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CONSPIRACY AND CONSCIENCE.¹

A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

BY JOHN KNIPE.

PART II. THE JESUIT POLICY AND THE PLOTTERS.

JULY—NOVEMBER 1605.

IT was probably at the "House in Essex" that Father Garnet met Father Greenway again and more earnestly renewed his protests. "At my second conference with Mr. Greenway," he records; during which interview he explained to his fellow-priest how "he hoped to persuade Mr. Catesby, who was not a bad man." Greenway, whose real name was Oswald Tesimond of York, was apparently quite impressed by Garnet's plain warning to him that it was their duty either to inform their Superiors in Rome, or to urge Catesby himself to submit the case of the English Catholics to the Pope, and ask his direction. I think that the astute Greenway really dreaded lest Garnet should declare the Confession to be "a Reserved Case" which only the Pope could decide. He told Garnet that it would be sacrilege to break the Seal, but he consented to speak further to Catesby.

THIRD INTERVIEW BETWEEN GARNET AND CATESBY. WHITE WEBBS, ENFIELD CHACE. JULY 24 (?).

Dr. Gardiner places this conference a few days before the fatal disclosure by Greenway at Fremland. But I find that he overlooked the fact that Garnet says he met Catesby again at White Webbs, while it was "at the House in Essex" that Catesby came to see him with Lord Monteagle. Further, Garnet, to his great relief, had just received an important letter from the Father General of the Order (Robert Parsons), and this letter he says that he answered on the 24th, *i.e.*, twelve days after the Provincial had been told the secret. White Webbs was their favourite rendezvous. Here the Jesuits "met twice a year to confess and renew their vows" in "that desolate half-timbered house full of trap-doors and secret passages" which stood on the verge of the Royal Chace hidden in trees from the Barnet Road. It was rented by Mistress Anne Vaux, herself bound by the Jesuit Vow of Obedience, from a certain Dr. Hewick, of whom nothing is known except that he was supposed to live in London. Anne Vaux was related to Catesby and a sort of cousin to most of the plotters; she was very rich and hospitable to all Jesuits and secular priests, who were called by their friends "Journeymen and Workmen." As many as fourteen Jesuits sometimes slept at White Webbs; "two beds being placed in a room," and the house was "spacious, fit to receive so great a company

¹ These articles on Conspiracy and Conscience have been published by special request.

that should resort to him thither " (Garnet). Anne passed as " Mrs. Perkins," sister to Mr. Meaze (Garnet), and she also called herself a widow, by which convenient alias she was known to her own servants, and, as was later admitted, " Mistress Anne Vaux doth usually go with him whithersoever he goeth." She caused some scandal by riding alone with her " good father " at night. Gentle and very devoted to her religion, Anne had some influence with Catesby, and no doubt Garnet hoped she might help him, at least indirectly, to frustrate what he called " unlawful, and a most horrible thing."

Although Garnet's account is designedly vague, we can form a fairly accurate idea of the conference between the two Jesuit Fathers and Robert Catesby. " Soon after this " (*i.e.* Catesby's visit to Fremland with Monteagle and Tresham) " Mr. Catesby came again, as he was seldom long from us, from the great affection he bore to the gentlewoman with whom I lived (Anne Vaux) and unto me." It was then Catesby's habit to stop at White Webbs whenever he passed through Barnet. Garnet continues: " I showed him my letter from Rome and admonished him of the Pope's pleasure. I doubted he had some device in his head, whatsoever it was, being against the Pope's will, it could not prosper. He said that what he meant to do, if the Pope knew, he would not hinder for the general good of the country. But I being earnest with him, and inculcating the Pope's prohibition, did add this, *quia expresse hoc Papa non vult et prohibet*, he told me he was not bound to take knowledge by me of the Pope's will. I said indeed my own credit was but little, but our General, whose letter I had read to him, was a man everywhere respected for his wisdom and virtue, so I desired him that before he attempted anything he would acquaint the Pope. He said he would not for all the world make his particular project known to him for fear of discovery. I wished him at the last in general to inform him how things stood by some lay gentleman."

