no Countrey, no Age ever bred fuch a Monfter of Confpiracy as this, wherein the King with the Queen, the Parents with their whole Iffae, all the States of the Kingdom, the whole Kingdom it felf, and in it innumerable Innocents fhould all be defined to one Deftruction in one moment, for a Sacrifice to the luft of a few enraged Minds.

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But it was very well, that that Monster, which they themfelves 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 fee the light.

A little while after, *Ifaae Cafaubon* when he went into England, thinking of nothing lefs than to be engaged in this bulinefs, upon occafion of another Apology fent to him, and by him delivered to the King of Great Britain, wrote an Elegant Epiftle to Fronto. Ducaus, in which he fleweth, that Garnet knew otherwife then under the Seal of Confession of the Powder Confpiracy, by his own Confession and Testimony written with his own hand, and doth at large discuss the Doctrine of Equivocation, as enfnaring and pernicious, against the Arguments of Eudaimon-Johannes. Against which, not Duceus, but Eudaimon-Johannes doth rail sufficiently.

FINIS.

## DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE ORIGINAL

POVVDER-PLOT:

Together with a Relation of the CONSPIRACIES AGAINST Queen Elizabeth

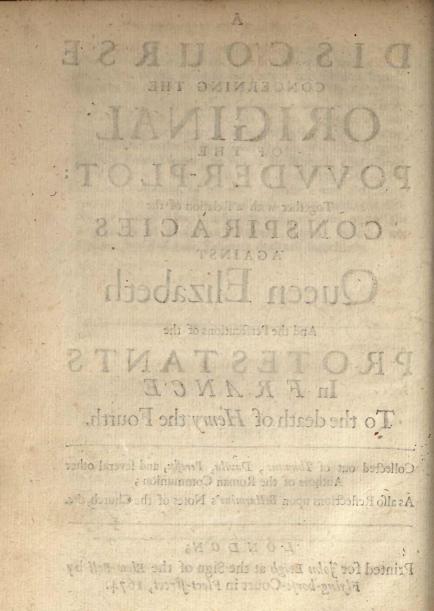
And the Perfecutions of the

PROTESTANTS In F R A N C ETo the death of Henry the Fourth.

Collected out of *Thuanus*, *Davila*, *Perefix*, and feveral other Authors of the Roman Communion; As alfo Reflections upon *Bellarmine*'s Notes of the Church, *Ge*.

LONDON;

Printed for John Leigh at the Sign of the Blew-Bell by Flying-horfe-Court in Fleet-street, 1674.



# READER.

To the Reade

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

THE Narration of the Gun-powder Treason by Thuanus being commended to me, after I bad look d into it, I perfmaded a friend to translate it into English, which being done, I gave it to the Book-feller to print, and for a Preface to it prote 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 paffage of Del Rio briefly cited in a Book lately printed, and perusing the Jame more at large in Del Rio himself, I thought it worthy of further confideration; 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 enfuing 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 COMBINA-TION 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 them 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 preferving that bleffed Queen from fo many and fo various attempts against ber, and in my turning over of Thuanus for the Story of the Combination having perceived something of the unhappy A 2 illuc

#### To the Reader.

issue of her Neighbours Persecutions of the Professors of that Reformed Religion which the happily established and defended, I began to perceive something of that DISTINGUISHING PROVIDENCE, which is very Observable and Remarkable in the enfining part of the Discourse to Sect. 61. Wherefore having curforily run over some of the principal parts of that Story, and (atisfied my (elf that it would make good what I undertook, I thought it an unworthy piece of laziness or negligence not to add that part alfo, fo pertinent, fo remarkable and neceffary; but boped to have done it more briefly than I found I well could, when I again set my felf to the perusal of the History. Having finished this, I made some Reflections upon the whole and thereupon added the OBSERVATIONS, Interences and the reft 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, fave part of the Hiltory of the Pomder-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 thort, I could not have that affiftance from variety of Books which I defired; and yet it pleased God many things fell in my way beyond my expectation; and the Authors I have generally uled are such whole Authority is beyond all exception, the incomparable Thuanus, Davila, Perefix, 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 confiderable, the greatist part being fent away in fingle sheets by the Post as it mas written, I could neither my felf 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 miltakes as pollibly may occur in it. For I did not defign to injure the Truth in any particular, nor have I to my knowledg done is in any thing material; only Sect. 12. you will meet with Lovain in Flanders; which perhaps is in Brabant, though by Flanders I then meant that part of the Low-Countries.

#### To the Reader.

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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 fense by many, and commonly by the Italians, and Sect. 34. pag. 48. 'tis faid, 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 Set. 42. pag. 74. you'l find, the D. of Tuscany | Father to the Qu: Mother] which is a miltake; for he was of the fame Family, and succeeded her Brother, but was not her Father; and therefore the Reader may either amend it, or quite strike it out. But thefe are fuch miltakes as are rarely escaped by thefe 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 ule of Pix Fraudes, and think Lying and Slandering, as always unlawful and unworthy of a Christian; fo where matters of Religion are concerned, to be prophane and facrilegious. The God of Truth is able to defend his own caufe, the Truth, without fuch micked shifts; and when he pleaseth to suffer it to be oppressed for a time ; be 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 lyes, oppose the design and course of his Providence. Numquid Deus indiget vefiro mendacio, ut pro illo loquamini dolos? Job. 13. 7. But if my hast bath made me in any thing through miltake to mis-repre-(ent any actions of the Papifts to their prejudice, it is likely it bath made me overlook as much more which might have been faid against them. Nor have I thereby fo much injured them, as they have injured themselves and their cause by such indirect and wicked practifes as are beyond all contradiction, to the great scandal of the most Holy Christian Religion; which is that which in some places bath 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 apprebend our Country to be in by their reftless mysterious pra-Stifes :

#### To the Reader.

Stices, 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 with that all which I bave written bad been false; but fince it is not only too true, but we are fill in danger from the same principles, though the manner and method of their operation and practice, may in Come respects be altered, I cannot but think the undertaking both lawful and necessary. Nor is the bonour of Religion ever a whit secured by palliating the irreligious practices of spurious Professors; but better vindicated by publickly 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 courfe and methods of his Providence, who ufeth not to diffemble the most fecret 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, do 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 fill 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 fo inconfiderable first corrected ? and perhaps, why not the stile first better (moothed 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; bat it is sufficient if we can be secure for the main, whereof I am very well satisfyed as to this work; and for the stile and ornaments. which most concern my felf, they were not tanti with me, who neither undertook it, nor proceeded in it upon felf-respect: but besides, I was beyond my first intention ingaged 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 difliked that precipitate way of writing books, which by Fortius Ringelbergius is recommended to bis Students, and do still dislike it, unless upon special occasion. And indeed that which was a Special

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fpecial motive and incitement to me to haften it what I could, was the confideration of the forwardnefs, activity and busic practices of the Popifb Emiffaries and Agents, and of fome others influenced by them further than they themfelves are aware of, and the dangerous confequence thereof not only to the fubverfion of the reformed Religion, and the Scandal of Christianity it felf; but alfo to the fubverfien of our Government, as the most effectual method for promoting their defigns, and disturbance of the Peace of the Kingdom. But thefe things I have touched toward the end of the Discourse, and therefore shall add no more here, but only defire the Keaders favour to correct fome of the more material errors of the Prefs, as is here after directed, and to bear with the rest:

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

Majelly, as not fit to be committed to super; as

PAge 1. line 10. and also 1. 17. Reader) 1. 18. others ; yet, p. 2. 1. 27. anold, p. 4. 1. 26. Confession. but, This, p. 5. 1. 15. confession, p. 6. l. 1. contrivance, 1. 5. nothing more, p.7. l. 1. and p. 8. l. 32. Machinations, p. 9. l. 2. Broccard l. 4. Turk 1. 8. dele (Camden 1600. p. 769.) and put it in the Margin at lin. 10. l. 27. 4. Nor p. 12. 1.31. we may again, p. 13. l. 1. that we find, p. 14. l. 22. Ducaus 1. 22. 7. Non. Jul. p. 15. 1. 32. Sar de, 1. 33. C.2. fub fin, p. 19. 1.25. Ircendiaries, p. 20.1.20. Care, l. 22.1. in, p.25.1.27. Wilton, 1.29. certainly, 1.32. Lopez, p. 27.1.32. but the fame, p. 29. 1.9. for Pincia read Villadolit, p. 30.1.13 p 31.1.10. p.32.1.16. Ridolph, p.31. 1.15. faillir, p. 32.1.17. p.35.1.6. p.46.1.27. aureos, p. 33. 1. 16. Lord Darnly, p. 36. in marg. Collect. of the Felicities of Qu. Eliz. p. 40. 1. 25. Creighton, p. 50.1.21. Lopez (with his complices) Cullen, p. 52. 1.22. Fitz. Girald, then to John Fitz-Girald, and laftly, p. 59.33. fame time that, p.60.1.5. mith whem, p.61.1.9. du Bourg, p.62.1.23. Olivier, p.67.1.36. Edia of July, p.71.1.27. Sed.42. For, p. 72.1.12. Legates, p.73. 1.4. whiles, it, p.74.1.2. Valois, who, l.s. fecret, p. 75. 1.2. contrived, l. 34. Refcripts, p. 80.1.34. And with, p.82. 1.2. This dore, away goes, 1. 26. detefted, p.82.16. Marchands, 1.21. Telinius, p.86.1.10. way defigned, p. 90.1.2. with the, p. 94. 1.8. tewrayed, 1. 19. detefted, p. 95. 1. 3. as did, 1. 13. that than that never, p. 96.1.27. exagitates, p. 97. 1.23. [uperftition, ibid; Succeffor, 1. 30. for chduration r: obcecation, p.98. 1.9.6co, or 7co, p 102. 1.16. ard p. 103.1.10. Sancerre, p. 103. 1.19. Talar, 1. 20. others. 1.35%

1. 25. a Fift Civil War, p. 1 10.1.26. reasons he gave him, put him in mind. p.111 1.11. concourfe, 1.38. instructed, p.113.1.24. Lords, p.114.1.32. Vincennes, p. 120.1.22. dele not, p. 122: 1. 19. Aumale, at Senlis, p. 122. 1.7. unexpected, ibid. in marg. menfibus, l. 22. line, p. 124. 1.17. give. p.126.1.1. man, 1.15,16. in the exit, p. 128.1.2. inexorable, p. 119.1.27. The eftablished, p.130.1.19. the Guifes, p.133.1.17. dele of, 1. ult. drawn of, p.134.1.6. impoltures, 1.9. 11. Landrianus, p.136. 1. 26. an adicititious, p. 138.1.22. incentors, p. 139.1.2. inftant flooping, p. 141.1.22. that in places, p. 145. l. 4. Evariftus, l. s. Aquaviva, p. 147. l. 10. 15. Commolet, p. 148. 1.24. which yet the Pope contends is, p. 154. 1. 27. from doing it, p. 155.1.3 Aquaviva, p. 156.1.8. which as, p. 158.1.1. party; touches, 1. 18. confeil, p. 159.1.14. p. 160. 1.8, 14, 29. p. 161.1. 14 Ridicove, p. 161.1. I. Clement, I. 10. confeifion, 1.37. Sarta, p. 162. 1. 25. Balth, p.168. l. 27. terror, p.172.1.7. in hand, p. 175. l. 14. or, as fome fay, decree and command of, p. 177.1.12. Kueia Sogan, p. 181.1.25. all fincere Chriftians.

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Pag. 10. 1.12. -- to conceive. Or rather being more particular fecrets, and more worthy of observation, they are referved for private conference with his Majefty, as not fit to be committed to paper; as he faith, c. 27. *fub fin.* 

Pag. 57. l. 2. --- Spain, fos three weeks before troubled with a perpetual flux of blood through all the passages of his body, (Perefix p. 163.) and at last, if not----

Les Line to previou se Contenne de Line est a contenne de previous est a la contenne de la contenne de la contenne de conteners provide de la contenne de la contenne de la conteners provide de la contenne de la contenne de la conteners provide de la contenne de la contenne de la conteners provide de la contenne de la contenne de la conteners provide de la contenne de la contenne de la conteners provide de la conteners de la conteners de la conteners provide de la conteners de la conteners de la conteners provide de la conteners de la conteners de la conteners provide de la conteners de la cont

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### A Discourse concerning the Original of the Powder Plot.

Sect. I.



Lthough feveral Relations of this Confpiracy have been long fince written and published in English, both by several writers of the History of those times and others who have inferted these among other Historical Rela-

tions, as Store in his Annals, pag. 874. Speed in his Hiltory of Great Britain, 1. 10. f. 31. -- The Appendix to the Book of Martyrs Fuller in his Church Hiftory, Bifhop 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 fince 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 inlarged with long Speeches, which polfibly may feem tedious to the Reader, and it may be fome 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 defirous to read fome 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 fince out of Print and therefore rarely to be met with: It was thought convenient to publish this Translation out of Thuanus, rath r than to reprint any of the other; and that for these Reasons : I.Becaule it feems to be more complease than most or any one of the other Relations, which have yet been Printed in English, whe-

whether alone or incidentally in larger works. 2. But efpecially, in respect of the Great Authority of the Author, a perfon, not only of great Quality and Place in his Country, Privy Counfellor to the King of France and Prefident of the Supreme Senate of that Kingdom, but of known and confessed Candor, Impartiality, Faithfulness and Exactness, as an Historian. And being one who lived and deed a Catholick in the Communion 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 felf may be fufficient to refute the Impudence. and vanity of all fuch as would have had the world believe \* This bloudy that it was the contrivance either of the \* Puritans, (V.Speed defign, found Sect. 48. Wilfons Hiftory of King James, pag. 32. Foulis pag. in the hands of 690.) or of Cecil the then Secretary, to draw those unhappy Gentlemen into it. (V. Foulis, pag. 694. The Papifts Apol. Aors, was notanswered pag. 31 -- 33. edit. 1667.) the contrary whereof father'd upon may eafily be perceived in the feries of this Relation. And indeed the first of these projects was extinguished almost with the plot; and the other hath been long fince fufficiently difthe burning of Rome upon the proved, and the plot it felf confessed by some, and defended, Chriftians) by magnified, and gloried in by others of that party, and now fcarce denyed by any to have been of their own contrivance; fo dent and cunthat more need not now be faid as to that particular, though ning Jefuits ---Which, fome the following confiderations, if need were, might be made ufe of in that respect.

nity at Bruges in Flanders, to make weston, and old Jesuit, active in the Powder plot, ingenuoufly to confess, wilfon, ibid.

> 2. This defign of Blowing up the Prince and People together, hath been commonly taken to have been the contrivance of Catesby, and of no ancienter Original than their despair of foreign affistance, upon their last negotiation with Spain. Of that mind feems our Historian here to have been, pag. 3.9 And the truth is, there is fcarce to be found in print any direct and express proof of other author and contriver or more ancient original of it, though poffibly we may ere long fee it further proved to have been defigned in the Queens days

So allo Speed, Sect. 33, 37. Proceed. E.4.

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days against her, but upon further confideration 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 remembred what is often seen in Judicatories and Tryals of Caufes both Civil and Criminal, that those things and works of darkness which are carried on and managed with fo much fecrecy 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: infomuch, that the evidence of the truth, which is by this means made out, is not feldom more fatisfactory to all prefent, than the direct and express proof and teffimonies of witneffes, which many times prove falle, even then when they feem to be most full and punctual. And therefore to prove this contrivance proceeded from other heads than Catesby's alone and was of longer fanding than hath been commonly thought, what is yet wanting in direct proofs, may in fome measure be made up by the confideration of the following Circumstances.

3. And first, it may be noted that though Catesby be she first of all shefe Confpirators taken in this plot shas did propose is to the reft, 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 so bim (being the most active of them) by fome other: nor doth it any way appear that it was of his own only devising, as to omit other reafons is manifest from their attempt who would have fathered it upon Cecil, as a trick to enfnare those gentlemen; for otherwise there would have been no ground or colour for that pretense.

4. It may 2. 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 murther of our Princes. For it had been long before propofed by one Moody to be laid under Queen Elizabeth's bed and fecretly fired. (Camden, Anno 1587. principio.) So that this may feem to have been but a further improvement of a former project.

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5. But 3. to come nearer to this prefent bulinefs, There is a paffage of the Jefuite Del Rio, 6. Difquif. Magic. cap. 1. edit. Lovan. 1600. which, with the concurrence of other circumstances, makes it very fuspitious 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 fcarce been taken notice of, as to this purpose, till of late. And this it is,

Pag. 154.

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Ppg. 155.

Sea. 2. This Scaion, 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 feems to be the common opinion of the Canonifts, that the prieft may reveal the offence already committed, which he bath learn'd, not in the Sacrament of Penance, but without it, under a promife of Secrecy, and of the Seal of Confession; yes that he ought to rereal 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 fafe. Then, as to offences to be committed, when a person will not abstain or amend himself but refolves 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 deted, 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 reft, If the penitent have partners accomplices, and he indeed is penitent and promises amendment, but he discovers that yet there is danger still, left while be defifts, the mischief be committed by bis accomplices: For then they think that, to prevent the future damage, the Prieft may reveal the offence which is to be committed, although the pemitent confent not. And, as to this limitation, he fays it depends

pends upon this Question, Whether a Priest may at any time Pag. 156. 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 bath put Powder or something elfe under such an entry (or groundsel,) and except it be taken away the house will be burnt, the Prince destroyed, and as many as go into or out of the City will come to great mifchief or hazard; and then for fome reafons refolves for the Negative, (contrary to the common fense 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 cautions shat shey should not make use of that knowledge of fins, which they had by confession for exterior government: which shews 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 I. to this purpose, If one Malefactor confession, among the circumstances of his fin, difcover bis partner ( in it, ) and the other also prefently comes and confesses, but conceals that fin wherein be was partner with the other, the Confessor may not use this knowledge to examine him concerning that fin (which his partner hath confessed.) The 2. is, That a Priest may not, no, not for fear of death threatned him, reveal this crime to any one; and that in that case he may say that he knows not, nor bath heard any thing of such fin; 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 Prieft.) Tea, he might fay that he hath not beard it in Confession, or that the accused person bath not confessed this to him, if he do but the while think in his mind, (viz. fo, 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 lefs by any other. This paffage hath fo 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 faid, that Del Rio was privy.

privy to the conrivuance of this horrible Powder Plot, if not himself the Contriver of it.

6. For I. if we confider 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; defiroviug Prince and People, King and Parliament, not the Prince alone, or allo with his family and houshold only ; by powder, not by poison, affafination, or open rebellion; by laying it under a houle, not under a bed as Moody proposed : and all this in so unusual and extraordinary a cafe, when inftances enow and mischievous enough might have been given of more ordinary and usual defigns, and when he had other Doctors who write concerning the fame question under his confideration, who must needs have put other instances into his mind, had not this been fludied by him, and here made use of upon defign. If any of those Doctors whom he there cites give any fuch inftance, he may reafonably be abfolved from all fuspicion which otherwife 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 inftance 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 fuch Artifts? And fecondly, was ever any fuch thing done or pretended or reported to have been done by Art Magick? We may therefore reasonably suspect that this instance was not devised meerly for conformity to his fubject of Magick; but rather proposed under that notion and those terms for a blind a little to difguife and hide the defign from fuch, as having no thoughts of luch enterprifes, might eafily be diverted from any supition of it, while yet it might be plain enough to fuch minds, as were fufficiently disposed to practife fuch projects.

7. And 2. if we confider the Cafe, wherein this Instance is given, viz. Of Concealing Confessions; his Refolution of it, and that contrary to the common fense and opinion of almost

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all the Doctors, as he confesseth; And laftly his Confirmation of his refolution by the Authority of the then prefent Pope, and directing the practice of it by equivocation, this may direct us to his End and Defign in divulging both this Instance, and in this very cafe, his Doctrine and Refolution, & that confirmed by the Popes Authority, for concealing Confessions, viz. By theone to infinuate and intimate the Contrivance; and by the other to encourage and promote the Practife and Execution of it, by confirming the Confessors in Concealing Confessions, and encouraging the others to the more fecurity of not being discovered. To which end and purpose allo was probably the Treatife of Equivocation V. Foulis, pag. which was found in Trefhoms lodging, then very featonably 700. written and defigned, which was feen and allowed by Garnet, (v. Proceedings I.) And this with Del Rio fo mutually confpiring in a tendency and fublerviency to the fame end, do confirm the conjecture of the defign of both. And it feems very confonant to the Inbrile practifes of the Fefnites, rather in this fly, fecret manner, underhand to infinuate this project, than directly and expressly to have proposed it : fo 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 ingaged in V. Foulis, page former Conspiracies and held correspondence in Flanders, (95, 696. Ab-might long before have knowledge of it, though he would bot. Antilogia, feem to have received his first knowledge of it, by Crefwel cap. 11. from Catesby.

8. Again 3. if with the form and composure of this infrance, we shall compare the mysterious and anigmatical form and composure of some other things relating to this conspiracy, which are now plain enough to be underflood, the plain explication of those will teach us how to unriddle the myftery of this, and direct us how to expound it. Such was that form of Prayer, which was taught to fome of their party, fome time before the intended execution of this Plot, for the prosperity of their Labours and downfal of Herefie, in these words, alluding to the working in the Mine and blowing up of the Houle: Profper, Lord, their pains that labour in thy caufe day :

15.2.4

day and night : Let Herefie vanish like smoak : Let the memory of it perifs with a crack, like the ruine and fall of a broken house, (Foulis, pag. 698.) And that very Letter which was the occafion of the happy difcovery and prevention of that horrible defign, 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 Counfel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no barm; for the danger is palt as foon 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 Parfons Rector 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 unriddled to them, the horridness of it made divers of them defert the Colledge. (Foulis, pag. 692.) So the Jesnites at Lisbon a little before this exploit should have been acted in England, are at some expense of Powder, on a Festival day, to experiment the force of it; (Foulis, page 693.) And other Inftances of this nature may be oblerved.

9. Here 4. The Time when this notable Instance was publifted, though to long before the difcovery of the Plot, may be very confiderable, and perhaps afford us greater evidence, than if it had not been published till some years after it was. \* V. Review of A time when the Pope and his fworn \* fervants the Jefuites were as fludious in their Machimations & Contrivances, and active in their exploits, as well against all of the Reformed Religion in general, as the Oucen and State of England in particular, as ever. And I. for this Pope (Clem. VIII. who was elected 30. Jan. 1592, and died 2 Mar. 160%.) It was contemporary with the holy league inflituted by him againfl the Protestants, wherein almost all Popish Princes, except the

the Counc. of Trent.l. 5.c.7.

94. 596. A.

the King of France and the Great Duke of Tuscany were ingaged, as we are told by Fr. Bronard the Popes Secretary, for the promotion whereof he much indeavoured a Peace between the Emperour and the Tutk, and often complained that the war had been continued full forty years against the Turk, in which time the Church of Rome might with lefs coft bave recovered ber Authority in Europe. 2. Contemporary with his Bulls ( Cambden 1600 pag. 769.) to encourage and promote the Irifh Rebellion. (V. Foulis, lib. 9. cap. 3.) 2. Contemporary with those Bulls, the one to the Catholick Foulis, p. 693. Nobility, Gentry and Laity, the other to the Arch-prieft and the reft of the English Clergy, Not to admit or receive, after Speed, lett. 4. the death of Queen Elizabeth, when ever the thould happen to Foulis, p. 693! depart this life, any for King, how near foever in blood, except they were such who should not only tolerate the Catholick Faith, but withal endeavour and fludy to promote it, and, after the manner of their ancestors, undertake upon Oath to perform it. ( Proceedings Q. 3.) And thele are the Bulls which have been long fince deemed the foundation of this Conspiracy ( Tortura Torti, pag. 279. Foulis, pag. 693.) And this is the Pope who had formerly [fc. \* 1597 ] exhorted \* Note, the the French and Spaniard to unite, invade England and di- fame year that vide it between them. (Foul. pag. 677. ex D'Offat. Let. 87.) from Spain to who had he lived but fome few moneths longer, might Rome. Font. pag. have been as ready with his Breves to fecond the fuccels 686. of this Confpiracy as was his Succeffor Paul V. with \* his. \* V. Andrews of this Confpiracy as was his succeffor Paul V. with \* his. \* Refp. ad Bellar. 5. Nor were they only the heads of the Pope and Grandees cap. 5. P. J 13. at Rome and other places, who were bufie and active at that Foul. p. 692. time in contriving projects and confpiracies for the fubverfion and ruine of our Government and Religion, but of perfons alfo of meaner quality, and they not only the Popilh Incen-diaries of our own Nation, but forreiners alfo of the Romilh Faction. Thus we may observe Campanella's book de Monarchia Hilpanica exactly contemporary with this of Del Rio, as the Preface to the English Edition doth demonftrate.viz.that it was written between the years 1599 & 1600. In this book he fhews in part, what Preparations may be made before hand; that so soon as ever Queen Elizabeth ( who is now

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very old ) is dead, they may be immediately put into Execution. Thefe, faith he, and the like Preparations may be made Oc. But what are thefe ? Why, in general I. Caufing Divisions and Diffentions among themselves, and continu-'ally keeping up the fame. 2. Sowing the feeds of a conti-' nual war betwixt England and Scotland. 3. Rouzing up ' and encouraging to action the Spirits of the English Catho-· licks. 4. Dealing with the chief of the Irith Nobility, to ' new model Ireland, as foon as they hear of the Oueen's death. For the accomplishing of all which he hath feveral fubfervient 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 fcruple to caufe and keep up Diffentions, to fow the feeds of a continual war, to excite Rebellions among us, would hardly have fcrupled at fuch 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 purpole, which were on foot at that time: but this of Campanella for the promotion of the Intereft and defigns of the King of Spain is the more pertinent and observable, because our conspirators had their Negotiations with him, their Leger there, and built their greateft hopes apon his affiftance at the fame time.

10. But there is an other particular, as to this circumstance of Time, very confiderable, 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 defigned for Execution. So Campanella's Preparations, fo foon as ever Queen Elizabeth is dead, are immediately to be part in Execution. So Pope Clements Bulls had respect to the same time, Quandocung; contingeret miseram illam faminam ex hac vita excedere. (Proceed. Q. 4.) And the Reason of all this is very apparent. For now the King of Scots, as Campanella observes, hovers, 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 new draweth an, that after the death of the faid Queen Elizabeth, who is now

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Rag. 158.

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very old, the Kingdom of England must fall into the bands 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 fo great a mischief. For whereas England alone, notwithfland- Pag. 198. ing in a manner continually at wars with their ancient and continnal Rivals, appeared both against the Catholick King in the Pag. 155. Low Countries, and against the most Christian King in France. affifting the Hereticks both with her Counfels 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 fame King? No queftion but the forethoughts of this fet wifer heads on work than Catesbys, or any other of those unhappy Gentlemen, who are vainly pretended to have been trapan'd by Cecil; and fomething no doubt was refolved 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, allo (Speed fell. 37.) And if we confider the Principles and practices of these men, and what before had been attempted against the late Queen, not only by open Hoftility, 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 Embaffadors, even whilft Legers here (as Mendoza and Labespineus,) as by the Pope, we can hardly think any thing fo bale or barbarous that they were not like to attempt upon this occasion. And if we again confider, how all their former endeavours, whether more justifyable before men, as by open hostility, or more bale and unworthy, not only by promoting rebellions, but allo by poilon & affafination, had hitherto been ineffectual and defeated, we may not unreasonably think that they might at -last arrive at fome fuch project as this, as their last refuge and most effectual and infallible means to accomplish at last their fo long fludied defigns. And laftly that it really was fo, the punctual observance both of Campanella's preparations, by indeavouring to alienate affections and raife jealoufies between the English and Scots, and other differences and diffentions

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among us and flirring up the spirits of the English Catholicks, &c. which were practifed immediately upon the Queens death and the Kings coming to the Crown of England ( and have ever fince been profecuted ) 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, fo well fitted to this purpole, and as well and exactly followed and profecuted, may reafonably incline us to believe. This circumstance of the time defigned for the Execution of this Plot is also visible in Catesby's Reasonings (fee the Hift. pag. 4.5.) which he might well learn from the fame Tutors from whom he learnt the project of the Plot it felf; 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 ferved, to have taken off Oueen Elizabeth ( now ready to die of her felf) though with her Parliament, while the King, together with the addition of another Nation to this, was ready to fucceed her.

11. And thus we fee the business is very plain as to the time fo long before refolved on in all their Councels both at Rome and Spain. It now remains to confider 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 Land. 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 defign under an Oath of Secrecy. \* The Lent before Catesby imparted the defign to Thomas Winter, + and in September before that (which was Anne 1603.) to \* Percy ; which was before the Parliament began : and that being the time defigned, it is a very fair evidence to our purpole,

(+ Fawkes Confef.) (\* Proceedings R.4.) (+ winters Confef.) (\* Proceedings K. 2.)

pole, that find it on foot at that very time, which was by all those Councels to long before defigned : 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 be-. fore have refolved upon it, and did all the while, fecretly and as behind the curtain, fleer and manage the motions of those who were to be imployed in it. But before we follow the trace further, if any one fhould here make this question Wby they bad not prepared their mine against the first sitting of the Parliament ? though we might well content our felves with this answer, that it may be fufficient in all reason to fatisfie 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, Thuanus tells us, that the work was often intermitted and often repeated, and we find that by fuch an accident as the Scotch Lords fitting at Percy's houfe, it was winters Confes. 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 to horrid and inhumane in it felf, and alfo \* scanda- \* V. winters lous to their Religion, it was thought fit that first more Confes. gentle means should be used, as a Treaty of Peace by the King of Spain, and Petition by the Papifts at home, whereunto they were incouraged by fome great hopes they had conceived, but upon very uncertain grounds, of a Toleration. But when the King of Spain, being well-pleafed for his own part with the proceedings of the Treatie, fell off from his former promises of affistance, and their Petition was rejected at home, they prefently conclude that a desperate difeafe must have a desperate remedy, and in order thereunto, Catesby V. winters begins to broach the project, which against this time had been Confes. kept fecret in flore, and imparts it to fome of his most trufty confidents; who thereupon might probably think that it was of his contrivance, as others from thence have fince thought it to have been; and that the rather, because in all their dealings preceding this, even to the first intimation of it by

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by Del Rio, nothing visible did appear as to these conspirators in particular, but only Negotiations with Spain and Flanders for forrein affistances, and an invation; which wifer heads upon the confideration of the former ill fuccesses of fuch attempts could not think of it felf fufficient; and therefore we may more reasonably believe that they who fecretly and underhand managed the bufinefs, fo ordered these Negotiations as well for a blind to conceal the main defign, as for a necelfary means to fecond it, when it had once taken effect. But befides these Negotiations abroad, we find other matters at home in agitation, by perfons of the fame party, to wit the Jesuites in general. For Watfon and Clark, two Priefts who were apprehended July 1603. before the King was crowned, for another plot of a lower rate and more ordinary mature, in their Confessions upon their apprehension, affirmed that there was fome treafon intended by the Jefuites, as ape peared to them, by their provisions of Money, Arms and Ammunition, diffwading the Catholicks from acceptance ' of the King at his first coming, (but withal) wishing them " not to ftir, but keep themselves quiet, till they beard from them. (Proceed. K. 3.) Of this, Cafanbon, who had perused their Confessions, writeth thus to Fronto Duraus in his Epi-Ale dated 7 Novem. July 1611. pag. 188. 5 This is the first " Confpiracy against the King which after his, arrival in ' England came to light; but that there were others also at the fame time in agitation, both the fame Watfon and Clark gave us notice, and those things which from thence have enfued, have proved. They faid, and often and confantly affirmed, that when they communicated their counfels to the Jefuites then living in England, and defired them that they would be partakers with them of fo noble an "enterprife, they received this answer, that the Jeluites could not joyn with them; forafmuch \* 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 confettions and affirmations of these Priests, the truth whereof might be further cleared, were it either neceffary or not too long to undertake it, bring us to that very point of time defigned for execution

\* ut qui suam quoqi ipsi parilem telam orsi, memorabilem in evum texturam pararent, tempore opportuno exitum babituram.

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In all these projects contemporary with Del Rio's Inflance, and fufficiently shew us that fome first motions towards the execution of this plot were then on foot, though the more plain and downright preparations, were for fome such reafons as above faid for fome time deferred, and sometimes, it may be, adjourned for want of fit opportunity. And therefore, fince Del Rio's instance is contemporary with these projects, and this enterprife of the Powder Plot with the time defigned in them for execution, we may very reasonably think that he gave an inflance of that which was then as certainly defigned as it was now punctually practifed, faving only that little difforting of it to the subject of his book, which does but make it the more sufficients.

12. And that we may fee that there is no circumstance but doth, not only well agree with this conjecture, but fome 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. Lovane, in Flanders ; where these Conspirators had Father Baldwin, a Jeluice, Leger, and others of their confederates, as Sir William Stanly and Owen, Refident; whither they had often recourfe, 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 fome intimation among their frequent confultations about thefe matters there, in Flanders, of some fuch 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 likewife of Garnet, who was afterward had in that effeem at Lovane, that it was once publickly prayed there, -- Santie Henrice, Ora pro nobis (Fonl. 1. 10. c. 10. (ub fin.)

13. Now if from the confideration of the book, we proceed further to the confideration of the Anthor, we shall find allcircumstances still concursto the confirmation of the Conjecture. 1. One of the Society of the Jesuites, into which he was admitted, Ann. 1580. and who about the time of publishing

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lifting this book became the Popes fworn Servant, quatuor jam votis solemnibus obstrictus, 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 Hereticks, that at the very mention or least remembrance of them in common difcourfe, he would change colour and his flomach rife against them. 3. Before he entred into the Society, he had been one of the chief Senate of Brabant, then Chanceller of Brabant, and had the management of the Kings Exchequer. (Phil. Alegambe in Biblioth.) 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 deviles for an Innovation to be made both in Church and State throughout the whole Romane Empire, which the Jesuites earnestly endeavoured to put in practife; the fumm whereof, as they are related from his own mouth by William Freake of the Practice of the Jefuites, 'pag. 58. were, ' to raife fuch divisions and differences among ' the Princes of the Empire, by working upon their contra-" riety of opinions in matters of Religion, &c. that they may ' wast and weaken themselves one against another, that their ' firength and power may be broken, or at least weakened, and become utterly unable to withftand a common foe, " when he shall come upon them, Where he sets down more particularly how differences may be raifed between fuch and fuch particular Princes. Laftly, his Opinion and Judgment of this Gunpowder Plot, may in fome fort be underftood by his efteem of Garnes, whom he \* compared with S. Dionyfins Areopagita. He died at Lovane 19. Octob. 1608. not full three years after the discovery of this Plot.

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

4. If from the Author of this Inftance we come to the Actors of this Plot, and the Authorizers and Abettors of it, we feltias confeltitas confultores & confultores & confunctioned and the fame Society with this Author, \* Jefuites fentientes, & R. Abbot. Antitogia, cap. 9. who were by them refolved in point of Conficience in all 10, 11.

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the Pope.

things concerning this Plot; received the Sacrament upon their Oath of Secrefie from them; and by them were abfolved after the Plot defeated. Nor do we find any in Holy Orders, (except the Pope himfelf) to have had any hand in it or particular knowledge of it, but fuch 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 ingaged in a Confpiracy of their own ( if not trapan'd by the Jesuites, V. Stowe & Fuller, Anno 1603. Sed. 14.) against him, but of a lower and more ordinary nature; and by the Actions of the Jeluites perceived fomething in general, that the Jefuites had then fome notable Plot in agitation : yet we may reafonably believe, that they were utterly unacquainted with the Kind and Particulars of this to high and refined a project, above the pitch of their imaginations to conceive; not onely from what hath been already faid out of their Confeffions, but also by reason of the differences and diffentions, which were then and have fince continued between the Jesuites and them. (V. Declarat. Motuum. Edit. 1601. & Watfons Quodlibers, Edit. 1602.)

parts as di

cige and Louispe,

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 bufinels : as, belides Ofw. Tefmond alias Greenwel, who with Rob re Winter was by Garnet, Catesby and Trefbam, Anno 1601. fent into Spain, with Letters commendatory to F. Crefwel, to Negotiate the then intended Spanish Expedition; besides Gerrard, and Hammond and Hall; befides \* F. Weston who, \* V. willon herecofore Anno 1595. at Wisbich cafile, by his contention Hift. of King for a Superiority over the other Priests as well as seluites, James. began the differences which have fince continued between them; and in his book de Triplici hominis Officio, Printed Akny 1602. foretold of many calamities, ftorms and dangers that were like to enfue upon the Queens death, ( as did alfo the Author of The Ward-word Printed at Lovane 1599. faid

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\* Anfwer to the Supplication, chap 4. Edit. Lond. 1604.

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\* About the time that Banbam was fent by Garnet to the Pope.

faid to be Parfons) as was observed and noted \* in Print before this Plot was detected; befides all thefe and many more no doubt, not yet discovered, the Superiour of the whole Order of English Jesuires, even their Provincial himfelf here in England, F. Hen. Garnet, who had been eighteen years here in England, and a promoter of former confpiracies. and held correspondence with divers other of prime note and authority in forrein parts : as, ' with F. Crefwel in Spain, ' who being many years Vice-prefectus Anglicane Miffionis. 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 Alegambe, and about a month or fix weeks \* before this Plot fhould have been effected, went from Villadolit to Rome, to be created a Cardinal, faith L. Owen, but more probably upon fome other negotiation concerning this great bufiness then in hand : (L. O. of the Engl. Col. in forrein parts, pag. 74. Lond. 1626. quar. ) also with F. Baldwin in the Low-countries, of like place and Authority there ever fince the year 1590. at which time Del Rio read Divinity at Doway, as he did afterward at other places in those parts, as Leige and Lovane. who being fo famous as he was in those parts, and fo 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 defign, not only from what he wrote concerning the Journey or Pilgrimage to S. Winefreds-well, & the mystical prayer which he ordered his Students to use, to fay nothing of the many projects which his working brain continually deviled, and his furious zeal as earnefily urged and profecuted, or of his Letter wherein he wrote (Anno 1600) that he had then been ten years dealing in fuch matters; but we are moreover given to understand to much from some of his own Religion, though not of his Order, and that he was highly acceffory to it. both before and after the difcovery, as might be proved by

great

areat and manifest instances. ( The Jesuites Reasons unrea-Ionable, 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 ociduan Intelligences, which the Provincials from all parts confantly transmit, concerning all matters of moment, to their several respective Affistants at Rome, who immediately impart the fame to the F. General of the whole Society, always Refident there, and he or they, as the matter requires or deferves, to the Pope: ( of which the Discourse of the Jesuites Politicks, written under Paul v. Printed in the Mytt. 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 Affistant Parsons, but also, at least by means of the Allistant, with she F. General Claudius Aquaviva , and with the Pope himfelf. and that in this very particular, being a matter of fo great moment; which doth more particularly appear by the Bulls prepared to be fent over hither, as foon as the plot had taken effect, and other inftances not necessary here to be infilled on. So that if we confider the Perfons and their Correspondences and Intelligences, it will not be hard to conceive how eafily this Plot, wherefoever or by whomfoever invented, might be communicated, if by Del Rio, to our Incendians here; if by any of them, to him; if at Rome, both to him and to them, or, for the more fecret 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. Parfons, who at that time, Anno 1600, had been ten years dealing in fuch matters, and fludying and promoting projects against his Country, as we may perceive by his aforefaid letter then written.

