said we should not stay for or viaticum, he had commandid Hieronimo to deliuer vs  $50~\Delta$  a man. di auro in auro, for Mr Charnockes matter he would not grant it, but consider therof. & granted we should have as many notaries as we pleased. The Embas, had put vp the friday before a supplication for me to have a planet a chalice & crucifix, wt indulgences, his Ho: granted them, but all this weeke they could not be gotten.

The 18. the Embas: renewed the same memorial, but then his Ho: answered his guarda robe had none but riche ones. yett he obteyned that the same indulgences might be applied to any that should be given vs, or that we should bye. Also that yf or holy things were taken from vs, or lost, we might apply the same indulgences to others.

The same day we were wt Card. Aldobran.

The 19 all but I were wt St George.

Endorsed. . . . Mushe his Diary of theire busynes at Rome.

54, f. 207.

## 2. A Second Narrative.

1601-2.

After manie sclanders, detractions, threates, disgraces, letters, declamacions & treatises against the priests Apellants devulged & printed by the Jesuits & theire adherents both wthin & wthout the Realme, charginge them wth Schisme, rebellion, disobedience, affirminge also that they durst neuer ascend up to Rome to presente their Appeale before his ho: or the sacred inquisicion (to whome they pretended to appeale) and that their Appeale was no more but a delaye, evasion, and dilatorie playe to blind mens eyes to winne time and to avoyde the authoritie of their superior: yea that the very appeale ytself was but an infamous libell (although thirtie worthye priests haue subscribed to yt) by wth vnchristian, yea Jewish & Turkish means the Jesuits (men I trowe impeccable)

• Planeta, i.e. chasuble.

had opened the mouthes of men & women boyes & girles (there misled flock) to rayle, detract, despise & sclander theire owne pastors: And that in more vile manner then they unnurtured children of Bethel did the prophet Elizeus. At length (God so disposinge) all these came to the knowledge of her matie, & her hoble counsell, howe dangerous yt was: and wth what indignitie the priests were vsed for theire truth & fidelitie. And beinge fully informed of these wronges disgraces & oppressions wherwth the Jesuits by theire instrument the Archpreist had involved the secular preists. All weh appeared most plainely in theire bookes dedicated as well to the Popes ho: & the Inquisicion as otherwise. upon the humble peticions of these preists, the hoble counsell respectinge theire troubles & miserie graunted that foure or fyve of the imprisoned secular preists shold be sett at libertie for six weekes to make provision of money & other necessaries for theire iourney and then to have licence by waie of banishment to departe the Realme to followe theire appeale to Rome there to seeke instice & reformation at his hands who through the false and wronge informacion of Parsons and his complices had given a cullor to 54, f. 207b theirre wronges although by him neuer intended. And havinge received from the honorable counsell their pasportes for themselues theire horses, seruantes and Trunks, not without greate difficulties about the fourthe of November 1601 departed to Douer Water where they now stayed vntill they had gott newe pasports more larger then the first.\* And beinge arrived at Callice whin the same moneth remembringe that the Archpreist presumed much of the fauor & furtherance of the Nunce Apostolick in the lower cuntrey (a parsonage of highe wisdome, learninge, experience & integritie) before enie further attempt resolued to repaire to his

\* According to W. C. in his Replie to Parsons' Manifestation: "They had but one onely passport, and that of Banishment, that is the full truth therein. Some of the company beeing stayed at Dover, contrary to their expectation, they were enforced to send back to London; and thereupon procured a note to the searchers and officers there, that they should passe freely, without search, with such things as they had to carry with them." f. 78.

