On Her Majesty's Service

WASC 476

PART B

Name:

MMCL

Section :

Bldg. The Eunpender Plot Huge Ross WILLIAMSON Faber, 1951 Vol. Page Periodical/Book : Date(s) : Page(s) 176 paget 251 - 253 277 - 301

S23924 269238 D161573 5/68 150pads T.&Co. G871.

WASC 476

THE GUNPOWDER PLOT

3

by

HUGH ROSS WILLIAMSON

FABER AND FABER LIMITED 942.061 24 Russell Square London

504,715.

APPENDIX II

Gunpowder

One of the mysteries connected with the plot is the mystery of the gunpowder itself. 'From the moment of the "discovery", the discovered gunpowder disappears from history.' As has already been noted, the Ordnance accounts of the stores for this period are missing.

On November 27th, Lake wrote to Cecil that the King had commanded him 'to put you in mind of one thing in the examination whereof he does not remember that you are yet cleared. That is, that where at Lambeth at the house whither the powder was brought by the porters, there was a young man that received it, which His Majesty and you at first conceived to be Winter, but since, as His Highness judges, could not be so, because the examinations make mention that that young man had no hair on his face, which is otherwise in Winter. He would therefore know whether you have yet found who was the receiver of the powder, or if it have not been enquired of, by reason of the multitude of other things, that you would bestow labour to discover it.'²

There is no other mention of the gunpowder, apart from a passing reference in the *Politician's Catechism* (1658) which states that 'the barrels wherein the powder was are kept as relics, and were often shown to the King and his posterity that they might not entertain the least thought of clemency toward the Catholic religion'.

About every other matter, there was considerable inquiry —about the conspirators' lodgings and associates, about the boatmen, carpenters, tradesmen and porters who worked for them. Inquiries were even made as to where the iron bars laid on top of the barrels were purchased. 'But concerning the gunpowder, no question appears ever to have been asked, whence it came or who furnished it. Yet this would appear to

Appendix II

be a point at least as important as the rest, and if it was left in absolute obscurity, the inference is undoubtedly suggested that it was not wished to have questions raised. It may be added that no mention is discoverable of the augmentation of the royal stores by so notable a contribution as this would have furnished.'³

Though there is some discrepancy as to the amount of gunpowder which the plotters were alleged to have procured, the lowest estimate (which is accepted by Gardiner) is a last and a half.* This amounts to a quarter of the entire amount of gunpowder stored in Dublin Castle at the height of the Irish wars. Thus, on any showing, the conspirators' acquisition was considerable.

Gunpowder, which had been proclaimed a Government monopoly in 1601, was stored in the White Tower⁴ and was under the control of the Earl of Devonshire as Master-General of Ordnance, with Cecil's intimate friend, Carew of Clopton (he who had let his house to Rookwood) as Lieutenant-General. Devonshire and Carew had campaigned together in Ireland where Devonshire (then Lord Mountjoy) had subjugated the country of which he was appointed Lord Deputy in succession to Essex, while Carew was made President of Munster. Also associated with them in friendship and in their Irish career was Sir Henry Brouncker, who had married one of Monteagle's sisters, Ann. He was appointed President of Munster in succession to Carew in the summer of 1604.

Brouncker, a creature of Cecil's, had for many years farmed the customs of wine imported into Ireland and had learned, in that way, much of the underground communications with Spain. He was an energetic persecutor of Catholics and when he succeeded Carew to office proceeded with such severity that, however agreeable to Cecil, it caused the King to remark that 'his zeal was more than was required in a governor, however allowable in a private man'.⁵

Brouncker died in 1607, leaving a son, William, aged 22, who had been at Oxford during the time of the Plot; and the subsequent activities of this young man in the matter of gunpowder are, considering his connections, of peculiar interest. One of Sir Henry's last letters to Cecil, four months

* A last contained twenty-four barrels. Each barrel held 100 lb.

Gunpowder

before his death, had vowed William to Cecil's service,'6 and four years later, both William and his widowed mother, Monteagle's sister, were petitioning Cecil, she for money still due for her late husband's services, he for a warrant to investigate the disappearance of gunpowder from the Royal stores.

The demand has all the appearance of blackmail, since it was described as 'extravagant' by Lake, and when William thereupon threatened to take his suggestion to the courts, he was given the warrant—with the proviso that the years to be covered by the investigation were from 1578 to 1604.⁷

There is no need to emphasize the strangeness of this transaction—the nephew of Monteagle, son of the associate of the man in charge of the gunpowder in the Tower in 1604 and 1605, being allowed to investigate the leakage of gunpowder up to the exact point where that leakage became notorious. Taken in conjunction with the fact that the records have disappeared and with the character of William Brouncker—he eventually bought an Irish peerage for $\pounds I$,200 and swore the same day that he had not a shilling left to pay for his dinner⁸—it suggests, at least, that the Government were well enough aware how and where the conspirators procured their gunpowder.

Further than this, it is impossible to go, though the Brouncker episode proves that the gunpowder account could be checked with accuracy and thus makes the fact that they are 'missing' the more suspicious.

Notes

- 29. Gerard: Narrative, p. 290. He had the description from an eye-witness who 'was glad to give twelvepence only to stand upon a wall'.
- 30. Gerard: Narrative, p. 295.
- 31. Casaubon: Epistolae, p. 420.
- 32. Morris: Life of Gerard, clxxxiv.

Epilogue

- 1. Gardiner: History, i, 287.
- 2. Statutes of the Realm, iv., 1071 ff. The Acts are printed in J. R. Tanner: Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I, pp. 83-104.

Appendix I—The Authenticity of Thomas Winter's Confession

- 1. 12th November 1605. P.R.O., S.P.Dom.
- 2. 21st November 1605. Hatfield MSS., xvii., p. 502.
- 3. Gerard: Thomas Winter's Confession and the Gunpowder Plot, p. 11.
- 4. Gardiner: History of England, i, 248 n.
- 5. 26th November 1605. Hatfield MSS., xvii, p. 511.

Appendix II-Gunpowder

- 1. Gerard: What was the Gunpowder Plot? p. 137
- 2. Sir Thomas Lake to Salisbury: 27th November 1605 (Hatfield MSS., xvii, 516).
- 3. Gerard: What was the Gunpowder Plot? p. 135.
- 4. Lord Carew to Salisbury: 31st August 1606 (Hatfield MSS., xviii, 268).
- 5. R. Bagwell: Ireland under the Stuarts (1909), i, 23.
- 6. Brouncker to Salisbury: 14th February 1607. (C.S.P. relating to Ireland, James 1.)
- 7. C.S.P.Dom., James 1: 1611-18, pp. 10, 13, 17, 99.
- 8. Pepys' Diary: 29th January 1667.

I. PRIMARY

MSS. COLLECTIONS:
British Museum Additional MSS.
Cottonian MSS.
Harleian MSS.
Hatfield MSS. (MSS. of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Salisbury).
Lansdowne MSS. (Burghley Papers).
MSS. of the King's Library, British Museum.
Stowe MSS.
Stonyhurst MSS. (for Greenway's Narrative).
Yelverton MSS.

COLLECTIONS OF STATE PAPERS, ETC.:

Calendar of State Papers (Domestic). This includes the collection of MSS. called *Gunpowder Plot Book*.

Calendar of State Papers (Foreign-Flanders).

Calendar of State Papers (Venetian, etc.).

Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland.

Calendar of Spanish State Papers relating to English Affairs in the Reign of Elizabeth.

State Papers relating to the Armada anno 1588. Edited by Sir John Knox Laughton (1894) (Navy Records Society, vol. 1, etc.).