16. Laftly, if from the Actors we come to confider their Actions and Management of the whole butinefs, we thall find a wonderful agreement, from first to last, in all the Circumfances, not one croffing or thwarting our conjecture, not one failing, not one that doth not afford fome matter or ground to confirm it. For 1. If we confider the whole

Section

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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 feems 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 Inftance agree the undertakings of the Confpirators; with his Dectrine of not revealing things discovered in Confession. though the most hainous Treasons' and most pernitious to the State, the Practice of their Confessors; with his means for concealing the fame by Equivocation, and Confirmation thereof by Oath or most folemn protestations, their punctual, ftrict and resolute use and observance thereof. All which is fo 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 alledged to prove it, as nothing can be faid with any colour of probability to difprove it.

17. And therefore 2. We may alfo, as to their Actions, take notice of the great Core and Caution and Secrecy, together with their Jugling indirect Practiles, wherewith they managed their bufinefs; and that in these two respects: 2. in general for the better securing of their design and undertakings from discovery. And this appears in divers Instances, as I. In. Th. Winters Dealing, first with Sir William Stanly, to whom, though a good friend to the Catholick Caufe, he politively affirmed that there was no refolution to fet any project a foot in England; as he tells us in his Confeffion : then with Famkes. to whom though fent for by him to act in this tragedy, he imparted only a refolution of a practife in general against his Majefty for relief of the Catholick Caule, 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 folemn manner confirmed, by receiving the Sacrament upon it. And Garnes himfelf often religioufly protested to them both by word and writing that be 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 reafon which Catesby alledged, when he defired leave to acquaint fome others with the bufinefs: for many, faid he, may be content that I fould know, who would not therefore that all the company fhould be acquainted with their names, as it is in Winters Confettion; and it is not unlikely that he learnt this, reafon by experience at the fame time and from the fame perfon, as he did the contrivance it felf; which might poffibly, for the more fectery, 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 cafe the Plot should be detected : and this appears in the Actions and indirect Practifes both of the Jeluites, and of the other Conspirators. Hence it was that Garnet the Provincial, being of greatest Authority, and therefore likely to bring moft Difcredit and greateft Odium upon the Society, if fuch a man as he should be discovered to have any hand in fo foul and infamous a matter, at first would not be known even to Catesby himfelf, 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 follicitous 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 deferved. Then upon his Examination and Tryal, how ready and dexterous was he with his Equivocations, and desperately impious in stiff Denyals, upon his Soul, and with detestable Execrations, of those very things which were after fo manifefily 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, fays Thuanus, as purposely avoided, because they were bound by Oath not to do it. And certainly, Garnet, when he fo often engaged not to betray them, would not be lefs 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 indeavoured

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by all means, even the worft of means, by lyes and falle proteflations to excuse them. Such were Digbys Proteflations, whereupon the Earl of Salisbury observed, what faith was to be given to these mens protestations, who sought to excuse all fessitis how foul sever, 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 exproprio ore. Such was also that lamentable attempt of Tresham upon his death-bed to excuse Garnet, wherein he was disproved, by the Confessions both of Mrs Vanx, Garnets intimite, and of Garnet himself. To these may be added, Their Design to have father'd the enterprise upon the Puritans; and fince, Their impudent groundlefs 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 Practife 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 cafe. For where fuch 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 for much Secrecy and Practife, we cannot reasonably expect greater Proof and Evidence of any Circumstance belonging to them, than fo plain a concurrence and agreement of all other Circumstances with it. 2. To manifest the Insufficiency of what ever (bould be urged from their Confessions against us. For fince they did not only flifly deny plain truths, but alfo must impudently affirm manifest falshoods, especially where it was thought neceffary for exculing any of the Society, what ever shall be alledged from their speeches for that purpole, may reasonably be suspected to have been fained and deviled for that end, and deserves no credit at all. 3. To Answer the Objection that might be made, and Correct the Miltake 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 Aufwered, from their Practife to excufe their Complices especially the Jesuits, that they attributed the Contrivance to Catesby, becaufe he being dead could accuse no other, and affigned That Time, as being a good probable Occasion of it. But 2. It may be Answered, perhaps more fatisfactorily and fully, From their Secrecy, and from Catesby's own words, that fome might be willing to be known to him, who would not be known to the reft to be privy; and the rather because this was an old policy formerly practifed in order to the Spanish Invasion, which was after attempted in 88. when many were fo cunningly engaged that they knew not of, and fo were not able to accuse any, but the person that ingaged them, (as Sir Francis Bacon in his Observations upon the Libel published 1592. and in his Collection of the Felicities of Queen Elizabeth, thews from a Letter of one of their Principal Heads, which was intercepted; ) and not only practifed before, but alfo repeated immediatly after this Plot, when Five had feverally undertaken the Earl of Salisbury's death, and vowed the performance of it; and yet it was fo ordered that none of those Five knew who the other Four were, for the better preventing the discovery of the reft, if any one by attempting and not performing fhould be apprehended; from hence it may well be answered : That it is very probable, that Winter and Fawkes, from whole Confessions this mistake hath arifen, 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 expresly, 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 fo active and well disposed to improve the fame to the utmost; and without any fuch engagement, he might be apt enough to ,

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to take the Invention upon himfelf; not only out of Devotion to the Society, whole reputation he might thereby the better secure in case it should miscarry; but even out of an Ambition to be reputed the Author of so Glorious an Enterprise. And that He (hould be intrusted with fo Great a Secret, and the Chief visible Management of it, rather than any of the reft, was very likely, 1. Becaufe he and his Family had been addicted 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 defigned and employed for that Service ) came into England Anno 1580. where he was apprehended 22. July in the year next enluing; 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 'Embassadour, 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 reft in this fervice : for in this respect Tresham might perhaps have claimed that honor, as well as he, as we may fee in Sanders; but Catesby had another more special qualification, as being more Cautious and Cunning, as we may observe in Thuanus.

21. But becaule so plausible a Pretense, for the Occasion of these desperate resolutions at that time, as the King of Spain's then deserting of the Confpirators upon his Treaty of Peace with England, may seem to have some weight in it; though it must be noted, that this seemes rather to have been the Conjecture of the Historians and others, than that any such thing was expressly alledged by the Confpirators, for ought appears in the Printed Confessions of Famkes and Winter; yet that we may leave no scruple; and make it surther appear that we have not only the concurrence of all Circumfiances to confirm our belief of the truth of what hath been faid,

faid, but have also sufficient matter and ground for Answer to all Objections, we shall return fuch Answer, though touch'd before, as may both fufficiently folve this doubt, and be of some ule to other purpose. And therefore it must be remembred, I. That all the neighbouring Popilh 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 it felf, but intimited to us by the Papifts themfelves 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 practifed to raise flirs and Rebellions : Of the French, Cambden tells us that the French Embaffadour studied to move Commotions, ne duo divisa Britannia Regna, Anglia & Scotia, in unum coalescerent; and others inform us of his tampering with fome 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 Watfon and Clark, and not only fo, but that He and they were the Contrivers of it, and that He drew into it the Lord Cobbam, and, by his means, his brother Brook, Parham, the Lord Grey of Wilfon, and at length Raleigh alfo was brought in. Edmond Yot

22. And 2. we must take notice that there was certainty a deeper mystery in the Counfels of Spain, than meerly 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 atide the Profecution 'of his Attempts against this Realm by Open Forces, and by 'all means projected to trouble the waters here by Practife, 'hirst to move fome Innovation in Scotland, then, he follici-'ted a Subject within this Realm, (being a Person of d great

1588.

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great Nobility ) to rife in Arms, and Levy war against her ' Majefly. [ Perhaps he means the Earl of Darby, whom Richard Hesker endeavoured to perfwade to affume the Title of King, deriving his Right from his great Grandmother Mary daughter of Hen. VII. and made him large promifes of Aids and Money from the Spaniard, threatning him with sudden destruction if he did not do it, and conceal the busi-' nels. Cambd. Anno 1593. ] Laftly, either of himfelf, or his ' Counfellers and Ministers using his name, descended to a " course Against all Honour, all Society and Humanity; Odi-"ous to God and Man; Detefted by the Heathens them-' felves; to take away the life of her Majefty, by Violence or "Poifon." A matter which might be proved to be, not only <sup>e</sup> against all Christianity, and Religion, but against Nature, <sup>e</sup> The Law of Nations, The Honour of Arms, The Civil Law, The Rules of Morality and Policy; Finally, the most "Condemned, Barbarous and Ferine Act that can be imagined, Oc. What then would he have faid, and what must we think of this fo far transcendent Inhumane and Antichristian Powder Plot ! But he goes on : ' Certain it is, that even about this prefent time, there have been fuborned, and fent into this Realm, divers perfons, some English, some "Irifh, corrupted by Money, and Promifes; and Refolved and Conjured by Priefs in Confession, to have executed that most wretched and horrible Fact. Of which number "certain have been taken; and some have suffered, [ as Patrick Cullen, an Irifh Fencer; and afterward Ri. Williams and Edmond York, for whofe encouragement and reward an Affignation of forty thousand Crowns, under the hand of Stephano Ibarra, the Kings Secretary at Bruxels was deposited with Holt a Jesuit, who killing the Consecrated Host, swore that the money should be paid as soon as the murther was committed, and engaged them two by Oath upon the Holy Sacrament to perform it. Camd. Anno 1594, 1595. And fome ' are spared, because they have with great forrow confessed "these attempts, and detected their suborners; [ there were alfo defigned at the fame time for this purpose, as the others confessed, one Tipping, Edmund Garret an Ensign, with a Wallon,

1593.

26

1594.

Foulis 1.7.6.7.

27

Wallon, and a Burgundian, and one Young, and perhaps 'Some of them might be taken and Spared.] But fays Sir Fran-'eis, Among the number of these exectable undertakers, "there was none fo much built and relyed upon, by the "Great Ones of the other fide, as was the Phyfician Lopez : And then he proceeds in the particular relation, how one Mannel 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 Spains fervice, coming frelhly out of Spain, treated with Lopiz touching the empoyloning of the Queen, which he undertook for fifty thousand Crowns, but flaying the execution, till by Letters from Spain he fhould have Affurance of the payment of the Money, those Letters, the one from the Count de Fuentes and the other from the Secretary Juara, which were delivered to the meffenger by the Count's own hand, being happily intercepted, the Practile was discovered, and the Great Service, whereof should arife 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 bufinels abroad, and the other refided 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 Tiburne, as Camden tells us. The like practife we find again fome few years after repeated in Spain, whence by Walpole the Jefuit, fome time Rector or at least of great authority at Villadolit where, as I take it, the Spanish Court was at that time kept, Edm. Squire was sent over to poylon 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 bleffing. Camb. Ann. 1598. out the fame Providence still preserved her.

23. And to these pitiful and base unworthy Arts, did the Grave Spanish Counfels 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, d 2 from

from what hath been faid before, we have great reafon to believe did shortly after succeed. Now if these things be confidered, 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 confiderations touching a war with Spain, it must needs be a very weak and chi'difh thing for any man to imagine that Spain fhould have been fo inconfiderate as to have had any thought of Invading England at that time, notwithstanding any combination of whatfoever party ready to receive him here, of Papifis and discontented perfons, (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 defigned both abroad and at home, we shall find them rather proportionable to fecond fome fuch feat as this, when the King and the Nobility and a great part of the Gentry were deftroyed, and the whole Kingdom under fo great a confternation and confusion as must there upon unavoidably have enfued, than otherwife to have atchieved any conquest of this Nation. And if this was fo that all did depend upon fome fuch fecret machination, it was very agreeable to the Counfels and Practifes of the Spaniards, (who, as Sir Fr. Bacon observes, are great Waiters upon Time, and ground their Plots deep)

order to the Invation of 88 by rumours, and Printed Books.

\*As they had I. By these means, to \* hold up the minds of the Papifts. before done in and keep them in continual readiness till the Queens death, at which time all the Popifh Confultations, for fundry years before, aimed, as hath been fufficiently 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 Invalion, and as Don Jo. of Auftria had before done ) and by that means provide for themfelves, in cafe the other project failed; and in the mean time underhand to infinuate that contrivance, to them who were apt enough of themfelves to put it in execution; but yet in appearance fo to defert 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

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+ Than 1, 129,

moneth was \* Percy by Catesby acquainted with the Plot. \* Proceed.R.2. It was rumour'd, as our hiftorians tell us, that the King of Spain was a fomen er of the Plot ; but for his Ministers, they could not be unacquainted with our Author Del Rio, a famous Jeluite who had once been in \* Honourable Civil employments under eft. Sed probithat King, a member of the Supreme Senate of Brabant, tate & dollrina Judge of the Marshals Court, Advocate of the Kings Ex- Infragantibus chequer, Chancellor of Brabant, and Counsellor of State, and afterwards entred into the Society at Pinira in Spain, and if militibus jus they were otherwise ignorant of it, might from him have dicere, mox learn't the contrivance, who himfelf might polfibly have feen a little experiment or Emblem of it in Stiria whither he went about the year 1600. when the Protestant Ministers umque Fiscum were caft out by the Decree of the Archduke through the infligation of the Jesuites, and among other Outrages, a Church, wherein were the Monuments of a Noble Protestant Familie the Hofmans, and the dead carkafes and bones blown Epiftle to him up, not cafually, but with Gun-powder, for that purpole put at Lovain, under it; As Thuanas reports, Anno 1600. l. 124.

24. But to conclude this Subject; If we look into the Beginning, Progrefs and Succeffion of all those Tragical Attempts, which upon the fcore, or at least under the Pretenfe of Reftoring the Catholick Religion in England, have been made or promoted, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth of Bleffed Memory, against Her and Her Kingdoms, we shall find in all from first to last such a Combination of Counfels and Mutual Affiftances between the Bilhops of Rome and the King of Spain with his Netherlands, as will very much confirm what hath been faid, and may reafonably perfwade us to believe that the fame was also continued in this. It would be too long to make a particular relation of all; but yet it may not be amils, briefly to take notice of the principal of them; not fo much to confirm what hath been faid, 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, fince

\* In Supremum Brabantiæ Senatum cooptatus altius evectus, Palatinis O. etiam Brabantiæ pro Cancellario effe, Regicurare jusseft. Alegamb. Lipfius Anno 1578 inscribes an Mart. Ant. Delrio Consiliario Regio.

fince it is out of question that it proceeded from the same principles with the reft.

25. Paulus IV. who was Pope when Queen Elizabeth began her Reign, not living out a year after, did not at all moleft her. Nor did his Succeffor Pius IV. whether being diverted by other business of nearer concern at home, in the Intrigues of the Councel of Trent, or by the means of Ferdinand the Emperor then in hopes to marry his fon to her; but Pins v. who fucceeded him, was no fooner fettled in that See, but he began to practife to unfettle 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 imployed one Robert Bidolph, a Gentleman of Florence, refiding here under pretenle of Merchandife, to engage a party against the Queen; which he fo effectually did, not only among the Papifis, but Protestants allo, that the Duke of Norfolk was drawn into the Conspiracy. by promife of marriage with the Queen of Scots; and in the mean time he perswaded the Spaniard to affist the Conspirators; and at last to promote the business, fent over Doctor " Nic. Morton to certain of the principal English Papists, to ' denounce the Queen an Heretick, and therefore faln from ' all Power and Dominion, and by them to be accounted as a Heathen and a Publican, and they difobliged from her Laws and commands. Hereupon, (Chapinus Vitellius being first come over, under pretense of composing differences about Trade, to observe the success of the ensuing Rebellion, and to head the Spainards forces which were to be fent out of the Low-Countries) the Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland with 600. Horfe and 4000. foot, rife in actual Rebellion, and Declare for the Restitution of the Roman Reli-'gion; but the reft of the Catholicks, fays Sanders, becaule Sentence of Excommunication by the Pope was not publickly Denounced against the Queen, nor did they feem abfolved from her Obedience, not joyning ' with them, they were easily by the Queens forces chaled ' into Scotland; where afterward Northumberland was taken, 'and brought back into England, and at Tork, by a Glori-

° ous

1558.

1566.

Hier. Catena in vita Pii v.

1569. Thuanus 1.46. Sanders 7. de visib. Monarch.

3. De Schijmate Ang!.

cous Martyrdom, fays he, happily ended his days. And in this Rebellion, for the King of Spain, befides Vitellius and La Mos the Governour of Dunkirk, who came over in a common Sailers habit to found our Havens, the Duke of Bacon Obferv. Alva his Lieutenant in the Low Countries, and Don Guerres d'Efpees his Lieger Ambaffadour here, were difcovered to be the Chief Influments and Practifers. This Begin-Camd. Anno ning was immediately feconded by Leonard Daeres, but with 1569. like fuccefs.

26. But the Duke of Norfolk, and Bidolph, and others being a little before the Infurrection fecured upon fome fufpitions, and to prevented from appearing in the Rebellion, the bottom of the bufinefs was fill undifcovered, they not long after releafed, and the Confpiracy still carried on. And the Pope, to prevent that failure for the future, which had been committed the year before, and to give more fatiffaction and encouragement to all good Catholicks to joyn in Rebellion against the Queen, in the entrance of the next year, fends out his Sentence of Anathema against her. Wherein he first fets out his own Title and Authority, in Sanders 3. De these words: He that reigneth on High, to whom is given all Schif. Angl. Power in Heaven and Earth, bath committed the One, Holy, Pag. 368. Catholick and Apostolick Church, out of which there is no Salvation, to One Alone on Earth, to wir, to the Prince of the Aposties, Peter, and to Peters Successor, the Bishop of Rome, to be governed in Plenitude of Power, Oc. Next he acquaints us with his own great care and endeavours for the difcharge of this great truft; then draws up a particular charge of fcveral crimes and mildemeanors against Elizabeth pretended Queen of England, whom he calls the Servant or Slave of wickednels, Flagitiorum 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 Fustice, out of the Plenitude of Our Apostolical Power, We do Declare the aforefaid Elizabeth ( being ) a Heretick and Fa-. vonrer of Heresicks, and ber Adherents in the matters aforefaid, to have incurred the Sentence of Anathema, and to be cut off from the unity of Christs Body; and Her to be Deprived of

of her pretended Right to the Kingdom aforefaid, and of All Dominion, Dignity and Priviledge what foever; and also the Nobles, Subjects and People of the faid Kingdoms and All others who have in any fort Sworn unto ber, to be for ever Abfolved from the fame Oath, and from All manner of Duty of Dominion, Fideliny, 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 above faid. And we Command and Interdict All and Every the Noblemen, Subjects, People and others aforesaid, that they Presume not to Obey Her, or ber Monitions, Mandates and Lars. Those who shall do otherwise we Innodate in the like Sensence of Anathema. This was fent 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, fent to Fidolph; who, having by the Popes Order diltributed 150000. Crowns (Aurea) among the Confederates, and all things here being again made ready against the Queen, is fent to acquaint the Pope with their preparations; which he approving prefently fends him to the King of Spain; promifing that, if need be, himfelf will go to their Affistance, and will pawn All the Goods of the Apoftolick See, the Chalices, Crucifixes, and Sacred Vefiments. Hereupon the Spaniard prefently 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 Ambassadour, Norfolk and others, being intercepted, the whole bufinels is discovered, Norfolk and others committed, and all their Preparations and Hopes difappointed. Which, fays Catena, the Pope took fadly, and the Spaniard condoled, who faid before Cardinal Alexandrino the Popes Nephere, ( not long before fent to him f rom the Pope) that no Conspiracy was ever more advisedly undertaken, nor with greater unanimity and constancy concealed. Which in fo long time was revealed by none of the confederates : and that the forces might eafily have been transported from the Low-Countries in the space of twenty four hours, which might

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1570.

Catena.

1571.

might have suprised the Queen and the City of London, reflored Religion, and setted the Queen of Scots in her Throne: especially, when as 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 bis Tryal the 16. of January following, and Condemned; and the 2. of June atter bebeaded. 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 practifed in our neighbour Countries; The first in Scotland, the murther of the Lord Darby, King Fames his father, in the first year of his Papacy, and the house wherein he was murthered at the fame time blown up with Gun-powder; in relation to which Thuanus tells us : Ad bec Pontificis, &, ut passim jastabatur, Caroli Lotaringi Cardinalis Literis incitabantur; nam cum per eum a Pontifice petiissent pecuniam ad instaurandam majorum religionem, responsum fuerat, frustra ipsos conari, nisi sublatis iis, per quos stabat ne res exitum sortiretur. Oc. lib. 40. ad finem Anni 1566. The other in France, that barbarous Maffacre 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 guels, if we take notice of the temper and employments of this man; a most fevere, austere man, who had with fo much rigor exercifed the bufinefs of the Inquifition wherein he was imployed, as made many dread his feverity when he was chosen Pope. And the fame Authour notes his irreconciliabile in Hereticos odinm, 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 those that were fuspected fuch,

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1572.

miy be feen at large in the Noble Author de Thon. 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 fame moneth was Gregory XIII. chofen Pope. And although with their late disappointment, their party also in England was much broken and difabled 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 bim and Don John of Auftria, 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 Confultations were foon refumed by the Pope and the King himfelf; and now England and Ireland both are to be invaded together, and Th. Stucley, whom the Pope had honoured with the Title of Marquels, Earl, Viscount and Baron of feveral eminent places in Ireland, is to command the forces thither, the Pope providing men, and the Spainard money. But this form. was b'own over into Africa, where Stucley and part of his men were flain. However the next year is fent into Ireland, from Spain, James Fitz-Morice with fome Companies of Souldiers, and with them from the Pope Nic. Sanders, our Author above mentioned, with Authority Legatine and a confecrated Banner : and to them the years after San Joseph with feven 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 Irifh, fends them his Breve, with Apoftolical Benediction, wherein reciting that be bad of late years by his Letters exborted 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 Inch as should be any ways affilting therein, a Plenary

1576.

1578. Thu. lib. 65. Camd. boc An.

1579. Thu. lib. 68.

1580. Thu. lib. 70.

\* Bacons Obfervations.

Ofullenan Hift. Cathol. Hibern.

Plenary Pardon and Forgiveness of All their Sins; he now grants to all fuch, whom he alfo exhorts, requires and urges in the Lord to indeavour to help against the faid hereticks, 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 Crucias and 1000000. Aurea. But all these with their Irish Confederates, the Earl of Defmond, his brothers and their party, were very happily defeated by the Queens forces, at the very inftant when divers thips upon the Sea were bringing them more forces and affiftance; and the Popes Legate, Sanders, died miferably of hunger, and, as fome fay, mad upon the ill fuccels of the Rebellion.

29. About this time the Seminaries began to Swarm; and because the Bull of Pins v. had not yet sufficiently produced Sanders p. 372. its intended and expected effect even with a great part of Camd.p.180. the Papifts themfelves, who feeing the neighbour Popifh Princes and Provinces, not to abstein 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 fatisfaction it is Decreed at Rome, Thu. lib. 74. Camd.an. 1580. that the Bull doth always Oblige Elizabeth and the Hereticks, but not the Catholicks rebus fic fantibus, but only theo, when they should be able publickly to put it in execution. And that it might in due time be effectually Executed, Miffions are made into England to Prepare a Party to adhere to Bacon Observ. the Spaniard at his coming to invade us. And the better to Collect. & conceal and difguife the Practice and make the Queen and Confid. her Councel the more fecure, it is Refolved not to have any Head of the party here. But the Emiffaries coming dayly over in various Difguised Habits, deal particularly, and fo Caud. fine more effectually, with the people in their fecret Confessi- Ann. 1580. ons, Absolving them particularly in private from Obedience and Fidelity to the Queen, as the Bull of Pius v. had done Camd. p.315. in publick, but only in general : and feverally Engaging 348. them in that fecret manner, as hath been before mentioned. fo as none could be privy to others engagements. And thefe

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Doctrines were every where inculcated : That Princes not pro-Camb. fin. An. 1581. Thu.d. 74. felling the Roman Religion, are fallen from their Title and Royal Authority. 2. That Princes Excommunicate, are not to be Obeyed, but shrown 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 bath 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, fince the Bull of Pius v. was published ( which some hold to have been dictated by the Holy Ghoft ) bath 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 fecretly in-Itilled into mens minds in private, were feconded with feveral pernitious Books in print, against the Queen, and Princes Excommunicate. And as well to deter the reft from Obedience, and move them to Expectation of Change, and Reconciliation to the Church of Rome, as to encourage their Camd.an.1580 own party, they not only by Rumours, but also by printed 1. 218. Books gave out, that the Pope and King of Spain had confpired to fubdue England and take it for a prey. This is true, Collect.of the fays Sir Fr. Bacon, and witneffed by the Confeffions of many, Churches. that almost all the Priest, which were fent into this Kingdom from that year 1581. to the year 1588. ( at what time the Defign of the Pope and Spain was put in, Execution ) had in their Instructions, besides other parts of their Function, to diffil and infinuate 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 themfelves. Which are almost the very words of Sanders -mentioning the confiderations upon which these Seminaries were at first founded. But notwithstanding this, we are not to think that All the Priefts which were

fent over, were acquainted with the Arcana and Secrets of

the D.fign, but only the Superiours and fome of the beft

quali-

Camd. an.81. Thu lib. 74. Bac. Collect.

qualified for the bufinefs, who managed and fleered the actions of the reft, according to their private Inftructions. 1 1111 01 100

30. Hereupon, fays Rifhton, who published and inlarged Sanders his book, speaking of these Missions, foon after enfued a great change of minds, and wonderful encrease of Religion. Which, that we may know it by its Fruits, prefently appeared in feveral 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 ftrangled in the prifon, for fear, probably, least he should have discovered others. Then, to pals by the practife of Bern. Mendoza the Spanish Ambassadour Lieger here with Throgmorton, and Martins book, by William Parry Doctor of Law, encouraged thereunto by Ben. Palmius a Jesuite, Ragazonius the Popes Nuncio in Thu. lib. 79. France, Cardinal Como, and the Pope himfelf, who fends him his Benediction, Plenary Indulgence and Remiffion of all his Sins, and affures him, that befides his Merit which he shall have in Heaven, his Holiness will remain his debtor, to acknowledge his defert 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 herefie 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 loon after, in April, was called to account in another world. Immediately before this in Thuanus precedes the relation of the murther of the Prince of Aurang 10. Jul. by Bal. Gerard confirmed in his refolution by a Jefuite at Treves, promifing him if he dyed for it, he should be happy and be put in the number of Martyrs, and allo encouraged to it by a Franciscan at Tourney, and three other Jesuires at Treves. and they welling not set its india to val bus

31. To Gregory succeeded, as well in his practifes, as in that See, Sixtus v. cholen Pope the twenty fourth of the fame moneth of April, and about this time John Savage, into whole head the Doctrines that it is meritorious to Kill Ex1583.

1584.

1585.

com-

communicated Princes, and Martyrdom to die for fo doing, being by the Giffords and Hodgefon priefts throughly inculcated, made a vow to kill the Queen. And foon after the fame refolution is taken up by Antony Babington, a proper young gentleman of a good family, upon the fame principles in like manner inculcated, and formewhat enforced with other hopes if he escaped the danger, by Ballard a Jefuite, who incited him to it, as not only Just and Holy in it (elf, but moreover Honourable and Profitable to him, if be (hould overcome the difficulty. For what could be more Fust and Holy, than with the hazard of his Life to vindicate his Countrey, and the Cause of Religion, without which Life it self ought to be nothing effeemed of. Elizabeth was now long fince, by the Lawful Successor of Peter, cast out of the Communion of . the Church: from that time the doth not reign in England, but, by a usurped Power contrary to the Laws, exercise a cruel Tyranny against the true Worshippers of God. Whoever should kill her, dotb no more than be that (hould flay a profane Heathen or some damned accursed creature : he should be free from all fin 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 infinuating his marriage with the Queen of Scots. Thus is this Jefuites discourse with him represented by the Excellent Thuanus. who there informs us that this business was transacted with the Spanish Ambassadour Mendoza, and was to have been feconded by a forrein Army, and Paget a gentleman of a Noble family fent into Spain about it. And at last all things being agreed on both at home and abroad, the day appointed for the perpetrating the bulinels is S. Bartholomens day, memorable for the Parifian Maffacre fourteen years fince, and for that reason purposely made choice of. But before the day came, the bufinels being detected, Ballard and Babington, and feveral other of the Conspirators were apprehended, whereof some had sworn to be the Executioners of the Queens murther, and among them Savage now again fwore it, and others were to be of the party, which the while was to refcue the Queen of Scots; and upon their own Confeffions

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1586.

effions and Letters intercepted, were Convicted, Condemned and Executed. And in this Confpiracy was a project of making an Affociation under pretense of fear of the Puritans. These were executed but the twentieth of September and in January following was the French Ambasadour l'Aubaspineus, a man wholly devoted to the Guissian Faction, and Lieger here, projecting the same busines; and to that Camb.an. 1587 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 promifed him great Honours, a huge fumm of Money, great Favour with the Pope, the Duke of Guife and all the Catholicks. Stafford refused it himfelf, but commended to him one Moody; and in Confultation how to do it, Moody propofes to lay a bag of Gunpowder under the Queens Bed-chamber, and fecretly give fire to it. But this being discovered by Stafford, the Secretary thinking to be gone into France was intercepted, and upon his examination confeffed the whole matter.

22. Hitherto had the Actors and Abettors of most of these Conspiracies, to put the better Colour upon their unjustifiable attempts, befides the Caufe of Religion, pretended alfo the Title of the Queen of Scots to the Crown of England, Camb.an. 1586 who having been difcovered to be privy to most of the former, and found guilty of that of Babington, was therefore condemned; and now this being found to have been defigned upon the fame pretense, Queen Elizabeth, by great importunity of the Parliament, who had confirmed the Sentence, was prevailed with to fign a Warrant for the Execution, whereupon the was beheaded the eighth of February following. And here we must not omit a Notable Artifice of the Festilites, who being at last out of hope of Restoring their Religion by Her or Her Son, began to set up a feigned Title Camb. an. 86. for the King of Spain, and imployed 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 ber beadlong into those dangerous Counsels which brought Her to Her end : and at the fame time, leaft the

the Guises her kindred should give her any allistance, flirring Them up to new enterprifes against the King of Navarre and Conde. And agreeable hereunto was the difcovery of that for which the was condemned, viz. by Gilbert Gitford a Priest then fent over into England, to immind Savage of his Vow, and to be the Letter carrier between the Oueen of Scots and the Confederates, who prefently goes and offers his Service to the Secretary Walfingham to discover them; (and that forfooth out of Love to his Prince and Countrey, although he had not long before been one of those who provoked Savage to his vow to kill her, ) and accordingly he first conveyes them to Walfingham; by whom they are opened, transcribed and carefully fealed up again and returned to Gifford, who then conveys them to the Queen of Scots, Babington or who ever elfe they are directed to; which is fo plain a profecution of the fame defign, that it is a wonder that Camden should be so much at a loss to find out the mystery of this undertaking of the Prieft. More might be observed to manifest this Juggle, if it were necessary to the present businels.

33. The Defign of the Pope and Spaniard to Invade England had been now long fince perceived bere, not fo much by printed books, which were defigned only to work upon the vulgar and their own party, as by the fecret Letters of Morton and others which were intercepted, and Chringhtom the Scotch Jefuit's papers, miraculoufly, as himfelf 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 affault from abroad by their Navy and Army, as for their reception and admiffion here by their party prepared by their Agents the Emissaries, the better to difguise the businels and to make the Queen and her Counfel the more fe-Camb. an. 1586 cure, 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, Watchings,

ings, Fafting, but allo a Treaty of Peace is earneftly follicited Thu. lib. 89. by the Duke of Parma with Authority from the King of Camd.an.1588 Spain, which though not foon yielded to by the Queen, who fuspected some fraud or deceitful defign in it, yet being at last obtained, is kept on foor 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 promifed the affiftance of his Treafure. begins first to thunder out bis Bull : Which, with a book written by Doctor Allen, is printed at Antwerp in English in great numbers to be fent over into England ; in which book, for the greater terrour of the people, are particularly related their vaft preparations, which were fo 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 joyn themfelves 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 + Thu. l. 100. of the time allowed by the Canons even of this Pope, made \* Thu. 1.89. Cardinal of purpole for this exploit ) fent into Flanders, to be ready, \* upon the Spaniards Landing, 10 pafs over into Some fuch Of-England, as the Popes Legate cum pleus porestate, and here ficer we may to publish the Bull, " In which Bull the Pope, by the suppose was power, which he faith is, from God, by the Lawful fuc- intrusted with ceffion of the Catholick Church, descended to him over the three Bre-" All perfons, for feveral caufes there in specified, and more were in like fully expressed in the Bulls of Pius v. and Gregory XIII. manner fent doth again proferibe the Queen ; Takes away all her Royal to be in readi-Dignity, Titles and Rights to the Kingdoms of England and " Ireland's Declaring her Illegitimate and a Ufurper of thole lifhed in the Kingdoms; Abfolving her Subjects from their Oath of Popes name in Faith and Obedience to her; Threatens All of what con- three principal dition foever, under danger of the wrath of God, not to affift her in any wife after notice of this Mandate, but to foon as the Matte-all other necessaries 288, of Vessels

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1588.

ves, which nels to be fent over and pubplaces of this kingdom, as Powder-plot

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. Refoonf. ad Apol. Bellarm. cap. 5. pag. 113. 'im-

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timploy all their power to bring her to Condigne punifiment; Commands All Inhabitants of those Kingdoms diligently to execute these Mandates, and as foon 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 laftly, Proposing Ample Reward to those who shall lay hands upon the proscribed "Woman and deliver her to the Catholick party to be punifh-'ed, in conclusion, out of the Treasury of the Church com-'mitted 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 prefently adds: It was agreed in fecret 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 comract 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 Thua-" Of vaft bur- mus his Account : A Navy of 150. \* Ships extraordinarily den, fays cica- well furnished; and in it of Mariners and Seamen 8000. Gally-flaves, a great number, 2080. fays Camden, of Sonldiers 20000. besides Gentlemen and Voluntiers; for scarce was there any family of note in Spain, which had not fon, or In vita Sintiv. brother or coulin in that fleet; Brass Guns 1600. Iron Guns. 1050. Of Powder, Bullet, Lead, Match, Muskets, Pikes, Spears and fuch like weapons, with other inftruments and engines, great abundance, as also of Horses and Mules, and Provisions for fix moneths. (And that nothing might be wanting as to matters of Religion, they brought along with them the Vicur 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 Horfe and other necessaries 288. of Veffels for Bridges fitted with all things necessary 800. and of Armed men 20900. 50000. Veterane Sou'diers fays Sir Fr. Bacon. But all thefe prepara-. Enoit ad Apal Bellan . cap. 5 225-113.

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tions and forces were not greater, than was the Spaniard" expectation and confidence of an affured Victory and Abfolme Conquest of this Kingdom ; and that not only in respect of the firength and greatness of their Forces, though to great that in admiration of this Navy, they named it, as hath been faid, The Invincible Armado: and fo was it called in a Spanish oftentation throughout Europe, and hath indeed been thought the greatest Navy that till that time ever fwam 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 Goodnels of their Cause, and presumptions of the Divine affitance accordingly favouring them in it, and thereby fignally ratifying the Sentence of Chrifts. Vicar, this being affigned as an Apoftolical Million againft, the Incorrigible and Excommunicate Hereticks to reduce them to the Obedience of the Catholick Church (of Rame,) and to execute his Holines's Sentence of Excommunication against that accurled Anathematized woman; (though this, that we may note it by the way, was properly and anciently reputed, the Office only of Satah and his Angels and Minifters, and never taken out of their hands till Pope Gregory vII. after above a thousand years exercise of it, by the Plenitude of his Power, took upon him to dispose, as it feems, of the Kingdom of Darknefs, as well as of the Empires and Kingdoms of the Earth!) But the Judgement of Heaven was contrary to their expectations; and as the Scripture tells us The Carle Caulelels shall not come, to it pleased God to turn their curfe into a Bleffing. For with this Monstrous Navy, though the Spaniards perfwaded themfelves, that the English terrified with the fight of it, would not dare to affail it, but only failing at a diftance, observe their Course, and the while give Parma an opportunity, without difficulty, to waft Tou. p. 253." 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 inftant purpofely caft abroad, not altogether ready and prepared, couragioully engages and in few days, VCAT3 ha-

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Camd. p 533.

46

Thu. p. 255.

Cicarel. in vita Sixti v.