presence there to yeeld an accounte of their actions that so all obstacles or hindrances behind their backs might be taken awaye, ffor they vnderstood that the Jesuits by theire letters had marvelously sclandered some of them to the same Nuncio, affirminge that not onely they were fallen from the faithe but were become persecutors of Catholicks. And having sent a learned preiste a vnto him for a safe conduct went thither & orderly related whatsoever was amisse in the church of England what sclanders, oppressions & vnnaturall wronges they had sustayned: not refusinge to make him priuve and, as yt were, Judge & Arbitrer of their controuersie. Wherevpon beinge fully instructed he wrote his letters to the Archpreist requiringe him either to appeare before him or send sufficient procurators in his place. And also to proceede no further against the preists lite pendente lest he shold give occasion vnto them of newe Appeales. Another letter he wrote to the secular preists willinge them whout all feare to showe him their greeuaunces & wronges promisinge [to] doe them all iustice, requiringe them in the meane space to be sober & humble, as yt became preists, not offendinge the civill maiestrates as much as in them lave. The letter to the Archpriest beginneth thus Adm Rd3 D<sup>ne</sup> Amice observantissime The letter to the priests beginneth thus Rdi Dni D Amici honoratissimi Whilst they thus remained at [blank] the Nunce of Paris sent a copie of the Popes Breue concerninge these controversies to this Nunce of fflanders. fa: Parsons hearinge and also feelinge by theire bookes that they had appealed (as himself confessed) labored what he cold above to stop the Appeale and hinder theire cominge up. And first he wrote downe a forme of a Breve so clownish, so vnciuill and so tyrannicall as never was seene, wherein the catholicks of England were comaunded to shutt out of theire houses, shun, and avoyde the preists Apellants as Scissmatickes, Ethnicks and Publicans, men unworthye anie entertainement, wherevppon Breuiator Vestris shewinge this forme vnto his ho: he vtterly condemned yt as rustick

<sup>a</sup> Francis Barnaby. See Replie unto a certain Libell, by W. C., fol. 78.

**54**, f. 208.

and vnciuill, and betweene him & Vestris (to vse Parsons owne phrase) iumbled up this Breue. When the preists had reade this Breue weh they never had heard of before, although the Archpriest knewe of yt & supprest yt of purpose because they at that time had certaine bookes to be printed against the priests as theire Apologie & such like, cleane contrary to the tenor of the Breue, such estimacion the Jesuits haue of the Popes Breve when vt pleaseth them. this Copi[e] being considered & pervsed the preists aunswereth the Nuncio that yt did not satisfye but rather was a cause of a greater breach, because therein there was no mencion made of the Jesuits, the chiefest sturrers of these garboyles. Manie other reasons more they yeelded as the Nunce in his letter to the Archpriest showeth in these words: ij, visa quæ penes nos erat prædicti Breuis copia, seu transumpto authentico, mox indicauerunt illum neque præteritis controuersijs satisfactum neque futuris prospectum ac proinde insufficientem eiuscemodi dissensionibus, saltem cum pleno fructu, et expectato a sua Ste fine, terminandis. Vnde et suam sanctitatem prolixe et fideliter informandam censebant.

Thus taking theire leave from the nuncio & havinge theire pasports beginninge in these words, Octavius Dei et Aplice sedis gratia, etc. they sett forth towards Paris, and consideringe what stronge parties they had against them at Rome, 54, f. 208b. and beinge taught by the perrills & troubles of the two preistes Mr Bushop and Mr Charnock, . . . . a admonishmts given vnto them in the Lowe Cuntrey th[at] the protection of a mightie prince was most necessary [for] them, else they shold find in Rome iniustitiam causæ [et] iniustitiam parsonæ. for the first that there

ተ

\* At this point occurs a marginal note, added subsequently, it seems, by the same hand: "Here the Spanish Ambassador of the lowe cuntrey did expostulate wth the nuncio for havinge conference wth the same preists, being but the spies of the Queene of England."

MS. torn.

<sup>†</sup> Here there is another marginal note (same hand): "Here maye come in the Second Appeale of the preists of England."