What a fencing-match! With Greenway a silent and deeply concerned listener. But if Catesby's replies are carefully studied, and Garnet's urgency taken together with his warnings to Greenway and his messages by him to Catesby, it becomes clear that the Jesuit Superior must surely have already known their terrible secret, which the Seal of Confession forbade him to mention, except to Father Greenway. In reply to the Father General at Rome Garnet merely speaks in general terms of the danger of any private treason or violence against the King, and asks for the orders of his Holiness as to what is to be done in the case, and the formal prohibition of armed force. He has recorded that " he wrote repeatedly to get a prohibition under censures of all attempts." . . . " I remained in the greatest perplexity that ever I was in my life, and could not sleep at nights. . . . I prayed that God would dispose of all for the best and find the best means that were pleasing to Him to prevent so great a mischief."

Rome would only answer that " the Pope thought his general prohibition would serve." No doubt Father Garnet was sincere and he was in a horrible predicament. But his conscience had

been atrophied by years of countenancing treasons and plots against his country, and his sympathy was more stirred by the recusancy fines and petty hardships borne by Catesby and his friends, than by the plain ugly fact that these men premeditated the murder in cold blood of nearly eight hundred persons, besides those who lived in the various buildings adjacent to the House of Lords.

It must be understood that Garnet knew from Greenway how both the house in Whynniard's Block and "the Bloody Cellar" had been rented by Percy, that powder-barrels, billets and faggots were actually disposed in the vaulted Lumber-room, although Fawkes had gone back to Flanders as a blind, having locked up the coal-cellar and left the key with Mr. Percy.

If Father Garnet had been a man of stronger character he could doubtless have frustrated Catesby's schemes, and that without breaking his word as a priest. He admits this when he says, "Partly upon hope of prevention, partly that I would not betray my friend, I did not reveal the general knowledge of Mr. Catesby's intention which I had by him. . . ."

English Criminal Law does not allow that a man's knowledge of intended murder and treason can be kept in separate water-tight compartments, and it is difficult to see how justice could distinguish between his subsequent acts which must be influenced by both his professional and his ordinary sources of information.

Garnet rested his "hope of prevention" on Catesby's reluctant consent to send an emissary to inquire further of the Pope's will. But the arch-conspirator stipulated that his envoy should be furnished with Letters written by Father Garnet's own hand. The weak, irresolute Garnet played Catesby's game when he refused to do more than write Letters to the Nuncio in Flanders. It was his fear of the Pope which made the English Provincial try to shift the responsibility if he could.

THE "LAY GENTLEMAN." SIR EDMUND BAYNHAM.

Catesby fixed upon his friend Sir Edmund Baynham. He was a wild and dissolute adventurer, probably another supporter of Essex; who was nicknamed "The Captain of the Damned Crew." In a letter to Chief Justice Popham the King orders him "to apprehend certain loose people of the 'Damned Crew of Swaggerers' who seek to create disturbance against Scotchmen, and bind them over to keep the peace." (April, 1604.)

Baynham readily consented to convey Garnet's Letters to the Low Countries, and he may well have had good reasons for leaving England for a time, since he was a notorious person in town and suspected by the Government. The "Damned Crew of Swaggerers" were fierce young bloods of good family who picked quarrels with Scottish gentlemen, got exceedingly drunk and were a grievous annoyance to sober and law-abiding citizens.

Sir Edmund was a curious person to choose as an emissary to Rome, but he was utterly unscrupulous, which suited Catesby's plans. He let Baynham know that there would be something

of a seditious sort attempted for the Catholic Cause when the Parliament met, and Catesby secretly instructed the other to delay his journey after he reached Brussels, and to wait there until he heard whatever might have happened, then to go on post to Rome and inform the Pope. Garnet urged that the envoy should go abroad quickly. Yet when Bates, Catesby's servant, "inquired of Mr. Thomas Winter, 'Why they did not keep Sir Edmund Baynham here?' Winter answered that he was not a man fit for this business, but they had otherwise employed him by sending him to Rome, and that he stayed there only for Father Walley" (alias Garnet). (Examination of Thomas Bates.)

This statement looks as if Catesby tried more than once to get direct Letters for Rome from Garnet. And Baynham did not actually start until September; while Garnet comments: "Mr. Catesby's promise of doing nothing until Sir Edmund had been with the Pope, made me think that either nothing would be done or not before the end of the Parliament; before what time we should surely hear, as undoubtedly we should if Baynham had gone to Rome as soon as I imagined." Yet Garnet, who knew Catesby, must have seen that he was deceiving him by false assurances, and henceforward the Jesuit decided he would avoid White Webbs, and shun the pleasant company of his fast friend Mr. Robert Catesby.