Chetham Society (Stanley Papers).

Exchequer Depositions and Special Commissions.

Historical MSS. Commission: Report on MSS. in Various Collections (Duke of Northumberland's MSS, Rushton Papers, Tresham Papers etc.).

P.R.O. Roman Transcripts (Bliss) Italian.

P.R.O. Transcripts of Montacute MSS.

Tanner Transcripts at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Journals of the House of Commons.

Journals of the House of Lords.

- The Statutes at Large, from Magna Carta to . . . 1761. Carefully collated and revised . . . by Danby Pickering (Cambridge, 1762, etc.).
- The Statutes of the Realm, printed by command of His Majesty King George the Third. . . From Original Records and Authentic Manuscripts (1810-26).

Select Statutes and other Constitutional Documents illustrative of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Edited by

G. W. Prothero (4th edition, Oxford, 1913).

Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James the First. ... With an historical commentary by J. R. Tanner

(Cambridge, 1930).

- The Egerton Papers. A Collection of public and private documents, chiefly illustrative of the times of Elizabeth and James 1.... Edited by J. P. Collier (Camden Society, Old Series, vol. xii, 1840).
- The Harleian Miscellany. A Collection of ... Pamphlets and Tracts ... selected from the library of Edward Harley, Second Earl of Oxford, interspersed with historical, political and critical annotations by ... William Oldys and ... Thomas Park (10 vols., 1808, etc.).

Thomas Graves Law:

The Archpriest Controversy. Documents relating to the dissensions of Roman Catholic Clergy, 1597–1602. Edited from the Petyt MSS. of the Inner Temple by T.G. Law (Camden Society, New Series lvi, 1896).

Sir Ralph Winwood:

Memorials of affairs of state in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the First, collected (chiefly) from the original papers of . . . Sir R. W. etc. (including their dispatches) (1725).

LETTERS, DIARIES, MEMOIRS, ETC.:

Comte de Beaumont (Christophe de Harlay):

L'Ambassade de France en Angleterre sous Henri IV: mission de Christophe de Harlay, Comte de Beaumont,

1602-5. P. Laffleur de Kermaingant (1895). (See also Dépêches de Messire Christophe de Harlay, Comte de Beaumont, escrites, pendant son ambassade d'Angleterre, au Roy et à Monsieur (Nicholas de Neufville, Seigneur) de Villeroy: avec les réponces (1602-5). In the MSS. of the King's Library).

Thomas Birch:

The Court and Times of James the First; illustrated by authentic and confidential letters from various public and private collections. (Compiled by T. Birch). Edited, with an introduction and notes, by the author of Memoirs of Sophia Dorothea (i.e. Robert Folkestone Williams), etc. (2 vols., 1848).

Antoine le Fèvre de la Boderie:

Ambassade de Monsieur de la Boderie en Angleterre sous le regne d'Henri IV et la minorité de Louis XIII, 1606-11 (5 vols., 1750). (*See also* Lettres escriptes au Roy, et à Monsieur de Villeroy, lors de son Ambassade en Angleterre, depuis 1606, jusqu'en 1611. In the MSS. of the King's Library).

John Bruce:

Correspondence of King James VI of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and others in England, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, etc. Edited by John Bruce (Camden Society, Old Series, vol. lxxviii, 1861).

Isaac Casaubon:

Isaaci Casauboni Epistolae, etc. (Hagae Comitis, 1638). John Chamberlain:

Letters written by John Chamberlain during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Edited from the originals by Sarah Williams (Camden Society, Old Series, vol. lxxix, 1861).

Lady Jane Cornwallis (afterwards Lady Jane Bacon):

The private correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis, 1613-44. From the originals, etc. Edited by Lord Braybrooke (1842).

The Douay College Diaries, 3rd, 4th and 5th, 1598-1654. Edited by E. H. Burton and T. L. Williams (Catholic Record Society, vols. x, xi, 1911).

John Gerard:

An Elizabethian Autobiography translated and edited by Philip Caraman,

Godfrey Goodman:

The Court of King James the First. . . To which are added letters illustrative of the personal history of the most distinguished characters in the court of that monarch and his predecessors. Now first published from the original manuscripts by J. S. Brewer (2 vols., 1839).

Thomas Francis Knox:

The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay. . . With an historical introduction by T. F. Knox (Records of the English Catholics, vol. 1, 1878).

John Manningham:

Diary of John Manningham, of the Middle Temple.... 1602–3, etc. (Camden Society, Old Series, xcix, 1868).

John Morris:

The Condition of Catholics under James I. Father Gerard's Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot. Edited, with his life, by J. Morris (1871).

The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers, related by themselves, First series (1872). (Includes Autobiography of Father Tesimond.)

John Nichols:

The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth; among which are interspersed other solemnities, public expenditures, and remarkable events during the reign of that . . . Princess . . . with historical notes. To which are subjoined some of the early Progresses of King James, etc. (3 vols., and vol. 4 part 1, 1788–1821).

Robert Persons:

Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, S.J. Vol. 1 to 1588, edited by L. Hicks, S.J. (further volumes not yet published). (Catholic Record Society, vol. xxxix, 1942.)

The Memoirs of Father Robert Persons. Edited by . . . J. H. Pollen (Catholic Record Society, Miscellanea, vol. ii, 1905).

John Hungerford Pollen:

Unpublished Documents relating to the English Martyrs. ... Collected and edited by J. H. Pollen (1908–19). Vol. ii, The Ven. Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, 1557– 95 (Catholic Record Society, vol. xxi, 1919).

Sir Roger Wilbraham:

The Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham, Solicitor-General in Ireland and Master of Requests, for the years 1593–1616, together with notes in another hand for the years 1642–9. Edited by H. S. Scott, 1902 (Camden Society, Third Series, 4. The Camden Miscellany, vol x.)

Sir Henry Wotton:

Reliquiae Wottonianae (4th edition, 1685), p. 187, Plots necessary to maintain a politician's reputation.

NEWSPAPERS, PAMPHLETS, ETC.:

His Majesties Speach in this last Session of Parliament . . . together with a discourse of the maner of the discovery of this late intended Treason, joined with the Examination of some of the prisoners. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie, *anno* 1605.

A True and Perfect Relation of the Whole proceedings against the late most barbarous Traitors, Garnet a Iesuite, and his Confederates; contayning sundry Speeches delivered by the Lords Commissioners at their Arraignments... and lastly all that passed at Garnet's Execution. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie, 1606.

Robert Abbot:

Antilogia adversus Apologiam Andrae Eudaemon-Joannis Jesuitae pro Henrico Garneto Jesuita proditore, etc. (1613).

George Carleton:

A Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy (1624). Andrea Eudaemon-Johannes:

Apologia pro R. P. H. Garneto ad actionem proditoriam E. Coqui (Cologne, 1616).

King's Book:

His Majesties Speach . . . *and* A True and Perfect Relation . . . (printed as one pamphlet).

Oliver Omerod:

The Picture of a Papist.... Together with a discourse of the late Treason, and of the late execution of some of the Traitors ... (1606).

George Smeeton:

Smeeton's Historical and Biographical Tracts (2 vols., 1820. Vol. I. The History of the Gunpowder Treason, 1679).

John Somers:

A collection of scarce and valuable Tracts. . . . (Second edition, revised, augmented and arranged by Walter Scott, 13 vols., 1809–15).

John Vicars:

Mischeefes Mysterie: or Treasons Master-peece, the Powder-plot. Translated from the Latin of Doctor Herring (1617).

CONTEMPORARY PUBLICATIONS:

A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Statesmen of London, 1554–1640. Edited by E. Arber.