shold be no man apointed to heare theire cause, and thereby shold lose theire matter, and for the second might be clapt in prison by the potency of theire aduersaryes. Therefore cominge into Parris they labored by theire frends (the question belonginge to all the secular preists in the world) to have the protection of the most Christian Kinge, wch wh greate suite obteyned, and his pasporte not only for ffraunce but for other Kingdomes & Common wealthes they went wth courage towards the cittie and there arrived after fvve weekes travell the first Thursdaie before Lent where the rumor was rife that Ireland was conquered by the Spanyards, and the English, Irish, and Spanishe labored for the Bushopricks of that cuntrey. These newes somewhat terrified them so that forthwth they sent theire Portmantua wth theire bookes letters & instructions to the monasterie of St Paule two miles out of the cittie there to be in safetye that yf theire parsons were apprehended (as theire fellowes were before) theire writinges might be preserued. then wth all speed they sent to the Embassador of ffraunce to demand whether he had authoritie from the Kinge to protect them as Subjects of ffraunce, who aunswered cheerefully & most honorably that he had commandment from his Kinge to receive them & to protect them, but yet wth all he willed them to keepe themselues secrett for sixe dayes vntill he might goe to the Pope himself to signifye both theire comminge & theire qualities, weh thinge they did observe. The next day of audience his excellencye made the Pope priuve that foure preists of England were come up vnder the protection of the most Christian Kinge to prosecute theire Appeale and to informe his ho: of matters of greate importance belonginge to the Church of England, requiringe that they might have benigne & honorable audience, weh thinge the pope willingly granted.

54, f. 209.

But first he shewed the Embassador that he had heard marvellous hard reports of the said foure priests, that they were greate & familiar wh the Queene of England and her counsell, and that they had procured from the Queene to come up to trouble the State of the Church. The Embassador aunswered

that his kinge wold not have protected anie such parsons and that his ho: shold find them to be sincere & plaine meaning men wthout guile or fraude. Well then, saith the Pope, they shall have audience on Munday next for vpon fryday had the Embassador these speaches wth the Pope. when Munday came the foure preists beinge directed by my Lo. Embassador & havinge some of his gentlemen to conduct them they repayred to the Courte but, findinge his ho: then to give publick audience, one of his Chamberlaines aduised the priests to departe to their lodgings, for that yt was not likely that his ho: wold give that day anie priuate audience weh they requ[ired]. herevppon they departed to theire lodgings but forthwth the Pope arisinge from his publick audience retyred to his chamber where he was wont to give private audience & demanded of his Chamberlaines whether the foure English preists were not in the Pallace, & caused them to be sought for, but beinge informed that they had bin there & were departed to theire lodgings because they were informed that his ho: was not like to give private audience that day, as beinge the day of publick audience, herevppon he sent one of his Chamberlaines to theire lodgings to warne them to come to his presence the next day at nyneteene a clock.

These newes were ioyfull vnto them and against the houre apointed they made themselves ready and came to his presence beinge conducted by the Chamberlaines, and after they had saluted h[is ho:] one of them made a briefe oracion, first signifyinge the cause of theire comminge, the troubles, scandalls, & vaxacions the Church of England and the secular preists were 54, f. 209b. brought unto by the sinister dealinges of the Jesuits, so that in spiritu lenitatis et mansuetudinis he wo[uld] prouide a remedy that preists might live like pr[eists] as heretofore they have done, and wth all offered to his ho: the two lattine bockes wherein was contayned all theire grieuances weh they desired to be redressed, otherwise that the Church of England was like to perrishe. This oracion his ho: aunswered breifly, first that VOL. II.

he had hard maruelous ill reports of them that the Queene of England and her Counsell had suborned them to come vp and that they had pencions of the Queene, and wthall demanded earnestly whether anie of them had letters from the Queene to demand these thinges at his hands. To whome aunswere was made that neither the Queene or her Counsell had anie parte in these negotiacions, but only this: that perceiuinge the troubles, vexacions, & wronges that the preists sustayned, & knowinge not how to remedy the same in her self because they were thinges belonginge to the Sea Apostolike, havinge an humble peticion made vnto her, her licence for some of the imprisoned preists to be sett at libertie to goe to Rome to prosecute this Appeale wthout wch licence yt was impossible for them beinge prisoners to performe this iorney, to the weh peticion after longe & mature deliberacion she granted that foure of them shold have libertie to provide for themselves & so vndertake the iorney. As for money or stipend they had none, but only such as the Catholicks doe give them to defray theire charges. wch was shorte enough, and they counted yt very greate clemency that her matie graunted them so much. As for the other pointes weh his ho: did insinuate concerninge matters of faithe as though therin they had bin defective, they aunswered resolutely that yf they had bin such they had no need to come wth so greate trauell & so greate perill to the Sea Apostolike to seeke for iustice, for that the Queene of England had Bushopricks and better benifices enough wherewth to inrich them yf they had bin of her religion, and wthall desyred of his ho: that theire accusers might be compelled eyther before his ho: or judges by him deputed to propose these theire accusacions in theire owne parsons and not per interpositas personas, as the manner of ffa: Parsons was, and that they were ready to cleare themselues. Well then, sayes the Pope, wth a cheerefull countenance, I am glad to heare you saye so, you shall haue justice, Card. Burgesius and Card, Aragonio doe we appointe to