GARNET LEADS THE PILGRIMAGE TO S. WINIFRED'S SHRINE.
FLINTSHIRE. SEPTEMBER.

The Judges of the Western Circuit had recently hanged a few priests under the Penal Laws, while further executions were quickly stopped by the King's express orders. Wales was fermenting with sedition and Garnet resolved on a General Pilgrimage to S. Winifred's Well, as a demonstration of the political influence of the Jesuit Mission.

He may possibly have meant to challenge arrest, hoping thus by imprisonment to escape the consequences of the intolerable and dangerous secret. About this time he heard that Parliament was again prorogued until November 5. This was good news, for Garnet hoped that the delay would hinder Catesby's Plot and give time for Baynham's audience and Rome's answer. Somehow rumours were current of a coming "Stir" during the next Parliament, and this caused much expectancy and agitation among the leading Roman Catholic families, who eagerly threw open their houses to the pilgrims. Unwittingly the relatives of those same Catholic Peers whose lives were threatened by Father Garnet's particular friend now joined the Pilgrimage, which started from Gothurst in Bucks, the beautiful seat of Sir Everard Digby, for-gathering there under cover of an Otter Hunt in the River Ouse, which flowed by his grounds. Digby was another cousin of Anne Vaux, and his house-party included her sister, Mrs. Brooksby, and her husband; Mr. Ambrose Rookwood of Coldham Hall, Suffolk, and his wife; Mr. Thomas Digby, Sir Everard's brother, and other leading Papists. Of Jesuits besides the Provincial, there came Father Strange, Digby's chaplain, and that notorious lay-

brother, Garnet's server, Nicholas Owen, nicknamed "Littlejohn" from his being so very tall ("who hath a broken leg grown crooked"), a man who was admired for his skill in contriving "Priests' Holes," called "that useful cunning joiner of those times." Digby was so struck with Owen's work that he engaged his services at Gothurst after he should return from Wales. Altogether thirty persons started and rode by easy stages westward, being joined by others, and soon by Father Fisher, another Jesuit, stopping at different houses for the night, these being marked by the Government; on the return they stayed at Huddington, the Warwickshire home of the two Winters, and also rested in the fortified manor of Norbrook Hall, belonging to Catesby's friend, Mr. John Grant. Cecil, now Lord Salisbury, did not attempt to interfere, though Masses were said daily, and the pilgrims became bolder, passing through Shrewsbury openly, and when Holt was reached a procession was formed with the Crucifix carried and it was headed by the priests, while the ladies walked barefoot the twenty miles distance to the shrine. Father Greenway does not appear to have been with them.

CATESBY ENROLS THE LAST FOUR. MICHAELMAS—OCTOBER.

Meanwhile Catesby had been busy in town and country. The plot was seriously embarrassed by shortage of funds, and it had been thought best to hire the ship of Henry Paris of Barking to convey Fawkes to Gravelines, "lest being a known dangerous man his presence should be suspected." This means of course that Fawkes was well known in the Low Countries, and his prolonged absence would be remarked. Paris waited six weeks at Gravelines to bring back Fawkes and his companion, "both disguised," at the end of August. Percy had spent money lavishly, and paid one York, a carpenter, for "repairing his lodging" in Westminster, and "he caused a new door out of his house into the cellar to be made, where before there had been a grate of iron." The plotters had grown more reckless and narrowly escaped discovery when on September 4 one John Shepherd, a servant of Mr. Whynniard, being taken suddenly ill at Hampton Court where his master was employed as Keeper of the Wardrobe, "saw a boat lie close by the pale of Sir Thomas Parry's garden and men going to and fro the water through the back door that leadeth into Mr. Percy's lodging . . . though being sick and late he did not regard it."

What Shepherd saw that night we know must have been Keyes' boat bringing over the powder stored at Lambeth, and Fawkes with the rest carrying it to the cellar by the garden entrance to the right of Parliament Stairs. Fawkes had seen his friend Owen in Brussels and informed him of their conspiracy by leave of the rest, after he had taken the Oath, so that "he might hold good correspondency after with foreign princes." Catesby was not relying only on Baynham's services.