Cardinal Allen's Defence of Sir William Stanley's Surrender of Deventer. . . Edited by T. Heywood (1851). (Chetham Society: Remains historical and literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester. xxv vol., Manchester).

John Barclay:

Accessit Conspiratio Anglicana (Amsterdam, 1629).

William Keatings Clay:

Liturgical Services, Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer set forth in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Edited by W. K. C. (Cambridge, 1847, Parker Society).

John Gerard:

Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot. (See Supra under Morris: The Condition of Catholics under James I.)

Oswald Greenway:

Autobiography ('Father Tesimond's Landing in England': *see supra* under John Morris).

Sir John Harington:

Nugae Antiquae: being a miscellaneous collection of original papers in prose and verse. Written in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, James I, etc., by Sir J. Harington... and others who lived in these times (2 vols, 1769, 75).

James I:

The Workes of ... James ... King of Great Britaine ...

published by James, Bishop of Winton, etc. (1616). John Leland:

The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary publish'd ... by T. Hearne ... (9 vols., Oxford, 1770 ed.).

Sir Lewis Lewkenor:

The Estate of English Fugitives under the King of Spain, etc. (1595).

Sir Robert Naunton:

Fragmenta Regalia, or, observations on the late Queen Elizabeth, her times and favourites (1642).

John Speed:

The History of Great Britaine under the conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans . . . from Julius Caesar to our most gracious soveraigne King James (1611).

John Stow:

Annales, or a general Chronicle of England; begun by J. Stow . . . continued and augmented . . . unto the end of 1631, by E. Howes (1631, 32).

John Stow (Strype):

A survey of the cities of London and Westminster . . . brought down from the year 1633... to the present times by J. Strype. To which is prefixed the life of the author by the editor, etc. (2 vols., 1720).

James Wadsworth:

The English Spanish Pilgrime. Or, a new discoverie of Spanish Popery, and Iesuiticall stratagems. With the estate of the English Pentioners and Fugitives under the King of Spaines Dominions, and elsewhere at this present. Also laying open the new Order of the Iesuitrices and preaching Nunnes, etc. (1629).

Sir Anthony Weldon:

The Court and Character of King James. Whereunto is added, the Court of King Charles . . . (1651).

Anthony à Wood:

Athenae Oxoniensis. An exact history of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their education in the most ancient and famous University of Oxford, from . . . 1500 to the end of the year 1690 . . . To which are added, the Fasti or Annals of the said University, for the same time. Edited by Philip Bliss (4 vols., 1813–20).

II. SECONDARY

BIOGRAPHY:

Sir Bernard Burke:

Burke's Geneaological and Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage (1949 ed.).

A Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire (1883 ed.).

Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges:

Memoirs of the Peers of England during the reign of James the First (1802).

Collins's:

Peerage of England; genealogical, biographical and historical. Greatly augmented, and continued to the present time by Sir Egerton Brydges (9 vols., 1812).

G.E.C.:

The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct or dormant (13 vols., 1910–40 ed.).

John Lord Campbell:

The Lives of the Chief Justices of England from the Norman conquest till the death of Lord Mansfield (1849–57).

Algernon Cecil:

A Life of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1915). Robert Davies:

The Fawkes's of York in the Sixteenth Century, etc. (1850).

The Dictionary of National Biography.

Edward Barrington de Fonblanque:

Annals of the House of Percy, from the Conquest to the opening of the nineteenth century (2 vols. and pedigree, 1887).

Thomas Fuller:

The History of the Worthies of England. Endeavoured by Thomas Fuller (edited by John Fuller, 1662).

John Gerard:

Contributions towards a Life of Father Henry Garnet (1840–1912), S.J. (1898).

Joseph Gillow:

A literary and biographical history or bibliographical dictionary of the English Catholics from the breach with Rome in 1534 to the present day (5 vols. c. 1885–1902, London and New York).

Lady Anne Cecil Kerr:

The Life of the Ven. Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey (1926).

Thomas Graves Law:

A calendar of the English (Catholic) Martyrs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Edited by T. G. Law (1876).

(Thomas Longueville):

The Life of a Conspirator. Being a biography of Sir Everard Digby by one of his descendants. By the author of 'A Life of Archbishop Laud', etc. (T. Longueville, 1895).

John Morris:

The Life of Father John Gerard of the Society of Jesus (1881). (Though described as a third edition of *The Condition of the Catholics under James the First*, it is so rewritten and enlarged as to become a new book.)

John Ernest Neale:

Queen Elizabeth (1934).

Laura L. Norsworthy:

The Lady of Bleeding Heart Yard. Lady Elizabeth Hatton. 1578–1646 (1935).

George Oliver:

Collections towards illustrating the biography of the Scotch, English and Irish members of the Society of Jesus (1845).

James Spedding:

The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon . . . set forth in chronological order, with a commentary . . . by J. Spedding (7 vols., 1861–72. *The Works of Francis Bacon*, vols. viii–xiv.)

Petrus Ribadeneira:

Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu (Antwerp, 1643).

HISTORY (CONCERNING THE GUNPOWDER PLOT):

Thomas Barlow:

The Gunpowder-Treason. . . A preface touching that horrid conspiracy (1850 ed.). (Includes the *Discourse*, *King's Speech*, *Trials*, and several papers of Sir Everard Digby written during his confinement.)

Donald Carswell:

Trial of Guy Fawkes and Others. The Gunpowder Plot. Edited by D. Carswell. (Notable British Trials, 1934.)

Cobbett's:

Complete Collection of State Trials and proceedings High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdeameanors from the earliest period to the present time. Vol. ii, 1603-27 (1809).

Samuel Rawson Gardiner:

What Gunpowder Plot was (1897).

John Gerard (1840–1912):

Traditional History and the Spanish Treason of 1601-3. ... Reprinted from *The Month*, etc. (1896).

What was the Gunpowder Plot? The traditional story tested by original evidence (1897).

The Gunpowder Plot, and the Gunpowder Plotters. In reply to Professor Gardiner... With facsimiles of documents and an appendix (London and New York, 1897).

Thomas Winter's Confession and the Gunpowder Plot (with facsimiles) (London and New York, 1898).

David Jardine:

Criminal Trials. Vol. ii. The Gunpowder Plot (1832, etc.) (Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge: The Library of Entertaining Knowledge).

A Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot (1857).

Remarks upon the Letters of Thomas Winter and the Lord Mounteagle, lately discovered by J. Bruce.... Also upon the evidence of Lord Mounteagle's implication in the Gunpowder Treason, etc. (1841. From the *Archaeologia*, vol. xxix, pp. 80–110.)

Thomas Lathbury:

Guy Fawkes; or, The Gunpowder Treason, A.D. 1605;

with a development of the principles of the conspirators; and an appendix on the anonymous letter; also, a facsimile of the letter and of the miraculous straw as circulated in 1606 (1840 ed.).

George Blacker Morgan:

The Identification of the Writer of the Anonymous Letter to Lord Mounteagle in 1605 (1916).

The Great English Treason for Religion known as Gunpowder Plot, and the—faked—miraculous manner of its public discovery, with its hitherto unknown greater betrayal, in the year 1605. (2 vols. with plates, including portraits. Privately printed, Oxford, 1931, 2). (References given in this book are not always reliable.)

John Hungerford Pollen:

Father Henry Garnet and the Gunpowder Plot (1888). (Catholic Truth Society).

Sir Philip Sidney:

A History of the Gunpowder Plot (1904 ed.).