54, f. 210.

heare both them and you and to make relacion thereof vnto vs, and see that you goe vnto no other Cardinalls wth anie complaintes but to them, and so wth good & gracious words he dismissed vs, beinge himself at that present maruelously vexed wth the goute so that his seruants were faine to cary him out heremayethe of his chayre to his bed where he remayned foureteene dayes. commontre be inserted. In this audience he remayned an houre and a half notwthstandinge his paine. the preists departed and repayred to the two Cards designed to heare the matter, and opened vnto them his ho: pleasure & desyred that they wold call for ffa: Parsons to sett down his accusacions against them wherevnto they were ready to aunswere. But ffa: Parsons began to make delayes to seeke shifts [to] prolonge time, but nothinge more troubled him & his complices then to heare that the preists had so speedie & so benign audience, for therein he employed all his cunninge & the diligence of his freinds to hinder the preists from anie accesse to his ho: This hapned the first weeke in cleane Lent.<sup>a</sup> ffa: Parsons made all the delayes that he cold notwthstandinge he was comanded by his ho: and by the two Cards to bringe in what he had against the preists crauinge still more time ad libellandum and thus he drave of, notwthstandinge he was three times admonished & comanded, vntill yt was Palme Sunday, hopinge thereby to drive the preists out of money and so to fall from theire suite. Lastly in the hollie weeke he brought in his accusacion to the wch the preeists aunswered the next day, and so cleered themselues.

And in the meane space they delivered vnto the [Cardinals] 54, f. 210b. theire reasons weh moved them to defer the admitting . . . of the Archpreist vntill the comminge of the Breve Ap[ostolike], and consequently proved that thereby they had not incurred anie blemishe touchinge their obedience to the Sea Ap[ostolike] much lesse the crime of scisme rebellion & disobedience, wch reasons beinge considered by the Cards and related vnto his ho: forthwth he pronounced

" 'Hebdomada casta, ineuntis Quadragesimæ hebd. dicebatur.' Ducange.

D 2

Here the sentence may be set down. sentence & willed the same to be declared vnto the preists Apellants by the Cardinalls, weh sentence was that the preists of England were neither scismaticks nor disobedient nor rebellious against the Sea Apostolike in that they refused to receive Mr Blackwell for theire superior vpon the Card. Caietans letters, and that they had not lost theire faculties but that the confessions made vnto them all that while were vallid & good, and wthall his ho: commaunded the preists to write downe that sentence and send vt in theire common letter vnto England to informe the preists and Catholicks there of the truth, and that he wold have this sentence to be the explication of his last Bull sent the yeare before. ffa: Parsons & his complices stormed much against this sentence because thereby appeared the falshood of ffa: Listers booke, ffa: Jones his Oracle, and ffa: Garnets and Mr Blackwells their approbacion of the same, and by this men maye see that all is not the gospell that proceedeth from the Jesuits.

Next vnto this the preists did sett downe theire reasons

against Mr Blackwell the Archpreist his insufficiency weh consisted in 8 points All weh they proued out of his owne writinges & decrees. Seaven were admitted by the Cards as sufficiently proued although his procurators there and the Jesuits went about to proue that the letters there exhibited out of the weh they drewe theire proposicions were not his letters or decrees, wherevppon Card. Burghesius asked them whether they knew his hand. Some of them aunswered yea, and some of them aunswered doubtfully. Well, saith the Card., I will put you out of doubt that this [is] his hand, and so sett a letter of Mr Blackwells owne hand conferringe the hands together, they cold not denve but that was his writinge. herevppon followed another consult betweene the Card. and his ho; whether Mr Blackwell was to be deposed as the preists required, having sett downe 8 causes whereof the last was matter sufficient to displace him. ffirst yt was sett downe against him that he had done vniustly in charginge the preists wth scisme & rebellion where none was, and so in goinge

54, f. 211.

about to tak awaye theire faculties. secondly that he had exceeded his authoritie in takinge vpon him to censure the lave Catholicks by interdiction, havinge no authoritie over them. also for makinge newe decrees & extendinge his authoritie ouer the old preists, whereas his comission was only ouer alumnos seminariorum, but that he was to be pardoned in these his accesses because of his ignorance in the cannon lawe, and because he followed therein the counsels of others, to witt the Jesuits.