We learn this about Owen from Winter who explains further: "Now by reason that the charge of maintaining us all so long together, besides the number of several houses which for several uses

had been hired, and buying of powder, etc., had lain heavy on Mr. Catesby alone to support, it was necessary for to call in some others to ease his charge, and to that end desired leave that he with Mr. Percy and a third whom they should call might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the business, for many, said he, may be content that I should know who would not therefore that all the Company should know their names. To this we all agreed."

And nothing perhaps shows us the real Robert Catesby's mind more than this subtle proposal, which was, under Providence, the means of his being caught in his own devices.

Winter relates that "about this time (before Michaelmas)" Catesby met Percy at Bath.

Lord Monteaule was also expected to join them, but there is no proof that he did so, though he wrote to Catesby as "the dear Robin, for whose company he languished." During this conference at Bath Percy and Catesby discussed funds, and planned a rising in the Midlands. Doubtless Catesby was watching the Pilgrimage, for he rode to Norbrook Hall, which "moated and strongly walled house" he wanted to use, and was welcomed by MR. JOHN GRANT. Before Catesby left he had sworn in his friend who, being "a turbulent and quarrelsome man," had few scruples to overcome. He had once threatened to cut off the ears of a King's Messenger if he searched for priests in his house.

Grant showed Catesby his stables and promised him his hunters for the Catholic Cause. Norbrook Hall was to be a rallying centre.

Catesby departed before the pilgrims arrived, being anxious to intercept MR. AMBROSE ROOKWOOD, the wealthy Suffolk squire, whom he and Grant expected to ride ahead of the rest. Probably this meeting was contrived by Thomas Winter at Huddington, another halt near Norbrook, where Rookwood passed by. Rookwood scrupled at first, saying he disliked their intention of "taking away so much blood." He was the youngest of the number, only twenty-eight and recently married to a very devout and beautiful lady, but his affection for Catesby, "whom he loved and respected as his own life," made him believe the plausible assurances of the other that Father Garnet knew and had approved of the Plot. Rookwood had a chapel hidden in the roof at Coldham Hall, and there were three of Littlejohn's "Holes" concealed in the building. Having consented, Rookwood undertook to hire Clopton House near Stratford, to be within easier distance than Suffolk.

"HE CALLED IN AFTER SIR EVERATT DIGBY." (WINTER'S
CONFESSION.)

There is a sinister significance in the peculiar deliberation of Robert Catesby's rides to "call in" friend after friend that autumn.

Accompanied by Bates, his old servant whose son was also in the service of his mother, Lady Anne Catesby, he rode on into Bedfordshire and stopped at Turvey Hall, where Lord Mordaunt greeted him hospitably, being the patron of Robert Keyes, as well as Catesby's friend.

Here something may have been said which Catesby resented. Possibly he had thought of "sounding" Mordaunt as to his willingness to join in the Rising for the Cause, which would have kept him away from the fatal Parliament; or he may have asked his help in other ways. His reference to Mordaunt was contemptuous and bitter later on, and Catesby did not remain long at Turvey Hall, but having learned that Digby was now gone to Great Harrowden, the seat of Lord Vaux, he turned south and went straight into Bucks, being particularly desirous to find Sir Everard alone before the ladies returned with Garnet.

Digby expressed great pleasure at seeing Catesby and was full of his own affairs, having just arranged the betrothal of his ward, Lord Vaux, Anne's nephew, a boy of fourteen, with Lord Suffolk's daughter. Catesby could not well break his horrible intentions to Digby at such a time, and he stayed on at Digby's earnest entreaty and was as charming a guest as his friend expected. Earlier in the year Digby had written to Cecil, just granted the earldom of Salisbury, a strong and dignified remonstrance against the Recusancy Laws. (This letter must, I believe, be placed between May and October, although mistakenly given a later date by such as do not know that State prisoners accused of Treason were *never* allowed to seal their letters, nor retain their signet rings.) And Catesby very probably decided to "call in" Digby because of this same letter.

In a few days Lady Digby returned with Lady Vaux, Anne, her sister Mrs. Brooksby, Garnet and "Littlejohn," and Mass was said for the close of the Pilgrimage. Garnet was much disturbed to find Catesby with Digby.

And Father Greenway seems also to have visited Harrowden since Bates testified: "I saw them all together with my master at my Lord Vaux's," and he is speaking of the Jesuits and those who frequented White Webbs. Anne Vaux was distraught and uneasy, and Garnet observed that she watched Catesby furtively and seemed to suspect him. But Catesby did not appear to observe it and he treated his "dear Cousin" very affectionately before them all.