Henry Hawkes Spink:

The Gunpowder Plot and Lord Mounteagle's Letter; being a proof, with moral certitude, of the authorship of the document: together with some account of the whole thirteen gunpowder conspirators, including Guy Fawkes (1902).

HISTORY (ELIZABETHAN AND STUART):

Godfrey Davies:

Bibliography of British History, Stuart Period, 1603–1714 (1928).

William Hepworth Dixon:

Her Majesty's Tower (2 vols., 1841, etc. Collection of British Authors, vols. 1007, 1079).

George Bagshawe Harrison:

A Jacobean Journal. Being a record of those things most talked of during the years 1603–1606 (1941).

Martin Andrew Sharp Hume:

Treason and Plot. Struggles for Catholic supremacy in the last years of Queen Elizabeth (1901).

Augustus Jessopp:

One Generation of a Norfolk House (i.e. the Walpoles of

Houghton). A contribution to Elizabethan history . . . (third edition revised, 1913).

John Hungerford Pollen:

Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Babington Plot. Edited . . . by J. H. Pollen (Edinburgh, 1922, Scottish History Society, Third Series, Vol. iii).

Alfred William Pollard and Gilbert Richard Redgrave: A short title catalogue of books printed abroad, 1475– 1640, compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave.

Sir Robert Sangster Rait and Annie Isabella Cameron: King James's Secret: negotiations between Elizabeth and James VI, relating to the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, from the Warrender papers (1927).

Alan George Capel Gordon Smith:

The Babington Plot (1936).

Arthur Wilson:

The History of Great Britain, being the life and reign of King James the First, relating to what passed from his first access to the crown, till his death (1653).

HISTORY (ECCLESIASTICAL):

Charles Butler:

Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics since the Reformation; with a succinct account of the principal events in the ecclesiastical history of this country antecedent to that period, and in the histories of the Established Church, and the dissenting and evangelical congregations. . . Third edition, corrected, revised, and considerably augmented (4 vols., 1822).

Thomas Joseph Campbell:

The Jesuits, 1534–1921. A History of the Society of Jesus, etc. (1921, London, printed in U.S.A.).

Charles Dodd (Tierney):

т

The Church History of England from . . . 1500 to . . . 1688. Edited by M. A. Tierney (5 vols., 1839–43). Henry Foley:

Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. Historic facts illustrative of the labours and sufferings of its members in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (6 vols., 1875–80).

Henry Foulis:

The History of Romish Treasons and Usurpations: together with a particular account of many gross corruptions and impostures in the Church of Rome... to which is prefixt a large preface to the Romanists. The second edition. Carefully collected out of ... their own approved authors (1681).

Thomas Fuller:

The Church-History of Britain; from the Birth of Jesus Christ, untill the year 1648. (The History of the University of Cambridge since the Conquest.—The History of Waltham Abbey, etc.) (A new edition by J. S. Brewer, Oxford, 1845.)

Peter Guilday:

The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558– 1795. Vol. I. The English Colleges and Convents in the Catholic Low Countries (London, 1914, no further volumes published). (Université de Louvain. Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philologie. fasc. 39).

Wilbur Kitchener Jordan:

The Development of Religious Toleration in England, etc. (Vol. I, 1932).

Frederick George Lee:

The Church under Queen Elizabeth. An historical sketch (1896).

Henricus Morus:

Historia missionis anglicanae Societatis Jesu, 1580–1635 (Saint-Omer, 1660).

Ludwig Friedrich August von Pastor:

The History of the Popes, from the close of the Middle Ages.... From the German of Dr. L. Pastor.... (1891, etc.).

The History of the Jesuits in England, 1580-1773 (1901).

HISTORY (GENERAL):

Hilaire Belloc:

A History of England (1925-31).

How the Reformation Happened (1950 ed.).

John Sherren Brewer:

English Studies; or, Essays in English History and Literature.... Edited ... by Henry Wace (1881).

Alexander Brown:

The Genesis of the United States (1890). A narrative of the movement in England, 1605–16, which resulted in the plantation of North America . . . set forth through a series of historical manuscripts now first printed, together with a re-issue of rare contemporaneous tracts, accompanied by bibliographical memoranda, notes and brief biographies. Collected . . . and edited by A. Brown.

The Cambridge Modern History:

Planned by the late Lord Acton. . . . Edited by A. W. Ward. . . . G. W. Prothero . . . Stanley Leathes. (Cambridge, 1901–11.)

Samuel Rawson Gardiner:

History of England from the accession of James the First to the outbreak of the Civil War. 1603-42 (10 vols., 1883-4.)

John Lingard:

A History of England, from the first invasion by the Romans (to the Revolution in 1688). (Fifth edition, 11 vols., 1849-1915.)

John Lothrop Motley:

The Rise of the Dutch Republic. A history. (3 vols., 1855.)

History of the United Netherlands, from the death of William the Silent, to the Synod of Dort. With a full view of the English-Dutch struggle against Spain, and of the origin and destruction of the Spanish Armada (1860– 67).

HISTORY (LOCAL):

George Baker:

The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton (1822).

Norman G. Brett-James:

The Growth of Stuart London (1935).

Treadway Russell Nash:

The History and Antiquities of Worcestershire (2 vols., 1781–99).

George Ormerod:

The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester . . . incorporated with a republication of King's Vale Royal, and Leycester's Cheshire Antiquities (3 vols., 1819).

George Poulson:

The History and Antiquities of the Seigniory of Holderness, in the East Riding of the County of York . . . compiled from authentic charters, records, and the unpublished manuscripts of the Rev. W. Dade, remaining in the library of Burton Constable (2 vols., Hull, 1840).

The Victoria County History.

MAGAZINES, NEWSPAPERS, ETC.:

The American Historical Review (New York):

Vol. xiii (1908), p. 482. R. B. Merriman: Some notes on the Treatment of English Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth.

Archaeologia; or, miscellaneous tracts relating to antiquity: Vol. xxix, pp. 80–110 (see under David Jardine—History, concerning the Gunpowder Plot).

The Athenæum:

A magazine of literary and miscellaneous information. Gardiner and Gerard on Thomas Winter's Confession and the Gunpowder Plot in the issues of 17th July 1897; 26th November 1897; 4th December 1897; 10th September 1898; 24th September 1898.

The English Historical Review:

Vol. iii, July 1888; Henry Garnet's declaration of 8th March 1606.

The Month:

September, October, November, 1897: reprinted as Professor Gardiner's Defence of the Original Story as an appendix to The Gunpowder Plot and the Gunpowder Plotters (see under John Gerard—History, concerning the Gunpowder Plot).

The Times:

30th November 1839 (handwriting of the Monteagle letter).

Index

I

PERSONS and GENERAL

Abington, Mary, 67, 157, 230 n.

- Abington, Thomas, 67, 138-9, 177, 202, 203, 230 n., 238
- Albert, Archduke of the Netherlands, 82, 86, 87, 88, 126, 150, 151, 156, 206, 237
- Allen, Cardinal William, 26, 28, 35
- Anne of Denmark, Queen of England, 113, 208, 217, 225, 227
- Anonymous Letter, the, see Monteagle Letter, the

'Archpriest Controversy', 34-6

- Armadas, the Spanish, 32, 34, 49, 53, 54, 84, 224, 237
- Arundel, Earl of, 154, 190
- Ashley, Ralph (alias George Chambers), 203, 230 n., 238
- Babington Plot, the, 39, 41-3, 47-8, 97, 102 n., 113, 258 n. 8, 265 n. 30
- Babthorpe, family of, 79, 80, 128

Bacon, Francis, 19, 45, 96, 225 n.