Yet notwthstandinge the Popes pleasure was that he shold remayne and continewe his iurisdicion ouer the preists. this sentence beinge delivered to both parties yt pleased neyther, the preists affirminge that yt was not expedient that he shold haue iurisdiction ouer them wth whome they had so greate controuersies before, for that he wold euer seeke occasion to be reuenged. The Jesuits on the other side exclayminge that the Archpreist was made a dishcloute, his defects & imperfections beinge made manifest to the world. they were contented that his ho: shold knowe his imperfections, indiscretion, and vniustice, but that he shold not sett yt downe to the vewe of the world. for that was but to make him ridiculous vnto them ouer whome he was to have iurisdiction, wherevppon the matter proceeded further for certaine monethes, and in very deed the faction of the Jesuits so prevailed that in the Bull these defects of his were rather insinuated then sett plainely downe, and here yt was a world to see how the busic head of ffa: Parsons bestirred him in spreadinge false rumors concerninge the Queene of England persecutinge preists & Catholicks contrary to the declaracion of the foure preists, as yt appeareth in his letters to his complices in England concerninge certaine honorable speaches weh she vttered of the Pope, weh also he caused to be deliuered vnto the nouellantes 54, f. 211b. of Rome to be spreaded amongst them . . . trick very usuall wth him, for take awaye from him lying [and] libelling you spoyle him of his greatest dowrye, to speak nothinge howe of his diuerse libells & accusacions weh he deliuered vnto diuerse Cardinalls

against the preists weh [came] not to light for that the Cards neuer beleeved yt, nor of the diverse meanes he made to diverse Cards to perswade the pr[eists] to come to the Colledge to feaste wth him, hopinge that yf he cold have obteyned so much as to have them to bankett wth him he might find some occasion to intangle them in words or manners.

But the maine drifte & scope of his perfidious braine was yet vnseene, wch is this: he labored wth the Cards, and specially with the Spanish Ambassador that they shold move the Pope that yt was not honoble, nor Christianlike that the preists shold be suffered to departe from Rome in anie displeasure or dislike wth Parsons or the Jesuits, and therefore that his ho; shold doe maruelous well yf he wold command the preists to come to his presence, and ffa: Parsons wth the Jesuits on the other side, and there commaund the preists to imbrace ffa. Parsons & reconcile themselves vnto him and to the rest of the Jesuits, & so make a full peace whereof his ho: himself shold be witnes. This drifte tooke such effect that the preists were sent for to the Popes presence, and the cause secretly by the Lo: Embassador insinuated vnto them, who required them to consult amonge themselues & to tell him what aunswere they wold make, for that the matter was of greate importance, for on the one side yf they refused vpon the Popes commaundmt to imbrace ffa: Parsons they shold fall into his hand & so incurre his displeasure, yf they obeyed the Popes will and reconciled themselves to ffa: Parsons then did they incurre the displeasure of the most Christian Kinge of ffrance in whose proteccion they were, and of the Queene of England whose subjects they were, for that they had charged Parsons there to be deuiser & plotter of all the treasons, warres, invasions, garboyles, & troubles that had hapned these last twenty yeares, as yt appeared in his bookes how he had made sale of the Kingdome of England & of the Kingdome of ffrance vnto the infanta and therefore that they cold not make peace wth him but thereby they shold incurre the

displeasures of these twoe greate princes whose fauoure they did 54, f. 212.