Harrowden was an uncomfortable house, being much dilapidated, and Digby asked them all to stay at Gothurst, which was one of the finest residences in the Home Counties.

THE RIDE TO GOTHURST. EARLY OCTOBER.

Delighted with Catesby's conversation, Sir Everard proposed that they two should ride ahead to Gothurst Manor, which was fifteen miles away. Both were famous riders and the road was unfrequented. The October morning was fine and on horse-back they could talk freely on dangerous topics without risk of being overheard. Catesby considered the time was now ripe to acquaint Digby with their schemes. He knew his host meant to employ "Littlejohn" to construct secret chambers at Gothurst. When they had gone some distance Catesby told Digby that "he had a communication of great importance which could only be made on Oath; all others who knew, gentlemen of name and blood, had been required to

seal the Oath with the Sacrament but he, Digby, was so honourable a man that his simple Corporal Oath would suffice." And having thus flattered his victim, Catesby drew his poniard and offering it to him, he asked Digby if he would swear like the rest. Sir Everard agreed and repeated the Oath of Secrecy. He expected to hear of some attempt for the Cause, and he had become like wax under Catesby's subtle handling or he would not have pledged himself so rashly. He kissed the steel with his hand on the cross-shaped hilt.

According to his manner Catesby told him curtly of their full intent. Digby could hardly believe his ears in the horror of that moment. He hesitated and temporized when Catesby demanded his consent. In silence they neared Gothurst, Digby turning over the details of the scheme in his mind. Once he ventured to ask Catesby what would become of their friends, the Papist lords?

"Assure yourself," replied Catesby quietly; "that such of the nobility as are worth saving shall be preserved and yet know not of the matter. The rest are atheists, fools, and cowards, and lusty (vulgar) bodies would be better for the Commonwealth than they." Digby reflected. He inquired if Catesby had placed the Case before the Father Provincial, or other priests of the Order.

"Yes," answered Catesby. "We have their approval in general and I would not have acted without it myself." Seeing how Digby was vacillating he named those whom the other knew: the two Winters, the Wrights, Percy, John Grant, and Ambrose Rookwood. "These," he said, "had all given consent and help."

But Digby said he must have further time to consider in so extreme a matter. Catesby was anxious that his host should not consult Father Garnet in confession, since the Provincial would of course deny that he approved of the Plot. He replied that when they reached Gothurst he would let Digby read for himself that their religion allowed acts of violence against heretic princes. Catesby regarded Digby's full consent as of vital importance.

Sir Everard was much respected and he was a very rich man in spite of recusancy fines. All the conspirators were now much impoverished, "they having spent great sums . . . especially Catesby . . . he having already taken up as much money in London upon interest as either his own credit or his friends would extend unto." (Howes' *Annals*.) This means that he had borrowed a full reversion on the property of which his mother, Lady Anne Catesby, held the life-interest. Percy had not even been able to pay the rent due at Michaelmas for the two houses at Westminster in Whynniard's Block, and the cellar sub-let by Mrs. Skinner.

Neither did Catesby let any friend go before he had secured him once such had been sworn to the Oath of Secrecy.

Now he showed Digby the Jesuit Treatise which convinced the wavering mind. "I saw the principal point of the case, judged by a Latin book of M.D." (Father Martin del Rio S.J.). "Digby to his Wife."

Listening to Catesby's plausible arguments, after the first shock passed off Digby began to doubt his own scruples. The horrid sugges-

tion lodged in his mind and became attractive, for Digby, though he was in his private life kindly, chivalrous and moral, inclined to bigotry, and he was the type of religious sentimentalist who can become amazingly cruel and cold-blooded. Afterwards he excused his conduct thus: "If I had thought there had been the least sin in the Plot, I would not have been in it for all the world: and no other cause drew me to hazard my Fortune, and Life, but Zeal to God's Religion. For my keeping it secret, it was caused by certain belief, that those which were best able to judge of the lawfulness of it (Garnet, etc.) had been acquainted with it, and given way unto it."

And he adds: "his friendship and love to Mr. Catesby prevailed."

ANNE VAUX TELLS GARNET HER SUSPICIONS OF CATESBY.