Camd. pag. 51 3. 516.

having taken and fent home two of their great thips, to difiteffed this Great Navy, that they were forced to fly; and having chaled 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 Curle in the Scriptures, came out against us one way, and fled before us feven ways, being driven about all Britain, by Scotland, the Oreader, Ireland, grievoully afficted with Tempests, Shipwracks, and all kind of Miseries, and very much curtailed; and at laft Refolving in Councel, that, for as much as the Heavens and the Sea being their Enemies, their condition was now fuch as by no Humane Strength. Virtue or Counfel, could be reftored , every one fould return into Spain which way he could, and all meet at a place appointed : they accordingly held their Courfe for Spain, and many by Tempests and other misfortunes being lost by the way, the reft returned with Ignominy and Difgrace: having loft as the Spaniards write, faith Thuanus, 32. Ships, 10000. Men; and 1000. more cartied Captive into England; but as the English and Dusch write, above 80. Ships and as fome of their own fay, the greatell part of that fo Glorious Fleet: which had been the preparations of five whole years at the least, ( fays Bacon ) through Spain, Italy, Sicily, Flanders, their most expert Commanders and Veteran Souldiers, being fent for even out of America, and had coft. before ever they let out to fea, not so little as 12000000 aurea. (centies vicies centena millia aureorum) as appeared by their books of account, as the Spanish Ambassadour informed the French King in the hearing of Thuanwest of dericat

1489

34. Notwithflanding this defeat of his Military Forces, after fo great preparations, and that with fo great expense of his Treasure, yet it feems the King of Spain was fo well pleafed with the proceedings of his Agents the Emiffaries here, that he thought good to creat another Colledge for them, the next year, and, that they might not be far from his Court, at Villadolit. Which in thost time, about two

and the second with the light of it, would not date to all all the

vears after, sent out a Mission into England, the Emissaries coming over in the Difguifed Habits of Seamen, Merchants, 1590. Souldiers, &c. In the mean time Sixtus v. dyed about 27. Thu. 1. 100. Aug. 1590. in to great batted 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. As Cicarel. in vibis Election, the Cardinals in the Conclave were all first (worn, ta ejus. 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 Colledge (of Cardinals, ) thould to the best of his Power, Engage the Catholick Princes to fight against the Turk, Hereticks and Schilmaticks. And how well this man being cholen profecuted the defign of his Oath, may be understood in part by. what hath been faid already, and may be further feen in his dealings with our Neighbours in France. Whereof an infance or two by the way, and a word or two of his quality. and manners, will not be much belide our purpose. He had his Original, as himfelf uled to glory, from an Illustrious House; for, for want of Covering, it was in all parts illufirated by the Sun-beams; being born of poor parents in a. pittiful Cottage. But his good qualities were must confpi-. cuous after his Election to the Papacy, being a most Imperious, Proud, Ambitious, Vain-glorious, Gluttonous, Covetous, Unjuft, Revengeful, Inhumane, and rafhly fevere man, the contraries whereof, by a special faculty of Diffimulation, he. had before fimulated, as he is described by Thuanus and Cicarella in his life. He began the exercise of his Anthority with a rafh and unjust condemnation of a young man of Flo- This. 1.83. Cicarence to be hanged, for only refusing in his Matters house to rel. in vita. deliver an Als to the Popes Officers, which was not his in whofe name they demanded it, but the young mans mafter's, all men pittying the hard cafe of the poor fellow. Nor was this dealing used only with men of inferiour quality; for by his command the Cardinal Sahuiato at Bononia, having fummoned Count John Pepulus, a man of prime Nobility and of no lefs Piety and Probity, for entertaining certain Gentlemen. who

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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, cauled him in the night to be pulled out of his own house, and, having a Prieft ready to confels him, prefently to be strangled. And that we may fee how well he could use both fwords, in the beginning also of his Papacy, he fent 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 Succeffors, far above all the Powers of Earthly Kings and Princes, which never fwerves from right judgment, Declaring them to be Secturies, and publick and manifest Favourers and Defenders of Sectaries; guilty of high treason against the Divine Majesty, and Enemies of the Catholick Faith; to be faln from all Right of Dignity; and them and their Succeffors to be unworthy to fucceed in any principality, particularly in the Kingdom of France : Abfolving their Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity; and laftly Exhorting the King of France to be mindful of his Oath at his Coronation, and to Extirpate all the feeds 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 affistants the Spaniard, leaft, as Cicarella notes, if the King of France and his party fhould have been overcome by the Affiftance 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 fent out his Excommunication against the King of France himself, although a man of an irreconcilable hatred against the Protestants, and who had been a promoter of the Parifian Malfacre, unless within ten days he should set at liberty the Cardinal Bourbon, whom the Rebels defired to make head of ed, & his afhes their party. This was published in May, and the I. of Angust after, was the King murthered by James Clement a Facobin, who was thus refolved in the Cafe by the \* Prior of his Covent, that if be undersook it, not out of basted or de-

fire

Thu. 1. 96. \* F. Edm. Burgoin, who was afterwards excuted for it. drawn in pieces by four horfes, his quarters burnscattered in the wind. Danita, l. 10. p. 857.

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 be should die in the act, his soul would alcend to the Quires of the Bleffed; and as fome fay he was likewife encouraged by F. Commeles and other Jefuites. This fact of Clement was highly extelled in France both in Sermons and Printed books: and the Leaguers had that opinion of his Martyrdom ( for he was prefently killed in the place, and afterward pulled to pieces and his body burned ) that they came to the place, and fcraped up the very duft and earth whereon any of his blood lighted as Sacred Relicks, and put it into a Veffel in which they came, intending to carry it to Paris, and there crect a Monument of his Martyrdom ad adorationem; but by a vehement wind, which fuddenly arole, both veffel and paffengers were all drowned, not one escaping, and the relicks cast away. Nor was the fact less extolled as Rome, even by the Pope himfelf, in a Premeditated Speech in the Confiftory, wherein he not only preferred that wicked wretch before Eleazar and Judith, but most impioufly and blasphemoufly compared his fact, for the greatnels and admirablenels of it, to the Mystery of the Incarnation and Refurrection of our Lord and Saviour. The King had caufed the Duke of Gnife, who was head of the Rebels, to be flain; and this was one main matter, which incenfed the Pope against him. For the Pope had agreed with Guile in Than 1.94. fecree, to marry his Niece to the Prince of Jonvil, Guife his fon and heir, and to depose the King, thrust him into a 15924 Monastery, and compel him by the Popes authority to renounce his right to the Kingdom, and to let up Gwife the father, King in his place. But how zealous and jealous he was for the Dignity and Authority of the Holy See, is worth a our further notice, in an inftance related by a good Catholick, the learned Civil Lawyer William Barclay, in his book De Potestate Papa dedicated to Pope Clement VIII. None of all the writers of the Popes part, Saith he, hath either more dilig ntly collected, or more ingeniously proposed, or more smartly and subtilely concluded their reasons and arguments for the

Popes

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Popes Anthority than the Eminent Divine Bellarmine, who although be attributed as much as with bonefty be could, and indeed more than he ought to have done, to the Authority of the Pope in Temporals, yet could be not fatisfie 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 bumane. but Divine Institution. In so much, that he was very near, by his Papal Cenfure, to have abolished, to the great detriment of the Church, all the works of that Doctor, which at this day oppose beresie with very great success, as the Fathers of that Order of which Bellarmine was, bave feriously told me, cap. 13. But enough of Sixins; By whom, for example, we may guels, by these fruits, what likelyhood there is, that he and such as he whereof there hath been no fmall number Popes, fince the tenth Age especially ( that Seculum Infelix, when with a great Eclipfe 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 difobedience, whole works they have done. The Man ...

1591.

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1592.

1593.

35. The three next fucceeding 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 defign of theirs against this Kingdom. But after Clement VIII. who was elected Pope 3. Feb. 159: was fettled in his feat, the like practifes foon began again, wherein those agents whom we have mentioned before, Hesket, Lopez and, Complices his Cullen, Tork and Williams (who confessed forme others) and Squire, were imployed to raise rebellion, poison or affaffinate the Qieen; Lopez by the King of Spain's Ministers of State, not without the privity and confent of himself; all the reft incited and encouraged by the Jesuites, who for the like practifes at the fame time against the most Christian King, though then become Catholick too, were exterminated out of all France,

Tox. L. III.

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and a Pyramid crected for their perpetual Infamy. But from all these God still preferved her, the Emissaries being difcovered, taken and Executed. Nor did he only preferve her from their attempts, but fhortly after bleffed her with happy fucceffes in an Expedition against the Spaniards then preparing 1596. again to Invade England; wherein the King of Spains Navy of Bacon Obferv. 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, burned, only the twenty Gallies, by the benefit of the Shallows, escaping: the town of Cadiz, manned with 4000. foot and 400, horfe, taken fack'd and burnt but great Clemency uled toward the inhabitants: and at last the English returning home with ho- Camd. an. 1 595 nour and great spoils, besides the two Gallions, and about 100. great brass Guns and great flore of ammunition and provisions of war taken in the town, and with very small loss, and but of one person of quality: the Spaniards ha-ving 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 ellimate of the most knowing perfons above 3000000 ducates. And when the King of Spain not long after, that he might repair this los, in a heat had from all parts gathered together all the Ships he could, and manned even the ftrangers Ships which were in the Ports of Spain, and fet out this Navy to Land upon the Coasts either of England or Ireland, the Heavens fought for her, and to favoured her, that by a horrid tempeft which arofe, most of those Ships were either funk by the waves, or broken against the rocks, in fo much that the fooner heard of the deftruction of her enemies, than of their fetting out to Sea to affault her. The year enfaing, great 1597. preparations were made on both fides, but the Heavens not favoring any further proceedings of this kind, both the Fleets were fo dispersed by ftorms, that neither came within fight of the other. And now the King of Spain became well in-1598. clined to a peace with England, which, though proposed by the French, he lived not to fee brought to effect, for he died the 13. of Sept. after.

36. But

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26. But the death of the King of Spain did not diffolve the Combination, no more than the deaths of fo many feveral Popes before had done. For it still survived in his son Phil. 111. with Clement VIII. Only formany former attempts having proved altogether unfuccessful against England, there was now with the perfons fome change allo of their Counfels; and all their Confultations against England, were afterward fo directed as to depend for their execution upon the death of the Queen. Yet in Ireland there feemed fome hopes that fomething might be effected at prefent, by affifting the Rebels there; and therefore for their encouragement and affistance, the King of Spain by his Agent Don Martin de la Cerda, fends them money and Ammunition; and the Pope, by Mathew de Oviedo, whom he defigned Archbishop of Dublin, Promises of Indulgence, with a Phenix plume to Tir-Oen their General; and the year after, he fends them his Indulgence it felf, to this effect, That whereas of long time, being led on by the Exhortations of his Predeceffors and bimfelf 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 affistance, first to lames Fitz Girald, and lastly to Hugh Onel Earl of Tyron Captain General of the Catholick Army in Ireland, who with their Souldiers had in process of time performed many brave atchievements, 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 affift against the faid 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 joyn with the said Hugh and his Army afferting and fighting for the Catholick Faith, or any way aid or affift them, if shey 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

1599.

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1600.

1601.

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in a Holy League, and their valour and atcheivements; Exhorts them to continue unanimous in the fame mind; and Promifes to write effectually to his Sons, the Catholick Kings and Princes, to give all manner of Alfistance to them and their caule; and tells him, he thinks to fend them a peculiar Nuncio, who may be helpful to them in all things as occasion shall ferve. (20. Jan. 1601. Foul. p. 655.) The King of Spain likewife fends bis Affitance; a great fleet, who landed at King-Sale 20. Sept. under the conduct of Dun John d'Aquila; who fets out a Declaration, thewing the King of Spain's pretenfe in the war, which, he faith, is with the Apostolick Anthority to be administred by him; that they perfinade not any to deny due Obedience (according to the word of God ) to their Prince, but that all know, that for many years fince, 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, bath committed All Power, that be should Root up, Destroy, Plant and Build, in fuch fort, 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 England and Ireland by many Popes, viz. by Pope Pius v. Gregory XIII. and now by Clement VIII. as is well known, whole Bulls are extant: that the Pope and the King of Spain have refolved to fend Souldiers, Silver, Gold, and Arms with a most liberal band: that the Pope Christs 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 fent from Spain under Aloufo de Ocampo. But it pleafed God to make the Queen fill Victoris Thud. 125. Cam. ons over All; and part of them, with the Irith Rebels, be- an. 1601. & ing beaten and routed in the Field, the reft are brought to 1602. articles, upon which they Surrender All, and are fent home, when more forces were coming from Spain to their recruit. The next year most of the other Rebels being defeated and fubdued, last of all Mac Eggan, the Popes Vicar Apostolick, with a party of the Rebels, which he himfelf led, with his Sword drawn in one hand, and his Breviary and Beads in

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the other, was flain by the Qieens forces and the Rebels routed in  $\mathcal{F}_{anuary 160\frac{2}{3}}$  and fo the whole Kingdom, Tyrone also submitting to mercy, totally subdued. (Camd. an. 1603. Foul. p. 664.)

37. And now this Bleffed Queen, having by an Admirable Providence of Almighty God, been Preferved from All these both Secret Confpiracies, and Open Invalions, 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. II. King of Spain, who himfelf lived to be fenfible of the Divine Judgment of the Iniquity of his Actions against her, and to defire 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, the had, with Mature Deliberation, and a Generous and most Chriflian Courage and Refolution, notwithstanding all Difficulties and Dangers which on every fide 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; (fee the one extolled by Sixtus v. Thu. 1. 82. p. 48. and the other by An. Atestina, 1. 129. and both more largly defcribed by the Noble and Ingenuous Thyanas. 1. 129. and Sir Francis Bacon in his Collection of her Felicities ) while ber Neighbours, who wickedly and barbaroufly persecuted the Professors of that Reformed Religion, for their Religion fake, which the 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 fame Religion with themfelves, or were otherwife unhappy in their attempts in that Eminently Remarkable manner, as is fo far from being impertinent to our subject. and defign briefly to note, that it would be a great fault,

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and

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and unworthy neglect not to do it. Certainly who ever thall impartially, and without prejudice confider the Hiftory of this bleffed and happy Queen, and with it compare the Hiftory of the Times both precedent and fubfequent to her reign, and efpecially of her neighbours in France dur ng her own times, muft needs acknowledge, not only an Admirable Providence over Her, in both Preferving and Bleffing her in all her Affairs, but a Special Diftinguifhing Providence, thus favouring her, and at the fame time in a very remarkable manner dif favouring, Croffing, Blaffing and Severely Punifhing and Revenging the different and contrary Courfes and Practifes 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 fervice to the Pope, and engaged in an Expedition against England and Ireland; but having railed a great Army and prepared a great Fleet, was by the King of Feffe prevailed with to affift him in the recovery of his Kingdom in Mauritania. Where, with Stukely, (who commanded the Italian Forces railed by the Pope and King of Spain, for the fervice against Ireland ) whom he perswaded to go with him first to the African war, he was flain, dyed without iffue, and left his Kingdom a prey to the Spaniard; whereby not only the prefent from which threatned the Queen was blown over, but the Spaniard alfo for divers years diverted, by his wars with Poringal from molefting the Queen in that manner, which otherwife 'tis likely he would have done, and from fome fuch Invafion 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 deligns upon England, cut off by the Plague, in the flower of his age; if his heart Thuan. was not broken, as was thought, by the difappointment of his ambitious defigns, after he had fouly, by the Popes Raleigh. ! Difpensation, fallified his Oath taken to observe the Treaty made with the States General. And we might here likewife

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Raleigh.

wife take notice, not only of what fome may think observable in the Death of the King of Spain, if not devoured, vet in a great measure wasted and confumed by Lyce bred in his own body, which in fo great quantities iffued out of four feveral tumours in his breaft, 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 folemnly Sworn to the States General of the Low-Countries (over which he held only a kind of Seigniory) to Maintain their Ancient Rights, Priviledges and Cuffomes, which they had enjoyed under their thirty and five Earls before him; and afterwards obtained from the Pope a Difpenfation of his Oathes ( which Dispensation , fays Sir Walter Rawleigh, was the true caufe of the war and Blood fhed fince) when he fought contrary to bis Oathes and all Right and Juffice, not only by new devifed and intolerable Impofitions, to tread their National and Fundamental Laws, Priviledges and Ancient Rights under his feet, and both by Arts, (dividing their Nobility,) and by Force, to enflave their Persons and Estates, and make himself Absolute; but moreover by introducing among them, the Exercife of the Spanish Inquisition, to Tyrannize also over their Consciences : and in pursuance hereof had committed many barbarous Murders and Maffacres among them; by the Just Providence of God, he was thrown out of all, and those Rights and Priviledges, which he fought to abolifh, and that Religion which he fought to opprefs, were by that people retained and enjoyed with greater freedom and liberty than ever; fo that in conclusion the recompense of that oppression and cruelty which he exercifed upon them, was the loss of those Countries, which, fays Raleigh, for beauty, gave place to none, and for revenue, did equal his West-Indies, befides the loss of an hundred millions of money, and of the lives of above four hundred thousand Christians, by him caft away in his endeavours to enflave them. If befides this we reflect upon his many and various attempts against the Queen of England, fome of them with fo great fludy and vaft

Thu.1. 120.

vast expense of his Treasure; his unhappy Wars in aid of the Rebels in France, which his ambitious hopes had no lefs devoured, than they had England; all of them unfuccelsful and remarkably blasted, and himself at last fo weary of them, that he was glad to defire peace with both; his fruitless wasting of 5594. Myriads of Gold, as himself confessed, without any other profit, than the acquest of Portugal, which he thought might be as eafily loft as his hopes of the Kingdom of France had fuddenly vanished, and however was fufficiently ballanced with his loss in Africa and elfewhere; the death of his eldest fon, by his own command, as the lesuite \* Peravius faith expressly, and the less of all his \* 9. Ration. other fons, fave only Phil. 111. who fucceeded him, and was Temp. 12. the only fon of all his four wives, who furvived him; If we ferioufly, I fay, reflect upon all thefe, we may look upon the prolongation of his life, in respect of himself, but as a continuance of trouble and mifery to him; and in respect of this bleffed Queen, to have been defigned by God, for an Exercife of her Faith and Virtue, and a neceffary means, to render his Favour and never failing Providence over her, the more Manifest; Conspicuous and Exemplary to encourage others to Fidelity to him, and Refignation to his most Wile, Powerful and Gracious Providence. But though these things do well deserve our notice, yet that which I call a Diffinguishing Providence, is yet more admirable and remarkable in her nearer neighbours in France.

39. When Queen Elizabeth began her Reign in England, Henry II. was King of France. His Father Francis I. 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, fays 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 fo much innocent blood, as was shed in the barbarous and horrid murders and flaugh- Thu. 1.6. ters which were made upon the Protestants of Merindol and Cabriers, condemned meerly 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 fex, most barbarously murthered. But being touched with remorfe 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 murtherers, who in the cruelty of their execution had exceeded the feverity 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 Guifes, whom, he forefaw, if admitted to the administration of the Kingdom, would reduce both his Children, and the People of France, to great miferies. But Henry II. no fooner came to his Fathers throne, Davila p.15.19 but he presently began to practife the contrary to his directions, displacing those that before had any part in the government, and substituting in their room the fame men whom his Father had discharged, and Guise with the first, and at length the three brothers of Guife 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 Confequence of which did afterwards make good the truth of his fathers prediction. Nor did he much better perform his fathers charge, in doing Juffice upon the bloody offenders; for though he gave the cause a long hearing, yet did not the iffue of the judgment answer the great expectations, which the fo many horrid crimes whereof they were accused did raile in mensminds: one only of the offenders, for want of friends at Court, being executed; but the principal actors of that wickedness. reftored to their former dignity and places; fo that instead of that Justice, which, if duly executed upon the offenders, might pollibly have averted or mitigated the Divine vengeance, which hath fince profecuted his fathers guilt in his poflerity, he not only by neglect thereof, but alfo by his own contri-

Thu. 1.2. Davil.p.14.

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continuance of the like cruelties, and for the fame caufe of Religion, appropriated his fathers guilt to himfelf, and with the addition of his own, transmitted the same to his posterity, with the Divine Vengeance further provoked attending it. He began his Perfecutions of the Protestants in the first year of his reign, and continued the fame to the last days of his life, with that resolution, that no follicitation of neighbour Princes, his allies, could mitigate his fury. He used his uttermost endeavour, says Davila, p. 40. to excirpate the roots of those seeds in their first growth; and therefore with Inexorable Severity refolzed, that All who were found convict of this imputation, should suffer death without mercy. And although Many of the Counfellors in Every Parliament, either Favouring the Same Opinions, or Abborring the Continual Effusion of bloud, made use of all their skill, to preferve 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 fuch a point as would in the end, though with the Effusion of much blood. have expelled all the peccant humours ( he means the Proteftants) 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 refpect of the course of nature, untimely, but, in respect of Gods Providence, most seasonable, death, of that cruel King, in the height of his Refolutions of Inexorable Severity against the Protestants, by the hands of that same man, whom he had but few days before imployed 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 caule of the Protestants; and at the fame that Queen Elizabeth was with Her Senators Confulting and Refolved to Establish that Religion, which he perfecuted : which the happily by Gods Bleffing effected, and procured a Bleffing upon her felf and her Kingdom, while he furiously fighting against God, was in a Ludicrous fight, running at Tilt, by a Splinter of a broh

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ken lance, which found entrance at his eye though his head and body were clad in armour, cut off from further profecuting his refolutions, in the midft of his years, and in the midft of his publick Solemnities of the Nuptials of his eldeft daughter to the King of Spain, which whom he had concluded to make a war againft the Proteftants, and of his only Sifter to the Duke of Savey, in the view of the Baftile, where thofe Senators were kept in Prifon, and within two or three days, if not lefs, after one of the chief of them was declared heritick, and delivered over to the Secular Power; Leaving behind him a Curfe upon his pofterity, and Mifery and Confufion to his Kingdom, principally caufed and promoted by thofe very inftruments, whofe Counfels and Infligations he had followed in his wicked and bloody practifes.

1559.

Lib. I.

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40. He left four sons, all in a manner children; the eldeft 'Francis 11. who lucceeded him, under the age of fixteen; " who by reason of his youth, or rather, as fays 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 Cuftoms ' of the Kingdom called to that Charge the Princes of the Blood, among which for nearness and reputation it be-'longed 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 life-time of his father had married, feverally afpiring to the Government; to which neither had right by the Laws of the Kingdom; and therefore despairing by their own power and intereft, to obtain and retain it alone, they refolved to unite their feveral interests and powers, and to share it among them; and they quickly obtained, the 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 Oueenmother the Superintendance of all : the Princes of the blood and others of the prime Nobility being excluded not only

from

Davil.l.I.

from the Government, but allo, by arts and affronts removed or repulsed from the Court it felf. The Guifes, having thus intruded into the Authority aforefaid, continued the fame Refolutions of Severity, against those of the Reformed Religion, which they had infuled, or at least fomented and agitated in the former King; which they infantly put in execution. And the same moneth that this King came to the Crown, his Order is fent 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 Thu. 1. 23. 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 fireets with the noife of their lamentable crys : their goods taken out of their houles were publickly fold, and their empty houses profcribed : 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 Noctarnal Meetings the lights being put out, were now renued against these, and base people produced by the Cardinal to prove it, who though upon tryal convicted of fraud and fallhood, were yet suffered to go unpunished. The City being thus diligently fearched, the fame Courfe is immediately taken in the Suburbes, at S. Germans, and prefently after in the reft, of the Cities of France, especially at Poidiers, Tholoufe, Aix, and throughout the whole Province of Narbon. Shortly after command is given to the Court, to proceed feverely against those who were suspected, and with all diligence to attend to the tryal of them, without intermiffion. Whereupon the Prifons were all foon emptied, fome being condemned to death, others banished, and the rest punished with other mulcts and penalties. Nor did all this fatiate the fury of these cruel & merciles men : for dreading the very mention of an Affembly of the Effates, which might correct the

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the Exorbitances of their Usurped Power, they accused all those as Rebellious and Seditious, who defired it: and when they perceived the Protestants, who were now very numerous notwithstanding all the cruelties used against them, to concur in the same defire, new Arts and Snares were devised to apprehend them; wherein also others who were not of their Religion, were often unawares furprised. For every where, at Paris especially, were erected images of Saints, in the Streets & by-ways, with lighted Candles fet up to them in the day time, and a deal of Superstitious Worthip; and boxes fet by them, into which, they who paffed by were preffed to cast in money for providing of the Lights, and fuch as refused to do it, or neglected to give reverence to the Images, were fuspected, and inftantly affaulted by the Rabble: and happy was he, that in fuch cafe could escape with his life, though immediately thrust into prifon. All this was done the fame 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 Confultation against the Guifes, to remove. them and the Queen-mother from the Government, this feverity by the mediation of Colinius the Admiral and Olinier the Chancellour, was by a publick Edict, for the prefent in part. remitted; Yet no fooner was the danger of that Confederacy over by the defeat of the Enterprise at Amboise, but the Edict was recalled, and new refolutions concluded for the utter ruine and extirpation of the Protestants: and that upon this further occasion, and by the means following. The. Guifes nothing doubting but that the late attempt at Ambeife, to surprise and remove them from the Government, was fecretly 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 fuch unjust perfecutions, would favour the right of the Princes; refolved to cut off both : But confidering that it would be difficult and hazardous, by open Force to get the Princes into their power, they refolved to effay to accomplish that by

·IbH. 1. 24.

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Art; and therefore first by all means to conceal and diffemble their fuspicion of them : and to that purpole, endeavoured to have the late business at Amboise imputed to the Protestants, and to attribute all to Divertity of Religions; which might also ferve them to a further purpose, viz. to render their own caufe and proceedings more plaufible to the people, and the others more odious; and to urge this yet further, they endeavoured to poffels the King with great apprehenfions of the danger of his own perfon from that party, and the people with an opinion that that attempt was defigned against the King himself; which was so gross a Calumnie, that Davila himfelf, though otherwife 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 defigns against them, to accomplish their defigns, 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, Thu. 1. 26. they prefently proceed more openly; and having obtained an Edict that all should exhibit a profession of their Faith, according to a Form, 18. years before prefcribed by the Sorbon Doctors, and that they who refused, should be punished with loss of life and Goods : fuch were fent out throughout the whole Kingdom, who should apprehend all that were suspected to be of the Reformed Religion, with command to pull down the Houfes and Cafiles of those who made any refistance. And the Princes, being at length with much Art and difficulty, wrought upon to come to the Affembly, though contrary to the perfwafion 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 refolve to circumvent Conde with Acculations 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 fecretly. But when all these defigns against both the Protestants in general, and these Princes in particular, were brought to the very point of execution, and the ...

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the Tragedy already begun, It pleafed God, by the fame means, whereby he had decreed to profecute his judgments and vengeance against this perfecuting House of Valois, to deliver those who were defigned for flaughter; and by the feafonable intervention of the otherwife untimely death of this young King, before he had accomplifhed the age of eighteen, to confound and difappoint all the fubtile machinations, of these ambitious unchristian persecutors. As the force and violence of thunder, fays Davila, nfeth in a moment to overthrow and raine those buildings which are built with great care and long labour; so bis 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 beight of all discord, and more than ever they were formerly, troubled, wavering and abandoned. Thus he, but we may rather observe the unfuccelsfulnels of fuch violent and Rigorous Courfes, though for the attaining of never fo good and lawful ends; and that not fo much of their own nature, as by the special Providence of God, who doth frequently fuffer wicked and proud conceited men, confident of their own wit or firength, to proceed in their wicked policies and the exercise of their malitious practifes, 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 fo much more miferable by their difappointment, by how much they thought themfelves nearer and furer of the enjoyment. Such were the Popes and Spaniards difappoinment mentioned before Sect. 26. pag. 32. and that of 88. Sect. 33. and others. Whereas Queen Elizabeths' moderate proceedings, but in a better caufe, were all along bleffed with happy fuccefs.

41. To this young King, thus cut off in his youth, and leaving no iffue behind him, (though fome) years married to a beautiful young Lady, fucceeded his brother Charles the nineth, a Childe of about Eleven years of Age; who.

who, by reafon of his Minority, being incapable to exercise the Government, by Agreement between the Queen mother ( now fufficiently weary of the Ambition and Infolencies of the Guises, and fuspitious of their deligns ) and the King of Navarre first Prince of the blood ( though the Guifes used all their Arts to renue the former differences between them ) Thu. 1. 26. She is made Regent, and He President of the Provinces; and a Dav.1.2. Decree is made by the King., with the counfel and advice of the Queen Regent, Navarre, the reft of the Princes of the blood and others, Privy Counfellors, whereby the Supreme Regimen of all is committed to Her. Hereupon the Guifes being accustomed to govern, and not able to conform their minds to their present condition, sought all manner of opportunities, whereby they might again raife themfelves to their former greatness. And whereas at the instance of Navarre, with the confent of the Regent and the Councel (many difliking the effusion of fo much blood for no other fault than profession of the Reformed Religion ) a Decree of 156%. Councel passed 28. Jan. for the Release of all Prisoners committed only for matters of Religion, and to flop all Inquifition appointed for that caufe, to prohibit difputations in matters of Religion, and particular perfons from reviling one another with the names of Heretick & Papift, & commanding all to live together in Peace, &c. this ferved them, to diffemble the true caufe of their grief; and therefore they made shew of being moved and offended only at the tacit toleration permitted the Calvinifts; covering in this manner (fays Davila) with a pious pretence under the vail of Religion, the interests of private paffion. And having, by the arts and fubtilty of Diana late Mistrels to Hen. 2. gained to their party An Momorancy Constable of France, ( who, being at that time in the fame danger with them and others of being called to refund the large donations which they had obtained of the two laft Kings, and befides had been very active in the former perfecutions against the Protestants, was with the lefs difficulty wrought upon, especially in the absence of his son, a sober and prudent perfon, who diffwaded him all he could ) they enter into a league for the prefervation of the Catholick Religion,

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1560.

Три. 1. 28.

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*v*.Thu.in 1.26. a Confpiracy between Gui/e and the King of Spain, qua nulla audacior in regno memoratur, which alfo was in agitation at this time, though not difcovered till after Gui/e his death,an. 1564

\* About the year 1300. gion, and mutual defence of their feveral Estates. And when the Protestants, after some other Edicts and Decrees, partly indulging some kind of liberty to them, and partly reftraining it, were permitted a publick Disputation at Poiley. ( 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 pleafing to the Pope, but was much defired in France by the most sober and pious of both fides, who were studious of the peace and good of the Church) there was prefently a \* fecret confultation held by the Grandees of the Popif 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 privity of the Cardinal of Lorain, haftens to King Philip with a Supplication and Private Infructions, Complaining of the increase of the Protestants, the remissers of the King and his Counfellors in reftraining 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 Thefis, among others, is fet up to be difputed publickly, That the Pope, as the fole Vicar of Christ, and Monarch of the Church, bath All Christian Princes Subject to his Spiritual and Secular Power; and that he may turn out of their Kingdoms those that are rebellious to bis Commands. Wherewith the King being acquainted, his Delegates were fent to complain of it to the Parliament; which ordered the Sorbon Dectors to deprecate the offence, and to recant this errour brought in \* by Pope Boniface 8. and fince his death generally condemned. The Guises in the mean time dreading a National Synod fo much defired, as fearing that the Protestants would prevail in it, spared no endeavours to keep it off. To which end alfo, Philip of Spain follicited by the Pope, fends over his Ambassadour, who with threats added to his intreaties daily importunes the Queen R. to Severities against the Sectaries. But because the Guifes thought that Navarre would be a main obstacle to these endeavours to keep off the Synod.

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Synod, they refolve with the Spanish Ambassador and the Popes Legate ( who was admitted in France, but held frictly to the conditions by the Laws appointed ) to fet spon him, a man though otherwife of parts, yet through indulgence to pleasures and ease, grown facile and easie, 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 herefie, and marry their niece the Queen of Scots, with whom he thould have also the Kingdom of England, of which the Pope was about to deprive Elizabeth for her herefie. But when this, by reafon of his love to his Queen, a woman of great worth, and by whom he enjoyed a good eftate ( though they promifed 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 propole that the King of Spain, for fatiffaction for his Kingdom of Navarre (which the Spaniard unjuftly held from him,) fhould give him the Isle of Sardimia, which though a pitiful thing, they very much magnified, and promifed the affistance of Spains Treasures and Forces if he would defert 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 bim, and foi made up the Triumvirate, of Navarre, the Duke of Guife, and Momorancy the Constable, and layd the foundation of that Civil war, which thortly after enfued, and in the compass of about a year after put an end to his hopes and life alfo; when being wounded he became fenfible Thu. 1. 33. 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 fame time or not long after, the Queen Regent and the Councel, upon the complaint of the Protestants of that little liberty, which was permitted Thu. 1. 28. them by former Edicts, being abridged by or under pretence of the Late Edict of Italy, which they faid was furreptitioufly obtained by a fraud in numbering the Votes, refolve upon

upon another Affembly at S. Germans, where was made that famous and much Celebrated Edict of January, whereby the Protestants are permitted to assemble at Sermons fo it ' be out of any City; and the Magistrates commanded not ' to moleft, 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 Councel, the Creed, and the books of the Old 'and New Testament, and that both fides should abstain ' from all reproachful words, speeches and books against one another: and when the Senate interceded against the promulgation of the Edict, a mandate was fent out to them to promulgate it without further delay, which being again and again reiterated, they at last obeyed. The Guiser, the Constable 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 aforefaid gotten Navarre to their party) to obtain their defires. And first they endeavour to infinuate into the Lutheran Princes of Germany, and if poffible to engage them against the Protestants of France ( who in a point or two, wherein Luiber and Calvin differed, incline rather to Calvins opinion) or at least to render them more flack in affording them their affistance. Then after a three days fecret confultation with the Duke of Witenberg 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 Vally, met to hear a Sermon, whereof fixty men and women, were by them flain, and above two hundred more wounded, the Duke with a great retinue Speedily repairs to Paris, in an infolent 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. Marins, he goes about with his attendants,

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tendants, being accompanied by the Conflable, the Duke of Anmale his brother, and the Mareshal 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 fuch fort as is used by the people to their Kings. Hereupon the Queen after divers other infolencies of this party, fearing that under pretext of afferting the Catholick Religion, they would usurp the Supreme Power of the Kingdom, and get into their hands the King, her felf, and other Children, She commends all, and the whole Kingdom to the Care of the Prince of Conde Dav. 1. 3. the next Prince of the blood, and earneftly and frequent- Thu. l. 29. ly importunes his affiftance, to ftop the proceeding of the Confederates. But they, who upon longer Confultation had made fufficient preparation for what they intended, eafily prevented him : and having exafperated the people with feigned rumours from all the Provinces of the Kingdom, of pretended injuries done to the Catholicks by the Protestants (an Artifice wherein the Cardinal of Lorain's greatest skill confisted,) the Duke draws out a party, and at Fountain-bleau feisetb upon the King, whom with the Queen and Her other Children, they carry by force to Paris, the King weeping to fee himfelf his mother and brothers carried as it were into Captivity. The Queen the same day they were seifed, renued ber importunity to Conde, defiring him not to abate his courage or neglect his care for the prefervation of the Crown, or fuffer their enemies to airogate to themfelves the abfolute Power in the Government. The Confederates on the other fide 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 affembled to Prayers and Sermons, and in the afternoon another, whereby also the neighbour buildings were confumed, and permitted licence to

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the Rabble to abuse and injure those they suspected for their Religion ) held frequent Confultations how best to Order their affairs for their own advantage. ' In which Counfels the Duke of Guife openly declared that he ' thought it most expedient to proceed to a War with ' the Hugonots, fo to extinguish the fire, before it burst out into a confuming 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 alledging the express Authority of the Regent, and that the Orders fent 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 onely paffive, that, fince now they had engaged in Action, as many of them did in this fervice of the Prince. it may the better appear upon what grounds they did ACt; which was not upon pretenfe 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 it felf, by a long train of policies and violent Cruelties. But this War was rather tharp than long, which, besides the flaughter of eight thousand men in one battel at Drenx, befides great bloodshed and mischief in many other places, was in short time the destruction of two of

<sup>24</sup> He was fhot returning from the Camp to his Quarters by *Poltret*, who being taken, upon his examination faid hewas imployed by *Colinius* and exhorted to it by *Beza*; but being brought to the rack he utterly denyed it, and concerning Beza perfevered in his denyal to the laft; but the principal Authors of it, Navarre and \* Guife being both flain; and the Conftable the only furviving Triumvir being taken Prifoner, thereupon an Accomodation followed without difficulty, upon these Conditions among others; 'That all free Lords, not 'holding of any but the Crown, might 'within their Jurifdictions freely exercise the 'Reformed Religion; that the other Feuda-'taries.

e taries might do the same in their own houfes, for their own families, provided they · lived not in + any City or Town | where ' the Courts refided ]. That in every Pro-' vince certain Cities should be appointed, in " the Fauxburg whereof the Protestants might 'Affemble at their Devotion. That in all 'other Cities and Towns, every one should 'live free in his Confcience without trouble or molestation. That all should have full · Pardon for all Delinquences committed du-'ring, or by occasion of the War; declaring all to be done to a good end, without any offence to the Royal Majefty, and 'all be reftored 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 found of Trumpet, in March 1562. which had they been honefly and juftly observed, might by Gods bleffing, have been a means of much peace and happinels to that Kingdom; but we find the contrary as to the Observance, and therefore no wonder if the contrary also to fo hopeful and happy confequence and iffue of it. For no sooner was this War concluded

upon this Edict of Pacification, ratified with all the formalities and folemnities ufed for the eftablifhing and confirming of Laws in France, but the Edict began prefently to be violated, the Protestants in divers places, both difurbed in their Religious Affemblies, which this and other Laws allowed them to hold, and injured in their Civil Rights, and in divers manners frequently and grievoufly opprefied, and that not onely by concourfes and affaults of the vulgar and Rabble, who, having no pretence of Authority, were many times with like force repulfed by the others;

concerning Colinius, being brought to execution, and with the terrour of his approaching execution being befides himself, he one while affirmed and another while denyed it. Colinius and Beza, calling God to witnefs, utterly denyed it, and Colinius wrote to the Queen, that before his execution. the bufinels might be further examined; but he was in few days after executed. Thuanus, lib. 34. But was it really fo, Who employed and exhorted Parry, not against a Commander of an Army, but against his Prince ? who Lopez ? who fo many more againft Queen Elizabeth ? who James Clement to murther Henry the third of France ? who Fo. Chastel to murther Henry the fourth? To mention no more.

† So Davila, but Thuanus, lib. 35. modo ne in pagis aut municipiis babitent, que majori juri/dictioni, regia excepta, [ubʃunt.

72 Ibu.l.35,36, 37, <del>39</del>.

Thu. 1. 37.

TEH. 1. 39.

others, but even by the Prefidents of the Provinces and other Magistrates, whole duty it was to have feen the Laws juftly 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 violence, and also by fraud, by breach of faith, by subornation of witneffes, by falle calumniations. By which means and fuch like arts, together with the mediation of their potent friends at Court, the passionate young King being before prejudiced by the Arts of the Guifian faction, especially the Cardinal of Lorain, and further incenfed 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 eafily 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 discountenanced and discouraged, that they were forced to return without an effect, if not imprisoned, and for the greatest violences an enormities, even murther it self (by which as some writ not fo few as three thousand had perished fince the Edict of pacification ) could obtain no remedy or redress. And of a this many plain and notable examples and proofs might l produced out of our Noble Excellent Hiftorian, were not too long to do it. We might inftance in that notab practice of the Bishop of Pamiers, which gave the first o cation of that very tumult, which that fmooth Italia Davila mentions, and while he exaggerates the actions the Protestants in it, with no little partiality conceals the first and true occasion of it; but perhaps being a Courtie he relates it and other fuch paffages, as they were then, I the Artifices and means above mentioned, reprefented at the Court. Nor was the Royal Authority abus'd to concur. this Iniquity and Injuffice only by confivence and permiffic of these things thus done by the Kings Ministers and Office

Lib. 35, 36, 37, 39.