Barlow, William, Bishop of Rochester, 185, 190, 246

- Barnes, Thomas, 97 et seq., 265 n. 35
- Bates, Thomas, 75 n., 81, 129-31, 153, 174, 176-7, 180, 182, 188, 191, 194, 196, 203, 205, 208-28 passim, 273 n. 7

Baynham, Sir Edmund, 69, 136, 141 Blackwell, George, Archpriest in England, 35, 36, 187-8

- Bromley, Sir Henry, J.P., 202-5, 229-30
- Campion, Edmund, 26, 28, 29 Canterbury, Archbishop of, 116, 192, 205, 207, 243, 246

Castile, Constable of, 76, 79, 80, 109, 111, 115

Catesby, Robert, involved in Essex rebellion, 24, 60 et seq.; and Monteagle, 47; involved in Spanish negotiations, 56, 196, 249; reputation for leadership, 62, 70, 158; visits Garnet at Fremland with Monteagle and Tresham, 68; description and character, 70 et seq., 76; genealogy, 71; birth, marriage and conversion, 72-3; his lodgings in Strand, 73, 76; sends for Thomas Winter, 108 and reveals his plan, 109; sends Thomas Winter to Brussels, 109; takes oath of secrecy, 110; hires house near House of Lords, 111, 129; how far plot 'planted' on him by Cecil, 112-14; his lodgings in Lambeth, 116; begins mining operations, 119; plans for a rising, proclamation, and kidnapping of Prince and Princess, 125-7, 155, 159; his proposed service in Flanders with Sir Charles Percy, 126; initial expenses of plot, 127; his lodgings at Puddle Wharf, 129; Bates's loyalty to him, 130; conversation with Garnet on lawfulness of killing innocents, 131-4, 148 n., 153, 24.1 n.; visits Garnet at Fremland with Monteagle, 135; Garnet shows him letter from Rome and persuades him to await Baynham's visit to Pope, 136, 239; reveals plot in confession to Tesimond, 139; his plans known to Garnet by Tesimond in confession, 140; continues his plans, 141; a meeting at

Bath, given authority to call in others, 142; encouraged by insurrectionary spirit in north and west, 143; his conduct suspected by Anne Vaux, 144; charms Rookwood and Digby, 129, 221, 145, 216; initiates Rookwood and Digby into plot, 129, 148-50; raises forces ostensibly for Flanders, 150-1; two supper parties, 151, 155 n., 156; initiates Tresham into plot, 152-3; his refusal to allow general warning of Catholic peers, 153-5, 157; difficulties with Tresham, 155; Winter's confession only source of information about his actions, 158; is told of discovery of plot, 158; Tresham convinces him of his innocency and the Government's knowledge, 158-61, 162, 165 and n.; his headquarters at White Webbs, 162; fails to keep meeting with Garnet at Coughton, 162; his last actions before leaving London, 165, 166; leaves London for Dunchurch, 168 and n., 169, 173; he and others reach Ashby, and then Dunchurch, 174; lies to Digby, 174-5; plans for a rising, 174; hunting party under Digby deserts him, 175; sends letter to Garnet, 176; reached Huddington with rest of party, 177; leaves for Holbeach, 178; calls at Hewell Grange, where villagers refuse to join him, 178; burnt by explosion, 180; mortally wounded at Holbeach, 181-2; Proclamation for his arrest, 189; had tried to warn Montague, 190; his head set up on Parliament House, 192; Bates's love for him, 226. Other references, 16, 69, 74 et seq., 111, 112, 130, 147, 153, 194, 196, 198, 202 n., 215, 217, 218, 236, 241 and n., 226 n. 12, 272 n. 39

Cecil, Robert, Earl of Salisbury, Secretary of State, responsibility

for and knowledge of plot, 15, 18, 19, 47, 96, 112-15, 158, 160, 165, 171 n., 253; believed to have intended death of Percy and Catesby, 16, 272 n. 39; use of forgery, 17 et seq., 40, 97-9, 193, 233, 247-50, 254-5 n. 6; use of torture, 17, 40, 193, 196, 199, 231-3, 236, 239; his version of the plot, 15 et seq., 122, 157-8, 166-7, 170; in possession of Thomas Winter's Confession, 18; his fear of Jesuits, 27; his spy service, 31, 43, 66, 90, 96, 97 et seq., 100, 114, 115, 143 n., 171, 192, 215, 262 n. 23, 263 n. 4, n. 5, n. 6; exaggerates danger from Spain, 53; working secretly for James of Scotland, 57, 59, 62, 97, 99; opposition of Essex to, 60. 61; receives anonymous letter from Monteagle, 69, 157; orders commendation of Monteagle for 'discovery' of plot, 70, 220; his appearance and character, 90-1; becomes ·· Secretary of State, 92; in pay of Spain, 91, 115; his titles, 91; and Theobalds, 92; devotes himself to destruction of Catholicism, 92-3, 107-8; relations with Northampton, 97; use of Phelippes and Barnes as forgers, 97-9; relations with the King, 101, 102; created Viscount Cranborne, 115; and Thomas Pound, 116; Carew's friendship with, 129; is summed up by Bates, 131; is warned against Catholics in Lancashire, 142-3 and against increase of Catholics in Wales, 143; his hopes of indicting Catholics as body, 143; his actions on 'discovery' of plot, 158, 160; receives report of search of cellar, 167; his different accounts of the search, 166-8 and of Fawkes's arrest, 170; Fawkes his prisoner, 168, 170, 171; receives report from Lawley of treatment of prisoners at Holbeach, 182; his hopes of popular hatred of CathCecil, Robert-cont.

olics now realized, 188, 191; determines to prove Jesuits involved in plot, 188, 193-5, 199; his examinations of the prisoners, 192; Tresham's letters to him from the Tower, 197, 274 n. 29; and Tresham's death, 161, 197-8; and Lady Digby, 198; receives letter from Digby in the Tower, 199; orders search of Hindlip, 202, 204, 205; one of Lords Commissioners for trial, 208 n.; his speeches at trial of conspirators, 219-20; receives letter from Sir Arthur Gorges about execution to be held at St. Paul's Churchyard, 223-4; informed by Bromley of capture of Garnet and Oldcorne, 230; his instructions to treat Garnet well, 230, 233; his methods to outwit Garnet and implicate him in plot, 230-6 and to give information about Jesuits, 238-9; at Garnet's trial, 237; and Thomas Winter's Confession, 247-50; and gunpowder, 251-3. His letters: 126, 130, 156, 157 n., 193, 194. Other references: 68, 80, 88, 89, 93, 94, 95, 101, 112, 120, 151, 165, 174, 190, 255, 256 n. 6, 264 n. 22, 266 n. 7, 267 n. 12

Cecil, William, Lord Burghley, 38, 53, 90, 94, 95

Chaloner, Sir Thomas, 114, 115

Chambers, George, *see* Ashley, Ralph Charles, Prince, 124, 127, 155, 159, 217

Coke, Sir Edward, Attorney-General, 33, 41, 45, 47, 58 n., 70, 88, 94–6, 96, 114, 116, 122, 190, 192, 196, 197, 211–22, 237, 238, 248 et seq., 254–5 n. 6

Digby, Sir Everard, 70, 75 n., 81, 145-6, 147-50, 152, 153, 154, 155, 157, 161-4, 173 and n., 174-82 passim, 188, 189 n., 191-2, 193-4, 198-200, 208-228

passim, 270 n. 38, 273 n. 7, n. 12 Digby, Lady, 145, 162, 174, 177, 198, 199, 217, 218