But Anne Vaux was much alarmed and Garnet admitted: "Mrs. Vaux came to him either to Harrowden or at Gothurst . . . she feared some trouble or disorder was towards, that some of the gentlewomen had demanded of her where they should bestow themselves until the *burst* (uproar) was past in the beginning of Parliament." He adds that "she durst not say who told her so; she was (choked) with sorrow." But we know from Anne herself how she told Garnet "she feared that the horses at Winter's (Huddington) and Grant's (Norbrook) were for mischief, and begged him to prevent it."

Garnet spoke to Catesby, "who said the horses were for the Low Countries."

Another desperate plan of Garnet's was to persuade Catesby to take the Spanish service. And Catesby dissembled, assuring Anne he meant to go there, when certain obstacles, such as obtaining leave from the Government, for himself and his troop, could be overcome.

But Garnet noticed how Digby also increased his stud with swift powerful horses, and he was alarmed by observing Nicholas Owen's work which included the device of a revolving floor into secret rooms and passages. It seems certain that Garnet and Anne Vaux were anxious to leave Gothurst while Catesby remained there. And as Digby arranged to rent Throgmorton House, Coughton, next month Garnet promised to go thither and celebrate All Hallows-tide.

FAWKES COMES TO GOTHURST. OCTOBER.

Determined to compromise Digby with the Westminster scheme as well as the "Burst" in the Midlands, Catesby secretly sent for Fawkes. And I have personally no doubt that Father Garnet took care to be gone before Mr. Guy Fawkes arrived.

He came of course to take charge of money, since on his return he paid the rent due to Mr. Ferrers, acting as Percy's trusted servant John Johnston. And Digby was willing to talk with Fawkes, for that wet stormy night when Fawkes rode to his door, mud-splashed and soaked, the wind howling, and dank leaves blown against the shutters, while seated with his host and Catesby in Digby's own closet

Fawkes muttered : " he feared the powder would get damp and not explode, and more must be procured on his return."

Did Digby think when he heard that of the grief and distress his treason must bring upon his unsuspecting wife, and his two boys, the elder of whom was but two years old, and the other a baby in arms? Hardly, for he drank with Fawkes and Catesby to the success of their enterprise! Henceforth Sir Everard Digby carefully avoided seeing " his brother " Father John Gerard.

" AND LAST OF ALL MR. FRANCIS TRESSAM." (WINTER'S
CONFESSION.)

More money was still needed. They must hire a ship to take Fawkes over as soon as he had fired the train, and ridden to Greenwich. He himself set a high price on his dangerous services, for he had been hired for his own job, and was not to take part in the Rising. The richest man whom they knew was Mr. Francis Tresham of Rushton, Northants, whose father, that staunch old recusant, Sir Thomas Tresham, had just died, leaving Francis a rent-roll of more than three thousand a year. Tresham was " a wild unstayed man," discontented and continually engaged in seditious schemes, who had helped Christopher Wright's mission to Spain, and had discussed armed revolt before Monteagle, his brother-in-law, when they saw Garnet with Catesby at Fremland last July. Only Tresham, as the owner of Rushton Hall, and other fine houses, had more to lose, and being more settled in his married life he might be harder to persuade.

On October 14 Catesby met Francis Tresham, and it is almost certain the interview was either at Rushton Hall or Ashby St. Ledgers, for about the middle of the month Catesby was holding secret meetings at the Bell Inn, Daventry, near both houses, as was testified later by Matthew Young, the host, one Rogers being sent to Lapworth to fetch Mr. John Wright, " to meet certain parties," and Mr. Fawkes being present, while the younger Bates watched that no unfit person should spy on such conferences. They also met at Clopton House by Rookwood's invitation, and Shakespeare must have seen " the richly-clad gallants " who rode past his Welcome lands, for his fields were only divided from Clopton by hedges. He would recognize Sir Everard Digby, who often dined at the Mermaid in Cheapside. But it is doubtful if Tresham came there.

The case of Tresham presents more perplexities than any other whom Catesby enrolled. He agreed with little hesitation and promised an instalment of two thousand pounds by November 1, and he offered to furnish the ship for the escape of Fawkes. He showed some natural concern for his brothers-in-law, Lords Stourton and Monteagle, but he accepted Catesby's assurances that they would be kept away.