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 elufory Interpretations of the Edict. By which means, whiles it feems, 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 fuch fort, that had the Protestants been of those pernitious principles, that their adversaries indeed were, and endeavoured to represent them to be, the most subtile and malitious enemies of that Kingdom could not have devifed and promoted a more effectual means and method of its confusion and ruine. 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 conclufion to make themselves Master of it. Which though at that time not fo visible to every one, yet was afterwards very apparent. The Pope alfo, because France flood too much upon their Liberties and Priviledges, being a well wilher to their defigns, especially of Guise, though not fo much of Spain, as not defiring fo potent a Neighbour. But all these oppressions and Injuries though they provoked some little tumults of the vulgar, yet were they not fufficient to produce and neceffitate another Civil War, which not only the Spaniard defired, as well for his own fecurity to divert a War from himself, as in order to his further defigns, but also the Cardinal of Lordin, his Nephews now growing up, though his brother the Duke was flain; and therefore befides thefe, 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 purpole, befides some lesser Confederacies for an irreconcilable war against the Protestants, there was a Conspiracy, which was begun indeed by the Duke of Guife in his life time; but renued again and carried on by the fame faction, with the King of Spain, for the cutting off of those of the Nobility who favored the Protestant doctrine, and particularly for surpriling

fing the Oagen of Navarre and her Children. ( the next heirs to the Crown of France after the familie 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 receit to her mother the Oueen mother of France, who eafily perceived what was aimed at, and by others to the Queen of Navarre, and fo prevented; the Legates of Spain, the Pope and Savoy were by the means of the Cardinal of Lorain, fent to perfwade the King to admit the Councel of Trent in France, and to that end to invite him to a Confultation 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 Councel, nor to engage to openly against the Protestants, the Legates were under fome other pretentes 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 Enterview between them and the Queen of Spain accompanied with the Duke of Alva is fo ordered that a more secret Confultation is held at Bayonne for the extirpation of the hereticks, and a Holy League made between the two Crowns for mutual affistance to that end, and ' at last it is concluded according to the opinion of Alva, " which he faid was the judgement of King Philip, to cut off ' the chief heads of the Protestants and then in imitation of "the \* Sicilian Vefpers to flaughter all the Protestants to the 'last man ; and because the intended Assembly at Moulins French were all . mas already talked on, that it would be best to make a flaughter of the Nobility affembling there from all parts, and upon a fign given to exterminate the rest through out 'France. This Thuanus relates from Jo. Bapt. Hadrianus, who he faith wrote his hiftory 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

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Tan. 1565. Davila. l. 3. Thu. 1. 37.

\* 20. Mar. 1 282 When the without diftinaion of age or fex cruelly flaughtered ; as were the Danes here in England 280. years before that.

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 shis time the Prince of Conde and the Colinies being admonished, by their friends at Court of these bloody Counsels, and thereupon suspitions of the Court designs, were more cautions and wary. Yet was Colinius at the Affembly at Moulins in January fol- Thu. 1. 29. lowing, and there by folemn Oath purged himfelf of the death of the Duke of Guife; and poffibly might then make some further discovery into these secret counsels; which, if as is faid, they were at first defigned to be put in execution there, feem by the fucceeding Hiftory to have been deferred for want of sufficient Forces ready, and of fit instruments. For afterward, by the advice of Alva, 6000 Swiffers were Thu. 1. 41. hired, and levies of Souldiers made in Champain and Picardy, under pretence 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 collution, by his lending them Forces in the War foon after following): neverthelefs the Smiffers were fill retained.

43. Whereupon, all very well knowing that there was a bet- Tow. 1. 42, ter accord between the Courts of France and Spain, especially fince the enterview at Bayonne, than that there needed any fuch Guards, the Prince of Conde, Colinius, Andelor his Brother, and the reft 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, lofs of their Estates and Fortunes, to confult together what courfe might be taken for the fafety and prefervation not only of their estates and liberties, but of the lives of themfelves, and their wives and children. They had feen and felt the Edicts made on their behalf, partly eluded by the interpretations of new Edicts and Proferipts, partly violated by the malice and iniquity of Judges and Prefidents of the Provinces : injuries and milchiefs every where done to them, aud even the murthers of no small number connived at, and permitted to go unpunished. And besides all this, they had K

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A Discourse concerning the

certain intelligence of those fecret confultations held for their destruction, and of other secret counfels held by Ambaffadors 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 Affemblies, they faw plainly that those preparations, which Cafter the Cities which they inhabited were difmantled, and Forts therein built, and Garrisons put into them) were at first made under fuch pretext as was no way probable, and now continued without any at all, were defigned against them; and were also informed thereof by intelligence from their friends.\* and by letters intercepted from Rome and Spain. Notwithstanding after a confultation or two, it was refolved by common confent of all, to use all mild and gentle means; and therefore, fince now there remained no further pretence to retain them, the Prince of Conde, by his friends, defires that. fince Alva is now retired into Belgium, the Swiffers 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 defigns, they at last affemble in great confusion; and though every one faw the danger which hanged over their heads, and was now ready to involve them all, yet great queftion there was how it fhould be prevented : To complain, they by experience knew what effect of that might be expected : to Arm, though in fo great occasion of necesfity and extremity, they eafily forefaw many inconveniences. attending that. [ They only unhappily not forefaw the proper remedy by their great Master prescribed in such cafe, to fly, though it had been to the greater humanity of the uncivilized Indians : whereby they might perhaps better have confulted their own fafety, and allo have promoted his fervice in the propagation of his Truth and Gospel. ] But to Arm, befides the milchiefs of a Civil War, they thought that could not be without many calumnies and flanders caft upon them by their adversaries, as if they were the Authors of it, and undertook it against the King, to whom they did not fo much as impute their former injuries and oppreffions, or prefent

Sures, p. 768.

fent dangers, but only to their adversaries, who having at first by force gotten the King into their power, abused his immaturity and authority to ruine and deftroy them : and although they should take up Arms only against them, and meerly for the neceffary defence of the lives and fortunes of themfelves, their wives, and children, and for the prefervation of the Kingdom, yet thould they not escape that imputation : and therefore they unanimoufly 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; left by an ill defence of a good cause they should desert that Equity or Fustice which had hitherto stood on their part : till by the discourse of Andelos, a perfon of great authority among the Peers, and befides of known probity and virtue, they were perfwaded, that after so often breach of Faith by their adversaries, there was no further truft to be given to them; and for the calumnies and flanders which fhould be caft upon them, the iffue of their to neceffary undertakings, if it pleafed God to blefs them in fo just a caufe, would fufficiently clear them, Upon which they changed their refolutions, and agreed to take up Arms for their own defence; which accordingly they did, to the no little joy of the Cardinal of Lorain, that the bufinels was brought to the neceffity of a War, which, after feveral in- Cardinali Loeffectual treaties for an accommodation, fhortly enfued. And taringus rem ad these were the true causes and occasions of the Jecond Civil tem deductam War; which after many Noblemen and Gentlemen of both gaudens, fays fides flain 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 Juffice ) and fome other acts of Holtility was about confiliis Juis fix moneths after it began, by a fraudulent peace rather inter- opportunas exmitted than concluded: for about fix 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 inventer of those oppressions and troubles to his neighbours, escaped not a remarkable judgment of God upon him: for at this fame time, Thu. 1. 43. bis eldest, and then only fon, Prince Charles, defigned to kill

belli necessita-Thuanus; and a little before fpeaking of him, Turbas Iltimans.

him;

him; or at least he thought fo; or however fuspecting that he favoured the Protestants in the Low-Countreys, or for fome other reason, pretended so; and therefore caused him to be taken out of his bed in the night, and committed to cuftody. Whereupon the young Prince falling diffracted, and often attempting to kill himfelf, he was, at last, by Philip his Fathers own command, having first confulted with the Inquifition, povsoned. Few months after, bis Queen, whom he had employed in those bloudy confultations at the enterview at Bayonne, died great with child, and not without fufpition of poifon by his own means, being, as was thought, jealous and suspitious of her too much familiarity with his own fon, whom he had not long before thus murthered. And in her, who was the eldest daughter of Hen.2. of France, married at the time of his death, as hath been faid, and in this late confultation in France profecuting his cruelties, and fo 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 alto in the Civil Commotions both in the Low Countreys, which by his bloudy confultations with the Inquifition (thejust judgment of God giving him up to be infatuated by them and the Jefuites) and the the cruelcies of Alva, the fame infirument whom he had employed to raife those troubles in France, and now made Governor of the Low-Countreys, produced there; when he thought all things fo fafe and fecure, as that he might, be at leifure to affift in the troubles which he had raifed in France : and befides these (which as they at prefent afflicted him, fo afterward produced his lofs of a great part of those Countreys) in those Commotions even in Spain it felf, by the Moors in Granada, which for two years during those wars which he had cauled in France, made him feel the fmart at home of fuch commotions and troubles as he had procured to others abroad. And by these means, as on the one fide his pernitious counfels were jufily punished, fo on the other was he diverted from profecuting the fame, by fending those Forces against the Protestants in France, which otherwise he had undoubtedly

Thu. L. 43 ..

doubtedly done. And to these might be added his loss of Thu. 1. 58. Goletta in Africa, (an. 1574.) and with it the Kingdom of Tunis, (which concerned him in point of fastey and fecurity for navigation, as well as of reputation,) but that some few years intervene.

45. But to return to France, the War, after fix months intermiflion, upon the like caufes and occasions, breaking out again, like diseases upon a relapse, was both more violent, and of longer continuance. Yet the counfels of the Queenmother prevailing, who according to the genius and mode of her Country, fought all along rather by her Italian arts and furprizes to compass her ends, than by the hazard of a Civil War, which Spain and the Guifes molt defired, as best accommodate to their defigns, it was within the compais of two years brought to conclusion, upon fuch conditions granted to the Thu. 1. 474 Protestants, as were so much more fair and reasonable, by how much with greater fraud and deep defign to enfnare them, they were granted ; and yet fo qualified and limited, as not to give caule of fuspition by too great indulgence. And now the King was grown up to a capacity of deriving upon himfelf 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 management 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 cholerick, fays Davila, and yet had from his Mother derived fo great a share of the Italian genius of deep and subtil diffimulation, as did most notably qualifie him for the most effectual execution of malice and revenge. Nor was his Education lefs accommodate thereunto, having from his childhood been inured to the effusion of his peoples blood; for which purpofe, as was faid, it was that he and his brothers, while yet children, were by the Duke of Guife caused to be spectators of the flaughters at Amboife, where the River was covered with That la 14 the dead bodies, and the fireets with the bloud of those who by precipitate condemnations without due process of Law, were executed and flaughtered, and the whole Town turned into

into a kind of grove of Gallowfes and Gibbets, with people hanged on them : he was arrived to the age of twenty years and upwards in the midft of Tumults, Oppreffions, 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 incenfed by the fouleft mif-reprefentations of the late actions of the Protestants that could be deviled, and by his Mother was instructed in all the Italian arts of Government and Policy; Optimis a matre ad benerecteq; regnandum monitis inftru-Eins fays he of himself. Being thus qualified for it, he now of himfelf undertakes the execution of the conclusions at Bayonne; and refolving to profecute the fame, not after the Gnifian and Spanish methods by the continuance of the Civil War, but by the more fubtil and fafe Italian method of his Mother, Thu. 1. 47. 50. his first busines is to beget in the Protestants an opinion and hope, that fince 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 dispofition towards them. And therefore, having granted them Thu. 1. 50. 51. as fair conditions of Peace, as without danger of fuspition of his too great favour he could, he speedily takes order for the effectual reftraining and repreffing of the injuries and oppreffions which were prefently after the peace concluded begun again against the Protestants, and gives them leave to call and hold Synods : (by which means, had he dealt fincerely, and proceeded foberly and freadily therein, he might certainly much better have fecured the peace and happinels of his Kingdoms to himfelf and his fucceffors, 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 cauled fome speeches to be given out, as if upon the conclufion of that Peace at home, he intended a War in the Low-Countreys against the Spaniard, which could not but have been

Tbx. 1.50.

Thu. 1: 47:

been for the benefit and advantage of the Protestants there : And thorsly after upon another occasion caufes the like spee- Thu. 1. 50. ches to be repeated again, and a motion by the by to be made in fecret of a Marriage between the Lady Margares his Sifter and Henry Prince of Navar. Of both which there is again a proposition made by some Protestant Gentlemen fent by the King to Navar and Colinius for that purpole, and to affure them of the Kings extraordinary good will towards them, and to invite them to come to Court, which the King alfo by letters and other special meffengers earnefily follicited. And to create a further confidence and affurance in them and the Thu. 1. 50. 51: reft of the Protestant Nobility of his fincerity, he caules an overture of a Marriage to be made to Queen Elizabeth of England, between her and his brother the Duke of Anjon, and moreover enters into a League with her, and at the fame time also with the Protestant Princes of Germany against the Spaniard. And having by thefe 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 confults with him how to carry on the Belgick, War, gives him leave to raife what Forces he will in the frontiers in order to it; and in fo great favour is Colinins received at Court by the King, his Mother, and Brothers, that the Guifes forfooth are fo offended at it, as thereupon to leave the Court. In fum, fuch were the arts and deep diffimulation which were used, as effedually deceived this prudent perfon, and a great part of the Nobility; and fuch was the King's care of fecrecy, and to whom his defigns were imparted, that as foon as he perceived that Ligneroles (who yet was his brother the Duke of Anjon's confident) was but acquainted with the defign, he prefently caufed him to be murthered. The management of this first business having fucceeded according to the King's mind, the next thing to be confidered, is the manner bow to accomplish the defign. And of this he holds a conful Tha. I. s 13 tation with the Queen his Mother, his brother Henry Duke of Anjon, (who was afterward Henry 3.) the Cardinal of Lorain, Claud his Brother Duke of Anmale, Henry the young Duke

Thu l. 51. Da. p. 361:

Cambd. an. 1572.

Da. p: 363. Thu. l. 51.

Еа: р. 367. Тын. 1. 52. Duke of Guife, and Ren. Birage Vice Chancellor, and fom others. This done away, goes the Cardinal to Rome, to treat with the Pope about these secret Counsels; and to manage the prefent affairs with more fecrecy, he goes feemingly as discontented at the Court of France. At last the Marriage concluded, and the Pope's dispensation obtained, the time of folemnity is appointed; whereunto, befides 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 poffible they might at once cut off all the heads of the Protestant Religion. For now in conclusion is put in execution that horrible Maffacre, which for the matter was as long fince as the enterview at Bayonne refolved 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 fitteft to take her away by poilon, and that to prepared and administred by the perfume of a pair of gloves, as to work only upon her brain, and put her into a fevor, and therefore her body being diffected in open view, but her head under colour of respect untouched, it was divulged, that by the teftimony of skilful Phyfitians the died of a fevor, as Davila relates the flory. The next to be made fure of in particular was that brave perfon Colinins, a man who, though through neceffity ingaged in them, yet detected, out of an innate hatred of fuch broils, the late Civil Wars even to his own ruine and defiruction at last, as Thuanus upon several occasions often notes, and as real a well-wither of his King and Countreys good as any Subject in France, as appeared more fully in fome inflances difcovered after his death. But the King and Queen-mother by the arts of the Gnifian Faction being prepoffeffed of a contrary opinion of him, after all their fraudulent expressions of favour to him, caufed him to be shot by a retainer of the Gnifian Family, to fecure themselves from the imputation of fo odious a fact; but being thereby only maimed, not killed out-right, they prefently according to their former diffimulations, repair to his lodgings to vifit him.

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and with great thew of forrow for the accident, appoint him Phyfitians and Chirurgeons, and a guard for his defence, and order a strict search for the apprehension of the affasine. This done upon the eve of St. Bartholomen being Sunday, Da.p. 372. the Duke of Guile 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 fleeve on their left arm, and white croffes in their hats, to be ready upon notice instantly to execute the Kings commands, and that the Sheriffs of the feveral Wards thould also be ready, and caufe lights, upon the ringing of the bell of the Palace-clock, to be fet up in every window; himfelf at the hour prefixed, with the Dake of Aumale, and Monfieur d'Angoulesme the King's bastard-Brother, and other Commanders and Souldiers to the number of 300, went to the Admiral Colinius his boufe. and having forcibly entred the Court-gate kept by a few of the King of Navar's Halbardiers' and the fervants of the 14. 275 house, who were all killed without mercy, they likewife kill the Admiral himself, (and threw his body out of the window), Felinius his fon-in-law, with other perfons of quality, and all the reft that had relation to him. This done, Monfieur 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 flood in two long ranks with their arms ready for that purpole : there died divers Noblemen and perfons of great quality, and others to the number of 200. At the fame time the bell gave the fign, and those who were prepared for the deed. having received order what to do, fell a killing the Protefants throughout all the lodgings and houses where they were dispersed, and made an infinite flaughter of them without any diffinction of age, fex or condition, and of many of the Papifts among the reft. And those who fled were pursued by the Duke of Guife with a great many horfe and foor, and being overtaken, some without shooes, some without faddles, some without bridles, but all more or lefs unprovided, were scattered and cut off. There were killed in the City that day and

and the next above 10000, whereof above 500 were Barons. Knights and Gentlemen, who had held the chiefelf employments in the War, and were now purpofely met together from all parts to honor the King of Navar's Marriage. A fad time it was; what through the noise and clatter of those who every where ran to killing and carrying away of their prev. and the doleful groans and fad cryes of those who were flain and murthered without mercy; young and old, rich and poor, men and women, women great with child, and others with their little children fucking at their breafts, and in the dead time of the night plucked out of their beds and houfes; what with the horrid spectacle of dead bodies thrown out of the windows, and trod about the fireets, and the channels running down with ftreams of bloud into the River. And ver fo little moved were the Court Ladies with all this, that without either fear or shame, in an impudent manner they beheld and food 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 Anjon with the Regiment of the Guards went through all the City and Suburbs, caufing those houses to be broken open that made any refistance; but all the Protestants were either already dead, or elfe being terrified, had put white croffes in their hats, (the general mark of the Papifts) endeavouring by that means, and by hiding themfelves to fave their lives; but being pointed at in the fireets by any one, or difcovered any other way, they were without mercy torn in pieces by the people, and caff into the River. The day before this terrible execution, the King diffatched Pofts into divers parts of the. Kingdom, commanding the Governors of Cities and Provinces to do the like. And the fame night at Meaux, and the days enfuing at Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Angiers, Tholouze, and many other places, but above all at Lyons, there was a most bloudy flaughter of the Protestants, without any refrect of age, fex, or quality of perfons. Moft fad and lamentable flories, fays Davila, might be here related ; for this cruelty was profecuted in fo many feveral places, with fuch variety of accidents, against people of all conditions, as it was credibly repor-

DA. 375.

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Thu. 1. 32.

reported that there were flain above forty thousand Protefrants in few days. The King himfelf, as \* Cicarela re- In vita Greg. lates, told the Pope's Nuncio that feventy thousand and more 13. were flain. Some days after the King dispatched his Grand Provost with all diligence to feize upon Colinius his Wife and Children ; but his eldeft Son, with the widow-Lady his Mother-in-law, and others being already fled fecretly to Geneva. the younger children both male and female were condemned to death in their tender years. About two days after the Maffacre was finished at Paris, a Jubilee was there appointed, and a publick Thankfgiving kept by the King, the whole Court, and a great confluence of the people, for the bufinefs fo happily managed according to their with and defire. In Thu. 1. 52. 53. memory whereof St. Bartholomew's day was by a decree of the Parliament of Paris appointed to be observed as an Anniverfary Thankfgiving-day. 1 d

46. This horrible act of molt barbarous and inhumane Thu. 1, 51. 53. cruelty is highly extelled by the Italian Writers, as a good and laudable deed, and the politick contrivance of it as most worthy the fubtil 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 LDI .C.LE bow far his predeceffors were concerned in the contrivance and promotion of it, in regard of the great fecrecy wherewith all was managed, would be very difficult fully to difcover, as to all the particulars and circumstances, yet that they had a -great hand in it, is evident enough in many paffages of the ftory. For when after the first Civil War, the King, instru- Thu. 1. 36. Da. p. 189. Ged by the Queen-Mother, had difmiffed the Ambaffadors fent in the joynt names of the King of Spain, the Pope and the Duke of Savoy, with thanks to their Mafters for their wholfom counfel, and proffers of Forces and Aid, to expel and extirpate Herely out of his Dominions ; affuring 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 the had concluded the peace to that end, to expel his enemies out of his Kingdom; and promifing by Ministers of his own to acquaint the Pope and other Princes particularly with

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# A Discourse concerning the his refolutions; they refolved under pretence of a Progrefs.

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Da. p. 194.

Thu. 26.

DA. D. 194.

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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 fo they might communicate their Counfels to them without the hazard of truilling French-men, who either through dependence or kindred, might be moved to reveal them to the Protestants. And having fufficiently informed and fully fatisfied Savoy with their intentions and way, defigned to free themfelves without noife 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 Queens defire come thither, and give that Answer to the Pope's Embasy which they would not truft to the Ambaffadors, concerning their purpofe to extirpate Calvinism by fecret ftratagems, without the danger or tumult of new wars. And here no doubt was fome matters of no Imall moment transacted, for the King having gone by Arles and Aix as far as Marfeilles, returned again to Avignon immediately under the Pope's Jurifdiction. But what-ever they were in particular, fo well it feems was the Pope pleafed with the means and method refolved upon for the extirpation of Calvinism, that in order thereunto he confented that the Publication of the Council of Trent in France should be deferred till such time as they had brought their defigns to maturity. And probably for the fame purpofe, by the mediation of the King and Queen-Mother, defifted from his Excommunication of the Queen of Navar, which by his Monitory he had threatned against her. And at his inftance was the next year held that Confultation at Thu. 1.37. p.74. Bayonne before mentioned, at which he defired that the King of Spain himfelf (hould have been prefent, to whom it is not to be doubted but he fent his advice concerning what was there to be refolved. But this Pope dying foon after, his fucceffor Pins 5. being as yet unacquainted with the mystery of them, began prefently to be offended with the proceedings in France, till he was better informed of all those reasons which Ludovico Antenori had represented to his predeceffor, with which

DA. P. 110.

which he remained fully content and fatisfied, fays Davila. The Queen also acquainted him with her Counfels, not only Thu. 1. 53. by Cardinal Sancta Crux, four years before they were executed at Paris, by him defiring the Pope's confirmation, but also by letters under her own hand, as Capilupus testifies, who faith that he had feen the very letters themfelves. Nor was he only privy to these Counfels of the King and Oueen-Mother, but likewife communicated his counfel and advice in the fame bufinels to them. He fent to the King of France and his Ministers most excellent instructions for the rooting out cicarel. in vita of those Hereticks out of that Kingdom, fays Cicarella, but tells Pii, 5. us not what they were, yet that is not hard to guess at from the confideration of his nature and actions, (as hath been mentioned before) as well difposed to promote cruel and bloudy defigns 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 affistance of his Forces. But when the War was concluded, and the King with his Mother and Cabinet-Council, had refolved to make a Marriage between the young Prince of Navar, being now grown up, and the King's Sifter. to be the train to draw the Protestant party into that snare which had been fo long before devifed, the Pope not yet acquainted with this circumstance, (for though the thing which was to be done had been long refolved 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 fulpitious that the King had forgotten his former kindnels and excellent instructions, and therefore ordered his Nephew Cardinal Alexandrino in his return from Spain. to debate the bulinels with him. Whereupon the King affured him that he did all this to obey the inftructions of P. Pius. But P. Pius lived not to receive this fatisfaction, or Catena in vita not long after, not to fee that joyful day which his fucceffor Pii, 5. Greg. 13. did, and kept with great joy and folemnity for the . withed fuccels of these Counfels. For the prometing where-

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of.

Da. p. 361: Anfwer to Philanax p. 100.

T'bu. 1. 53.

In Minervæ æde.

In Hadriani mole.

Aireos.

of, being perfwaded by the Cardinal of Lorain, (and told that this Marriage was intended as a trap to defiroy the Prince of Navar and his Protestant party) he prefently gave bis difpensation for the celebrating of it, and encouraged the defign: which was as much as he could do at prefent, things being already ripe for execution. But having received an account of the Maffacre by letters from his Legate at Paris, he read his Letters in the Confistory of Cardinals, where prefently it was decreed that they fhould all go directly thence to St. Marks, and there folemnly give thanks to Almighty God for fo great a bleffing conferred upon the Roman Sec and the Christian world; and that the Monday following a publick Thanksgiving should be celebrated in the Church of Minerva, and that the Pope and Cardinals should be at it; and thereupon a Fubilee should be published throughout all the whole Christian World, and among other causes thereof expreffed, this was the first, To give thanks to God for the deftruction 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 Proceffion to St. Lewis, with very great refort of the Nobility and people; the Bishops and Cardinals going before; then the Switzers; then the Embaffadors of Kings and Princes; then under a Canopy the Pope himself, a Deacon Cardinal on either fide him, and the Emperors Ambaffador 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, Mais was faid by the Cardinal of Lorain, (who for the incredible joy which he conceived for the fo much defired news, had ordered a thoufand \* Franks to be given to the Meffenger, who was a Gentleman fent by his Brother the Duke of Aumale). Upon the Churchdoors was let an Infeription, in which the Cardinal of Lorain, in the name of the King of France, did congratulate the Pope and the Colledge of Cardinals the most wonderful effects and incredible iffue of their Counfels and Affiftances. This

This done, Cardinal Ursin is appointed to go Legate into France, who speedily took his journey, and being come as Thn. 1. 54. far as Lions, (where, next to Paris, was the most bloudy flaughter) he began to extol with many commendations, the Faith of the Citizens; and publickly praifed 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 flaughters and murthers committed at Lions; and upon him he alfo, out of the plenitude of his (legatine) Etiam ei potepower conferred some of the Pope's favours and graces. And statis plenitualthough by the King's Ministers (who were now much dine gratia beotherwise affected with the sense of the barbarous flaugh- neficium imperters of their Country-men, than was the Pope and his Minifters ) he was admonished to be very sober and sparing in his speech of the Maffacre, yet could he not hold, but everywhere, both in private conference and in publick, to conz. mend the King's prudence and magnanimity in that bulinefs: and fo full was he of it, that being come to Paris, and endeavouring to perfwade the King to the admiffion 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 boly Roman Church, might be as it were fealed by the approbation of the boly Synod. For fo would it be manifelt to all, who now are, or hereafter shall be, that the King confented to the destruction of lo many lives, not out of batred or revenge, or sense of any private injury of his own, but out of an ardent defire to propagate the glory of God. That what could not be expected whillt the faction of the Protestants flood, noto they being taken away, the Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion, which by the Synod of Trent is cleared and defended from the zenome of the Sectaries, might be establish d beyond controversie, and a wishous 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 excufe. . And therefore was the Legate difmiffed without any effect as -

to that particular, to the Pope's no great fatisfaction; yet he folaced himfelf with atchievement of the Maffacre, which, becaufe 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 fent him to Rome for a prefent.

47. But alas, in France, all men generally, and the King himfelf 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 fenfible of the foulness and odiousness of the fact, when done, (as is usual in fuch cafes, the heinousness of fin feldom appearing to wicked minds till actually committed) was in great perplexity whether to own it or not, and how to excufe it. And therefore it was long debated at Court, whether to admit the Legate at all, or by fome handfome 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 fuch caution and admonition to him as hath been mentioned. For this unhappy King had no fooner accomplished these deep defigns, from which he promised himfelf fo great fecurity, content and happinefs, but he found himfelf lurprized and involved in inextricable difficulties, perplexity and mifery. And befides the daily fecret borrors of bis mind and confeience, which appeared in their nocturnal effects and productions, disturbing and interrupting his sleep with direful and frightful dreams, which drove him to the ule of Saul's remedy, by Mulick to refresh and quiet his disturbed spirits, that anxiety which arole 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 happinels and tranquility which he had promiled himfelf that he fhould obtain by it. For though he had before promifed himfelf great fecurity by the deftruction of the heads, and flaughter of fo great a party of the Protestants, yet having done the deed, that desperation into which he apprehended his perfidious cruely had driven those who remained.

Tbu. l. 54.

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Thu. 1. 57.

1 Sam. 16.

mained, and by the articles of the last agreement of Peace held Rochel and other ftrong places in their poffelfion, rendred them not a little formidable to him, and perplexed his mind with doubts and fears of new troubles from fo just and great provocation. These cares of what might be the confequence of this action at home, were increased and aggravated by his apprehension of what effects so barbarous an act Thu. 1. 53. (which is reported to have filled with flupor and amazement, the Great Turk himfelf at the hearing of it) might produce in his neighbours abroad, left they thereby might be moved out of commiferation to fend their aid and relief to his fo 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 Thy. 1. 52. confidered before-hand, out of that lenfe and pre-apprehention they had of the wickedness and foulness of the delign, how to caft the imputation of it upon the Guiles, who alfo out of the fame fense and pre-apprehension endeayoured all they could to avoid the odium of it. And being done, the King immediately, whether affrighted and terrified, fays 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 Guifes, alledging that it was done without his privity or confent; that they, fearing that the friends and relations of Colinius would revenge the injury done to him upon them, had raifed the tumult, which he was not able to reprefs in time ; with a great deal to this purpole. And to the fame purpole were Letters written by the Queen, and fent not only through France, but alfo to the Helvetians, and disperfed through England, and in divers parts of Germany. But as it ulually happens upon the perpetration of fuch horrid crimes and wickedness, that the authors of them diffracted with the horrors of their guilty confcience, when they find no fatisfaction or affurance of fecurity in any courfe they take to conceal or palliate their crime, continually devife and attempt new ways and means,

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and by their often change and inconftancy to any, promote that difcovery which they feek to evade; foit happened in this cafe. For as these Letters were disproved by his express commands, which, as Davila relates, he had but few daies before fent out; so doth he now again in few days after contract the fame, and in full Senate declares that all mas done by his own will and command, and orders fo much to be entred of record in the publick acts of the Court. And though to the Pope and Spaniard he owned that he did it upon the fcore of Religion, yet knowing that with others, this would not fo much excufe as aggravate and increase the odium of it, fome other caufe was to be devifed and pretended. And therefore first to extenuate the fact, he pretends that his commands 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, fo foon as he defired, to reftrain; and that other Cities taking example from thence, did the like without his licenfe, and to his great grief and trouble : and then for the caule pretends a Conspiracy against himself, his Mother and Brothers, and Navar himfelf, and to make Conde King, and afterwards to kill him alfo, and fet up Colinius. And though the caufes pretended against Colinius, in the judgment of the most prudent men, who were not at all addicted to the Protestant party, fays Thuanus, had not fo much colour of truth as will perswade even children to believe them, much less any fufficient 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 Jubilie (as hath been faid) was appointed, and an Edict publifhed, 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 fill defired fhould be inviolably and religiously observed; but to prevent the Conspiracy of Colinius and his Confederates, &c. and Letters to like purpofe were fent to the Presidents of the Provinces, declaring, as was pretended, the TRUE caufes of the tumult, and commanding them to treat the Protestants in all friendly manner, &c. And that nothing might be wanting, fays Thuanus, to the height

Cicarel. in vita Greg. 13.

Thu. 1. 53.

V. 1. 54:

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Fbu. 1. 53.

height of madnefs, that they might feem to glory and triumph in so detestable an enterprise, in emulation of the ancient Emperors, Medals were coyned with the Infcriptions, VIRTUS IN REBELLEIS & PIETAS EXCITAVIT JUSTITI-AM. Divers other fuch like arts were used to put a face upon the bufinels, and make it look like a happy prevention of some terrible Conspiracy. But what was the most detestable of all, by the accumulating of fin upon fin, as is usual in such cales, was the gross abuse of Justice it felf, whereby the Courts of Juffice were drawn into the participation of the guilt, by an horrible and abominable Sentence, not only against Colinins who was dead, but his children who were alive; and also against Monsteur de Briquemant, who had fled to the Englifh Ambaffadors; and Arnald Cavagnes Master of Requests, who had hid himfelf hard-by with a friend, who admonished him of the danger, but were both taken and imprifoned in the Palace, and the fame day that Sentence was given against Colinius, were condemned to death, which Cavagnes fuffered with admirable conftancy, reciting Prayers out of the Pfalms by heart, in Latin, for three hours together, with his eyes fleadily 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 furprize Rochel; yet afterwards, when the King refused that condition, but offered him another, which was, that he thould acknowledg himfelf guilty of the crimes objected to him, and confels before the people that there was a Conspiracy entred into by Colinius against the King, he refuled that, and chofe rather to fuffer death, which accordingly he did with Cavagnes. While these & fuch like artswere uled to excuse and difguise the business at home; to do it abroad, besides the Queens Letters above-mentioned, were several Ambaffadors employed in Helvetia, Germany, England, Poland, and other foreign Countries, where they either refided before, or were fent on purpole for this fervice, and Learned men suborned and perswaded to do it by printed Books. But all thefe, not having any certain ground of truth, as a common foundation for all to build upon, while each alledged, 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 juffifying the fame; fome excufing it only by way of recrimination for things done in the late Wars; and others infifting upon the pretended confpiracy 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 feveral pretences and allegations, by their inconfiftency and difagreement one with another. The Learned Lawyer Fr. Baldwin was hereunto follicited, but was more ingenuous than to be retained in the patronage of fo foul a caufe : and yet among those who undertook this office, belides the Mercenaries, were some persons otherwise of honour and repute, who, becaufe what was done could not be undone, partly to confult 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 detexted. And fome were therein fo far transported, and over-shot themselves, out of zeal for the honour and good of their Countrey, that our ingenuous author deplores their actings in it, especially as to that foul bufinefs of the Trial and Sentence above-mentioned. But generally the French Courtiers, who were more ingenuous than to profitute their reputation by afferting that pitiful pretence of the confpiracy, yet used all their art to reprefent the cafe, as a fudden accidental thing, and not fo long before contrived as the Italians and Spaniards relate.

48. It is very usual and even natural to men, especially to the more confidering minds, when any thing rare and extraordinary doth occur, not to reft fatisfied with the bare contemplation of the thing, but also to reflect back, and enquire into the causes of it. And therefore fince Thuanus relates that the more prudent of these, 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 detesting the fame, did also feriously confider the causes of it, their fense and judgment in that respect may likewise deferve our observation.