Digby, Sir Robert, 164, 175

- Elizabeth, Queen, 24 et seq., 27-53 passim, 62, 74, 83, 84, 86, 96, 100, 101, 102 n., 114, 127, 135, 138, 142, 147, 185, 196, 218, 221, 224, 257 n. 2, 258 n. 7, 260 n. 33
- Elizabeth, Princess, 124, 125, 127, 150, 155, 190, 192
- Essex Rebellion, the, 24, 60, 61, 79, 127, 151
- Fawkes, Guy (alias John Johnson), is tortured, 48, 101, 185, 189, 190, 193; returns to England from Brussels, 76, 110, 112; at school with Wrights, 79, 87; his service with Stanley, 86-7; birth and youth, 87; description and character, 87-8; employed into Spain, 87, 219; takes oath of secrecy, 110; custodian of Whynniard's house, 111, 117; visits his home in Yorkshire, 112, 153; his part in mining operations, 119, 120, 121; sent back to Brussels for summer, 126; to be responsible for blowing up House of Lords, 127, 155; contemporary of Tesimond, 87, 138; and the supper party at Daventry, 153; examines gunpowder in cellar, 155, 156, 159; meets Percy on road from north with news of Monteagle letter, 165 and n.; is visited in cellar by Lord Chamberlain, 167; Keyes brings him a watch, 168, 169; is taken prisoner, 168, 169, 174; is taken to Cecil, the King, and the Council, 170, 171; is taken to Tower, 188; information given under torture, 189, 190; his indictment, 195, 210; his trial and execution, 208-28 passim; his 'secret' conversation with Robert Winter overheard by

Fawkes, Guy-cont.

spies, 215, 234. Confessions of, 17, 48, 88, 100, 111, 113, 119, 120 and n., 121, 124, 125, 126, 141–2, 142 n., 185, 189–90, 195, 196, 213. Other references, 15, 47, 75 n., 88, 94, 102, 121, 126 n. Flanders, see Low Countries

Garnet, Henry, S.J., Superior of the Jesuits in England (alias Walley, Darcy, Rivers, Robert, Farmer, Henry Philips), leads Jesuit Mission of 1586, 33; description, 33; visits Wisbech, 34; visited by Monteagle, Tresham and Catesby at Fremland, 68; his lodging in Thames Street, 131 n.; his conversation with Catesby on lawfulness of killing innocents, 131-4, 148 n., 153, 241 n.; describes effects of recusancy acts, 135; visited at Fremland by Catesby and Monteagle, 135; shows letter from Rome to Catesby, and persuades him to await Baynham's visit to Pope, 136, 239; hears of plot in confession from Tesimond, 138 et seq., Tesimond his companion, 138, 139; his letter to the General, 140; leaves White Webbs for pilgrimage to St. Winifred's Well, 143-6; Anne Vaux's devotion to, 144; his letter of introduction to Flanders for Catesby, 150; his stay at Gothurst, 161-2; goes to meet Catesby at Coughton, 162; ignorance of plot (outside confession), 164, 237, 241, 242; receives news from Bates, 174, 176, 194; his indictment as a principal conspirator, 47, 137, 195, 211; efforts to implicate him in Spanish plot by torture of Tresham, 196, 147; and A Treatise against Lying and Fraudulent Dissimulation, 197; in hiding at Hindlip, 203-4; surrender, 229; taken to Worcester, 230 and to London, 231; to be well treated, 230, 233; his examinations, 231-6 passim, 237-9; is outwitted by Cecil, 233-5; his 'secret' conversations with Oldcorne overheard by spies, 234; threatened with torture, 236; his trial, 236-7; and equivocation, 235, 237, 241, 274 n. 26; his execution, 36, 240-2; Garnet's straw, 242-3; his declaration of relationship with conspirators, 259-60 n. 11. Other references, 67, 95, 205, 243, 245, 263, 6n. 267 n. 19, 270 n. 32

- Gerard, John, S.J. (*alias* Lee and Brook), 18, 31, 36, 72, 74, 76, 79, 87, 128, 130, 133, 144, 147, 157, 162-4, 190, 194, 195, 199, 211, 226, 228 n., 232-3, 234 and n., 243, 254 n. 5, 267 n. 19, 270 n. 38
- Goodman, Dr., Bishop of Gloucester, 16, 167, 197
- Grant, Dorothy, 173
- Grant, John, 75, 76, 77, 126, 128, 141, 144, 146, 150, 176-82 passim, 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 208-28 passim, 273 n. 7

Greenway, see Tesimond, Oswald

Hammond, see Hart, Nicholas

- Harington, Lord, 125, 149 (map), 150, 192
- Hart, Nicholas, S.J. (*alias* Hammond), 164, 178, 214
- Henry, Prince of Wales, 114, 124, 159 and n., 208, 217, 225
- Howard, Henry, Earl of Northampton, 96-7, 99, 192, 208 n., 218-19, 237, 249
- Ingleby, family of, 75, 79, 146
- Isabella, the Infanta, Regent of the Netherlands, 32, 57, 58, 86

Jacques, 'Captain', 85-6, 88

James I of England and VI of Scotland, 32, 35, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 67, 78, 80, 85, 87, 91, 94, 96, 97, 100-3, 107, 108, 112 et seq.,

ţ

James I-cont.

51

125 n., 127, 133, 134, 135, 136, 147, 154, 156, 157-8, 160, 167, 170, 171, 173, 174, 178, 186-8, 190, 192, 194, 195, 198, 199, 206-22 passim, 225, 227, 230, 239, 240, 246, 248, 249, 251, 252, 255, 259 n. 16, 260 n. 11 James, Thomas, 57, 58 Johnson, John, see Fawkes, Guy

- Keyes, Robert, 75, 79–81, 116, 120, 121, 122, 154, 168 and n., 169, 171 n., 172, 173, 182, 188, 191, 193, 208–28 passim, 273 n. 7
- King's Book, the, 17 and n., 88, 157 and n., 158, 248, 272 n. 39 Knyvet, Sir Thomas, 158, 167
- Lepton, John, 171, 172
- Littleton, Humphrey, 150-1, 155, 164, 174, 201-2, 204, 238
- Littleton, Stephen, 150–1, 155, 164, 174, 178, 179, 180, 200–1, 202
- Lord Commissioners for the Plot, 208 n.
- Low Countries, the, 25, 26, 36, 49, 50, 53, 82–9 passim, 90, 131, 132, 150, 151, 155, 159. See also Brussels (under *Places*)
- Mallory, family of, 79
- Mary, Queen of Scots, 26, 32, 39, 40, 41-3, 53, 88, 93, 97, 101
- Montague, Lord, 154, 157, 190, 192 Monteagle Letter, the, 65–6, 69, 79,
- 90 n., 115, 153, 156–61 *passim*, 165 n., 168, 187, 213, 266 n. 12 Monteagle, Lord, *see* Parker, William Mordaunt, Lord, 80, 148, 151, 154,
- 157, 172, 190, 192 Munck, Levinus, 99, 248, 249, 260
 - n. 14
- Netherlands, the. See also the Low Countries; Albert, Archduke of; Isabella, Regent of; Parma, Margaret de, Regent of
- Northampton, Lord, see Howard,