Then Tresham seems to have given Catesby to understand his support would be only financial, and he withdrew from their company.

The Plot Funds amounted to about £30,000 in coin and promises, which was an enormous sum for those times: Digby would give £1,500, besides supplying men, horses and armour; Rookwood as much or more; Thomas Percy hoped to squeeze another £4,000 from the Earl's rentals, Northumberland being naturally quite unaware of the forced levy,—while all the sworn conspirators threw what they had into hotch-potch, and other wealthy friends contributed who knew only of the proposed Rising.

TRESHAM VISITS CATESBY AT WHITE WEBBS. OCTOBER 18.

Though Garnet's movements are obscure, both he and Anne Vaux were at White Webbs for a few days in October. He said to his confidant, Father Oldcorne: "I think it not convenient to deny we were at White Webbs. . . . Since I came out of Essex I was there two times." One visit has been fixed, viz., July 24, and by the later testimony of the servants it seems evident that Garnet had been there very recently. Now the sworn plotters were assembling in and round town, except Percy, who was busy collecting rentals, and Digby, who was selling cattle and sheep at Gothurst. On October 18, Tresham, who was Anne's favourite cousin, came to White Webbs, and saw Catesby, Fawkes and Winter. He said plainly that "he was in a state of terrible anxiety," and he begged to warn his noble relatives, Lords Stourton and Monteagle. Alarmed though Catesby was, he remained cool and discussed the question freely. They all wished to save the young Lord Vaux and the boy Earl of Arundel, and Catesby even propounded a plan "to send someone to wound him (Arundel) slightly," and keep him abed. Percy had spoken for Northumberland and Keyes for Lord Mordaunt. The latter name caused Catesby to swear that "he would not for a chamberful of diamonds acquaint him with their secret, for he knew he could not keep it." He added, "the innocent must perish with the guilty, sooner than ruin their chances of success."

However, Tresham persisted. He declared if these could not be saved when Parliament met, the explosion should be put off until a more favourable time, and that all but Fawkes had better retire to Flanders, in the ship which lay at anchor in the Thames mouth. Then Catesby changed his Roman manner and he promised some means should be found to warn such of their friends whom he thought likely to be there, and said he had pledged his word to Digby. Tresham went away apparently satisfied. Catesby dared not detain him, lest Monteagle might know of this visit. He told Winter to watch Tresham's movements and see if he went down to Rushton for the money, which he now declared he could not raise by November 1.

CATESBY WARNS LORD MONTAGUE. OCTOBER 22 (?).

"Mr. Catesby could not find it in his heart to go to see the Lady Derby or the Lady Strange at their houses, though he loved them above all others. It pitted him to think they must all die." (Garnet.)

Whether on impulse or intention Catesby himself warned Lord Montague, who on November 12th wrote the following explanation to the Earl of Dorset, his father-in-law : " Upon the Tuesday before All Saints' Day (October 29) in the Savoy I met Mr. Robert Catesby, with whom I had some few words of compliment, and among the rest in these words or the like : ' The Parliament I think bringeth your lordship up now ? ' Whereunto I answered to this effect and in these words as much as I can remember : ' No, surely ; but it will on Monday next, unless my Lord Treasurer (Dorset) do obtain me his Majesty's licence to be absent which I am in some hope of.' Then he said to this effect : ' I think your lordship takes no great pleasure there ? ' Whereunto I assented. And so after a word or two ' of my walks ' (as I remember) and ' of maintaining them ' which to my knowledge he nought has, I parted from him." In another letter Montague says carefully, " having met him by chance in the way," and put the date as the 14th, Tuesday, which is impossible since Catesby was then in Northants, and the 14th was a Monday. Certainly he was at White Webbs on the 29th, and he had no such friendly concern then !

It is evident, as Fawkes admitted, that " some general warning was given as from friend to friend." Probably Keyes told his wife to warn Mordaunt, since she lived in his house and had care of his children. Stourton, Vaux, Arundel and Northumberland were not likely to be present. On the 25th Thomas Winter saw Tresham unawares in his Clerkenwell lodging and demanded £100, which Tresham gave him being in a hurry to go down to Rushton. He promised to meet Winter at Barnet on the 29th and give him more money for the Plot.

Finally on October 26 Lord Monteagle, while supping at Hoxton, received the anonymous letter, bidding him " to devise some excuse to shift of your attendance at this parliament."

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