Lib. 33.

vation. They faw apparently that fo infamous and pernitious counfels could not proceed but from minds to ftrangely infatuated and blinded, and did feem to argue a special judgment of God upon them. And of that, the caufes to which it might be reafonably attributed were very obvious and easy to be discovered. For such was the profanenes, debauchery and wickedness, which prevailing in the King, (through his evil Education by his Mother and those Tutors to whom the 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 fo diffused through the whole Kingdom, as could not but provoke the Holy Majefty of God to fend down his judgments upon them. This is the fum of their judgment, only he gives more particular infances in the fins 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 fuch causes, as, being fo obvious and notorious, no ferious Christian believing, and inftructed in the Sacred Scriptures, but would readily affign in the cafe. For thus doth St. Paul inform the Ro- Rom. 15 mans, of fuch as hold the truth in unrighteousness, (and our Romanists might do well to be admonished by it) that becaule when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, their foolifh heart was darkened, and he gave them up to the Justs of their own hearing, 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. What-ever 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 fincerity and life in their profession, or lastly, such impotence in the profeffors, that the prevalence of their fenfual affections doth eafily over-power and fascinate their reason; which argues their defertion by that Sacred Spirit which infuses light and life, and heat and power into humane fouls, as they are difpofed to receive it, no less than doth the Sun communicate its kind influences to the corporal and animal nature. And as this .

this doth maturate and sweeten crude and sour fruits, and confirm and strengthen the tender plants; so doth that, where it is indeed heartily embraced, admirably dispose mens minds to fweetness and tranquility in themselves, to fweetnels and devotion to God, to fweetnels, kindnels and benignity to men; and makes these dispositions firong 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 likenels. 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 Chrift Jefus, and through him with the fountain, from whom, by him, it is derived to all his true members; (of his fulnefs we all receive), and one with another, they are all partakers of the fame Spirit, (a nearer alliance than that of bloud) and are filled with a tender affection to all the children of the fame Father, and love to all the creatures of their great Lord, and for his fake even to their enewies, to those that perfecute and injure them; pitying their blindness and madness, and defiring their conversion, not destruction. But no sooner or further is any man deferted by this bleffed Spirit, or devoid of his fweet influences, but he prefently becomes fo much the more obnoxious to all the malevolent afpects of wicked spirits, and is impregnated and filled with the poilon of their infections, which excites and exalgitates to exorbitancy his fenfual affections, dementates his understanding, and continually foments and promotes the affimulation and likenefs of their own nature in him, cherishing and fructifying the roots which are in him, of Pride, Ambition, Envy, Malice, Revenge, Perfidioulnels, and all manner of lufts and wickednefs, according to his particular disposition. And because there is so ftrong and powerful a propenfity to Religion rooted and fixed in the very nature of man, as is very difficult, if not imposfible utterly to extirpate or deprefs this in fuch a perfon, is by the fubril operation of these agents, either, if more languid and remils, diver-

diverted, by exciting him to an eager profecution of his other more ftrong inclinations; or, if more intense and active, perverted either into superstition, or some other conceived heroick acts of a partial Religion, confifting and concurring with the fatisfiction of his other inclinations : whence ordinarily proceeds much of that heat and zeal which we frequently fee in men for their feveral parties, for the shells and out-fides of Religion; for opinions and notions, no more neceffary to be known and determined to make men compleat Chriftians, than the speculations of Philosophers; and often for pernitious and destructive principles, especially in the Romanists; and inconfiderate endeavours, by fraud and injuflice, fedition or oppreflion, and violent perfecutions, and fuch like most unchristian actions, for the advancement of the caufe which they elpoufe; whereby they encourage themfelves with fecret hopes to explate their licentiousness and indulgence to their own inclinations in other matters, and eafily perfwade themfelves that fo long as they are fuch good Catholicks, or well affected to the truth and the caufe of God and his Church, that all must needs be well with them. And hence proceeded this not only unchriftian, but barbarous and inhumane, perfidious, bloudy action of Charles 9. Hence the fuspition of his Brother and Succeffors Henr. 2. Hence all the licentiousness and wickedness which we fee every where in the World. And to all this is no fmall 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 lefs effectual to the provocation of this judgment of obduration of mens minds, which is very likely to have had no little influence in this cafe : and that is the refifting, reje-Gion, or not receiving and embracing of the Truth when offered: which he mentions in a paffage, which, if I be not much miltaken, concerns the defection of the Church of Rome, and hath been fo understood by the Christians in all ages, (though fomewhat obscurely and impertectly, as is usual in the interpretations of prophetick writings before they be fulfilled), as well agrees with the conjecture. Becaule they receive

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receive not the love of the Truth, faith he, For this caufe God shall fend them strong delusions. And this 'tis very likely had no fmall influence in this cafe. 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 fo new modelled and accommodated to the fecular 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 fince, but very much injured, dishonoured and prejudiced Christianity it felf. And when it pleafed God by his providence, both long fince, and again of latter days, to raile up a people in the Confines of France, who retaining that which of all fides is confeffed to be truly Catholick, rejected those novel corruptions and abules, (though perhaps with them fome things which might be tolerated), and thereby gave fo fair occasion to the French upon further confideration, and with more mature deliberation to reform the fame, (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 earneftly defire and follicit the convention of a National Synod to that purpofe; the French Kings were unhappily fo 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 perfecute those who were made the occasions of it. And this seems to have been so manifest a caufe of the troubles, mifchiefs and adverfities, which by the providence of God have befallen that Nation and their Princes fince the beginning of that Century, that it is ftrange (but that the height of contentions then on foot might perhaps hinder it ) that neither those prudent confidering men did take notice of it in this cafe, nor yet our judicious and candid Author, who relates their judgment, and had himfelf obferved almost as much in Lewis 12. If it be fit, fays he, for a mortal man to speak his opinion concerning the eternal Counsels of God, I should fay that there was no other cause why that most excellent Prince, in so many respects commendable and worthy of a better

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better fortune, should meet with fo many conflicts with adversities, than that he had contracted fo near alliance with Pope Alexander 6. and cherished the cruelties, lusts, perfidiousness, and for. tunes of that impure Father (the Pope) and of his Son (Cæfar Borgia ) a man drowned in all kind of wickedness : and then relating the King's calling of a Synod, upon his provocations by the next Pope Julius 2. (undoubtedly fo ordered for the fame purpole by the Divine Providence) first at Lions, and then at Pifa for the reformation of the Church, and his medals coined, with this Infeription, PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN, and how after all this he renounced the Council at Pila through the importunities of his wife, and fubfcribed to the Lateran Council to gratifie the next Pope Leo 10. and adding that in the judgment of many he had done more advisedly if he had persevered in his purpose of reforming the Church, he concludes; Thefe therefore were the caufes both of the declination of our Empire, and of the adverse fortune of Lewis: who after all his other misfortunes died without iffue male, which he much defired to fucceed him. And in this King is very observable, that as there was in him no want of magnanimity, humane prudence, or care for himfelf, the glory of his Kingdom, and prosperity of his affairs, to which his misfortunes could be imputed, which makes the judgment of God therein the more apparent; fo neither could any vice or other fault be noted in him, which might be affigned as a caule of that judgment, but what is here mentioned, the neglect of that duty whereunto he was fo fairly led, and whereof he was to far convinced, as that he began to put it in execution. In the time of his fucceffor Francis 1. all things scemed to confpire in giving occasion every where to the Reformation of the Church, what through the Pope's differences with feveral Princes, which produced the abolition and abrogation of the Papal Authority for fome time in Spain, and afterward in England; what through that abominable imposture of Indulgences and other their gross wickednels and abules, which provoked Martin Luther and other learned men to fearch into, and detect their mystery of iniquity, and discover many groß errors and abuses crept into NOS the

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+ He married bis Son Henr.2. to Katharine of Medices daughter to Lawrence D. of Urbin, who was Nephew to Leo 10. and Coufin to Clem. 7. † V.3. Sect.39. 24g. 56.

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Thu. 1. 530.

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the Church, whereupon enfued the Reformation happily begun and promoted by many Proteftant Princes and Cities in Germany, and other parts. But Francis not only neglected the occation, and rejected and made himfelf unworthy of the common benefit of it, but moreover contracted that \* alliance with the Popes, and at laft began those  $\dagger$  perfecutions, the unhappy confequence of both which we are now relating. [Nor. was the King of Spain much more happy in his perfecutions of the Protestants in the Low-Countries, the confequence 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 flavery to the strong delusions and infatuations of the Jesuites, who precipitated him into divers dischonourable, unfuccessful, and to his own affairs pernitious undertakings.]

49. But to return to the effects and confequences of that bloudy act, whereof what hath yet been related, was but the first fruits of those Counsels from which fo much happines, tranquility and glory were to long expected, inftead whereof was reaped only horror, fhame and anxiety, whereunto fucceeded a plentiful harvest of other real troubles. For the King and that Faction which prevailed at Court, after fo many former breaches of publick Faith, by this fo inhumane cruelty and foul breach of Faith, fo much the greater, by how much the greater arts and deep diffimulation had been used before to raife a truft & confidence of their fincerity, had now driven those of the Protestants who remained alive to that distrust and jealousie (the usual fruits of perfidiousness) of what-ever Letters, Promises, Edicts, or other means could be devifed to fatisfy them, that nothing could give them any affurance of their lives and fafety, but retaining those places which by the last agreement of Peace were left in their poffellion for their fecurity, (and were now, had the agreement been performed, to have been delivered) to ftand upon their defence. And though many of them not only doubting of their firength, but making scruple of the justice of the caule, now fince not only the Princes of the blood, to whom the administration of the Kingdom did belong, were absent, but more-

moreover the King himfelf was grown a man, did difpute against it, and from both those grounds urged all the arguments they could : yet against the first of these, the horror of these flaughters, which they had to lately feen, and did forefee, prevailed, and despair made the most timerous couragious. And this also made the answer which was returned by others to the latter, more fatisfactory to the reft; that to take up Arms for their just defence, not to offer violence to any, but only to repel the injury, and fave themfelves from flaughter, 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 deftroy them, who if fo powerful as to have proceeded. fo far in the late tumult beyond his confent or privity, or prevalent with him as to work his affent to fo unjuft 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 fo just a cause upon their ferious repentance, truft in God, and humble fupplications to him, he would gracioufly pity their mifery, and provide some unexpected means for their relief. And therefore seeing La Charite was surprized at the time of the masfacre, and the fame was attempted againft Montabon, and be-ing further warned by what was lately done at \* Caftres, \* caftrum in which after great promiles of fafety by the King, was not - Albigenfi agro." withstanding permitted to be plundered, and layed waste by the flaughters and rapines of Creufeta, Rochel, having for forne daies kept a folemn fast, with divers other places prepare for their defence. And at last when arts failed, especially after the maffacre at Burdeaux, in the midft of their treaties, the King's Forces were fent to affault them. And thefe (fays 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 bope and expectation even of those who through necessity rather than npon counsel and design did manage it, when, so many Commanders being flain, the Nobility who remained difperfed abroad, and the people in all places aftonished, all was thought subdued, within

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the compass of a year, without the foreign aid of any Prince, and money every where after so great plunders failing them, it reftored the affairs of the Protestants to good condition again. And yet this was only a defensive War on their part, and, as he fays, of neceffity, wherein those poor people fought only for their lives and fafety, and not to negle & the King's commands, were willing to keep their meetings at Sermons only fecretly 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 fuch were their apprehenfions of the perfidioulnels and cruelty of their enemies, and refolutions thereupon, that they chole rather to fuffer all the miferies and neceffities that humane nature is able to bear, than again to truft to the mercy or promifes of them whom they had fo often found perfidious, and moreover at last fo barbaroufly inhumane and cruel. And therefore at Samerre it is almost incredible what they fuffered. Having spent their ftores, they killed and eat their Affes, Mules, Horfes, 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 what-ever was made of leather, edible; and Bran, Straw, Nutfhels, the Horns and Hoots of Beafts, even dugg out of the dunghils, and the very dung of Horfes, and fuch things as fcarce any other creatures will feed on; infomuch, that whereas in eight-moneths fiege they had not loft 100 flain, 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 fupply, little lefs than miraculous; for all the time of the fiege, the tides, it being a Sea Town, left the poor people fuch plenty of a kind of shell fish, as very well supplied them with food; which, when the fiege was ended, prefently vanished, and were not seen in such plenty much longer. Yet did they tellify as great abhorrence of the perfidiousness and cruelty of their enemies, by their incredible courage and activity, even of their women in the repulle of feveral fierce affaults, and also in fallies : and in conclusion, the affailants feeking

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feeking rather occasions how to raile the fiege with credit, than having any hope to obtain the City by force, they came Thu. 1. 56. to this agreement for themfelves, Montabon and Nifmes, con. Da. p. 392. firmed by an Edict, That free profifion of their Religion (hould be permitted them, according to the Edicis made in behalf of the Protestants ; their priviledges confirmed ; no Garrison imposed on them; only the King should appoint them a Governor, and they (hould be governed by the Laws and Customs which they had used even fince 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 Rochel, but paying 40000 1. for the faving of their Movables. And this end (faysour Author) had this fourth Civil War after the tumult. at Paris, when the Courtiers thought all subdued by that Saughter, begun and finished in the assulting of certain Citics, and especially in the fiege of that one City of Rochel, which for fo 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 Anmale, Tular, Cossens, Goa bis Brother, and other, 40000 Souldiers (the very number faid by Davila to have been flain in the maffacre) being flain, and dead of fickness, and among these 60 chief \* Commanders (and as fome \* Ordinum Dufay, most of the actors of that tragedy) besides a vast deal of ttores. mony and military provisions spent, and at last things being reduced to those freights, that the King contrary to what had before been falfly personaded him, thought himself a greater gainer by that Peace, than by the Parifian flaughter. Such were the effects whether of the Italian Policy, or the Romish Doctrine of not keeping Faith with Hereticks.

50. He had no fooner ended this War, but he began to Ton. 1. 57be grievoufly afflicted with that fatal difeafe which in few months after put an end to his life, not without infpition of poilon by his Mother and Brother Anjou, and belides in the mean time, by her arts, and the influences of the Guiles upon her, was prefently involved in a fit of Civil War. And this not only against the Protestants, whom having fufficient cause from former experience to beware of the perfidious field and cruelty of their enemies after other new occasions of fuspition, the

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the forced again to provide for their fecurity, and fland upon their defence, by a perfidious attempt to furprize Rochel by her emiffaries, 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 confiderable party of the Catholicks, (as they call them) whom, while the thought it neceffary for the continuance of her power and authority in the government, to keep up, and foment factions among the chief Nobility, the, by over-doing what the defigned, forced, for their own fafety and fecurity, to joyn their complaints and forces with Whereby (confidering the division of that the Protestants. party) (he in fome fort repaired the loss which the Protestant party had fustained by the massacres; the Providence of God undoubtedly thus ordering it to manifest the vanity of their former hopes of peace and tranquility by fuch wicked courfes for the destruction of the Protestants, and to punish by their mutual diffentions among themfelves, their former unanimity in perfecuting them. The chief of this party were the fons of the old Constable Momorancy, (in his time an active perfecutor of the Protestants) the Viscount de Turenne, and others, whom the Queen, favouring the contrary faction of the Guifes, continually by divers calumnies incenfing and exasperating the King against them, and by other stratagems which they discovered, drove into despair of fafety by any other means; which no doubt was not a little increased by the experience which they had feen of her perfidiousness and cruelty in the cafe of the Protestants, all men being fuspitious of those whom they have observed false and perfidious to others. And to these Alancon the King's younger Brother, upon the fame occations, befides fome other caufes of difcontent, joyned himfelf as head. Befides those of the Nobility, there were two other subsidiary Fattions in the Court. " The "one of those, who defirous by any means to retain the Reli-"gion of their Anceftors, and carelels for any amendment or " reformation of it, did eafily fuffer 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 " Pro-

Tox. 1. 59. pr.

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"Protestants. The other of those who would not depart "from the religion of their anceftors, but yet defired many " things in it, in tract of time, through covetousness and " groß ignorance, brought in to the difhonour 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 fhould be faithfully kept, and "that by any means peace, without which the bufinels of re-"formation could not proceed, fhould be fetled. The first " favoured the Guifes, who fought all occafions of War, the "latter the Momorances, who perfwaded Peace. Of this " last opinion were those famous men Michael Hospitalius " Chancellor of France, Paulus Foxius, Chriftophorus Thu- Many others " anus, Christophorus Menilius, though they never engaged were of the lame "in Arms on either fide. And this was the party which mind, as Jo. were called Politicks, a name, faith our Author, by the fediti- of Valence, and ous attributed to them who were fludious for the good of the Car. Marillae King and peace of the Kingdom, (li. 52.) and male contents. Arch-Bilhop of "But that faction which defined firs alwaies prevailing in Vienna. Thu. "the Court, hence it came to pais, that fo many Edicts (of 1.25. "Pacification) were made one upon another, and as often "violated, the War being fo often renewed, and with the "fame levity where-with it was begun, laid down again. "Whereof the King by this time became fenfible, and obfer-"ved, but when it was too late, that that unhappy maffacre Thu. l. 57-" had, contrary to what was expected, diffolved the bonds of "peace and publick fecurity. And therefore with indigna-tion perceiving that the Counfellors of it had more respect -"to the fatisfaction of their own private hatred and ambi-" tion, than to the publick Faith and quiet (of the Kingdom) " without which he could never keep up his Royal Majefty, "being not a little incenfed against them, he refolved from " that time to remove them from the Council, and to fend "away from him his mother her felf, under a more honoura-"ble colour of vifiting her fon 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 raifed "not fo much for the caufe of Religion, as through the factions of that Kingdom, & that the chief leaders of them were the "Guifes and the Momorances, he refolved, without any regard of the Law, or the juttice of either caufe, to defiroy both thefe potent Families, being no lefs exafperated againft Guife than Momorancy, and therefore had often thoughts of "taking him out of the way. But in the midft of thefe troubles without, in his Kingdom, and others within, in his mind and body, after very grievous and long pains, fo that long before *bis death* he felt himfelf dying, he ended his life every way miferable, by that ficknefs which few thought na-

Pauci naturalem ei rebantur, memores que fummus diffimulandi artifex præ impalientia interminatus & matri & fratri effet, neq; ignari quam non sponte nonus Rex Galliam relinqueret, p. 441. in octav. and again, p. 493. Mortui corpus a chirurgis & medicis, apertum; in quo livores ex causa incognita reperti, conceptam multorum opinionem auxerunt potius quam minnerunt. l; 57.

tural, but rather procured by his own Mother and Brother Anjou, as our Author doth fufficiently intimate, and was further remarkable by the effusion of his own bloud, who had fo perfidioufly and barbaroufly fhed the bloud of fo many of his fubjects. Davila faith he began fome months before to fpit bloud; others that he died of a Bloudyflux, and that much bloud iffued out of

all the paffages of his body; and that he happened to fall down, and wallowed in his own bloud. And whereas Davila fays that he ended his life with grave and pious difcourfes, others fay that he ended it with imprecations and curfings, and that his laft words were meer blafphemies. Whereof, which is most credible, the reader confidering his natural temper, life and actions, may easily judge. He died under five and twenty years of age, without iffue male to fucceed him, leaving only a daughter by his Queen, with whom he had been above four years married, and a bastard-fon. And thefe were the fruits which he reaped of his bloudy and perfidious counfels and practices.

51. Nor did bis next Brother Anjou, called Henr. 3. reap any better fruits of his counfels and actions in the maffacre and other enterprizes against the Protestants; who in great haste, upon notice of his Brother's death, shamefully stealing from

Thu. 1. 58.

from his Kingdom of Poland, in his return to France was well admonifhed by the Emperor Maximilian, that at the beginning of his Reign, and first entrance into France, he should fettle peace among his fubjects : and the fame counfel was often repeated to him by the Duke of Venice in the name of the Senate. Yet he was no fooner arrived in France, but by the counfel of his Mother and the Guifian and Italian faction. (the fame Cabal which contrived the maffacre) he refolved the contrary, till finding it a work too hard by open force to deftroy the remaining part of the Protestants, being moreover firengthened by the affociation of the Politicks with them, there was at last a Peace concluded upon fuch terms, as, Thu. 1. 62. had they been granted in fincerity, and juffly performed, Davila. 1.6. might have produced much happiness to that Kingdom. For, befides 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 Confcience, and free exercife of their Religion, without exception of times or places, &c. and Towns for their fecurity till the Articles fhould be fully and perfectly performed. And these Articles were concluded by the Queen-Mother her felf in perfon, and confirmed by a publick Edict with all the folemnity that could be, the King himfelf being present in Parliament, fitting in his Throne of Juffice. "But these Articles, fays Davila, as foon " as they were known to those of the Catholick party, exaspe-" rated moft of their minds in fuch manner, that they not only "murmured freely against the King himself and the Oueen-"Mother, but many were disposed to rife, and would have " taken Arms to disturb the unjustness [ as they call it ] " of that Peace, which was generally [by them] effected " fhameful, and not fit to be kept, if within a-while they had " not manifeftly underflood, that the King and O teen, pur-"pofely to recover and draw home the Duke of Alancon, "had confented to conditions in words, which they were re-"folved not to observe in deeds. For, (as he presently adds)-" having exactly performed all things promifed 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 0.20

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A Difcourfe concerning the

"Prince of Conde in particular: but the King permitting, "and tacitly confenting to it, the Affemblies of the Prote-" ftants were every where violently diffurbed, &c. And the "Guifes, who were not flack in laying hold of any opportu-" nity to augment their own greatness, and to fecure the flate. " of that Religion, which was fo ftreightly linked to their in-" terefts, began upon the conjuncture of fo great an occa-" fion, fecretly to make a league of the Catholicks, in all the Pro-"vinces of the Kingdom, under colour of oppoling the pro-"gress and establishment of herefy, which by the Articles of "the Peace was fo fully authorized and established. And this was the Faith of a Catholick Prince, whole Confcience was directed by the religious Jesuires, 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 Guile had never attempted to force him to it : this the obedience and lovalty of his Catholick Subjects. But this was nothing to what followed ; for this was but the beginning of that Holy League, which may justly put to filence all clamours, and answer all calumnies against the Protestants in France, upon occafion of any milcarriages of theirs under fo long and grievous oppreffions and unjust perfecutions; and was the pattern and precedent which was followed by that faction here, which the Romish Emissaries and Agents partly railed, and partly ruled, or fecretly influenced to promote their own defigns, as may be perceived by comparing fuch evidences and teffimonies as are to be met with of their myfferious 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 feen in English at large in Davila and Fonlis, to this effect: The Covenant of the Princes, Lords and Genslemen of the Catholick Religion, for the entire restitution of the Law of God, and preservation of his boly worship, according to the form and rites of the boly Church of Rome, abjuring and renouncing all errors contrary to it. 2. For the prefervation of King Henr. 3. and his Succesfors, in the State, Honour, Splendor, Authority, Duty, Service and Obedience due to them, ore. 3. For the restitution of their ancient rites, liberties

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Thu. l. 61: Busbeq.epift.20.

Lib. 6. p. 449. Lib. 8. c. 2. p. 496. Tbn. 1. 63,

and priviledges to the Provinces of the Kingdom, Oc. In cafe there be any opposition against this aforefaid, or any of the Co. venanters, their friends or dependants be molested or questioned for this canfe, by whom soever it be, all that enter into this Covenant shall be bound to imploy their lives and fortunes to take vengeance upon them, either by way of justice or force, without any exception of perfons what ever. They who depart from this Covenant thall be punished both in body and goods. All shall likewise swear to yield ready obedience and faithful service unto that Head which (ball be deputed, and to give all help, counfel and affiftance, as well for the maintenance of this League, as for the ruine of all that shall oppose it, without exception of persons; and these that fail shall be punished by the anthority of the Head. Oc. All the Casbolicks of the feveral Cities, Towns and Villages shall be fecreely advertised by the particular Governors to enter into this League, and concur in providing Men, Arms, and other necesfaries, Oc. Into this League, (framed with fo much art, that ma- Davila, P. 451. king a fhew 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 fecretly to treat at Rome for Protection. and in Spain for men and money; nor did they find in either place any averinefs to their defires. And though they Da. p. 461. thought it unfit to difpute openly whether the States were fu- V. Thu. 6 63. perior to the King or no, yet while these things were acted in fecret without his knowledge or confent, they fought cunningly (by a kind of cheat) to take away bis prerogative, and (with his confent) to fettle it in a certain number, who fhould have power to conclude and determine all bufinefs without contradiction or appeal; and to that end \* petition the King, \* At the Aßemthat for the dispatch of all bufinels with speed and general bly of the States fatisfaction, he would be pleafed to elect a number of Judges at Blois (which not fuspected by the States, who, together with twelve of fusb who had the Deputies, might hear fuch motions as from time to time fubferibed to should be proposed by every Order, and conclude and refolve the Catholick upon them, with this condition, that what-ever was joyntly League.) determined by the Judges and Deputies together, should have the form and vigour of a Law, without being subject to be

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altered

# A Discourse concerning the altered or revoked; which had been in effect to unking him.

Thu. 1. 62.

Ton. 1. 63.

and leave him little more than the title. But the King not ignorant of the importance of that demand, became fenfible of their defigns, and of his own danger, which more manifeffly appeared in certain fecret instructions to Nic. David, with which he was fent to the Pope concerning the deposing of the King, and thrushing 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 fame being also fent to the King of Spain, the French Ambaffador there happened to get a copy of them, and fent 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 fatisfaction. But though they failed in this attempt to unking the King with his own confent, yet they refolved, though without, or contrary to his confent, 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 neceffity, 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 Leaguers. And divers diffwaded him from breach of his Faith, among the reft William Lantgrave of Heffe, befides the reason he gave him in mind of that late and memorable example of Ladiflans 4. King of Hungary, who having fworn a Truce with the great Turk Amurath 2. being perfwaded by the Pope and Cardinals, out of a vain hope that they could abfolve him from the obligation of it, perfidioufly broke it. Whereupon in the first encounter (The Turk lifting up his eyes to Heaven, and calling to Chrift to behold and punish the perfidious dealing where with his followers had difhonoured him) he was himself flain with 30000 of his men: on the other fide the Erench Theologists did openly both in Sermons and printed Books contend that the Prince is not obliged to keep Faith with . the Hereticks, alledging to that purpole the Decree of the Counci

Council of Conftance, and therefore War is to be undertaken to extirpate them. And by the advice of the Bifhop of Lymoges and Morvillier (fometime Bilhop of Orleans) the King determined, fince he could not by open refistance hinder the defigns and progress of the League, (which already had taken too deep root) to make bimfelf Head and Protector of it, and draw that authority to himfelf, which he faw they endeavoured to fettle upon the Head of the League, both within and without the Kingdom; which accordingly he did, caufing it to be read, published, and sworn in open affembly, 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 \* fome fort quieted for fome time.

52. But after the death of Alancon the King's youngeft Bro- midit of peace ther, who died without illue, and not without fuspition of nothing but the poilon, in the flower of his age, being about thirty, (wherein herefie was we may take notice, by the way, of the Divine Vengeance by daily threatendegrees extirpating that Family, which fo wickedly fought ed. Da. p. 479. the extirpation of the Protestants) the King having no iffue, nor like to have any, (notwithstanding all his visits and sup. Busbeq. ep. 5. plications at the Monuments of Saints and Religious places) whereby the Crown was likely to defcend to the King of Navar. a Protestant Prince, who was next heir to it, the Leaguers prefently begin new troubles, the Preachers from the Pulpits fill Thu. 1. 80. their hearers minds with fears and jealoufies, meetings are every where held, Souldiers fecretly lifted, and Officers appointed, and the more to enrage the people, while the Preachers fill their ears with the noife of approaching dan- Thu. 1.8 rgers, dreadful and horrid reprefentations of most terrible perfecutions which the Catholicks are faid to fuffer in England, are presented to their view, both in printed Books, and allo in Cuts and Pictures which are fet up in publick places, and perfons appointed to relate the fad ftories of them, and tell the people that thus it will be also in France, if the King of Na-

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var be admitted to the Kingdom; and therefore to fecure themselves of a Catholick King, they refolve to fet up the Cardinal Bourbon for head of the League at prefent, and to succeed the King in case he should die without issue. And the better to firengthen themfelves they renew their League with the Spaniard, and having fuddenly raifed a confiderable Army, contrary to the King's express prohibition by his Edict, they begin to make themfelves Mafters of many Cities and Fortreffes, fome by fecret practices, fome by open force of Arms, driving out the King's Governors and Officers, and in fhort time, through the fury of the people, and great converse of the Clergy in favour of the League, became fo 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 prefent neceffity, and not with any intention to perform it. For being now out of hope of iffne himfelf, he refolved to further Navar's right, and to unite himfelf with him, as his lawful Succeffor, and make him partaker in matters of Government, to which end he held fecret correspondence with him. But the Leaguers force him to go on with the War; and upon the fcore 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 averfe to the Catholick party, and that he defires by all means to cherish and maintain herefy. And now the minds of the people are more than ever inflamed against his perfon and proceedings, which were publickly inveighed against in the Pulpits, and particularly slandered in private meetings, but especially by the Priests at the secret confettions of the people, whom they refuled to abfolve, unless they would enter into the League; and for the more fecret carrying on of the bufinels, intrusted in this new Doctrine, that

Da. p. 526.

Da. p. 535.

Da. p. 550.

Da. p. 557.

Da. p. 598.

Da. p. 600:

Da. p. 606.

Thu. 1. 86.

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 fin. From calumnies and flanders they proceed to conspiracies and actions. And at Paris they fet up a new Council of fixteen, which hold Da. p. 606. their lecret meetings, first at the Colledg of Forlet, commonly Thu. 1. 86. called the cradle of the League, afterwards at the Colledge of the Dominicans, and at the Jesuites Colledge they plot to furprize Boulogne, and there to admit the Spanish Fleet prepared against England. They also confult about taking the King him- Da. p. 609. felf, as he returned from the Boys de Vincernes with a small Thu. 1. 86. guard. And both these enterprizes being discovered to the King, failing, they fet up a feditious Preacher to inveigh Thu. 1. 87. against the King and his Counsellors, and not doubting but thereupon the King would fend to apprehend him, they determine upon that occasion to fir up the people, and thereupon take up arms and deftroy 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 advifed to depart from Paris, which he did; but not long after a returning thither, he is prefented with a Petition, which at a Confultation at Nancy (where it was concluded that Guife Da. p. 668. and the other confederate Lord, fhould not enter to oppose Thm. 1. 90. ... the King at the very first) was fo contrived, that if he granted it, their defires would be effected without noife 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 confent to of his own accord. And though the King did not fo 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 fide highly extol and magnify the Catholick Princes, fo they called the Guifians. And Guife his coming to the City is by frequent Letters much importuned; which though, according to the former conclusion, he at prefent deferred, yet were fome experienced Souldiers fent to them, he not being willing to truft to the City Commanders ...

manders alone. And now reckoning their firength 20000 men, there is a new Conspiracy to fall upon the Louvre, and killing the guard, and all about him whom they fuspect, to feize upon the King. But this was also discovered, and the Council of fixteen, who thought there might be fome hazard in that, refolve upon a more fafe courfe, to fize upon him when he fhould be in proceffion, as he was wont, in the habit of a Penitent among the whipping Friars, and thut 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 alfo discovered, the King confults how to fecure himfelf against the Conspirators. In the mean time the Duke of Guife unexpectedly comes to Paris contrary to the King's command. And while the King feeks to firengthen himfelf, and preventing the Leaguers to fecure the most important places of the City, the Parifians are raifed at the ringing of the Bells, make Barricadoes crofs the freets, come up to the Louvre, and begin to affault it. Whereupon the Queen Mother goes to Guife in her Sedan, being denied paffage in her Coach, and confers with him, but brings back nothing but complaints, and exorbitant demands. But the fiege preffing much on the one fide, when it was feared they would likewife befiege it on the other, the Queen-mother going again to Guife, and having notice by the way that 15000 men were preparing to enclose the Louvre on the other fide. holds him in a long treaty, while the King with 26 Gentlemen steals fecretly away to Chartres, to the no small grief of Guife and the Leaguers who had loft fo fair an opportunity. Whereupon they fecure and ftrengthen Paris, lay fiege to the Boys de Vincernes, which yielded without refiftance, as did , alfo St. Cloud, Lagny, Charranton, with all the other neighbouring Towns. The King being again reduced to his former ftraits of accepting the alliftance of the Protestants, or yielding to fuch terms as the Leaguers would pleafe to give him, after long confultation at length refolved to use the fame means against Guife, which be remembred had been used in the reign of his

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his Brother Charles against the Admiral Coligny and his Adherents, and to that end feigned to confent to the opinion of those who perswaded him to unite himself to the Duke of Gaife. And having upon a treaty concluded a Peace upon almost the fame conditions which were contained in the Peti- Tou. 1. 91: tion framed at Nancy, he receives Guile much after the fame. manner that his Brother did Coligny, with great expressions of honour, caufes the Edict of the Union to be prefently publifhed, the War against the Protestants proclaimed, for the profecution whereof, according to the Articles of the Peace, two several Armies were appointed. Guises atchievements were highly magnified by the Leaguers in France, and no lefs, by the Pope at Rome, who fent to him and to the Cardinal Bourbon his Congratulatory Letters, full of high praifes, which were presently published in print, and dispersed abroad. Wherein he commends their piety and zeal in promoting the business of Religion, comparing Guile to the Holy Maccabees, the defenders of the people of Ifrael, fo highly extolled in the Sacred Scriptures, and exhorting him to continue fuccesfully and glorioully to fight for the advancement of the Church, and the total extirpation of the Protestants, acquaints him with his own unceffant prayers for the Divine affistance to him, adding that nothing could be more feafonable dealb. Le in and sator oft for the prefent occasion, than that he should have his Legate ib Fillery of in France, by whole means and authority their endeavours Sto2 . 1700 might be promoted for the good of the Kingdom, and of the Catholick Religion. And if any thing more be neceffary to be done by him, he defires to be certified of it, who thall never be wanting to their caufe. Guife and the Leaguers being not a little animated by these things, the Assembly of the Thu. 1. 93. 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 fide, with great heat pronounce the King of Navar for his crime. of berefy unworthy of the fuccificn of the Kingdom : which being decreed by the Clergy, and upon their fignification and admonition universally subscribed by the other two orders, holding it a great fault in the caufe of Religion to diffent from

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TEP. 1. 93.

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the Ecclefiasticks, the Arch-Bishop of Ambrun, with twelve of each Order, repair to the King, and defire that by his authority, and a publick Edict, the Decree may be confirmed. But the King utterly averfe from it, though he would not plainly deny it, yet put it off as well as he could; but fuch was the oblinacy of the States, that he was forced at last to answer that he agreed to the general vote, and would think of caufing the Decree to be framed. Guife allo with all his. might urged the receiving of the Council of Trent, whereunto, though the King confented, 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 fucceeded, and to raife a prejudice in him against the King, if it fucceeded not by his default. And to ingratiate himfelf the more with the people, he moves for cafe of grievances by impositions and taxes, though a thing inconfistent with the profecution of the War against the hereticks. But the King finding now a convenient opportunity to execute his defign, acquaints fome of his confidents with it, and having ordered all things fo as to avoid the fuspition of Guile, much after the manner heretofore used against Colinius, he commands him to be flain, which was accordingly \* done ; and the Cardinal his Brother being, with many Lords and adherents of that Faction, at the fame time committed to cufto-Maffacre. Seft. dy, was about two daies after by the King's command in like manner flain. Thus do those who had wickedly conspired the barbarous flaughter of fo many innocent Protestants, now, by the juft judgment and vengeance of God upon them, mutually confpire one anothers defiruction. And that City which was then to forward in executing the wicked counfels and commands of favage 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 infiruments of his cruelty, are now made the inftruments of his punifhment.

Ton. 1. 92. DA. 1. 10.

53. Upon the news of these things spread abroad, the Leaguers are all in an an uproar, and at Paris, having held a Council

\* The manner of bis death. see in the notes upon the hiftory of the 17:0

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 Guife his Martyrdom, and detellations of that flaughter most cruelly committed by the King; in luch manner, that not only the minds of the bafer people, but allo of the most noted Citizens were won by their perswasions, and inflamed with an infinite defire to take revenge; and the Council of fixteen caule a writing to be prefented to the Da.p. 762. famous Colledg of Divines called the Sorbon, in the name of the Fonl.c. 5.P. 5302 Provost and Eschevins of the City, containing these two Ouestions. 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 confervation of the Roman Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, against the wicked counsels and endeavours of the King aforefaid, and all other his adherents whom foever, and against his breach of publick Faith at Blois, &c. Whereunto upon mature deliberation at an affembly of feventy Mafters of that Faculty, and folemn refolution, it was answered nemine refragante, I. That the people of this Kingdom are free, and at liberty from their Oath of Fidelity and Obedience to King Henry aforefaid. 2. That the fame people lawfully, and with Jufe conscience \* may arm, unite, collect and \* Dav. p. 763. contribute money for the defence and confervation of the Catho that the King lick, Apostolick and Roman Religion, against the wicked coun- had forfeited his right to he fels and endeavours of the aforefaid King, and whomfoever ad- Crown, and bering to him, fince be bath violated the publick Faith to the pre- that his Subjudice of the Catholick Religion, and of the Edict of the boly jects not only Union, and of the natural liberty of the affembly of the three might, but Eftates of this Kingdom. Moreover, they think fit that this off their obe-Decree or conclution be fent to the Pope, that he may by the dience, dec. authority of the holy Sce approve and confirm it, and afford his help and affiltance. And accordingly a Letter is drawn Foal. p. 533. up, and fent by the Parifians in the name of themtelves, and the reft of the Catholicks in France, wherein they represent to him the zeal of the people, " all good men being ready to

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Da. p. 763.

V. Thu. p. 397.

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" lay down their lives rather than fuffer that Tyranny; and "more than 10000 of the Parifians filling the fireets with secries to Heaven for vengeance against the Tyrant; others " whipping the ftatue 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 " loofened from the bonds of obedience, and having broken "the rein of modefly, ran violently to the breaking down of "the King's Arms and Statues where ever they found them, "and began furioufly to feek out all those whom they ac-" counted dependints of his party, by them called Navar-"ints and Politickss which forced many quiet men to leave I their houses to fave their lives, which others were fain to " compound for with money, and others unfortunately loff : "All Churches eccho'd with voices of the Preachers, who \*Hence charles " aggravated the parricide committed by \* Henry Valois, no "longer called King of France, but the Heretick, Tyrant. "and perfecuter of the holy Church; and all places were full. " of Libels both in verse and profe, which contained and ama " plified the fime things feveral ways. And the Council of fixteen, having prepared the Preachers to be ready, in cafe any turnult should arife, to appease the people, cause all the Counfellors of Parliament and Officers who adhered to the King, ta be imprisoned in the Bastille, as enemies to the publick good. This done, they affemble a kind of Rump Parliament, which fubflituting others in the place of those they had feeluded, make a publick Declaration for the deposing of the King, and a new Decree and Engagement of boly Union for detence of " the Catholick Religion, the fafety 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 murther, and to defend the liberty and dignity of the States of France against all perfons whoever, without exception, &c. And this was propoled to ... be fworn to by all: whereupon there was prefently 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 Guile, who at the request of the Leaguers star prind ator come

comes to Paris, where a Council of the Union confifting of 40 of the chief Leaguers, whole Orders all are to obey upon pain of death, being inflituted, he is by the Parliament declared Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of France, and folemnly fworn to defend the Roman Catholick Apoftolick Religion, the Royal State, the Authority of the Supreme. Courts, the priviledges of the Church, and of the Nobility, the Laws and Cuftoms 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 falle reports. And while among other deviles 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 execrations, and inftituting ftrange faperstitious rites, women and, maids clad only in fuch fine linen that their bodies might be feen through ir, and fome carrying burning tapers in their. hands, they lang over certain mysterious rithms with diffonant and confuled tones and voices, and then fuddenly extinguished their torches, as if they hoped or wilhed that the King's life thould be thereby, or in like manner allo excinguithed; and a great deal fuch stuff too long to be here related. By these means were the people every where incenfed. and enraged against the King; but especially by the new Do-, .ye.1.all Grines of the Preachers and Confessions were the minds of men generally to perverted, that they made it almost a sport. to break Faith with him, and betray their truft, and many. thought it their duty; fo that the Cities daily revolted from. his obedience. At Bourdeaux the fefuites for a conspiracy Thu. 1. 94. fin. and tumult railed there, were by the Prefident of the Province 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 \* Vesuna Patrogreatest fury and rage of the people was at Tholouse, stirred cariorum. up, as was believed, by these new Theologists. While the Leaguess are thus buly both at home and abroad, the King is Thu. 1. 95. pr. not idle, but treats with his Neighbour Princes and States for Thu. 1. 94. men and money, and to mitigate the fury of his own people, with

with great importunity and fubmiffion, folicits for abfolution for killing the Cardinal, from the Pope, who was highly enraged against him, for that facillegious ad as he pretended, but probably more for killing the Duke, if that be true which the State of Venice, and the Dukes of Tufcany and Mantua certified the King, that the Rope and the Duke had agreed in fecree 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 Ambaffador going about this affair to Rome, was by the way admonifhed by the Duke of Tuscany, that the King should do well to trust more to his own forces and firength at home, than to the Pope's favour; for if things fucceedeed well with him in the beginning of those commotions in France, he should have friends enough at Rome, and among them the Pope himfelf; but if otherwife, he should find them his bitter enemies. And so it proved, for when this proud and infolent Pope, to gratifie his own pride and ambition, and magnify his authority in the opinion of the people, had drawn on the King and his Minifters to do all acts of fubmiffion and bale profiration to him, as far as he could, he turned him off at last without any ablolution, and not not long after began to proceed to Excommunication against him. Wherefore the King, when he could obtain no favour from the Pope, treats more openly with the King of Navar, and concludes an agreement with him, to the no. little joy of all fober men, who thought there was no fuch way for fetling 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 bleffing ( 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 exafperate the minds of the people withal. And the Pulpits ring, and the Preffes fweat with virulent Sermons and Books against the two Kings. Among those who befirred

Thx. 1.95.

firred themfelves in this kind, were Father Comolet the Jefuit, Genebrard, Fr. Feu-ardentius, and Bucherus famous for his Book de Justa Henrici 3 Abdicatione, and many others mentioned by our Author. And in their Sermons, besides those ways of moving the people by ftirring up their paffions of fear and hatred, they had another part to act, which was to encourage them to action by moving their hopes and expe-Stations, and this was done by acquainting them with the victories and happy progrefs, and profperous fuccels of their Armies and friends abroad, amplifying the fame 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 let it out to the best advantage; if, bad, to reprefent it to the people as occasion ferved, partly comforting and encouraging them under the misfortune, and partly firring them up to more forwardnefs, and greater affistance to the War. So that these matters were the general and ordinary subject of their Sermons. And besides these good fervices which they performed feverally, the famous Colledge of Sorbon it felf, by a publick Decree order that the Kings 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 inferted, and that those who shall fay Mass otherwife 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 fo meritorious undertakings, their good Father the Pope fends out his Monitory against the King, whereby he is excommunicate, unless within ten days he will do the Leaguers the kindnefs to fet at liberty the Cardinal of Bourbon, whom they, having already agreed to the deposing of him, may fet up for their King; and moreover . make his submission within the term of 60 days from the publication 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 feemed to hard and unreasonable to the Princes of Italy, that they advised the King no longer to treat with him as a fuppliant, but to deal with him according to his own rough Thu. p. 430. nature.