not meane to loose. wth this constant resolution they went to the Pallace Monte Cauallo against the houre prefixed, having for their ease my Lo: Embassadors coach and some of his gentlemen to conduct them. not longe after cometh Parsons wth his Cohorte and entringe into the Chamber where they were saluted them after the best manner, but they neuer moved bonnet to him nor made anie accounte of his salutacions, weh greeued him not a litle perceiuinge by theire behauioure that he was like to have but light entertainement at theire hands, and that his principall designemt fayled him, for yf they had obeyed the Pope & imbraced Parsons makinge peace wth him, then wold he have written straight waies to England & to ffraunce that the foure negotiators had reconciled themselves to him & most humbly on theire knees before the Popes presence asked him forgiueness, for so Baldwin the Jesuit vsed doctor Gifford in the Lowe Cuntrey, and so he wold have involved them in his owne treasons, but God so disposinge the Pope fell to examine other matters weh occupied him vntill 8 of the clock at night, and so departed to theire lodgings. The next day the Lo. Embassador himself went to the Pope beinge the day of his audience & amonge other thinges demaunded what his pleasure was concerninge the foure preists that were there the night before, for that they were fully resolved neuer to have peace wth Parsons so longe as he had warres wth the twoe kingdomes. The pope aunswered that his meaninge was [not] to commaund them to have peace wth him but only to exhort them, leauinge yt to theire owne election, and thus Parsons fell from his principall weapon, wherein he trusted, and here yt maye be noted wth what gibes, & merry taunts he maketh mencion of the Queene of England for that two or three were put to death duringe the abode of the preists at Rome, not rememberinge in the meane space that he and Archer his fellowe Jesuit a [were authors of all these garboyles] a whom he made nunce Apostolike in Ireland b to prosecute the warres there against the Queene and so

<sup>·</sup> Inserted above the line.

b James Archer of Kilkenny was a very bellicose Jesuit indeed. He took an

by that meanes alienated her Ma<sup>ties</sup> mind from hauinge anie peace, especially findinge so manie wth John De Agula, and other Spaniards what helpes from other princes were promised by the perswasion of the Jesuits, but he, good man, thinks that he so shadoweth himself under his square capp that no man spyeth his stratagems against kinges and kingdomes and his abusinge the popes . . . vnto Tyrone and the rest of his Company in Ireland w[ch] letters being deliuered by John D' Agula vnto the Lo. deputy of [I]reland caused her Ma<sup>tie</sup> to looke more narrow[lie] about her, so that of all that followed against Catholicks [we] may thank ffa: Parsons and his fellowes for giuinge the occasion to alter her ma<sup>ties</sup> inclinacion.<sup>a</sup>

## 3. A Third Narrative or Fragment.

54, f. 153.

54, f. 212b.

When they came to Calice, b it was thought good that some of them shold deale wth the Nuntio. But they first sent for a safe

active part in support of Tyrone's rebellion, and negotiated the sending of supplies from Spain. A description of the man and of his military exploits, with some of his letters, will be found in the Cal. of State Papers (Ireland, 1598-9; Carew Papers, 1601-3), and Pacata Hibernia (ed. O'Grady), ii. pp. 119, 186, 213, &c. He narrowly escaped capture in the skirmish of Sandy Bay, where his servant, afterwards hanged, was caught with the Jesuit's sword and breviary. He sailed from Ireland to Spain, July, 1601. Though he was commonly termed "the pope's legate," it does not appear that he had any direct diplomatic commission from Rome. The papal nuncio was Mansoni, an Italian, who reported that Archer's presence was a greater comfort to the Irish than a large force of troops. He was withal a zealous and successful missionary, and was afterwards the first rector of the Irish college at Salamanca, which he helped to found. In connection, or in contrast, with the views of the Appellants on this subject the judgment of the Jesuit theologians of the Salamanca University (printed in Pacata Hibernia, ii. pp. 142-6) is important. viz. that not only was the insurrection in Ireland lawful, but that it would be a mortal sin for any Catholic there to take sides with the Queen. The judgment was dated and signed on March 7, 1602.

\* There were four priests executed in England during the stay of the Appellants at Rome, besides two laymen, one of whom was hanged for assisting or harbouring a priest, and the other for selling Catholic books. But these executions, which were in no way exceptional, can hardly be attributed to the cause suggested in the text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> November 1601. The handwriting here closely resembles that of Dr. Gifford.