Henry

Index

- Northumberland, Earl of, see Percy, Henry
- Oldcorne, Edward, S.J. (*alias* Hall), 36, 139, 145, 157, 177, 202 and n., 203-4, 229-31, 238, 268 n. 63
- Owen, Hugh, 88–9, 97, 98, 126, 188, 190, 206, 237, 239, 263 n. 5, 265 n. 31 and n. 35
- Owen, Nicholas ('Little John'), 36, 37, 145, 203-4, 230 n., 231-3
- Papacy, the, 26, 29, 32, 35, 107, 133, 134, 135, 136, 140, 141, 193, 239, 243, 246
- Parker, Elizabeth, Lady Monteagle, 65, 67
- Parker, William, Lord Monteagle, involved in Essex rebellion, 24, 60-1; his part in the plot, 47; supports accession of James, 62; receives the anonymous letter, 65-6, 115, 153, 156-8, 159; a Government agent, 67, 113; genealogy, 67; his change of religion, 67; member of the House of Lords, 68; in favour at Court, 68; intimacy with conspirators and knowledge of the plot, 68-9; his visit to Garnet at Fremland, 68, 152; visits Prince of Wales, 69; his part in sending Winter to Spain, 69, 196, 249; his reward and commendation for delivery of the letter, 69–70, 220; his character, 70; appointed Commissioner for Union between England and Scotland, 113, 117; his knowledge of State opening of Parliament, 113; Cecil may be watching his movements, 114; visits Garnet at Fremland with Catesby, 135; to be warned by conspirators not to attend Parliament, 154, 190; is present at prorogation of Parliament, October 3rd, 156; tells Winter Prince of Wales not to be at opening of Parliament, 69, 159,

Parker, William-cont.

260 n. 14; credited with murder of Tresham, who may have warned him of plot, 161, 197; visits cellar with Lord Chamberlain, 166, 167, 168; called up by Worcester to arrest Northumberland, 172; his name omitted from confessions, 69, 196, 254 n. 6; commended by Cecil at trial of conspirators, 60, 220 and at Garnet's trial, 237. Other references, 75, 78, 79, 116, 124 n., 157, 187, 203-4, 213, 238, 252, 253, 256 n. 6

- Parliament, 15, 62, 65, 68, 108, 109, 111, 113, 118 et seq., 124, 125, 126, 127, 129, 131, 141, 142 n., 154, 156, 157, 158, 159, 166, 176, 186, 187, 190, 205-7, 208, 216; Acts of, 25, 29, 30, 31, 34, 36, 80, 88, 116, 134-5, 245-6
- Parma, Margaret de, Regent of the Netherlands, 25, 88 and n., 89
- Percy, Sir Charles, 126
- Percy, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 59, 60, 77, 111, 112, 126, 154, 155, 165, 166 and n., 168, 169, 192, 239, 255, 259 n. 16, 271 n. 2
- Percy, Sir Jocelyn, 151, 166, 169
- Percy, Thomas, agent to Northumberland, 59; receives promise of toleration to Catholics from James in Scotland, 59–60, 218, 219, 259 n. 16; his influential position, 77; character and appearance, 78; his marriages, 79, 255-6; conversion, 79; suspected of double-dealing, 79; takes the oath of secrecy, 110; hires house near House of Lords, 111, 112, 121; appointed Gentleman Pensioner, 112; employs Fawkes as his servant, 112; takes part in mining operations, 119; is to kidnap Prince Charles, 124, 127, 155, 156 n.; lays in powder and wood in cellar, 141; and a meeting at Bath, 142; collecting rents in north on eve of plot, 155, 160,

165; returns to London, meets with Catesby and Winter, goes to Sion House, 165-6; suspected as author of anonymous letter after search of his cellar, 167, 168; his last movements before leaving London, 168-9; escapes Government spies, 171; leaves for Dunchurch and Proclamations for his arrest, 172, 173, 179, 189; the journey to Holbeach, 173-9; mortally wounded at Holbeach, 182; head set up on Parliament House, 192; his widow taken, 192. Other references, 16, 75, 81, 111, 117, 123, 126, 130, 154, 166, 168 n., 170, 189, 272 n. 39

- Persons, Robert, S.J., General of the Jesuits, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 35, 58, 62, 88, 136, 140, 145
- Phelippes, Thomas, 41-2, 47, 96, 97-9, 233, 263 n. 27, n. 6, 265 n. 31, n. 35
- Philip II of Spain, 25, 32, 35, 49 et seq., 56, 84, 88, 89, 93
- Philip III of Spain, 54, 109–110, 206
- Phillips, Sir Edward, Serjeant-at-Law, 210–11, 221
- Popham, Sir John, Lord Chief Justice, 33, 114–15, 208, 221, 236, 237, 249
- Pound, Thomas, S.J., 33, 115-16
- Proclamations, 108, 139, 172, 179, 189 and n., 203, 205, 273 n. 7
- Rookwood, Ambrose, 70, 75, 81, 128-9, 131, 135 n., 141, 145, 147, 150, 166, 168-82 passim, 188, 189 and n., 191, 192, 193, 208-28 passim, 252

Rookwood, Mrs., 128-9, 145, 227

Society of Jesus, the, 21, 27 et seq., 33, 34–6, 41, 44, 46, 47, 48, 83, 89, 90 and n., 107, 113, 115, 124, 134, 135, 138, 142, 143, 144, 145, 148, 150, 171, 176, 177, 188, 190, 193, 194, 195, 202,

Index

- 205, 206, 210 and n., 212, 214, 227, 234, 237, 238, 239, 266 n. 12. See also Blackwell, Garnet, Gerard, Hart, Oldcorne, Persons, Pound, Tesimond
- Squire's Plot, 39, 43-8, 212, 237
- Stanley, Sir William, 83–5, 86, 87, 88, 110, 126
- Stanley, William, 3rd Baron Monteagle, 67
- Stourton, Lord, 154, 157, 161, 190, 192
- Strange, Fr., 145
- Stuart, Arabella, 35, 57, 94
- Talbot, John, 74, 174, 177, 178, 179, 203
- Tesimond, Oswald, S. J. (*alias* Greenway, Greenwell, Philip Beaumont), 21, 36, 71, 76, 78, 87, 120, 128, 130, 138-9, 152, 162, 167, 174, 176-7, 194, 195 and n., 204-5, 211, 227, 234, 235, 238, 241, 254 n. 5, 272 n. 39
- Throckmorton, family of, 74, 150 Topcliffe, Richard, 100, 193
- Tresham, Francis, 24, 60, 61, 68, 74, 75, 81, 114, 146, 151, 152-3, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158-61, 162, 165 and n., 172 n., 173 n., 182, 188, 190, 192, 193, 196-8, 211, 212, 249, 273 n. 7, 274 n. 29
- Tresham, Lewis, 196
- Tresham, Sir Thomas, 61, 62, 107, 116, 146, 196, 197, 220
- Tyrwhitt, family of, 128
- Vaux, Anne, 144, 145, 148, 150, 161, 192, 230, 233, 270 n. 32
- Vaux, Lord, 199
- Vavasour, George, 157, 197
- Verney, Sir Richard, Sheriff of Warwickshire, 172, 191, 273 n. 12
- Waad, Sir William, Lieutenant of the Tower, 47, 48, 58 n., 93-4, 96, 114, 131, 169, 189, 192, 193, 197, 233, 235, 238, 247, 248 et seq., 255, 256 n. 6, 264 n. 22,

273 n. 12, 274 n. 18

Walsh, Sir Richard, Sheriff of Worcestershire, 179, 180-2, 191, 200, 201, 247, 272 n. 39, 275 n. 43