DA. p. 811.

10, 1527.

Thu. 1. 96.

Da. p. 814.

+ DA p. 816, 819. Тын. 1. 96.

nature, and prefently to feize upon Avignon and the County of Venieffine. But the King was not a little grieved at it. and faid, "That he thought it very hard that he who had "ever fought and laboured for Religion (hould be rafhly ex-" communicated because he would not suffer his own throat " to be cut by the arms of his Rebel-fubjects; and that those \* charles V. an- " who had \* facked Rome, and kept the Pope himfelf pri-"foner, had never been excommunicated: to which the King " of Navar, who was prefent, answered; but they were victo-" rious, Sir. Let your Majefty endeavour to conquer, and be " affured the cenfures shall be revoked; but if we be overcome, "we shall all die condemned hereticks. Whereunto the King affented, and all the by-ftanders did the like; and upon that hope order was given that the Army (hould march; and the Kings affairs began to proceed very prosperoully against the Leaguers. For having first by supplies coming in from the King of Navar put a ftop to the D. of Mayenne's progrefs at Tours, and about the fame time given a great defeat to the D. of Aumale by the affiftance of La Noue (one of the chief Commanders of the Protestants) taken Gergeau, Piviers, Chartres, Eflampes, Poiffy, Montereau, Pontoile, and all fuch places and paffages of the Rivers which were fit to ftrengthen the City of Paris, or furnish it with victuals, he forthwith with an Army of 42000 fighting men laies close fiege to the City it felf, himfelf on the one fide, and the King of Navar on the other; whereby the Parifians were fo straitned and dejected, (though the Preachers used all their arts in their Pulpits to animate them, and the Priefts and Friers themfelves took up arms, putting themfelves generally upon Military Daty), 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 fuccefs, and height of his hopes, a zealous young Frier + Jaques Clement, firred up by the Sermons which he heard daily against Henry Valois, the Tyrant and Perfecutor of the Faith, refolved in confcience, as hath been mentioned before. & exhorted thereunto by the Prior, (one of the chief Counfellors of the League) and other Fathers of his Convent, (in

(in all likelihood, not without the privity of the Catholick Princes), affirming to him that if be lived, be fhould be made a Cardinal; and if be died for freeing the City, and killing the Perfection of the Faith be fhould without doubt be Canonized for Saint, by an expected flab, put an end to his hopes and his life together, within  $\times$  few days after the aforefaid term of 60 days, prefixed by the Pope, (who had foretold his unfortunate end) was expired, to the great joy It being unlikely that the chief men of the Union, and particularly the Prior, a trufty Counfellor of the Grand-Council of it, fhould not have confered about the fact with the Princes, and with their privity exhorted, and with effectual motives fpurred on the fimplicity of the Frier. Da. p. 819. v. Thu. 1. 96. Serres, p. 879.

\* Duobus post mentibus & aliquot diebus, quam Pontifex hanc Sententiam excommunicationis tulerat. Cicarel. p. 446.

the

of the Leaguers and the Pope, as hath been related before, (Sect. 34.) this account of the French Story not being then intended. The + Prior of the Convent was Father Edmond + Da. p. 857. Bourgoin, who being afterward taken at Paris, and convicted Thu. 1. 98. by witness to have publickly (in the Pulpit) for feveral days together praifed this murder in studied speeches, and to have counfelled and infligated the murderer, comparing him alfo 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 fentenced to be drawn in pieces by four horfes, his quarters burned, and his afhes fcattered in the wind : which fentence was afterward feverely executed. Not long after at Vendolme was taken, and likewife condemned to death, Father Robert Cheffe a Cordelier Da. p. 861. Thu. 1. 97. (or Franciscan Frier), who had there publickly praifed the King's murderer, and with his Sermons firred up the common people.

54. This end had Henry 3. when he had fearce lived out half his days, and in him thus dying without iffue, (after 14 years Marriage, many vilits to Saints, and the use of hallowed thirts and fmocks for obtaining of iffue), the whole life of Valois, his Bastard brother also, the Duke of Angoles not escaping a violent death some years before by a stab. In this Thu. 1. 85. 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 \* Da. p. 777. Thu. 1. 94.

+ Eorumg; (Loraringorum) in gratiam præcipuus author & fuafor Parifienfis lanienæ de qua & gloriari fæpius auditus eft. Thu. 1. 96.

\* Thu. 1. 51. Serres p. 789.

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 Maffacre, wherein he was both a Counfellor and an Actor; the other after he came to the Crown himfelf, in his breach of publick Faith with the Protestants. Of both which we may observe a very correspondent and exemplary judgment and punishment. His fickness of a \* Blondy-flux for some time before he was stabbed, his death without illue, and ere be bad lived out balf bis days, may perhaps have refpect to his Grand-fathers and Fathers fins, feeking by bloudy courles to extirpate the Protestants; because these were not peculiar to himfelf, but common to him with his other Brothers. But when we fee that very City of Paris, where the Protestants, with the concurrence of his + counfel and affistance, had been so furiously destroyed, now no les 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 fide no lefs enraged against it, faying but the day before that fatal froke. fuiffe creditur, that he hoped within a few days there fhould be neither walls nor houses, but only the very foot-fteps of Paris: when we fee 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 deftroy the Protestants, now confpiring his deftruction : when we fee him excommunicated by the Pope, whofe pretended authority is the principal part of that Religion, which with to much cruelty and perfidiousnels was fought to be effablifhed by that Maffacre. Laftly, when we fee, after all imaginable injuries and indignities offered him, bis murder not only plotted and counfelled by the chief of the Grand Council at Paris, but also executed by an Emissiary sent from thence. by a religious Zealot of that Religion, for which himfelf had been fo barbaroufly cruel, and in that \* very place at St. Cloud. where fome time the Council of the Maffacre had been held : This we may, not without reafon, look upon as the just judgment of God upon him, for his wicked dealings in that barbarous

barous Maffacre. Again, when we fee bis Popifh Subjects every where break faith with bim, and all bonds and oaths of Obedience and Fidelity to him, and teach and hold it to be their duty fo to do: when we fee them, through whole importunity he had violated the publick faith given to the Proteflants, to rage and florm, and furioufly exclaim upon his breach of faith with themselves : when we see him brought to need and defire the affiftance 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 bis end and murthered, with whom he had to bafely complied in that perfidious dealing; this we may likewife 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 Maffacte of the Protestants at Merindol and Cabriers, under Francis 2. to the death of this his Grand-fon Henr. 3. the laft of 'his race, for almost 50 years, be duly confidered, it will be hard to find in any History a more eminent example of Divine Vengeance profecuting a Family to the utter extirpation of it, than this : an example wherein the judgment of God is more conspicuous and remarkable, or the caufes of that judgment more manifelt and apparent, wherein the fin and the punishment do more exactly agree; or of a more remarkable diftinguishing providence, it with this, the hapy reign and actions of their neighbour Prince Queen Elizabeth be impartially compared. This was a judgment not upon one perfon alone, nor upon a Family, fo as to involve all in one sudden destruction, as is sometimes seen ; but a continued profecution of vengeance against a whole Family for three generations, without intermillion: the Grand-father v. Sect. 39: (Fran. 1.) not long enjoying himself or his life after he had authorized that fatal perfecution ; His Son, Henr. 2. (having time to repent and reform, and admonished so to do by his dying Father, but perfevering in his Fathers fin) cut off by a violent death in the height and heat of his perfecutions against the Protestants, and upon his confummation of an agree-

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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 fucceffively to the Crown, but fo as rather only to wear the Grown, than, by a just and peaceable exercise of their authority, to fway the Scepter, being at first over-ruled by the deceitful and pernicious counfels of their Mother and her Italians, and the violent courses of the Guifian Faction to deftroy their fubjects; and at last necessitated, by the bold attempts of the Guissians, 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 milerable confusions: each of them fucceeding other, as in their accels to the Crown, fo in their unhappy reign, (if they might be faid to reign, while fo obnoxious to the wills of others, and continually imbroiled in fuch confusions) and exit and catafiophre of it: the first (Francis 2.) cut off by a death remarkable, though not for the kind, yet for the time and feason of it, both in respect of his years, and of those who were preferved by it; (V. Sect. 40. p. 63, 64.) the next (Charles 9.) living fome years longer, and thereby more capable, by his own perfonal management, of the affairs of the Kingdom, to derive the guilt of his Anceftors miscarriages upon himfelf, and increase it by his own, which accordingly he did in no mean degree, being likewife 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 likewife to that unhappy end, which hath been but now related; all of them, with their Brother Alancon, dying without iffue to fucceed them. Nor did this fate attend only the fucceffion, but light also upon those who were incapable to fucceed in the Government; their bastard Brother Angolesme, who had been a forward actor in the Massacre, being alfo, as hath been faid, cut off by a violent death; and of their Sifters, Elizabeth the eldeft \* married to Phil. 2. of Spain, (a Marriage concluded, with an agreement between him and her Father, of a War against the Protestants, but folemnized with the otherwife untimely death of her Father), and by Philip her Husband first employed in the

\* V. Sect. 39. p. 60.

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\* Confultation at Bayonne, and at last brought to that + un- \* v. Sect. 42. happy end when great with child, and in the 23 th. year of p. 74. her age, which hath been mentioned before, and is more fully † V. Sect. 44. related in the late French Hiftory 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 Maffacre), afterwards for her \* lewdnefs and incontinency re- \* V. Busbeq. proachfully turned from the Court by her next Brother Henr. ep. Aug. 27. 3. and at last divorced from her Husband when King of 1583. Da. p. France, without iffue by him, unless the had any by any other which was kept fecret, as her Brother objected to her. If their other Sifter Claud married to Charles Duke of Lorain was lefs unhappy in this respect, the feems lefs to have merited the like misfortune, for we meet with no mention of her in all the ftory of these confusions in France. Thus were five Kings in a continued fucceffion cut off, befides three others of the fame line, (the youngest fon of Francis 1. in few months after the beginning of those perfecutions, at his age of 23. and the fecond and youngeft of Hen. 2.) who never came to the Crown, and their whole line and posterity extirpated in France, while they fought the extirpation of the Protestants there; whereby the Crown at last, notwithftanding 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 fo long it was from the execution of the Decree of the Parliament of Province, Apr. 1545. and the death of the King's youngeft fon Sept. 8. following, to the murder of Henr. 3. Aug. 1589. the very fame space of time which Queen Elizabeth happily and prosperously reigned in England, and most of it contemporary. Wherein it is very plain and observable 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 fucces. As to the Caule; they defigned and endeavoured the suppression of the reformed Religion, and extirpation of the Professors of it in their territories.; fhe established and promoted it in her Dominions. As

As to their manner of proceeding; they fought to attain their ends by fraud and violence, flaughters and inexecrable feverity, either without Law, or contrary to Law, or by executions exceeding in feverity 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 difhonourable to God or Chrift, or injurious to man; which embraceth all that can reasonably be proved to have been taught by Chrift or his Apoftles; receiveth, honoureth, and commends to the diligent fludy of all the facred Scriptures; fuch a Religion, as they who perfecute it, confels to be true in what it affirms, and is the most effential part of their own, only believes not what they are not fufficiently convinced to be true. and with no little reason suspect to be falle, or not propoled to their belief by Divine authority. She did nothing without Law, or contrary to the Laws; was very moderate in making, and no lefs in executing any Laws against Papists : The first the made in the first and fift years of her Reign, being fo far from introducing any new feverity, that they take off from the harfhnels of what was in force before; and those and the reft not being made against their Religion in general, but upon special and particular, necessary and urgent occasions, for the neceffary afferting and prefervation of her own just authority against those who endeavoured to set up a pretended foreign jurifdiction against her, to abfolve her fubjects from all duty and obligation of obedience to her, and excite them to rebellions, and to joyn with foreign enemies, or by affaffination to deftroy her; whereby the was neceffitated and forced, through their continual wicked, feditious and rebellious practices, for the curbing and reftraining of them. to proceed, contrary to her own disposition, to more and more feverities 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 abfolve her fubjects from their obedience; yet notwithstanding in fix whole years after was not put in

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V. Camd. an. 1 1577. p. 286.

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 29 th. and following Paragraphs necessitizated the execution of the Laws then in force, and the enacting of fome others in the 23,27,29, and 35 years of her Reign; and yet did not the feverity which was exercifed in all her Reign against Papis, equal what was done against the Protestants in two years of her Sisters Reign, and oftner than once, in few days in France, and professed y for

their Religion only, whereas it cannot be proved \* that throughout her whole Reign there was any one executed meerly for their Religion. Such certainly was her lenity and moderation in this refpect, confidering the daily and high provocations against her, as plainly argues an admirable magnanimity and

piety in her, and is fcarce to be parallell'd in any Hiftory, not to be denied but by fuch as have caft off all ingenuity and fense of their own credit and reputation, and hath extorted the + confestion, and provoked the free acknowledgment of + v. Watton, her more candid and ingenuous adversaries. There might Widdrington, also be observed a great difference between the actions of the &c. apud Foulis,1.7. c. 2] Protestants in France, and the Papifts both here and there The Jefuits too, but that, for brevity fake, shall be left to the Readers Reasons unown observation from what hath been related of each, reasonable, Therefore laftly, as to their fuccefs, they, while by fraud and violence they fought the utter extirpation of the Reformed Religion, and Profeffors of it in France, were themfelves extirpated there, and the laft of their race cut off by his own Subjects of that fame Religion, which by those wicked courfes was fought to be established, and the Religion which they fought to suppress and extirpate, took deeper root, and flourished more, notwithstarding all their opposition and perfecutions : She, while, with rare moderation, and a generous plain-dealing conftancy and refolution, established the Reformed Religion, both eafily and happily attained her end,

\* Sir Fr. Bacon in his Obfervations upon the Libel, point 3. and Collection of the Queens Felicities, and the late Treatile of the Grounds, Reafons and Provocations necefficating the Sanguinary Laws, (Edit. Lond. 1664, quarto).

and

and was her felf established in her Throne, and in a long. happy, and prosperous Reign, as long as all theirs from the beginning of their perfecutions, preferved from all the fecret plots, and machinations, and open rebellions, and affaults 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 flourithing condition, and a bleffed 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 Mifery, and an infamous memory of their no lefs unfuccesful, than perfidious and barbarous actions.

55. Nor was this distinguishing Providence thus visible only between her and those who perfecuted the Reformed Religion, but alfo between ber and those who deserted the fame, as is to be feen in the next fucceeding King of France, Henr. 4. (the greatest part of whole 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 Guifes, in hopes to Sect. 41. p.67. recover his Kingdom of Navar, or fatisfaction for it, to defert the Protestants, and become Head of the Popish party, within the space of about one year after, ended his life by a thot before Rouen. Had he lived longer, fays \* Perefix, the Hugonots had without doubt been ill dealt with in France. But having received his deaths-wound, he became more + folicitous for his own falvation 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 Profestion, 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 fo continued till his + unhappy Marriage with a Popife Lady, Margaret Sifter to Charles 9. then King of France, which, though for its warrant it had the fpecious 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 fnare to the defiruction of the chief

1561. See before

\* P. 22.

f Thu. 1. 33.

¥ 1569. + Thu. 1.45. 1572.

chief perfons, and of great numbers of the reft of his own party; and to himfelf, not only unfuccesful in respect of his wife, and that not fo much through her fterility, as her inconfrancy and unfaithfulnels to his bed ; but alfo a fnare, whereby, after he had feen the lives of his best friends, and of great numbers of innocent people of his own Religion most barbaroufly and inhumanely taken away, he was himfelf forced, for the faving of his own life, to change his Religion, in thew and appearance at least. But this being by constraint, and Thu. 1. 96. only in appearance, (for Religion (as was well perceived by Henr. 2. 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 fame till after the descent of the Crown of France to bim. This happened very feasonable 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 decealed King, who, upon his death-bed, acknow-Thu. 1 69. ledged him for his lawful Succeffor, recommended the Kingdom to him, and exhorted the Lords there prefent to acknowledg 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 dilliked his Religion, yet being, by the confideration of his undoubted right, the recommendation of the deceafed King, and their own fresh experience of his virtue fince his coming to the Army, reconciled to his perfon, acknowledging his fovereignty, and fubmitting 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, 12 years after he had again returned to the profession of that Religion wherein he had been bred and educated; when he had

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had been all this while preferved, notwithstanding all the power of France against him, and had withstood all the tenrations 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 poffellion of the Kingdom. Yet was he not to entirely poffeffed of it, but that there was ftill matter and occasion left him to make him fensible of that Providence which, having preferved him all this while, had at last raifed him to the Throne; and to exercise his dependance upon the same for the future, for his entire possellion of the Kingdom. He was, like David, after many and long trials, advanced to the Throne; but yet, like him, not prefently put into the full poffetfion of the Kingdom. For the Leaguers, who thought his being an Heretick, as they reputed him, was a sufficient disability to his right to the Crown, thought the fame a sufficient warrant for them to keep him from it, and to continue the rebellion against him which they had begun against his predecessor.

Thu. 1. 98. Foul. 8. c. 7.

And to remove or prevent all scruple of Conscience in that respect, the Colledge of Sorbon gave them their folemn refolution, (May 7. 1590.) That they who opposed him thould merit much before God and Men, and if they refifted (fo mindful were they of the Apofiles Doctrine, Rom. 13.) to the effusion of their bloud, thould obtain a reward in Heaven, and an immarceffible or never-fading Crown of Martyrdom. And, left this fhould not be fufficient, they inftitute a Proceffion, which was made in the prefence of the Pope's Legate, Cardinal Bellarmine, and all the Bifhops who came with him from Italy, wherein Rofe Bilhop of Senlis, and the Prior of the Carthufians holding in one hand a Crofs, 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 fhoulders, and having on inflead of them. Head-pieces, and Coats of Male; and after them the younger Monks in the fame habit, but armed with Muskets, which they frequently and inconfiderately fired at those they met, with a fhot,

thot whereof one of Cardinal Cajetans domefticks was killed, who being flain at fo religious a fhew, was therefore held to be received into the bleffed companies of the Confeffors. After this was made another Proceffion by the Duke of Nemours, and Claud Brother to the Duke of Aumale, who commanded the Infantry, and the reft of the Officers of the Army, who upon the great Altar of the principal Church renewed their League and Covenant, and fwore upon the Gospel to live and die for the caufe of Religion, and to defend the City against Navar. The Pope alfo, that this Rebellion might want no authority which his infallibility could give it, though there was no other fcruple to his right and title but only his Religion, fought against him with both fwords; by his Monitory against the Prelates, &c. who submitted to his obedience by his Legate, Cardinals, and other Emiffaries fent to encourage the Rebels, and by his forces and mony, whereof in about 10 months time he wasted 5000000 of aureos, most Thu, l. 102. 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 fucceeded in that Chair, faid he was refolved in himfelf to fpend all his trea. Thu. 1. 103. fures and bloud too, if there was need, to exclude Navar from his expected poffeffion of the Kingdom. Nor was their good fon the Catholick King of Spain wanting to the promotion of fo just a cause. And in bis own Army, though many, Thu. 1.97. otherwife of the Romish Religion, submitted to him without any conditions or delay, and others were fatisfied with his word and promife, (which his former faithfulnefs had made of great authority even with his enemies, v. Perefix, 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 intereft and concerns than to their duty, deferted him, and either flood neuter to fee which way the fcales would turn, or turned to the Leaguers. Nevertheles, not only of the Nobility, Gentry and Laity, but also of the Clergy, Prelates, Arch-Bilhops, Bishops and others, many were more fenfible of their duty than either to be drawn with fuch falle, though specious pre-

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tences,

Thu. l. 101.

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 fat at Tours, they made an Act of Parliament whereby the Monitorials made at Rome, Mar. 1. were declared\_Nul, Abusive, Seditions, to be damned, full of impieties and importures, contrary to the facred Decrees Rights Immunities, and liberiies of the Gallican Church. and it was decreed that the Copies of them fealed with the feal of Marfil. Landiranus, and figned by Sextil. Lampinetus, should be by the common Hangman publickly torne, and burnt before the Palace Gates, Oc. that Landiranus, 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 Casholick 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 Carbolick King Henr. 2. And this was required to be published by the Arch-Bishops and Bishops through their Dioceffes. The like was also done at Chaulom and Caen. The next day after this was an Edict made in favour of the Protestants, with the general confent of all as neceffary, published, whereby the Edict of July was revoked, and the former Edicts in favour of the Protestants reftored. 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 himfelf, and was a promoter of a new faction of the Thirdlings among the King's party, yet in those things which concerned the Collation of Benefices, they gave that power to the Arch-Bilhop 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 Catholick, and of the Reformed Religion in equal liberty, (æquabili in libertate)

till

Thu. 1. 97.

till 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 be had rather that day should be his last, than to do any thing whereby he might be faid to waver in his Faith, or to have renounced that Religion which bitberto he had professed, before he should be further instructed by a lawful Council, to whose authority be did submit bimself: and therefore he gave free leave to those who were not fatisfied with this to depart, adding; and when they have forfaken me, yet Ged will never forfake me. who, I call your felves to witnefs, from my childhood hath as it were led me by she 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 be brought me to the Throne; so that I ought not in the least to doubt, but he who breaking through so many obstacles buth called me to the Kingdom, will preferve me in it, and defend me against all the assaults of my enemies, &c. Ivalue not the Kingdom of France, no, nor the Empire of the whole World fo much that for the obtaining of them I would make any defection from that Religion, which as true I have from my tender years imbibed with my Mothers milk, and embrace any other faith than what, as I have faid before should be resolved in a lawful Council. The like confidence in God, Da. p. 900. with refignation to his will, he afterwards expressed in a pi- Perefix, p. 147. ous Prayer in the head of his Army before the Battel of Yvry, Thu. 1. 98. 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 affembled to elect a Catholick King, which was much urged by the Pope and the King of Spain, he fell off from his conftancy, Thu. 1. 106, and without the determination or inftruction of any lawful General or National Council, changed his Religion, and at laft alfo fubmitted himself to the Pope. The report of this being brought to Queen Elizabeth, who had been very liberal in her affistance to him upon the score of Religion, and was very fo- Camden. an. licitous for him, the prefently dispatched Th, Wilkes to know 1593.

the

the truth of it, and if not already done, earnefily with reafons which the fent in writing to diffwade him from it. To whom the King excuted himfelf from the neceffity of his condition; which he alfo did by Morlantius to the Queen her felf, with great offers of amity and kindnefs, calling her his Sifter, (as is ufual), whereat, being much grieved and troubled, the prefently took her pen, and wrote the enfuing *Letter*, in what Language I know not, but thus in Englith out of the Latine in Camden.

Alas, how great grief, what a floud of forrow, what fighs did I feel in my mind from those things which Morlantins bath 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 iffue of this deed ? Or can you think that be, who with his right hand had bitherto sustained and preferved you, was now about to leave you? It is a thing very dangerous to do evil, that good may come of it. Tet 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 befeech bim that the hands of Esan may not Spoil the bleffing of Jacob. That you Jolemnly offer me your \* This hath re- Amity, I know that I have indeed well deferved it; nor truly would it repent me, had you not changed your \* Father. Certainfpect to his fubmission to ly now can I not from thence be your Sifter by the Father. Howthe Pope, and ever, I (for my part) will always more dearly love my own, than to fome passages wherein he our adjoititious Father; which God best knows, whom I befeech reduce you to the right path of a more found judgment. called her Sifter, or himfelf her Brother.

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 loofened the ties of Conficience for the faving of his life, and began now to break through the fame for the fatisfaction of his.

his luft, and the enjoyment of a + woman; it is no wonder if his luft, and the enjoyment of a Wolnah's it is no wolnah' it 's down and the fame for the enjoyment of a Kingdom, which per- † Gabrielle haps he might have better lecured otherwile, and his life with Perefix, p. 194. it. It is true, he never went fo far as to perfecute the Protefants, as his Predeceffors in the Kingdom of France did, and his Father began to do, and perhaps had proceeded further. had he elcaped that faral wound; but while he took liberty to himfelf 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 caufe which made his Reign fo much more prosperous and happy than theirs. Yet, as in those two particulars, for his luft, and for his Kingdom, he did forfake his Confcience and Religion, fo did God at laft, after feveral fair warnings, forfake and leave him to the \* ruine of his health, by the fa. \* V. Perefix, tisfaction of his lufts, the difappointment of his counfels, by p. 400, 461, the treachery of the Jefuits, and the lofs of his life by the 462. hand of a zealor of that Religion which he had cholen; whereas this bleffed Oueen who gave him this pious admonition, and her felf continued faithful to her God, and confant in her pious refolutions to the laft, was to the laft bleffed and preferved, notwithstanding all the Plots and Conspiracies. Rebellions and Invafions, and attempts of her enemies the Romanists against her. By this act of his he broke indeed the faction of the Leaguers, and fo more eafily quieted his posseffion of the Kingdom, yet had he foon an occasion to immind him how uncertain and thort his enjoyment of it was like to be, unless ftill preferved in the midft of Peace by the fame Providence by which he had been hitherto preferved in his Wars, and advanced to it through fo many dangers and difficulties. For within a month after his conversion to the Thu. 1. 107. Romish profession, was apprehended an affasin, 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 force fcruple by reason the King was turned Catholick, as he faid, he was confirmed in it by Chr. Aubre Curate of St. Andrea, who for his further confirmation led him to Varade Rector of the :

the Jefuites Colledge, who eafed him of all fcruples, and further animated him to perform the undertaking, and when he had been confessed, and received the Sacrament in their Colledge, dismiffed him to that purpose. Having provided him a knife for the purpole, it was not long before he had an opportunity to have done it, but was ftrangely reftrained, 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 purpole, but was by fome little accident or other fiill prevented, or had not the power to do it, though otherwife a fearless man. At laft being discovered and apprehended, and brought to his trial, he confidently confeffed 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 fend fome to him to admonish him of his error, whereof he was so throughly convinced by Oliver Barengarius, a Dominican, who had all along been of the King's party, that acknowledging his error, he reckoned himfelf happy that he was prevented from committing fo great a wickedness as he intended, though by his own most miserable death, detesting his purpose, and those who had perfwaded him to it, and told him that if he died in the enterprize, his foul fould immediately be received by Angels into Heaven, there to enjoy an eternal happiness with God, and admonified him, that if he fould happen to be taken and tortured, he (hould not name any of them who had perswaded bim to it, for then be must know be should incur the pains of cternal damnation : and before his execution he gave notice of two Priefts, who at Lions had undertaken to kill the King, and, for the greater caution, described their persons. This renewed the odium of the Jefaits, who were reputed not only to have been the \* first inventers of this milchievous War. Chaftel, calls but alfo, what by their profane Sermons, what by the poifon them the first of their naughty Doctrine fecretly in confession instilled continual fointo the minds of the inraged people, to have expcmentors of the fed, by a pernitious example, the facted persons of Princes to be murdered by every one. The next danger of this kind which

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\* So Dav. in

the Sory of

authors and

League, p. 1232.

which he was in came yet a little nearer to him, when in the Chamber of his + beloved Miltrefs, happily at the inflant, + Perefix, p. flooping to falute a Gentleman that came in, he received that 229. firoke only at his mouth, and without greater hurt than the lofs of a tooth, which was defigned at his heart by John Chastel a Scholar of the Feluites, who, through a flagitious life grown desperate, hoped by so heroick an act for the cause of the Roman Catholick 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 affistant in Philosophy to John Guerret a Prieft of that Society; and though vitious above his age, yet was in effeem with those Fathers, who used to admit him among their choice disciples, to their more fecret conferences and religious exercifes ; and had often heard in that Society, that it was not only lawful to kill the King, but a thing much conducing to the caufe of Religion, whereof it feems he was to throughly perfwaded, that notwithstanding the terribleness of his execution, he expreffed no figns of forrow or repentance; but on the contrary, being first put to the rack, gave out fuch affertions as the Court declared feditious, contrary to the word of God, and condemned by the facted Decrees, and made it treason to repeat them. As he had before freely confessed, so when he Da. p. 1322. was tortured he confirmed the same, that he was bred up in the Schools of the Jefuites, and had often heard it difcourfed, and disputed, that it was not only lawful, but also meritorious, to kill Henry of Bourbon (the King) a relapfed Heretick, and often faid that he learned that Doctrine from them. Whereupon their Colledge being fearched, among the papers of F. John Gnignard were found many writings that taught that Doctrine, many things against the late King, and that praifed the murder of him; and likewife against the prefent King, that perfwaded the killing of him, and tending to ledition and parricide : that it would be well done to thrust Navar, though professing the Catholick Religion, into a Monastery, shere to do penance : if without war he cannot be deposed, war is to be made against him; if war cannot be made, be must by any S 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. Alfo John Gueret the ordinary Confession of Chassel, F. Alexander Haye, and John Bell, all of the fame Society were likewise convicted of the like offences, but were condemned only to perpetual banishment and confiscation of their goods.

Thu. I. 37.

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 difliked their ambitious, arrogant appropriating to themfelves the Title of Jefuites, as that which doth belong to all true Christians, was by the recommendation of Charles, Cardinal of Lorrain, ( the Guissians 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 crect 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 inflitution were brought into the Court to be allowed, and were read, the Parliament referred them both to the confideration of the Bishop of Paris, and of the Colledge of Divines. Whereupon they gave their Sentence in writing. 10 this effect; That this new Society, by an infolent Title appropriating to themselves the name of Jesus, and so licentionsly admitting any perfons, howfoever illegitimate, facinorous and infamons, without any respect, and which nothing differs from other fecular perfons in Rites, Ceremonies, or rule of living, whereby the Orders of Monks are diftinguifhed; moreover, is endowed with fo many Priviledges, Liberties and Immunities, especially in the Administration of the Sacraments, to the prejudice of the Prelates, and of the Sacred Order, and alfo 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 bonourableness of the Monastick Order, to enervate the fudious, pious, and neceffary exercise of Virtue, Abstinence, Ceremonies and Authority; and alfo to give occasion to ethers to forfake their Voms, to misbdraw their due Obedience from 160

the Prelates, unjustly deprive the Lords, both Ecclesiastical and others of their rightsito introduce great disturbance in the Civil & Ecclesiastical Government, Quarrels, Suits, Diffentions, Contentions. Emulations, Rebellions, and various Sciffures; that for thele 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 fo startled the Society, that they defisted from any further profecution till the Reign of Francis 2. When the Guifians, who highly favoured this new Society, carrying all before them, they refumed the bulinefs again, and first sbe Bishop of Paris, Eust. Bellaius, was required to give bis Sentence, which he did in writing; That that Society, as ell new Orders, was very dangerous, and at these times instituted rather to fir up Commotions, than to make up the Peace of the Church: and after a sharp censure of their arrogant title, adding, that in the priviledges granted to it by Paul 3. are many sbings 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 fince 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 shey should have their Colledges assigned, as beretofore the Knights of Rhodes had in the borders and out skirts of the Christians. This and the other fentence being read, and confidered by the King in Counfel, the Court notwithstanding, through the infligation of the Cardinal of Lorrain, was commanded to publish as well the Pope's as the King's Charter, without any regard to the interceffion of the Bishop and Colledge of Divines; and the Jefuites exhibited a supplication to the Court, whereby they fubjected themfelves to the Common Law, and renounced all priviledges contrary to it. But the Parliament thought fit rather to remit the whole bufinefs to a General Council, or to a Convention of the Gallicane Church. And at a great meeting of the Bilhops at the Conference at Poily, they were admitted to teach, but under many conditions to change their name, be fubject to the Bilhop of the

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Diocefs,& to do nothing to the prejudice of the Bifhops, Colledges, Curates, Univerfities or other Orders, or their Jurifdiction and Function, but be governed according to the prefcript of the Common Law, and renounce all contrary priviledges, &c. Hereupon was opened Clermont School at Paris. But when this liberty was interrupted by the whole Univerfity of Paris, the bufinels was again brought before the Parliament. The University having before advised with Carolus Molinaus, bis Confultation or opinion and refolution of the Cafe, which was afterwards published, was, that the University had good cause to declare against them for a Nufance, 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 Inflitution was not only to the detriment of the feveral Orders, but to the danger of the whole Kingdom, and every wife man might jufily fear that they might prove spies, and betray the fecrets of the Kingdom; they feemed to be inflituted to lie in wait for the effates of dying people; they fet up a new School in a University, to which they would not obey, which was not only monftrous, but a kind of fedition, &c. And it was argued on both fides in full Parliament, by Pet, Verforius for the Society, highly commending their Original and Inflitution, and by Steph. Paleafins for the Univerfity, as much condemning both their Inflitution 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, abso-'lutely in all things; and to the Pope, to whom, becaufe they "are fo oblequious, they ought fo much the more to be fufpe-" Cted by the Frinch, who indeed acknowledge the Pope as "Head and Prince of the Church, but fo as that he is bound ' to obey the facred Decrees and Occumenical 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 Bilhops with-'in their limits; and therefore to admit those new Sectaries, ' would

"would be to nourifh fo many enemies within the bowels of "the Kingdom, who, if it should happen that the Popes in a ' fury should raife arms against us, would denounce war 'against the King and Nation of France: also in respect of " their unreasonable and exorbitant priviledges contrary to the " Common Law; and of their ambitious Title: their Pra-"Elice, for corrupting of youth, and ruining of Families; and Iafly, addreffing himfelf more especially to the Senators, he admonished them to beware that they did not, when too · late, condemn their own credulity, when they fhould fee through their connivance, that the publick tranquility not only in this Kingdom, but through the Christian World, " thould be endangered by the craft, guiles, superfition, diffi-' mulation, imposfures and evil arts of these men. But the Senate, whether through fecurity, or hatred of the Protefants, whom these men were believed born to subdue, determined to deliberate further on the busines, in the mean time granting them liberty publickly to open their Schools and in- 5 Apr. 1565. ftruct the youth. And here we may take notice by the way. who were the first and chief favourers and introducers of the Fefuites, and thence further observe whole Scholars they were, who were the chief actors in those troubles in France. But thus hung the caufe till, after the difcovery of Barrieres Apr. 1594. Thu. l. 110. confpiracy, the Univerfity with unanimous confent nemine reclamante renewed their Suit, and prayed Judgment, by their Supplication to the Parliament, wherein they fet out, " that the Effates in the Senate had long fince complained of "this new Sect, that great confusions were then raifed by " them in the discipline of the Schools; that from that time "they have given occasion of greater troubles, fince the fa-" ctious did openly addict them felves to the Spaniards party, and have confounded not only the City but the whole Kingdom with horrid feditions; that this was prudently forefeen from the beginning by the Colledge of Divines, who by their Decree declared this new fect to have been in-"troduced to the destruction of all Discipline as well Civil 'as Ecclefiaftical, and namely denying the obedience of the "Univerfity, as well to the Rector of it, as moreover to the Arch-

· Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Curates and others the Prelates of the Church; that notwithstanding those Jesuites made sup-· plication to the Senate to be incorporated into the Univerfity, and the caufe being heard the Senate fuspended the the Suit, Salvo partium jure, fo that nothing in the interim fould be innovated in the caufe in prejudice of the De-"cree; that yet the Jefuites have not only not at all obeyed " the Decree of the Court, but forgetting their facerdotal pro-· feffion have thrust themselves into publick business, car-'ried themfelves as fpies for the Spaniards, and managed ' their concerns : and therefore pray, that fince all these things ' are openly and publickly known, the Senate will interpofe " 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 hearing in the Parliament, not openly, but at the inftance, and through the importunity of the Jesuites and their friends, the . dores being thut. And Ant. Arnald of Counfel for the Univerfity, deploring the condition of France heretofore formidable, but of late become despicable to all through factions, which factions have been caufed by the Jefuites, largely confirmed from experience of what had fince been acted, the truth of what was wifely forefeen and foretold fo many years before. 'That the Emperor Charles 5. when, fortune favouring him, he conceived hopes of obtaining and tranf-' ferring to his Family a universal Monarchy, and by his own ' fagacity and long experience found that many were tied up • by scruples of confcience; could not devise a more effectual ' means to work upon them, than by introducing men of the ' Spanish defign (the Jesuites) to the destruction of others under shew of Religion, who in fecret at confessions, and openly alfo when occafion (hould be offered, in their Sermons, 'alienating the credulous and fimple people from the obedience of their lawful Governors, fhould infenfibly draw them 'to his party. That the principal Vow of these men is, to be abfolutely 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 feries of those who for these 50 years from the beginning of their Society, have been their 'Generals; for fuch were, 1. Ignatius Loiola their founder, '2. Jac. Lain, 3. Enariflus, 4. Fr. Borgia, and, 5. at prefent "Cl. Aquanina: that to their vom these horrible words are ' annexed, in which they profess to acknowledge Chrift as present in their General : that their Sect, whereas in Italy and France at the beginning it was generally oppoled, was with great applause approved in Spain; they pray day and 'night for the fafety and prosperity of the pious, prudent, vigilant Catholick King of Spain, who oppofeth himfelf a sa ' wall of defence for the houfe of God & the Catholick Faith ; 'but for the most Christian King of France never: and let the F. General fay the word that the King of France should be killed, the command of the Spaniard must ex voti ne-" cefficate 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 fo much ingratiate them. 'at Rome, but ought to make them fo much the more fufpe-" Gted in France. And that their Counfels tend to the Subver-'fion of the Kingdom is hence manifelt, that when ever the "Popes exceeding their authority, have fent out their cenfures egainst the Kingdom of France, there have not been wanting 'pious men, who with the common fuffrage of the Gallican " Church, have couragiously opposed such their rash attempts, ' (as he fhews more at large from divers inftances in the times of Carolus Calvus, Ludovicus Pius, Philippus Pulcher, Ca-"rolus vi, and Ludovicus xii.) but now in these late tumults 'it hath fallen out quite contrary, the facred Order being ' corrupted with the venom of this fect, and taught, that be " who is once chosen Pope, although of the Spanish Nation or Fa-"Etion, and a form enemy to the French, may notwithstanding give up the whole Kingdom for a prey, and abfolve 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 fpi-'ritual :

'ritual power from the fecular as far as Heaven is from the 'Earth) and as much repugnant to the fafety and confervation of Kingdoms, as it is certain that the true Chriftian "Religion is neceffary thereunto. That these monsters have 'kindled these furies in the minds of the French, and excited ' fo many flaughters and horrid confusions every where. Hence that publick affertion of Tanquerellus 33 years fince. 'that the Popes may declare the King's Subjects free from their Oath of Fidelity. Hence that refolution 5 years fince, by the greater number of the Colledge of Sorbon, that is, those "who were new moulded in the shop of the Jesuites, that Subjects may be abfolved from their Obedience to their Prince. ' That this Vow inftituted by the Castilians (of Spain), which with fo firait a tye binds mens conficences to the perpetra-' ting of any kind of enterprize, and to the killing of Kings ' themfelves by fuborned emiffaries, hath diffolved 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 Anceftors, that the Oath of Fidelity, whereby the Subjects of France are obliged to their Kings, can by no cenfures of the Popes be diffolved; which is fo conjoyned with the fafety and weal of the Kingdom, that without certain ruine it cannot be fevered from it: that the Royal Power in that fuffers no 'rival, nor admits any equal Jurifdiction. That these emiffaries and affertors of this exceffive power in the Pope crept 'in infenfibly at first in small numbers into France, but in 6 fhort time filled the whole Kingdom, and with fecret frauds and feditious Sermons have firred up the wars. That the first Conspiracies, more pernitious than the Bacchana's and that of Cataline, were hatched in their Colledge at Paris; that the Spanish Agents did often fecretly convene there ; " that there the Nobility at their fecret Confeffions were enioyned for the explation (or fatisfaction) of their fins, to engage for the League, (viz. by a special commutation of penance into an heroick act of virtue) and those who refuled were denied the benefit of absolution. That by them " was the fedition at Vefuna firred up, and the rebellions at 'Agen,

V. supra sea. 41. p. 66.

· V. fect. 53.

