said we should not stay for our vitiacum, he had commandid Hieronimo to deliuer vs 50 "a man. di auro in auro. for Mr Charnockes matter he would not grant it, but consider thereof. & granted we should haue as many notaries as we pleased. The Embas. had put vp the friday before a supplication for me to haue a planet, a chalice & crucifix. w\* 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 ye holy things were taken from vs, or lost, we might apply the same indulgences to others.

The same day we were with Card. Aldobran.

The 19 all but I were with St George.

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


After manie sclanders, detractions, threates, disgraces, letters, declamacions & treatises against the priests Apellants devulged & printed by the Jesuits & theire adherents both within & without the Realme, charginge them w\'h 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 whom 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 w\'h vnchristian, yea Jewish & Turkish means the Jesuits (men I trowe impeccable)

* Planeta, i.e. chasuble.
A SECOND NARRATIVE.

had opened the mouthes of men & women boyes & girles (there misled flock) to rayle, detract, despise & scander their 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 ma\textsuperscript{t}ie, & her ho\textsuperscript{ble} counsell, howe dangerous yt was: and w\textsuperscript{h} what indignitie the priests were vsed for their truth & fidelitie. And beinge fully informed of these wronges disgraces & oppressions wherw\textsuperscript{h} the Jesuits by their instrument the Archpreist had involved the secular preists. All w\textsuperscript{h} appeared most plainly in theire bookes dedicated as well to the Popes ho: & the Inquisicion as otherwise. upon the humble peticions of these preists, the ho\textsuperscript{ble} counsell respectinge their troubles & miserie graunted that four or fyve of the imprisoned secular preists shold be sett at libertie for six wekke to make provision of money & other necessaries for their journey and then to have licence by waie of banishment to departe the Realme to followe their appeale to Rome there to seeke justic & reformation at his hands who through the false and wronge informacion of Parsons and his complices had gitten a cullor to their wronges although by him neuer intended. And hauinge received from the honorable counsell their pasportes for themselves their horses, servantes and Trunks, not without greate difficultie about the fourthe of Nouember 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 within the same moneth remembringe that the Archpreist presumed much of the favor & furtherance of the Nunce Apostolick in the lowe 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-only passport, and that of Banishment, that is the full truth therein. Some of the company being 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, for 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 hauinge 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 priuye 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 procede no further against the preists lite pendente lest he shold giue occasion vnto them of newe Appeales. Another letter he wrote to the secular preists willinge them w'hout 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 laye. The letter to the Archpriest beginneth thus Adm Eda Du0 Amice obseruantissime The letter to the priests beginneth thus Rdi D ni D Amici honoratissimi Whilst they thus remained at the Nunce of Paris sent a copie of the Popes Breue concerninge these controversies to this Nunce of flanders. ffor fa: Parsons hearinge and also feelinge by theire booke that they had appealed (as himself confessed) labored what he cold above to stop the Appeale and hinder their 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 their houses, shun, and avoyde the preists Apellants as Scismatickes, Ethnicks and Publicans, men unworthye anie entertainement, wherevpon Breuiator Vestris shewinge this forme vnto his ho: he vtterly condemned yt as rustick

* Francis Barnaby. See Replie unto a certain Libell, by W. C., fol. 78.
A SECOND NARRATIVE.

and vnciuill, and betweene him & Vestris (to use Parsons owne phrase) iumbled up this Breue. When the preists had reade this Breue w’th 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 yt pleaseth them. this Cope being considered & persved 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 controversijs satisfactum neque futuris prospectum ac proinde insenscemodii disensionibus, saltem cum pleno fructu, et expectato a sua Sæc fine, terminandis. Vnde et suam sanctitatem prolixæ et fideliter informandam censebant.

Thus taking theire leaue from the nuncio & hauinge theire pasports begininge in these words, Octauius Dei et Apliance sedis gratia, etc. they sett forth towards Paris, and consideringe what stronge parties they had against them at Rome, and beinge taught by the perrills & troubles of the two preistes Mr Bushop and Mr Charnock, . . . . a admonishm’8 giuen vnto them in the Lowe Cuntrey that the protection of a mightie prince was most necessary [for] them, else they shold find in Rome iniustitiarn causæ [et] iniustitiam parsonæ. for the first that there

* 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 w’th the nuncio for hauinge conference w’th the same preists, being but the spies of the Queene of England.”