Ward, Thomas, 66

- Whynniard, John, Keeper of the Wardrobe, 16, 118, 166
- Whynniard's House by the Parliament, 111, 112, 116 et seq., 129
- Wilson, Thomas, 98, 99
- Windsor, Lord, 155, 178
- Winter, Dorothy, 75
- Winter, John, 74, 75, 77, 238
- Winter, Robert, 74, 75, 77, 122, 126, 128, 141, 146, 150, 151, 174-82 passim, 188 n., 189, 195, 200-1, 202, 208-28 passim, 234, 238
- Winter, Thomas, involved in Essex rebellion, 24; his visit to Spain, 56, 58, 196, 249-50; secretary to Monteagle, 67, 68; ancestry and genealogy, 74, 75; early years, 75; description, 75-6; his lodgings in Strand, 76; his travels, 76; is sent for by Catesby, 108 and is told of plot and promise help, 109; visits Constable of Castile, 79, 109; returns with Guy Fawkes, 110; takes oath of secrecy, 110; takes part in mining operations, 119-21; his proposed service in Flanders with Sir Charles Percy, 126; present when Bates admitted to plot, 129; orders sword from Craddock, 141; buys new powder, 142; and a meeting at Bath, 142; his conduct suspected by Anne Vaux, 144; and the pilgrimage to St. Winifred's Well, 146; he and Robert leave for Yorkshire, where meet Christopher Wright, 146; two supper parties at the 'Irish Boy', 151; supper party at Daventry, 153; supports Catesby in refusing to warn Catholic peers generally, 154; replenishes gunpowder, 155, 156; is present at prorogation of Parliament, Octo-

Winter, Thomas-cont.

0

12

ber 3rd, 156; his confession only source of information about his actions, 158; is told of delivery of letter to Monteagle, 158; his suspicion of Tresham, 159-61, 162, 165 n.; is told by Monteagle that Prince of Wales would not be at opening of Parliament, 150; last movements before leaving London, 168, 171-3; leaves for Huddington, 173 and arrives 177; the journey to Holbeach, 178-9; approaches Talbot for help, 179; refuses to desert with Littleton. 180; is wounded at Holbeach, 181, 247; Cecil's end in examining him, 188; Proclamation for his arrest, 189; arrested and in custody of Walsh, 191, 247; the key witness, 194, 195; his indictment, 195, 210; his trial and execution, 77, 99, 208-28 passim. Confessions of.

- 17 et seq., 99, 111, 116, 119, 121, 124, 125, 126, 127, 142 and n., 158, 159 n., 165, 172, 195-6, 213, 247-50, 254-5 n. 6, 260 n. 14, 266 n. Other references, 16, 17, 18, 69, 77, 78, 79, 94, 112, 113, 115, 121, 125, 150, 162, 168, 190, 191, 238, 247-50, 251, 256 n. 6, 269 n. 65
- 'Wisbech Stirs', 34-6
- Wright, Christopher, 75, 79-80, 87, 120, 127, 130, 141, 146, 150, 153, 165, 169-82 passim, 189, and n., 192
- Wright, Henry, 114-5, 266 n. 12
- Wright, John, 16, 75, 78, 79–80, 87, 108, 110, 111, 119, 127, 130, 141, 150, 153, 168 and n., 169– 182 *passim*, 189 and n., 192, 256 n. 6
- Yorke, family of, 146

II

PLACES

- Ashby St. Legers (Robert Catesby), 61, 73, 125, 128, 130, 149
- (map), 150, 153, 174
- Barnet, 155, 159, 160
- Bath, 69, 142, 146
- Brussels, 76, 82–9 *passim*, 107, 109, 114, 126, 136, 188, 206, 237
- Chastleton, 61, 72
- Clopton Hall (Lord Carew, rented by Rookwood), 129, 141, 149 (map), 150, 252
- Coldham Hall, mansion of Rookwood, 129
- Coleshill (Sir Robert Digby), 149 (map), 164
- Coughton Court (Throckmortons, rented by Digby), 74, 149 (map), 150, 161, 162, 174, 176, 177, 194, 203, 270 n. 32 Daventry, 153 Drayton, 80

- Dunchurch, 149 (map), 150, 164, 168, 172, 173, 174
- Dunsmore Heath, 149 (map), 150, 151, 161, 164, 201
- Essex House, 166, 169, 171, 172
- Fremland, 68, 70, 135
- Gothurst (Sir Everard Digby), 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 161, 162, 164
- Gowthwaite Hall (Lady Yorke), 146
- Grafton (Lord Talbot), 74, 149 (map), 174, 179, 203
- Greenwich, 159
- Hagley House (Muriel Littleton), 149 (map), 200
- Harrowden (Vaux family), 148, 150, 194, 199
- Hewell Grange (Lord Windsor), 74-5, 149 (map), 155, 178, 180

- Hindlip Hall (Thomas Abington), 67, 74, 138, 139, 142 n., 145, 149 (map), 177, 194, 202 et
- *seq.*, 229, 230, 238 Hockliffe, near Dunstable, 173

6

- Holbeach House (Stephen Littleton),
 - 149 (map), 150, 178, 179–80, 185, 191, 200, 247
- Holywell, see St. Winifred's Well
- Hoxton, 65, 153, 156-61 passim
- Huddington Hall (the Winters), 74, 75, 77, 108, 126, 128, 138, 141, 142 n., 146, 149 (map), 150, 151, 173, 174, 176, 177, 178, 191, 194, 205, 214 n., 248, 260 n. 33
- Lapworth (Catesby), 72, 141, 149 (map), 150, 153
- London (see also Parliament), 82, 93, 108, 110, 112, 116, 119, 125, 126, 128, 131, 135 n., 139, 141, 143, 148, 151, 153, 155, 156, 159, 160, 165, 166, 168 and n., 169, 172-4, 182, 185, 192, 205, 223, 229, 230, 234 n., 239, 243, 245, 255, 273 n. 7 Clerkenwell, 152, 154 Drury Lane, 168, 169 and n. Fleet Street, 173 Gray's Inn, 169 Guildhall, 236 Highgate, 173 Holborn, 256 n. 6 Lambeth, 108, 116, 120, 121, 225 Lincoln's Inn, 165
 - Marchalcon acr
 - Marshalsea, 231
 - St. Clement's Dane, 110, 165, 168, 169 n., 190
 - St. Giles', 169
 - St. Paul's, 185, 223–4, 240, 246

- Index
 - Strand, 73, 76, 110, 128, 141, 171, 172
 - Taverns, 76, 151, 155, 156, 169, 171, 172
 - Temple, 95, 169, 196
 - Thames, 118, 122, 222
 - Tower, 100, 160, 186, 188, 190, 192, 193, 203, 208, 223, 224, 226, 229, 231, 233, 235, 237, 238, 249, 256 n. 6
 - Tower Hill, 198
 - Tyburn, 27, 100
 - Westminster, 111, 116, 120, 167, 172, 223, 226
 - Westminster Abbey, 154
 - Westminster Hall, 208, 215, 219 Whitehall, 208, 231
 - Milford Haven, 56, 59, 84
 - Norbrook (John Grant), 75, 128, 129, 141, 142 n., 146, 149 (map), 150, 173, 174, 176
 - Plowland Hall (the Wrights), 79
 - Ripley Castle (Sir William Ingleby), 146
 - Royston, 156, 158
 - Rushton Hall (the Treshams), 114, 146, 155, 159
 - St. Winifred's Well, or Holywell, 145-6, 268 n. 63
 - Sion House (Earl of Northumberland), 165, 166, 168 and n., 169
 - Theobalds, 92, 264 n. 12
 - Turvey (Lord Mordaunt), 148, 173
 - Warwick, 149 (map), 155, 175, 176, 273 n. 7
 - White Webbs (Anne Vaux and Jesuits' headquarters), 143-5, 153, 158, 162
 - Wisbech Castle, 33, 34, 35