Agen, Tholoufe, & c. and the Spanish Souldiers brought into Paris; that by their counfel the Council of xvi emboldned by the forein Forces, offered the Kingdom of France to the King of Spain, and 13 daies after enfued that deteftable butchery of the principal Senators. That at their Schools at Lions and afterward at Paris was made the late Confpiracy for the murder of the King, as is attested by the confeffions 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 laft Christmas, taking for his text out of the book of Judges the example of Ehud, who flew 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 fpeeches of Bernard and Commoter, calling the King Olofernes, 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 defign the univerfal Monarchy of the whole World, fiirring up every where wars and rebellions, that thereby the vaft body of that Empire may grow up and devour the leffer Princes. That by them, Philip King of Spain, when he had long gaped after the Kingdom of Portugal, and forefaw that fo long as the King and Nobility continued in fafety, he could not obtain his defires, perfwaded the young King Sebafiian, having removed his intimate and faithful friends from him, to fail into Affrica, and rashly engage in fight upon great difadvantage, contrary to the opinion of all his party, wherein himfelf and almost all the flower of the Portugal Nobility perifhed. Nor did they cease till they had also ruined Don Antonio, and till the King of Spain \* not fo much by his Arms, as by their \* V. Hariz-Arts, had made himfelf Master of the Kingdom. Nor um apud ought it to impose upon the credulous, that they are vulgar- Thu. 1. 132. I y reputed ferviceable for the † instruction of youth, whose rion. apud manners they rather corrupt, inftilling evil princip'es into Thu. 1. 119. their

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their tender minds, which in that age make the greater impreffion upon them, and under a fhew of Piety teach them to embrue their hands in their Princes bloud, to be difobedient to Magistrates, to fir up feditions among the people, to caft off all affection to their own Country, and be affe-Eted with an adulterous love to foreigners: and being thus feasoned with pernitious errors, they will in time, when grown up, bring the fame into the Church and State. And indeed already, fince this new feet hath as it were feized upon the youth, the manners of our Anceftors have, not by degrees infenfibly degenerated, but like a torrent been precipitated into corruption. Nor have whole Families efcaped raine by them, by their arts youths being enveigled from their Parents, and the inheritances and effates of their Anceftors transferred to these new Lords. The complaints 'and examples of divers Noble Families thus spoiled are 'known, as of Petrus Ærodius, Mombrunius, Godranus, Bollonius, Largilactonius, the Marques Canilliacus, whole Brother was not admitted to his vow in that Society! till they were certain of his fucceffion to his clder Brothers Eftate. And for this purpose they have now their Book of ' Life, as they call it, wherein they defcribe the fecrets of Families, which they learn from confessions. These things and much more having largely difcourfed, in conclution he urges the neceffity 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 feveral Schools. Some days after was Ludovicus Dolans 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 inconfiderately and blindly granted them : by Paul, 2. Power to make new Statutes, and ' to change those which their Founder had established ; also to abfolve hereticks, which, if the Pope contend, is more ' than the whole Gallican Church cando. By Paul, 4: To 'abfolve penitents from all kind of crimes, even those which 'are not comprehended in Bulla Cane Dominica, and from 'those also which the holy See hath referved to it felf, and

Id. Jul. 1594.

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"pre sempore to commute vows and pilgrimages, &c.by Jul.3.to give indulgence from fafts and prohibited meats. Laftly by Greg. 13. to converse with sectaries, and for that purpose ' to wear fecular habits, (viz. for a difguise) a thing prohibited by the S. Canons; and to correct all kind of Books, and fo 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 Difcipline generally been ' diffolved ; for by the Breve of Paul 3. the people are allowed to leave their own Paffors, and run after them, and to re-' ceive the Sacraments from them; to whom Greg, hath com-'mitted (authority) to animadvert as well upon the Clergy 'as the people, that all may be done rightly, and after the 'Roman mode; fo that from Priefts, whether regular or fecular it is uncertain, they are fuddenly become univerfal Pa-" ftors of the people, or rather wandering vagabond Bilhops, " (Periodentas & circumcelliones & hamaxarios Episcopos ) that there is nothing which they cannot now do at Rome, where ' they are called the Popes eyes; mentis Pontificiæ oculi): that 'their Principles are inconfistent with the French : that it is certain that to them is principally given in charge that they. ' fliould oppress the Gallican liberty, at first by guile, and atc 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 'refift God, and to fight against Heaven : that they think that the Pope may excommunicate Kings and People when 'he pleafeth; but the French on the contrary hold them for Sectaries who think that the Pope may interpole his autho-'rity in any difference of State : that they attribute to the · Pope an infinite power over all Kingdoms, and fet him above 'the Church, above Councils, and in fine, make his power equal to his will, (to do what he pleafe) ; but the French "hold his power to be finite, or limited. And for their good. deeds and prastices, that Claud Marthew, a ring leader of " the faction, whom Henr. 3. had familiarly uled 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 perfwaded Greg. 13. to have excommunicated him. " unless he would comply with the leaders of that pernitious \* faction, which being denied by him, was after his death obtained of his fucceffor Sixtus: that Varada of the fame fociety confirmed Barriere in his purpose to kill the King, "when he made fome fcruple at it ; that they confels as much, but with frivolous cavillation feek to excufe it. Nor are " these the faults of fingle perfons among them, forasmuch as 'it is a usual thing (or conftant cuftom) with them, when they have any enterprize in hand, to confer together about "it, &c. that by their occult art of prying into fecrets they <sup>6</sup> have by little and little infinuated themfelves into the minds of the fimple, and acquired a dominion in their confeiences. "Whereof there is a fresh example in the five (Popish) Cantons of the Switzers, whom when the Jefuites had in vain attempted to draw them from their League with the other " Cantons of the Protestants, made for their common fafety, they, leaving the men, like the ferpent which deceived our ' first Parents, set upon the women, and perswaded 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 defert. The Venetians. likewife, whole Justice and "Prudence the duration of their State doth eafily evince, faw Yet they fince o as much, and being warned by our example, they did not 'indeed thrust them out of their Territories, for how could 1607. v. 1.137. " they do that, being so near neighbours to the Pope ? but did maturely thut them up within their own inclofures, and 'interdicted them the hearing of confessions. And howpowerful they are among us by these means, they openly profels, and glory in it in their letters to their General. But "thus is the difcipline (of the Church) overthrown, and (contrary to the prudent prohibition of the Council of Nants, 'the faying of St. Aug. Neminem digne panivere posse, quem "non fustineat unitas Ecclesia : the judgment of the ancient ' Chriftians, ST

did it, an.

Christians, who condemned Audius for making separation 'in the Church) the people feduced from their own Paftors 'are adulteroufly allured to communion in factis with them ' apart from others, and at last stirred up to rebellion against their Prince, and emiffaries fuborned to murder him. Their · conspiracies are well known against Prince Maurice, which 'at last took effect; and in England those of Parry, Cullen, 'York, Wikiams; in Scotland those of James Gordon and 'Edmond Hay; and with us that fo often mentioned of Barriere. But among the ancient Christians these monsters were unheard of. Of the Christians was no Callius, no Niger, no Albinus, as Tertullian speaks. Nor was that crime ever heard of in France till the coming in of the Jefuites. • 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 deteftable cuftom, that if any of " their Kings pleafed them not, they put him to the fword, and fet up whom they pleafed in his place. On behalf of the Jesuites Cl. Dureus rather pleaded in bar of the action, than fooke to the merits of the caufe; but P. Barnius anfwered more copioufly in writing. But, as much of what was fpoken by the others is here purpofely omitted for brevity fake, fo those things particularly which I find answered by him, except that of Portugal, which notwithftanding his anfwer, feems very probable, as well agreeing with their principles and actions, though fuch mysterious practices are not cafy to be fully proved. And thus flood the cafe with the Icluites in France, when the King was about to \* proclaim \* which was war against their great Patron the King of Spain : and whe- done 17. Jan. ther the particular confideration of these or either of these. to prevent what they feared might be the confequence of them + did produce that attempt of their Scholar Chaftel, or + V. Perefix, not; for he was more deeply feasoned with their principles 229. and infiructions than to make a full confession, yet certain it is that that attempt did produce a more speedy determination of the caufe than could otherwife have been expected, by a Decree, whereby the Court did ordain that the Priests and 29 Dec. 1594. Sindents of the Colledge of Clermont (for they would not call Thu. l. III. risuoda

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them by the name of Jefuites) and all others of that Society, as corrupters of Touth, perturbers of the publick Tranquillity. and enemies of the King and Kingdom, (hall 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 profecuted as guilty of Treason; and that their Goods and Lands Shall be imployed for pious uses, and be distributed at the pleasure of the Court; and all the Kings Subjects were interdicted to fend 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 Chaftel's Father's houfe, 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 inferibed upon it ad æternam facti memoriam; which was likewife done. with other inferiptions in deteftation of the crime. A new ?

58. How neceffary for the fafety both of the King and Kingdom this was, and that the Decree should be strictly executed throughout the whole Kingdom, and duly and conftantly observed for the future, many in the Court, and most in the Parliament of Paris, and of the Clergy, were very fenfible, and the King could not be ignorant, efpecially after fuch fair warnings. And yet, whereas the festites, being by virtue of this Decree exterminated out of the Jurifdictions of the Court of Paris, which extends to near half the Kingdom, and likewife of Burgundy and Normandy, continued notwithstanding for three years after to keep up mel. VI anof their Schools in the Territories of Tholoule and Bourdeaux, to which many fent their Sons to be taught, and many again from that Society, changing their habits as if they, had alfo 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 to refolved in Council, the execution notwithstanding was continually retarded by the craft and fubtility (faith our Author) . of fome about the King, but perhaps fome thoughts of a peace with Spain, which had been propoled, might make it thought

Li. 112.

V. 1. 134.

Thu. 1. 129.

Which was

thought unfeasonable 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 fevere penalty prohibited all Cities, Colledges and Universities to admit any of that fociety, though pretending the renunciation of their vow, to preach, or to exercife any facerdotal Ministery, or to teach children either publickly or privately. The year following the King was Thu. 1. 120. again provoked through the oblinacy and infolency of the Court of Tholoufe, to fend out his Edict commanding those Courts to publish the Decree, and was moved by the Chancellor Ph. Huraltus Cevernius fo to do, but by fome Courtiers, fays our Author, the bufinefs was at prefent delayed, and at laft wholly put off; and very likely was now allo though unleasonable in respect of the King's desire to obtain a diffolution of his Marriage with the Queen Margaret, that he might marry his beloved Mistress La belle Gabrielle, Thu. ib. Perewhereof he began about this time to treat with the Pope's fix. p. 294. Legate. And indeed, though I know not whether fo much be written by any, yet it feems very legible in the actions and occurrences which are written, that this was fo powerful a motive with him, as made him not only defift from further enforcing the execution of the Decree, and total extermination of the Jeluites, but on the contrary to yield to their Reftitution. For the Jefuites about this time taking occasion Thu, ibid. upon a Convention of the Clergy to offer him a lupplication, ceafed not afterwards till by fupplications and recommendations every where fought, they at last obtained their defire, the Pope's Legates sparing no pains on their behalf. So our Author, who afterward tells us, that when Ignatius L. 129. 31 31 Armandus their Provincial, about a year before they were refored, had made a Speech to the King for them, the King. answered that the business was now in the Pope's hands, without whole direction he would determine nothing (negotium penes Pontificem effe, quo inconsulto nibil velit decernere). But it may be more plainly perceived in a paffage afterward at their restitution; for when the Parliament interceded , against their restitution, and were very averse from publish. L. 132. ing the Kings Eidict for that purpose, at last comes And. Huraltus

Huraltus Meffius into the Senate, and acquaints them from the King with the whole feries of the business, and tells them that above five years fince the Pope had dealt with the King that the Felnites 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 diffolution of his Marriage, as hath been faid, in the year 1599; he obtained the Pope's Breve to certain Delegates, who, upon hearing of the caufe, pronounced the Marriage null ab initio; fo that this points us to the time exactly : and confidering 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 fome affurance from the King of the reflicution of the Jefaites, which at the fame time was earnefly follicited. It is true that the King's beloved Mif. who had engaged him to fend to the Pope about it, died in Child-birth before the commission to the Delegates was fent; yet this hinders not but the might before have prevailed with him to give all fatisfaction to the Pope in order to the obtaining of it, and that thereupon he might fo far have engaged to the Pope, that he knew not afterwards how to get off when he would ; and this it feems was the - true reason why the business hung to long, and yet was done at laft. For thus Meffius goes on relating the feries of the bulinels, the King, fays he, put it off from day to day as much as be could, (he did not refuse or excuse himself from denying it, Quantum po- but fought delays) and when he could no longer (hift it off, he

L. 123.

tuerat diem

de die dixisse. propujed 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 affigned them. From that time two years paffed without any mention of the business, whereat the King, who defired to gratifie the Pope in it, was troubled; at length the King's Ambaffador being instant with the Pope, be answered that the articles

articles proposed by the King seemed to him to be such as the Fesnites ought to be contented with them, but that hitherto be bad 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 effe integram, led de ea inter Regem & Pontificem quasi patto transatum fuisse) All which thews fufficiently that the Pope had then gotten fome hank upon him which he could not get off. Nor can any other be eafily alligned fo probable as this which I have faid. Only one thing more 'tis likely helped forward the bulinefs, viz. a defire to fecure his life by ingratiating himfelf with the regicides: for to it is faid, that when his great favourite the D. of Sully diffwaded him from their re-admiffion, he Foul. 1. 9. c. 2. answered, Give me then security for my life. And indeed though in his answer to that grave speech of the chief Prefident 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 perfon, he made thew 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 reflitution, and also of confidence in God, who had thus preferved him hitherto, for his future prefervation; yet fince it does plainly appear by what was delivered by Meffius from him to the Senate, (and there can be no reason to think otherwise) that he was fore against his will, (viz. through fome inconfiderate pre-ingagement from which he could not recede) brought to it, his other fayours to them belides their re-admiffion, may be thought to proceed from this principle, and his fhew of contempt of the danger to argue rather what he fought to conceal, than what he pretended, or at least that that contempt proceeded from his hopes of fecuring his own fafety by this means. For, what-ever he pretended, it could not proceed from a well grounded confidence of God's protection; a thing inconfiftent with his living in continued known fin by reafon of bis

his Amores, (which the Reverend Bilhop of Paris doth frequently deplore) and when he had before violated his confcience by his change of Religion for fecuring his Kingdom. For who can with confidence expect any favour from him, whom he doth daily knowingly injure and offend? Befides, that confidence is not always the meer refult of a good confcience, but is often raifed in pious fouls by the special influence of the Spirit of God, who as he doth more and more encreafe it in those who continually and fincerely endeavour to perfevere and go forward in a diligent obfervance of his will, and to raife their fouls by a constant exercise of the dictates of Reason and Faith, above the animal or bruitish nature; fo doth he always withdraw the fame from those who decline to bruitish affections, and if they go on fo to do, at Quos perdere last leaves them dif spirited, and obnoxious to base and deceitful fhifts and devices, whereby they pull down mifchief upon their own heads, especially when this is mixt with ingratitude against great mercies. Nor can a facrilegious and profane abfolution, by those who cry peace, peace, when there is no peace, ferve the turn, without a due repentance proportionable to the fault with all its aggravations, and a found 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 Prefident Harlay, in that notable speech which might well have deferved a larger place here, had not fo much been related already to that purpose from others. As they have all one common Name and Vow, fo have they, faith he, certain heads of Doctrine wherein they all agree : as, that they acknowledge no Superior befides the Pope, and to him they give Faith and an abfolute 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 infurrection against him. That every one of them who is initiated though but in the lower Orders of the Church, abatsoever 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 Eeclefiasticks by their Doctrine exempt from the fecular Power, and

vult Jupiter

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dementat pri-

and lawfully may with impunity lay bloudy (violent) bands upon the facred perfons of Kings. This they affert in printed Books. Oc. 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. 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 \* ano- \* See their ther in France : and as they pass into this or that Country, so do Answers to they take up or lay down these opinions. If they say that this proposed to they may lawfully do by + Secret Dispensation, then what certain them by the ty can be had of their Doctrine, which is thus changed with their Court after change of place, and is good or bad according to the times ? This the murder of Doctrine they embrace and maintain in common (all of them), Foul. 1. 9. c. 2. and it fo thrives by little and little, that it is to be feared left in five, and the tract of time it infect the other orders, which are not yet levened Answer to Phiby it. At first they had none more their adversaries than the Sor. bonifts, now many of them are their favourers. viz. thole who received their first institution in their Schools. Others who are now t V. Spotftraining up in learning under them will hereafter do the like, and one day hold the chief dignities in the Senate; and if they shall 1580. pag 308, think the same in point of Doctrine also, they will by degrees with- 309. draw themselves from their duty of obedience to the King, fet at naught the King's Laws, and suffer the Liberties of the Gallicane Church to become obfolete, and wear out; and lastly, will reckon it no crime of Treason which is committed by an Ecclefiaftick. Then he goes on, and imminds him of the fruits which had already been produced from these principles; of Barriere, Varada, and Guignard, and Chaftel, and of the laft King's murder, against whom this ungrateful Society flirred Gens ingrata. up the people to fedition, nor were they thought guiltlefs of that murder; that in the late wars, of other Orders many perfifted conftantly in the King's obedience; but thefe conjoyntly and unanimoufly confpired 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

lanax Angl. ch. 5. p. 128.

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wood, Hift. of Scotl. I. 6. an.

V 2 party,

party, touches upon foreign examples, how in Portugal, they. and they only, deferring the caule of their Country, adhered to the Spaniards, and were the caufe of the flaughters of fo many Priefts and devout Perfons, two thousand perifhing under the Spaniards in feveral manners; and by a fingular indulgence obtained the Pope's pardon of fo many confeffed flaughters : then having spoken of the reasonableness of the Decree which exterminates the Jeluites, and had been received without contradiction in all other Courts, had not they withftood it who were not well feiled in the King's obedience, and were hardly brought off from their inveterate hatred against him, and answered objections, he presents the humble oblecrations and obteffations 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 Predeceffors had always had to the interceffions of the Supreme Courts, at whofe Petition or Advice they revoked or altered their Edicts, if they contained any thing amils; that this the Courts of the Kingdom beleech his Majefty, and promife themfelves from his Grace, that he will pleafe to fuffer them to enjoy their authority entire, which indeed is the authority of the King himfelf, as that which depends upon him, & c. But all would not do; notwithstanding the intercession of the Parliament, the deprecation of the University, the diffwations of those he held both able and faithful to him; he had made an Edict, and it must be published, and the Jesuites restored, mal-gre mesme les avis de quelques uns de son Conscil. And they must not only be reftored, but moreover have a new Colledge built them at La Flesche, which the King endowed with an annual Rent of 11000 Crowns (Aurei) and prevailed with the Clergy for 100000 more toward the building of it; and he alfo orders that the hearts of Himfelf, his Queen, and their Succeffors shall be there incombed 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 prefently thereupon began to thew his zeal for the Pope against a Sentence

Sentence of the Colledge of Divines passed two years before, wherein they had afferted the Liberies of the Gal'ican Church against the Pride, and Haughtiness, and Avarice of Rome; and among other things, that other Bifhops have power to order the publick affairs of the Church within v. 1. 129. their own Diocefs, as well as the Roman Bishop in his; and at his inftance by the command of the King; for the Court L. 144. could not be brought to confent to it, not only the marble Table whereon the Decree was engraved, but the Pyramid it felf, with all the other inferiptions in deteriation of that fact of Chastel, was taken down and demolished; and the printed-Cuts of it prohibited; which being notwithstanding greedily bought up, diligent fearch 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 alfo renewed the common hatred against the Jefuite.

59. But before we proceed to the murder it felf of this King, it will be neceffary to take notice of fome other Con-1595. spiracies against him, whereof some were contemporary with those of Barriere and Chastel, though not discovered till afterward, and some were fince. The first of Nic. Malavicinus the Pope's Legate refident with the Arch-Duke at Thu. 1. 122. Bruxels, who having every where fought for an affaffine, at last light upon Ch. Ridicme a Dominican Friar of Gant, who was very ready to lay down his life for the caufe of Religion; but before he would undertake this bufinefs, defired in the first place to have the authority of the Pope and Cardinal's approbation ; wherefore the Legate for his fatisfaction gave him a writing under his hand in the name of the Popeand Cardinals, to that purpofe; and having furnished him with Mony, and bleffed him with the fign of the Crofs, he dismissed him, giving him also for his better security from discovery, a faculty or dispensation to wear a secular habit, of a Souldier, and to ride, dance, fence, &c. Being thus prepared for the bulinels, the Jesuite Hoduma, to whom his Mother at confession had discovered the agreement, defired to fee him, and having viewed him, difliked nothing but his little stature, faying that there needed a more robust man. In his

his journey at Vermand he underflood that the King was reconciled to the Church, and came to the Crown by lawful fucceffion, yet he went on as far as St. Denys, but from thence returned to Bruxels to the Legate, and gave him this reafon of his return; whereat the Legate shaked his head, and telling him that the Bearnois (fo he called the King) and all his party flood ftill excommunicated by the Pope, perfwaded him to perfevere in his purpole; to whom Ridicone anfwered, if I could fee the Pope's mandate, then it should foon be confidered on. At the fame time Pet. Arger of the fame Monastery at Gant, having first treated with Malavicinus at Bruxels, and then going to Rome, being returned from thence, likewife undertook the defign of killing the King. Some time after Ridicone, with whom a fervant of the Legates had afterward dealt in fecret, went also to Rome, whither Malavicinus had returned, where being by him confirmed in his purpole, he took his journey by Milan, and having there communicated the business to the Spanish Ministers, he came into France about the fame time that Alex. Medices the Pope's Legate arrived there, the King being then reconciled not only to the Church but to the Pope alfo. At laft being taken, when the King faw that the bufinefs could not be examined in a judiciary way without the great infamy of Malavicinus, and that not without fome reflexion upon the Pope with whom he was already reconciled, and moreover caffing fome fuspition upon the Arch-Duke to the diffurbance of the business of peace, whereof some overtures had been made by the Legate, he refolved to diffemble it, and difmifs Ridicone out of the Kingdom, requiring him not to return again upon pain and penalty of Treason. Being returned to Gaunt, he refumed his former delign of killing the King, and after some fecret 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 fuch a thing as to kill the King, he answered, that by the frequent Sermons from the Pulpit, and daily Disputations in the School, which be heard; and moreover the praifes of Fames Clemont.

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Clemont, as of a glorious Martyr who had devoted himself for the liberty of the French, every where refounding, not only at the Churches, but in the Markets, Streets, and at Feafts; he was eafily perforaded 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 fo many Jouls; and therefore when Malavicinus did moreover furnish him with the authority of God and the Pope to that purpofe, be readily undertook it; being put to the rack he made no otheroinfeffion than he had done before. At the fame time was also executed one Nic. Anglus a Capuchin Frier of St. Michel in the Diocefs of Thoul in Lorrain, being convicted and condemned for the fame crime. The next year after Ridicone was first apprehended, and while he was in prifon, Ledesma a Minister of the King of Spain, employed one Pet. Owen a Carthusian Frier, who, for his diffolute Thu. 1. 118. manners being cenfured in his Monastery, had fled into Spain, to fuborn an emiffary to murder the King. Owen having treated with a Souldier in the King's Army about it, to whom he had made great promifes, was her deser I himfelf the next year after apprehended and convicted both by witneffes and by his own confeffions; but was pardoned by the King in respect to the Carthulians, being fatisfied to have taken the evidence in a judicial manner, whereupon he might when he pleafed expostulate with the Spaniatds. But fhortly after these things ensued the Peace with Spain at Vervins, and not long after fome hopes given of the reflicution of the Jefuites, which was at last granted as we have feen: whereupon one might have thought that his enemies being all either fubdued or reconciled, having reconciled himfelf to the Church, to the Pope, to thole of the League who remained unfubdued, to the Spaniard, and to the Jefuites, that he fhould henceforward have enjoyed his Kingdom, his new Religion which had brought all these bleffings with it, and his Miffes too, at least his life, in fafety. But alas, it may be feared he had forgotten to reconcile himfelf truly to his God, which made the reft but male fasta gratia, que ne quicquam coit & rescinditur : For, when a mans ways please the

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the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him. But while he was thus endeavouring to engage the Jefuites to himfelf, the Spaniard on the other fide spared neither pains, nor colt, nor promises, that by their emissaries they might allure to themfelves the minds of those who through the late Civil Wars were alienated from him, and under the fpecious 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 & fecret counfels, and from the knowledge of them, the better order their own defigns, made it their main bulinels to currupt those who were employed by the principal Officers and Ministers of State. Thus among others, Nie. L'Oste, whom the Secretary Villeroy employed in decyfering letters, being corrupted by them with an annual penfion of 1200 Crowns, continually discovered all the fecrets of them to the L. 128, 1 Spanish Embaffador. They had before corrupted the Marethat de Biron, and fome other perfons of Quality, which being discovered, brought him to his end about two years fince; and now they not only again fet upon the Count d'Auvergne, L 132.8 134. who had been convicted of Biron's conspiracy, and pardoned, but also the Seignenr d'Entragues, and the Marquise de Vernevil his beautiful and witty daughter, the King's Mils, to corrupt them, and that by no meaner or other agents than their Embaffadors in France, Jo. Taxis, and his fucceffor Batth. Sunica, who, to introduce him at first, made ule of an English lugitive Th. Morgan, an actor in the Conspiracies against his own Princess Queen Elizabeth. The next year this fame Embaffador Suniga, first in person, and afterwards, to avoid fuspition, by his Secretary Brunellus, treated, and at last agreed with Lewis Merargues a Gentleman of Provence to betray Marfeilles to the King of Spain; which both Merargues and Brunellus confessed, being apprehended in private conference in Merargues's Chamber; and in Brunellus his hofe 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. Perefix.] These things I the rather note, becaule of ule as well to confirm the truth of their like practices

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1604.

L. 134.

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practices in England, as to help to ground fome 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 fuch ready inftruments to ferve them, and in other Countries were still as well affected to the interest of Spain v.1. 135. 136. 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 fufficient to compensate their injuries received; and befides, might be doubtful whether proceeding from any real affection to them or not; especially confidering their subjection to the fame F. General, by whom the motion of their fociety in other Countries under their feveral Provincials, is in a correspondent uniformity steered; only 'tis probable, as becomes wife men, they would be cautious and wary how they did hazard the loss of what they had gotten, and therefore act upon pretty fure grounds : yet we meet with fome inftances of their affection to their old friend. For, to fay nothing of F. Cotton, a prime man of the Society, and the King's Confeffor, his confulting a fuppoled Dæmoniack concerning the \* King's life, the lame Father is reported to have + brought \* L. 122: and recommended to the King a certain Spaniard, of whom TP. du Mouthe King a while after received from Monfieur de la Force lin, Anfw. to Vice-Roy of Bearne and Navar, a description, with an adver-Ch. 5. tilement that fuch a day he went from Barcelona into France, with intent to kill his Majefty, and fhewing 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 difgrace for writing \* divers things to the \* P. du Mou-Provincial of the Jesuites in Spain, which the King had re- lin, ibid. vealed to him in confession : and that + the D. of Sully pro- + Foul. 9. c. 2. ved to the King that he was guilty of betraying his fecrets. What these fecrets were I find not; but this is to be noted, that he had then a great defign in hand, which, whether the fame X

Perefix, an. 1608.

Foul. ibid. Per. an. 1609:

Foul. ibid.

Moulin, ibid.

fame or not which he pretended, and which is related by the D. of Sully, and from him by Perefix the Arch Bifhop of Paris, he had in pursuance of it raised a great Army, which fartled 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 grievoufly 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 defign : and was now, though the Pope had carneftly dehorted him from any more arming, going in perfon, with an Army of 40000 choice men, to affift the D. of Brandingburg with his Allies the Protestant Princes, in the bufinefs of Cleves and Juliers, whereof the Emperor complained, as that which could not be without wrong to the Catholick Religion; and what was worft of all, this expedition was not doubted to be only a cover for fome greater defign, that bufinels of Cleves falling out very opportunely to furnish him with a good occasion to commence the execution of his projects. While the King was raifing this Army, in France was a great Book fecretly kept by fome Priefts, wherein many did subscribe their fidelity and obedience to the Pope, many of the fubscriptions in blood; and at Rome, (the Pope having dehorted him from arming) four months before he was murthered, was the Decree against John Chastel censured, and forbidden to be read, by an A& of the Confiftory, together with the Hiftory of Thuanus for relating too plainly that horrid action of Chaftel, and the part which the Jeluites had in it; and likewife a Book of Mariana the Jefuite, but not that which approveth the murthering of King's, which by that means, was in fome fort, that is, tacitly and implicitly approved. At last, having as well ordered all things for the Government at home in his ablence, as perfe-Cted his preparations for the Expedition, he was impatient to be gone from the City, partly through his eager defire of purfuing the exploit, partly boding and prefaging fome mifchief to his perfon, if he fhould flay longer there. But the

the Queen, to whom he had committed the Regency in his absence, affigning her a select Council, through the infligation 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 other- this into the wife very unwilling, and withal told her, ' That that Coro-' nation did prefage him fome mifchief; they would kill him; I think an Ita-"he fhould never go from that City; his enemies had no rence. other remedy but his death; it was told him that he " thould be flain at the first grand magnificence that he should make, and that he should die in a Coach; which <sup>6</sup> made him taken with a trembling when he was in one. He was counfelled 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 fatisfie her, he staid. with fuch fuccets as was foretold. For the next day after the Coronation, when in the morning \* he had been very fad and \* Continuatipenfive, one while caffing himself upon his bed to fleep, on of de Serthen again when he could not fleep, arifing to his prayers, res. doing this feveral times, in the afternoon he would needs go to the Arfenal to visit the Duke of Sully, who was there indisposed, though the Duke of Vendosme imminded him that he had been warned to beware of the fourteenth day; but contemning the warning and predictions, out of a defire to conceal his fear, (just as he had done before in the restitution of the Jefuites, contrary to the advice and perswasions of his best friends) in the way his Coach being stayed by a flop made by two Carts accidentally meeting in a narrow peref. freet, he was stabbed between the fecond and third rib, and at a fecond blow to the heart, whereof he died prefently. The Affaffin was one Francis Ravaillac, formerly a Monk, but at that time a Sollicitor. What motives, perswasions or infigations he might have to this wicked act, is much in the dark; but that it was, not out of revenge for any perfonal injury the meannels of his quality may induce us to believe; and befides no fuch thing was ever pretended or alledged. Nor was it out of hope of any temporal advantage; for then he would X 2

Per. p. 489: Quære, who was this Conchini who puc Queens head? lian of Flo-

+ See the Perition of the Univerfity of Paris in the continuation of Serres; fence of the **Right of Kings** fub finem; Foul. p. 646. from the Examination and Procefs.

V. The Petition and Moulin,p.126.137.

would have fled, and endeavoured to have faved himfelf, which he did not in the leaft; but therefore upon the fcore of Religion, which is further manifest; for it feems he had in him fome of the leven of the League, and was perfwaded that the King went to overthrow the Catholick Religion in Germany. He + faid that the King made War contrary to the Pope's liking, and boldly alledged, at his examination, this reason for what he did, That the King had a defign to make war against God, because he prepared war against his Holinels; for making war against the Pope, is the fame as to K. James's De- make war against God. This is further confirmed by his carriage both at his Apprehension, Examination, and Execution. When he had redoubled his ftroke, and offered a. third, he never fo much as flirred from the place, or offered. to conceal the knife, but flood fill, as if he defired to be taken notice of, and gloried in the exploit ; and (which may allo help to fatisfie us that he did it not of his own meer motion) at his examination, were evident marks found in him of the

Doctrine of the Jesuites, and to the Divines who were fent to him, he shewed himself perfectly instructed in all their diffinctions and evalions about Rebellion and King-killing, though otherwife very ignorant in all other Learning. Laftly, at his Execution, fuch was his conflancy in the midft of his terrible tortures, as ftrongly confirmed the fuspition that certain Emissaries under the massque of piety had instructed and enchanted him by falle affurances that he should dye a Martyr, if he killed him, whom they made him believe was the fworn enemy of the Church : and poffibly he might have been charmed by fome fuch incantations as were heretofore uled to Barriere ; and yet, as 'tis faid, he did confess thus Foul. p. 642. much, that he had informed Father d'Aubigny of his intended murther, and shewed him the knife; but it was in confellion, and therefore not to be revealed; and the Jeluite upon examination protefted that God had given him the grace, that as foon as any thing was revealed to him in confession, he prefently forgot it. The Jesuites were generally suspe-Aed and cenfured as guilty, and feveral fuspitious paffages in their Sermons lately preached, particularly by F. Hardy and F. Gon-

F: Gontier, were called to mind : and thereupon the Parliament ordered the Jefuite Mariana's Book de Rege & Regis Continuat. of Inflitutione to be burned by the common Executioner : and Serres, p. 1295 afterward condemned a Book of Suarez (Defensio Fidei Foul. p. 646. Cath.) as containing many Seditious and treasonable Principles; and after this another of another Jesuite, Ant. Sanctarellus (de Hærefi, Schismate, &c.) printed at Rome with the approbation of the General, and at the fame time Foul. ibid. Moul. ubi fup. 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 Hiftory is fo sparing in this particular of the acceffories, it felf gives us a good reafon; the Judges themselves who examined him, says Perefix, durst not open their mouths, and never spoke of it but with a shrug 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 murther was flopped, and not fully profecuted. It fhould feem domeflick and foreign jealoufies confpired in it. But that it was not done without the privity 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, fays Perefix, were then in a profound filence ; which possibly was not caused by their confernation and fear of the fuccefs of his arms, but for the expectation they had to fee fome great blow, which was all their hope. It was foretold in an Almanack brought to Peirefcius out of Spain, printed November before; which Gaffendus, though he doubts not but the Artift might have fome 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 becaufe it was compoled by a Beneficiary or Beneficed man. of Barcellonia or Barcinonia, from whence the Spanish Emisfary above mentioned came to Paris to Father Cotton, by whom he was recommended to the King. And perhaps of perefix. the fame kind with this was that Prediction of his approaching death by a determinate blow, which was found written Continuat. of or 'n a paper upon the Altar at Montargis. The Provost of Serres. Phu-

Pluviers, who, 'tis faid, was a Jesuite in Faction, and had a Son a Jeluite, being accused to have faid the fame day that the King was murthered, that he was flain or wounded that day, ftrangled himfelf in prifon. And indeed fuch and fo many were the predictions and reports of it at the time, and before it was done, which are mentioned by \* Gaffendus. Perefix, 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 emiffaries sent out to do it, and that it was confidently expected that it would certainly be done. Only it is fomewhat firange that those circumstances, at his next Solemnity, in his Coach, and the very day of the month, thould be fo precifely foretold, as it feems it was in that manner that he gave credit to it, though no credulous perfon, and was fo fad 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 feveral places. But it feems 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 fome flately ftructure deceitfully built upon an infirm foundation, when just railed to its height. He was frighted in his youth into a change of his Profeffion, for the faving of his life, (the first, but bitter fruit of his being unequally yoked) but that being only through teror and constraint, he returned again, when he found a convenient opportunity to the open profession of his own It was about the eighteenth year of his age, Religion. when his youth might make his yielding to fo extraordinary terror, heightned by the fad spectacle of the horrid murthers of all his friends, the more excufable. About eighteen years after, when he was grown up to maturity, about the thirty fixt year of his age, and had given fome teftimony of his conflancy in his Profeffion ; and for his encouragement had received no small testimonies of Divine favour, not only preferving and conducting him fafe through many dangers and difficulties, but leading him by the hand to the poffettion of the

\* Li. 2. de vita Peireskii.

the Kingdom, and making way for him by the extirpation of a whole Family, another Trial was affigned him by the great Agonothetes; who never ceafeth to provide new matter and V. Ecclefiaftioccasions of trial and exercise for all those who once apply cus, 2. 1. 2, 3, themfelvs to his fervice, till either by many mutual experiments given and received of their fidelity and confiancy to him, and of his admirable Providence never failing them, but ordering all for their good, they become more than Conquerors, and well setled and confirmed in his service, (one great reason of the difficulties and adverfities wherewith good men are frequently exercifed) or on the other fide, after many acts of unfaithfulnels, whereby their courage and refolution is more and more broken and abated, they become eafily affrighted or allured from their duty, and at last either wholly deferting, or little regarding the same, are accordingly by him abandoned to the deceitful and pernitious courses of their own lufts and devices. The former was a trial whether he would be frighted 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 refume new courage and refolution, he is again called upon the ftage; and in the first affault he behaved himself not much amils. For, who can millike his referring all to the determination and advice of a lawful General, or National Council, had be been fincere, and continued constant in this resolution? Nor did he want V. Thu. 1.98. encouragement in this respect from the forward and coura- 101, & 103. gious 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 alfo concurring therein; who moreover gave him a fair opportunity, and kind of invitation either by fetting up a Patriarch in France, (which had been very agreeable to the first V. Thu.l. 103, flourishing state of the Church after the times of Perfecution) or by reftoring to the Arch-Bifhops and Bifhops their ancient authority (which was in some fort 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 enflaved himfelf and his Kingdom

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### A Discourse Concerning the

dom) and fo having reformed that grand, abominable abufe, he might with the more facility, afterwards have established, by the mature deliberation of a lawful Council, fuch 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 refolved to be reconciled to the Church, they admitted and abfolved him, notwithstanding the Pope's Legate opposed it all he could, contending that he could not be abiolved by any but the Pope. But these things which might have given encouragement to a confcientious and truly pious mind, to conftancy and further dependance upon God, to him perhaps proved a further tentation; their fidelity to him making their perfwafions to change his Religion the more prevalent with him; especially concurring with a more powerful motive, viz. the reducing of the reft of the Kingdom to his obedience. And therefore, though like David he waxed stronger and stronger, and the League, like the houfe 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 affemble to choose a Catholick King, (though that was not unlikely to break their party by their emulations and divisions concerning the perfon) forgetting his former refolutions, and neglecting his confeience, instead of dependance upon the Divine Providence, he applies himself to humane Policies, and refolves to change his Religion, without staying for the determination of a lawful either General or National Coun-And this, after a few hours inftruction, whereby he precil. tended he was much informed of what he was ignorant before, being folemnly done, he next, not long after, by a \* special Embaffador makes supplication to the Pope to be admitted to his favour. And though he had prefently hereupon two notable experiments, by the attempts of Barriere and Chastel, of the vanity and deceitfulnels of fuch thifts and humane Policies, without the favour of the Divine Protection and Bleffing, (befides a faithful and found admonition

from

L. 107.

L. 107.

\*L. 107, 108.

from the good Queen Elizabeth) yet his confidence and reliance upon God, being before weakned, (it commonly proving with perverted minds as with corrupted flomachs, which turn their natural food and nourishment into the nourishment of their difease) 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 ftrength lay, had fubmitted to L. 109. him, and befides all this, the Pope had unworthily repulled L. 103. his Embaffador, 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 reft) he was notwithstanding eafily wrought upon at the flight intimation of the Pope, (who, when he faw it was in vain longer to oppole him, was very willing to receive his fubmillion ) to fend another Em- L. 113. baffie, and bafely profirate himfelf to him: bafely I fay, becaufe it is not likely that he did it out of Confcience or Religion, but rather out of fear of E miffaries and Affaffins, which is \* exprelly mentioned by his Agents to the Pope, as a mo- \* A percullotive to his reconciliation : and for the fame reafon, 'tis likely, ribus, qui quoas hath been shewed before, he at laft, notwithstanding all tidie vitæ ejus perswasions, earnest intercellions and supplications to the con- metuentem. trary, reftored the Jefuites again, and among other favours fubjected the government of his confcience to them. This was the foundation upon which he built his Greatnels, which having laid for his fecurity, he prefently fet himfelf to heap up Treasures, and at last railed a great Army for the execution of some grand defign, which, whatever it was in truth, he pretended to be for the promotion of the Christian caule against the Infidels. But alas, all was built upon a fandy foundation; he had forfaken the rock of his falvation, and relying upon vain policies had ungratefully forfaken him, by whom he never had, nor fhould have been forfaken, fo long as he continued faithful and constant to his duty; and proftituting his confcience to obtain a staff of reed, had broken the staff of his furest confidence, aggravating also the offence of Ifa. 35.6. his Y

his spiritual Fornication, and the burden of his galled confcience (which is alwaies heavieft in times of danger) by perfifting in the continual fcandals 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 fo great mercies, and who had fuch great enterprizes in his band. This was it which made his apprehention of his approaching death fo firong and lamentable, and fubjected him to the effects of that Religion to which he had subjected himself, as those who consult and crave the affistance 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 eighteens years he had been raifing upon this falle foundation. Such profane policies subjecting Religion to a subfervience to fecular ends, though fuccesful for a while, yet frequently at last concluding in an unhappy catastrophie. Nor could the fpecious pretence of his grand defign find acceptance with him, who prefers obedience before facrifice! This was it which was in general forefeen and forerold by our good Queen by a more genuine spirit of Prophesie, and from better Principles than they were moved by who foretold the fame indeed more particularly, but yet only like witches and evil spirits, who foretell the forms they mean to raife. And the her felf, who built her affurance upon a better foundation, continuing conftant to the laft to her Confcience and Religion. and to her God, was by him constantly bleffed and preferved to the laft, during a Reign more than twice as long as his, and from confpiracies 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 confpiracy against her perfon with that undaunted courage which amazed him who should have been the actor of it, to behold it : and with admirable conftancy to contemn the many like confpiracies which the certainly knew were at one and the fame time by the Seminaries and Spanish Ministers in agitation against her, reposing her confidence in him whom the knew was able to fave her, with this pious ejaculation, Thon are

\* Pag. 461.

Parry apud Cambd. an. 1585.

Cambd. an. 1594. See before, p 26,27. Pf. 31. 14.

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

62. The fame diffinguilhing 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 fome REFLECTIONS AND OB-SERVATIONS upon what hath been already related, that we may fee what use and improvement may be made of it.

I. 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 difcourfe, even to the very time of those confultations, which were defigned to commence in execution immediately upon the Queens death; which may therefore reasonably induce us to believe that it did not then ceafe; but was continued in, and produced at laft, that monfter of all devillish and infernal confpiracies of blowing up the whole State at one blow.

2. We may therein allo clearly perceive the justice, reasonablenefs, and even necessity of those Laws, which in the Queens Reign were made to prevent and reftrain those wicked practices of the Jeluites, and other Romilh and Spanish Emissaries, and their disciples; which hath been acknowledged by some of the more fober Priefts.

3. We must also therein take notice of the admirable Providence of God in the prefervation of that Queen from fo many. to various, to mysterious fecret confpiracies, (the truth of which is further confirmed by the like practices of the Romith and Spanish Agents in France, and other places about the fame times) and from fo great open hoftility, one while diverting, another while defeating her enemies, and making her victorious : and this normith fanding the feveral \* excom. \* V. fed. 26, munications, and folemn execrations and imprecations of fe. 33, 36. veral Popes one after another against her; as of Pius 5. Greg. 12. Sixtus 5. and Clement 8. which were all not only ineffectual, but rather turned into a bleffing unto her.

4. In the Hiftory of France compared with the other, that diftinguishing Providence, which was the occasion of that part

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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 neglecied that reformation of Religion which the happily eftablished and defended; for in this last fort allo we have + noted it, though by the by, and this notwithstanding all the incitations and encouragements of feveral Popes and Cardinals. So that here we have a most remarkable example of their Curses turned into a Bleffing, and their Bleffings into a Curfe.

5. And here if we take for Principles the two last of 4. De Ecclesia, Billarmines Notes of the true Church of Chrift, the one, the unbappy exit or end of those who oppose the Church. 'For (as the adds) although God punisheth his, and whips them, yet at length he calls the rod into the fire; Deut. 32 43. Praife · his people ye Nations, for he will avenge the blood of his · fervants, and render vengance upon their adverfaries : the other, the temporal felicity by the Divine Providence conferred on those who defend it. For never, fays he, did Catholick · Princes cordially adhere to God, but they most easily became "triumphant over their enemies. If, I fay, we take thefe for our Principles, it will be very eafy for any one, upon what hath been here related, to make the conclusion; viz. which is the true Church of Chrift, 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 thefe Histories we may also take notice of the actions and practices of the Popes and their party, their Adherents, Agents, Emiffaries and Disciples, viz, exciting and fomenting wars and invalions among Christian Princes, with breach of publick Faith; feditions and rebellions by Subjects against their own Princes, and the murders of Princes by their own Subjects, encouraged thercunto by an impious pretence of absolution from their duty of Obedience, and even oaths of Fidelity, and by promife of Reward, even of greateft eternal Reward, for that which hath been abhorred

C. 17.

C. 18.

abhorred by all other Religions, and always reputed contrary even to the Laws of Nations and of War; and perfecutions and horrible flaughters of Christian people by their own Princes: and all this by an abominable abufe of Religion, and the most facred and folemn parts of Religion; and only for their own cause, for the upholding of the Papal Innovations, Usurpations and Antichristian abufes.

Note; The perfecutions and flaughters of Chriftian people excited by the Popes, upon the account of Religion, fince the first appearing of the Waldenses and Albigenses, may be thought, for the numbers slain, to come near, if not to equal the Heathen perfecutions, or rather much exceed them. In the first perfecutions 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 prefent story.

7. We may here likewise observe the nature and manner of their actions and practices, which confist of the two great species of injustice, vis & dolus, violence and fraud, open force, and fecret and mysterious practices and machinations, and fo make up a compleat mystery of iniquity. The one we may behold not only in the Spaniard's Forces railed and employed at the infligation of the Pope and his Agents, but allo in the Forces railed by the Popes themselves (who pretend themfelves Vicars of the Prince of Peace, and as Christian Bilhops, 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 fecret practices of the Jesuites and other Confessions and Emisfaries, exciting to Kebellions, and to affalfinate Princes.

8. And here taking another of Bellarmines Notes of the true Ca. 13. Church, viz. Santity of Life of the Anthors and Propagators Mat. 7. 16. of the Religion; and our Saviour's rule, By their fruits ye shall Gal. 5. 19, 22. know them; together with his Apossiles 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

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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, feeking by thefe 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 Chrift, or rather that myftery of iniquity, that abomination of defolation, that man of fin and fon of perdition, who hath fet up himfelf in the Temple of God.

9. We may here also behold the Principles from whence all these actions and practices have proceeded, viz. 1. That the Bilhops of Rome, as fucceffors of St. Peter, have a supreme power and authority derived to them from Chrift over all Chriftian Persons and Churches, all Nations and Kingdoms. all Princes and States. 2. That by this power and authority they may lawfully abfolve fubjects from all duty of Obedience and oath of Fidelity to their otherwife lawful Princes and Governors; and depoling them, may dilpole of their Kingdoms and States to whom they think fit. 2. 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 rife in Arms against fuch Princes excommunicate, or by any means to murder and defiroy them, is not only lawful, but moreover meritorious even in their own fubjects; and that to die in fuch 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 fome private men, viz. in the Bulls and Acts of the Popes themfelves, of Universities and Colledges of Divines, the frequent Sermons of their Preachers, and Inftructions of Confeffors. and Practices of their Penitents.

Note; It is here to be noted that befides these Practices and Principles so pernitions 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 pernitious 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.

2 Thef. 2.

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V. Foul. l. 1. c. 4. & l.2.c.1. V. Foul. l. 2. c. 2. 5, 6. V. Foul. l. 2. C. 3, 4.

10. And

10 10. And here we may fee what is the Religion of thefe men. For though there be other points in controverly, whereof many little more than meer verbal, about words and expreffions, which are kept up only through heat of contention, and might eafily be agreed by fober, judicious, and difintereffed perfons; and others originally only the private opinions of fome men of great authority in their times, wherein the fubstance of Religion is no more concerned than in the foeculations of Philosophers, though now commonly received and adopted into Religion by the Popes and their Faction, whether for fecular advantage, of to hold up their pretended Infallibility; yet thefe are their Kupia Jogai, their \* fundamen- \* V. Sandys tal and ruling Principles for which they contend; the Prin- Europæ fpeciples from whence all these Perfecutions, Wars, Massa- Head Afferticres and Murders have proceeded, and the Religion, ons,p. 24. in que nunc novo exemplo Martyres facit.

as + Del Rio speaks in the cafe of Garnet whom he and Bellarmine will needs have to be a \* Martyr whether he will or not. But perhaps fome may fay that this is not the faith or practice of all of that communion. Nor do T think it is, but that many are better Chriffians than to be imposed upon by the firength of fuch delutions; fuch efpecially who living in fuch Churches as continue in that communion, are not fatisfied to feparate from their own Church, though they clearly perceive

and abominate these abuses, and heartily defire their reformation; and many fuch I doubt not but there have been and ftill 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 fee not how they can be excufed who feparate from the Church of England, which is and ought to be their own Church, (fo long as it continues a member of the Church of Chrift, which an unjust excommunication by an apostate Church

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† Vindic. Areopag. c. 27. p. 124.

\* To whom we may fay with Optatus, lib. 3. Si illos videri Martyres vultis, probate illos amasse pacem, in qua sunt Prima Fundamenta Martyrii : aut dilexisse Deo placitam unitatem, ant babuiffe cum fratribus charitatem. Nam omnes Christianos fratres effe---probavimus. --- Charitatem illos non habuisse manifestissime constat, sine qua nullum vel nominari potest vel esse martyrium. faith be to the Donatifts, p. 99.

Church cannot hinder) to joyn with fuch a Faction. Nor do I fee how they can be excufed 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 offered to them, that for this caule God hath fent them ftrong delutions that they thould believe a lie, &c. But notwithftanding that fome, who for the reafon 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 Jefuites; and the reft are generally fo feafoned and levened with fuch conceits of the Pope's authority, as are eafily improved into these when ever occasion is offered, especially if any thing of private intereft intervene, as is very observable in the History of France, (though they of all Papifts are leaft inclined to favour the Papal Usurpations) where scarce a City, unless restrained by the powerful presence of fome of the loyal Nobility, or inhabited most by Protestants, but did, or was ready to revolt to the League at every occafion.

\* C. II.

17. P. 124.

† C. 9.

11. 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 falle as to the Doctrine of Faith, nothing unjust as to the Doctrine of Manners : and, + Agreement in Doctrine with the ancient Church : we may hence alfo conclude whether this Church of Rome hath continued a true and faithful Church of Chrift, or hath indeed made that defection, which was foretold thould fucceed the diffolution of the Roman Empire; as the Christians in all ages have unanimoufly and univerfally underflood that which should be taken away, and become the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth, which is expresly faid of the myslical 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 fin, the fon of Perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all bat is called God, (above all nominal Gods, as Kings and Empérors)

perors) or that is worshipped. (or reverenced) fo that be, as God. fitteth in the Temple (the Church) of God, (though. adulterous and apottate Church Theming himself that he is a God (above all earthly Gods as Kings and Eme perors, and the immediate Vicar of the true God). For the Doctrine of

Cum super Imperatorem non sit nist solus Deus, qui fecit Imperatorem, dum se Donatus super Imperatorem extollit, jam quast bominum excefferat metas, ut fe, ut Deum, non hominem æftimaret, &c. Optatus 1. 3. which with more reafon may be faid of the Pope.

the Primitive and Ancient Church, how contrary that is to these Principles and Practices, every one may see in the facred 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 perfwade 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 Perfeverance 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 flumbling block in their way. But let them take heed that a too particular application of a general promife do not deceive them. The Tews had as express promises as any they can pretend; and were as zealous as they are now; and yet were deceived with lying words, faying, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, as they do now the Church, the holy Catholick Apoftolick Roman Church.

12. Here also fuch Princes, as having escaped these corruptions, will again subject their necks to the Roman yoak, may fee what a fnare they involve themfelves in, and what a flavery they must lie under to the Papal Tyranny; how dangerous it is to have their peoples minds infected with these Principles, and their confciences directed by fuch Guides. And here, if there be any truth in that speech of Cardinal Per- King James's ron: 'That fo long as the Kings of France have kept good the Right of terms of concord with the Popes, they have been the more Kings, fub fin . ' prosperous, and, on the contrary, when they have jarred " with the Holy See, they have been infefted with boilterous forms and tempests; here, I fay, if this be true, they may perceive 7

perceive the true reafon of it, viz. in the one cafe they were free from the moleftation of the Popes and their Emiffaries; and in the other they were infefted by them. But how little truth there is in that affertion may partly appear by what hath here been written, and is alfo proved by our late learned King James in his folid confutation of it, by inflances nor only in France but other Countries alfo. And in England who hath been more profperous and fuccesful than the who wholly caft off the Pope's authority, and would not be courted to fo much as to admit his Legate? and who more unhappy than they who have too much complyed with them?

13. Laftly, 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 which thereby is given to those who are not well acquainted with the Doctrines and Practices of the ancient genuine Christians, nor have well confidered the great evidences of the truth and excellence of the Christian Religion, to fulpect it to be no other than what they apprehend it to be in the lives and actions of fuch spurious profeffors of it, viz. a meer Imposture with great fubtility and artifice managed for fecular ends : and the injury which thereby is done to the boly Martyrs, when we shall fee Rebels, feditious Traytors and Parricides honoured and magnified as Martyrs, and that not by the vulgar only, but by their Popes them elves and Cardinals; by their learned Writers in printed Books, and Preachers from their Pulpits; nay, when we shall fee Relations in printed Books, and representations by printed Cuts and Pictures of most horrible perfecutions and martyrdoms pretended to be fuffered, where in truth was no fuch matter, what a tentation 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 fuch 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 difdain to mention, and palpable lyes, as may be feen

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in Sanders, Ribadeneira, and other fuch like Writers. To which if we add the abufe of miracles by lyes and forgeries, we shall find that the gates of Hell, that is, the counfels have prevailed against these degenerate successors of Peter with a witnels. Nor could a more effectual means be devised for the fubverfion of Christianity and all Religion, not the very arms of Mahomet and his fect, than this myltery of iniquity; nor, if it be well confidered, hath the whole World produced any thing which doth better deferve the name of Antichrift. And indeed, if we confider the prefent growth of Atheilm 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 fo 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 themfelves, than those who are more remote. For let the Italian fubtilty be what it will, I think it is plain that they have made no deeper fearch into either the fecrets of Nature or of Antiquity (from one or both of which they must derive their principles, if they have others befides what are here mentioned) than other Nations have made.

63. And now, before I conclude, I must crave leave to make this addrefs to feveral forts of perfons diffinctly. And first to all Christians in general, that they will feriously confider, 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 feandalous principles and practices: that is all National Churches and Universities publickly by folemn Decrees and Protessitions, 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 fins, 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

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have

have known the way of righteoulnels, 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 unrighteoufnels, (Atrocius sub fancti 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 difcourage 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 delutions of the Papifts; fo they well perceiving fo much by experience, are not without rea-Ion believed to endeavour first the debauching of the Nation, that the people being thereby the better prepared and difpofed to receive their impreffions, they may the more eafily compass their defign ; as Physitians, who cannot immediately cure the present distemper of their Patient, are fain many times by art to divert it into fome other difease which they hope more eafily to cure. Nor do the Papifts look upon debauchery as a more dangerous difeafe than that they call herely. This is fuch a means as is of natural efficacy to obviate and obfiruct the endeavors of the Papifts, but of all most likely to be effectual by the bleffing of God upon it; whereas the neglect of it doth both naturally expose the people to their delutions, 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 lefs morigerous and governable, by being more devotely 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 inconfistent with any folid principle of policy. 4. That they be careful to walk worthy of their vocation particularly in that wherein the Apofile doth particularly inftance, and which he earnefly urgeth, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace, and \* doing according \* ALAS course in to the truth in Charity; (Eph. 4. 1, 3, 15.) for it must be remembred that feparation 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 indispensible duty; which the Romanists cannot with any reason deny, fince 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 transfuled into them, whereby they do unanfwerably justify our feparation from them (were not themfelves the authors of it) for just and neceffary caufes : yet ought not this to be done but with great caution and mature deliberation, and under fuch conditions as thele; 1. That it be just and necessary, for just and necessary causes. 2. That it be done with Charity, and with intention and defire to return to communion again as foon as the caufes of the feparation are removed and reformed. 3. And therefore that it be done with Sobriety, not widening the difference, or quarrelling at fuch things as may be, or ought to be tolerated, fuch as being in their own nature indifferent, are left to the prudent ordering and disposition of each particular National or Provincial Church, fo as may be best for order, decency, and edification: that it proceed no Provincia further than for just and necessary causes it ought, left if we abundet in measure truth, as for example in this case, by its distance suo sensu, &c. from Rome, we not only with many errors and abuses cast Hier. ep. 28. off fome truths and ufeful matter of decency, but alfo be- v. can. ult. come guilty of breach of Charity, while not infifting only fin. upon

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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 (hall contrary to these conditions make a feparation from others, do thereby transgress the Law of Charity, and become guilty of Schilm; fo much more do they who shall to feparate from their own particular Church to which their habitation and abode doth fubject them as fpecial members; and befides to their Schifm and breach of Charity add also the guilt of disobedience; and, which ought well to be confidered among us, do thereby, though contrary to their intention, effectually cooperate with the Romifh Agents in the promotion of their grand defign, one of whofe principal methods for the fubverfion of the Reformed, and reftauration of the Popifh 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 reafon to make us very wary how we do that which gives fo great advantage to the common adverfary. 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 thefe two means especially; I. 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 feandal to them, and fo occasions of separation, in that circumstance they cease to be indifferent, and it would be no lefs contrary to Prudence than to Charity to impofe or longer firicity 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 fo great advantage to fuch an adverfary, who fo fudioufly and industriously endeavors

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our divisions, it can never be approved as any way confistent with prudence, and that care of the flock which all faithful Paffors ought to have, not to allow at least fuch indulgence and liberty in fuch things as is neceffary to the prefervation of unity in the Church. 2. By scandalous coldness in Religion and worldlinefs in the Clergy. It is certain both from reason and experience, though perhaps not commonly obferved, that there is fcarce any fo universal and powerful a caule of feparation 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 Jurifdiction, and is in truth the more powerful of the two to retain people in a fweet, voluntary, and fo more perfect obedience; and this being loft, 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 caft off, and is feldom of long duration. Now the former, which is the proper authority of the Church and Clergy (for what is coescive 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 fins, but by the conftant, fincere and vigorous practice of those great virtues of Religion, Humility, Meeknels, 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 fee men zealous for the accidents and formalities of Religion, and cold in the practice and promotion of the great effential and substantial parts, and the very bufinels 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 fee men prophanely turn the facred Profession into a kind of trade; to defign it, and apply themselves to it no otherwife than

than others do to civil or fecular 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 Preterment upon Preferment, accordingly use or rather abuse the charity of our Anceftors, and the revenues of the Church in fuch indulgence to Pride, Oftentation, voluptuous or delicious living, as would be fcarce excufable in the religious Laity; nay to vie with them in fuch vanities, or infatiably to heap up treafures, not for the necessary relief of their own Families, but to raife great Families in the World, even of their more remote relations (that which the time hath been hath been held no less than facriledge) without any regard to fuch 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 Ecclefiaffical Canons or Civil Laws can eftablish it; and being naucious in the fight of the people, provoke the more religious to run to private meetings and fects, and the reft to jealoufie and luspitions of all Religion, to Infidelity, Irreligion and Prophaneneis; and fo in both give great advantage to the Romanists, and help forward the promotion of their labours and defigns. The truth whereof is confirmed by the happy fuccels of those who take a contrary course. For thanks be to God we are not without fome, who by their good employment not only of the revenues of their Ecclefiastical preferments, but also of their private fortunes, their virtuous and pious lives, and their fervent, found and profitable Preaching, prevail with many of the feveral forts of Non-Conformists to become their auditors, and reclaim them. And were there fome good and effectual courfe taken that we might have more fuch lights fet up in the more confpicuous Candlefticks of the Church, we should find that the most effectual means both to difpel the mifts of Separatifis, and keep out the Romifh Foggs from overwhelming us, and to promote and establish the honour and authority of the Church and

and Clergy. Nor would the bleffing of God be wanting to the pious use of fuch 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 fimplicity, than they their errors, abufes and corruptions of it by indirect and evil means. They compass Sea and Land to make Profelytes, &c. and to that end have heretofore readily encountred all difficulties and dangers, though now they cannot much complain of either, and spare no pains nor coft. We, of this Nation particularly, have long fince 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 Mafters fervice; nay, like floathful fervants have been whipped to our work, and both Conformilis and Non Conformilis have had their turns. It were well if at last we would be fensible of this duty, before a third party come and drive both to that which neither of themfelves would willingly undertake. Can we believe a Divine Providence, and yet think the difcovery of that other World was a cafual thing? or can we acknowledge a Divine Providence in that, and yet believe there was no other defign in it than to employ our Sea men, or fornifh us with Tobacco? we have reason to believe that this neglect hath not been diffembled hitherto, nor will escape unpunished for the fatare, unless timely amended. 7. That they will not be lefs vigilant and active for the prefervation 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 fearch and enquiry into their present mysterious practices; for the difcovery whereof much light may be taken from the due confideration 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 themfelves in the choice of means for attaining that end, may not only be conje-Aured by their former practices, but demonstrated unanfwerably from their certain principles. From which confiderations, though a man that is willing might cafily fitisfie him187.

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himfelf what they are now doing, yet becaufe fome who are concerned to be convinced of it, will not perhaps be fo fatiffied, and because to the more effectual prevention of so great a milchief a more particular discovery of the matter of fact. and of the inftruments and circumftances of it may be neceffary, all who have any love to their Country, or regard to the interest and fafety of themfelves or their relations, though the confideration of Religion should not move them, are concerned to use their utmost endeavour in it. But if neither the confideration of the horrid confusions and massacres heretofore raifed in France by thefe Furies; nor of their continual Treasons and Conspiracies against Queen Elizabeth and her Kingdoms, which they then would have betrayed to the invafions of the King of Spain, as now probably they would to the King of France, that is, those who fteer their motions, though their common agents may be generally ignorant of the defign; 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 jufly proved and demonstrated to have been the product of the Romish machinations, to which might be added their reftless endeavors for the subversion of our Government, and for the breaking of the great Metropolis of this Nation, as the two main obfacles in their way; if all this, and befides all the fafety of his Majeflies perfon, which perhaps may be further concerned in it than is commonly apprehended, be not fufficient to awaken us of these Nations to a speedy vigilance and activity before it be too late, to discover and detect their machinations, and couragioufly oppose their proceedings; especially those who are in authority within their feveral jurifdictions to look narrowly, if not into their matters of Religion, yet at least into their provisions of Arms and Ammunition, into their correspondencies and fecret negotiations and engagements, and especially to discover those who under several difguifes not only infinuate themfelves into familiarity with perfons of Quality, and creep into their Families under the notions of Phyfitians, Painters, and other employments,

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ments, but alfo get into publick offices and employments, and perhaps to be chofen into the Parliment it felf, it may be feared we fhall ere long fmart for our flupidity and fupine negligenc.

3. To those who fill 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 diffurbance or fubverfion of Governments, raifing or fomenting wars between Christian Princes and States, and fuch like means, that they will well confider 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 Golpel. Nor ought it to be replyed, as fome have impioufly faid 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 pleafed to make use of its nor had the Chrislians, for many ages before these Unchrislian Doctrines were ever thought of, less power in the World than they have had fince, or lefs occasion to have made use of it, had they thought it lawful; and befides, it is no lefs contrary to their Doctrine than to their Practice. 2. The ule of fuch 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 conftant fufferings of its genuine Professors, but always most dilhonoured by the furious, violent and perfidious pra-Ctices of the spurious Zealots of the abuses of it. 2. It is contrary to the very nature of the true Religion, and the express Doctrine of the facred Scriptures. 4. It is condemned by the judgment of God, difappointing, blaffing 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 perfecuted the Christians as they can have; and of the Jews he teffifies to the Romans that they had the zeal of God, but not according to knowledge; and our Saviour forecold that they who thould kill his Difciples would think they do God good fervice in it. Nor will their following of the

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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 fins through the Priefts default, that the Prieft alfo shall answer for it, as the Prophet faith. But that which is the fecret root and main prop of their delufion, and most effectually deceives them, is an unhabpy miftaken 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 interpoled with all the formality and folemnity that could be) it would follow that the Pope hath been Antichrift, and the Church of Rome the Synagogue of Satan for fo many ages palt. This is it, whatever other specious arguments and pretenses are alledged, which makes them no lefs obflinate in their errors than the Jews are in theirs. A deceived heart hath turned them afide, and they cannot deliver their foul. 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 bleffing be a good means to undeceive them : but then as to the third particular they must deal candidly and impartially, fetting afide, I. Such proofs as concern only the perfeverance of the Church of Chrift in general, 2. Such as concern only the authority of particular Churches over their own members; for neither of these make any thing for the Church of Rome more than for any other particular Church ; & then what elfe they can alledge will be found to be far fhort of what the Jews might alledge to prove that they are fill the true Ifrael of God. But the confounding of these things is that which imposeth upon their minds and judgments." The encient Apostolick Creed, and what-ever other rule of Faith is mentioned by Irenæus, Tertullian, or any of the Ancients, and were held to contain the fum of the Christian Faith, are to this day generally received and believed by all the Christian World ; fo that Christ hath still a Church upon Earth

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Earth what-ever become of the Church of Rome: the like may be faid of the facred Scriptures; but in none of thefe is the least mention of any fuch infallible authority of the Church of Rome; no, nor of any fuch authority of the Church of Chrift 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 fo much as of the Church of Rome it felf for 700 years, I may truly fay for 1100 years and 2. That they will likewife well confider the prudence more. of such undertakings, the Nobility and Gentry especially of thefe Nations, who embrace the Roman Religion. They have had almost an hundred years experience of the ill fuccefs and unhappy confequence of fuch attempts to themfelves and their party, whereby they have only made a rod for their own backs, provoking and exafperating the feverity of Laws against themselves; and when the Romish Agents had lately diffolved 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 themfelves into the feveral Factions of the Kingdom, by underhand dealings incenfing 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 lofe or hazard, nor wives and children to fuffer with them; and if their attempts prove unfuccesful, can eafily retire to their Colledges again beyond Sea. And their motions and actions are steered by foreigners, who fit far enough out of all danger, and in great fecurity 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 honeft 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 beft. For did they now fuffer fomething in their Eftates according to the Laws (which certainly would never much be preffe d, did they not continually incenfe the King dom

dom against them by restless attempts, through the instigations of the Emissaries, endangering the peace and quiet of it); yet is that in fome measure recompenced by their freedom from the trouble and charge of divers publick employments; and the reft would be dearly bought off by enflaving the Kingdom again to the Roman Usurpations; and that with fo much hazard both to themfelves, 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 fuffer a greater loss, rather than venture upon an unlawful or but doubtful action): fo alfo 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 fo many and great provocations, if they milcarry therein, and of that the danger is greater than can eafily be foreseen); and to the Kingdom in general, the peace and prosperity whereof they ought to defire and endeavour upon the account both of natural duty and of interest. For whatever some, who do not well confider 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 milchief is brought upon the Nation; which they who at Rome and from other foreign parts do fteer the motions of the Emiffaries and other flicklers here in that cause, are not much concerned to confider. \* \* \*

4. And laftly, to those who either through weakness and inconfideratenels are scandalized at these and fuch like wicked practices of the Romanifis or any others profeffing Christianity; or through wilfulnefs and wickednefs 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 obfervance of Religion, at last feek to encourage themselves against all fear of evil by the neglect of it. This last fort I intended not among Christians in general, and yet do here joyn them with the other fort here mentioned, because what is to be faid to those may be faid alfo to thefe. The scandal and ill use that is made of these practices is either more particular from abuse of pretended miracles and martyrdoms, whereby fome may be induced to doubt of the ancient Christian Miracles and Martyrs; (and for fatisfaction in this particular, I shall here for brevity fake refer them

them to the writings already written and extant in print, fome in the English Tongue, of the verity of the Christian Religion) or from fuch practices in general, of men in great place in Church or State, or repute for Learning, as are thought inconfistent with a real belief of what they poffels, whence some who affect to know more than the vulgar will needs perfwade themfelves and others that all fuch are Atheifts and Infidels, and thereupon bring all Religion under a suspition 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 confideration: 1. That this is no argument or evidence against Religion, but only a bare supposed opinion and judgment of fuch perfons without any evident and express ground or rea--fon for it. 2. That the opinion or judgment of great Statefmen or Scholars, meerly as fuch, is of no greater authority in this . particular than the judgment or opinion of other men; for fuch ... men may in general well deferve that reputation which they have, and yet be utterly ignorant of those Principles which are neceffary to be known to ground a judgment in this cafe. 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, fome are good Conveyancers, who are very unskilful in Bar-Practice; many good Chancery-men who are no great Common Lawyers, & c. So in Divinity, some are well skilled in Textual, fome in Polemical, or Scholastical, fome in Casuistical Divinity, and yet but meanly skilled in the other parts of it; and this part which confiders the evidences of Religion, is but rarely fludied by any but fuch as have to do with Infidels, each man ordinarily applying himfelf especially to that part to which his peculiar employment engageth him, and ufually men in great place have of all others least leifure for this particular study. 2. But were their judgment never fo confiderable, yet could it not in this cafe be certainly concluded from their actions. For, I. It is . agreed by all forts of men, Christians and Heathens, and daily. experience confirmeth the fame, that men frequently act contrary

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to their fetled judgment ; and who may not often truly fay, Video meliora proboq; deteriora fequor ? Nor is the thing it felf 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, Impotence, and Prefumption. From Surprize there is certainly no man whole care and caution can always fecure him, that he may not fometimes through the heat of paffion or fuddenness of a tentation be \* overtaken. This we may all observe in our felves, and in most we familiarly converse with. Nay, our very caution it felf in many things makes us apt to be furprized by fear, and thereupon to do those things we otherwise would not, or neglect what we would otherwife do. And though there be not a like Impotence in all, yet is there more or lefs in every one, whence men often do themfelves contrary to what they would advise their children or dearest friends. We daily fee those who doubt not the directions of their Phylitians to be good and neceffary to be obferved, yet frequently overcome to transgress them to the hazard of their health and life it felf; nay Phyfitians themfelves do the fame, whereof I could give a late notable inftance in one of the moft famous of his time. Nor are we to think great Statefmen, Polititians and learned men more exempt from all impotence than others are. It is sufficient that they be well qualified for the places they hold, to which their very impotence in fome refpects may fometime be a special qualification; and they who are not eafily overcome by one paffion or affection, may yet be perfectly enflaved to another. What is wanting to these two causes is frequently made up by Prefumption, 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 Catho ick Church, or zealous for the party they espoule, that is as the P rophet faith, Trufting in lying words, Saying, The Temple of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord; a Prefumption to 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 Baptift; Think not to fay within your felves we have Abraham

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\* Gal. 6. I.

Jer. 7. 3.

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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 Romanilis and the Disciples of the Jefuites, especially their new Profelytes, who seem to hope for indulgence in their finful courses, or to expiate the same, by their zeal for the Church ; whereunto great occation is given by their abominable abufe of Abfolution, Commutation of Penance, Indulgences and complying Conduct. 2. Thele actions may proceed from error in the understanding, and ignorance or mistake about some particular Christian Doctrine, through an erronious Conscience thinking that to be lawful, or a Christian duty, which is absolutely unlawful; and this So our Savimay be confiftent with a firm belief of the Christian Doctrine our telleth his may be conliftent with a hrm beliet of the Christian Doctrine Disciples that in general. And this I take to be in truth the case of the they who Romanists, and that they are given up to believe a lye through should kill ftrong delusions, wherein they do not more deceive their them would disciples than they are themselves deceived ; for do but admit think they do me one or two of their Principles, and there is nothing fo Jo. 16. 2. and monstrous in their actions but I think I can easily prove it Saul thought lawful. I had therefore intended to have fnewed from what that he ought Principles those actions have proceeded; that those Prin- to perfecute ciples are mistaken, and are no Christian but rather Anti- the Christians, christian Doctrines; what hath been the caule, occasion ard 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 inconfiderable evidence to the truth of Christianity it felf: but that I see would be too long for this place and time; but I am well affured of the truth of what I fay, and doubt not but ere long it will be made manifett. 3. There is one caufe 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 defperation, the cafe of fome who believe and tremble, Ja.2.19. When men by frequency and long continuance in fin against the light and checks of confcience have linned

Act. 26. 9.

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themfelves into this defperation, this is often an occasion to them to a further progress in wickedness, even to the height of the most enormous fins, 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 fin which is not confiftent with a full perfwalion of it in fuch 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 falle Profeffors of Atheifm and Infidelity as well as of Religion it felf. There is more or lefs of humane frailty in all. Too many fin against knowledg, and fome thereby fin themselves into defpair, and then run on into all wickedness against that Belief which they would fain cast off if they could. And there are fo many caufes and occasions of fins besides unbelief, that they cannot in reason be attributed to it alone. 4. And laftly, confidering the strange wild fancies, which we often fee men, learned men, and otherwise sober men, fall into: confidering the great force & prevalence that the will & affections have to byafs, blind, and corrupt the judgment ; confidering the power, and malice, and fubtility 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 fuch there are who do not believe it; but then the very fame reafons may fatisfy us what little credit there is to be given to the opinions of fuch men, without bet er reafon : and yet I know and have found by experience that fome profeffors of Infidelity have no better reafons than this; they are like men in a panick fear, where every one is afraid, but none knoweth the caufe, only he fuppoleth the reft do, and is fo much the more afraid by how much the more in number they are whom he supposeth to be in the fame paffion with himfelf: fo, many who have no reafon at all for their unbelief, yet suppose others have, and would fain be thought as wife as they.

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

FINIS.