* MS. torn.

† 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 haue the protection of the most Christian Kinge, w'h greate suite obteyned, and his pasporte not only for Fraunce but for other Kingdomes & Common wealthes they went w'h courage towards the cittie and there arrived after fyve 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 terrifed them so that forth-w'h they sent theire Portmantua w'h 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 w'h all speed they sent to the Embassador of Fraunce to demand whether he had authoritle from the Kinge to protect them as Subiects of Fraunce, who aunswered cheerefully & most honorably that he had commandment from his Kinge to receive them & to protect them, but yet w'h all he willed them to keepe themselves secrett for sixe dayes vntill he might goe to the Pope himself to signifie both theire comminge & theire qualities, w'h thinge they did obserue. The next day of audience his excellencye made the Pope priuye 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 haue benigne & honorable audience, w'h thinge the pope willingly granted.

But first he shewed the Embassador that he had heard marvellous hard reports of the said foure priests, that they were greate & familiar w'h 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
A SECOND NARRATIVE.

that his kinge wold not haue protected anie such parsons and that his ho: shold find them to be sincere & plaine meaning men w'hout guile or fraude. Well then, saith the Pope, they shall haue audience on Munday next for vpon fryday had the Embassador these speaches w'h the Pope. when Munday came the foure preists beinge directed by my Lo. Embassador & hauinge some of his gentlemen to conduct them they repayed 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 giue that day anie priuate audience w'ch they requ[ired]. herevppon they departed to theire lodgings but forthw'h the Pope arisinge from his publick audience retyred to his chamber where he was wont to giue priuate 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 giue priuate 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 themselues 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 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 haue done, and w'h all offered to his ho: the two lattine bookes wherein was contayned all theire griuances w'h they desired to be redressed, otherwise that the Church of England was like to perrishe. This oracion his ho: aanswered breifly, first that

54, f. 209b.

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he had hard marvelous 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 w'hall 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, hauinge 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 w'hout w'h licence yt was impossible for them beinge prisoners to performe this iorney: to the w'h peticion after longe & mature deliberacion she granted that foure of them shold haue libertie to pronounce for themselues & so vndertake the iorney. As for money or stipend they had none, but only such as the Catholicks doe giue them to defray their charges, w'h was shorte enough, and they counted yt very greate clemency that her matie graunted them so much. As for the other pointes w'h his ho: did insinuate concerninge matters of faiithe as though therin they had bin defective, they aunswered resolutely that yf they had bin such they had no need to come w'h 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 wherewith to inrich them yf they had bin of her religion, and w'hall desyred of his ho: that their accusers might be compelled eyther before his ho: or judges by him deputed to propose these their accusacions in their owne parsons and not per interpositas personas, as the manner of ffa: Parsons was, and that they were ready to cleare themselves. Well then, sayes the Pope, w'h a cheerfull countenance, I am glad to heare you saye so, you shall haue justice. Card. Burgessius and Card. Aragonio doe we appoinhte to
heare both them and you and to make relacion thereof vnto vs,
and see that you goe vnto no other Cardinalls w*th anie com-
plaintes but to them, and so w*th good & gracious words he
dismissed vs, beinge himself at that present maruelously vexed
w*th the goute so that his servants were faine to cary him out
of his chayre to his bed where he remayned foureteene dayes.
In this audience he remayned an houre and a half notw*th-
standinge 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 delays
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. a
ffa: Parsons made all the delayes that he cold notw'hstandinge
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, notw'hstandinge he was three
times admonished & comanded, vntill yt was Palme Sunday,
hopinge thereby to driue the preists out of money and so to
fall from theire suite. Lastly in the ho[liej weeke he brought
in his accusacion to the w*th the pr[eists] aunswered the next
day, and so cleered themselues.

And in the meane space they delinered vnto the [Cardinals]
theire reasons w*th moved them to defer the admitting . . . of the
Archpreist vntill the comminge of the Breve Ap[ostolike], and con-
sequently 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, w*th reasons beinge consi-
dered by the Card* and related vnto his ho: forthw*th he pronounced

* 'Hebdomada casta, ineuntis Quadragesimae hebd. dicebatur.' Ducange.
sentence & willed the same to be declared unto the priests Apellants by the Cardinalls, w'h sentence was that the priests of England were neither scismaticks nor disobedient nor rebellious against the Sea Apostolike in that they refused to receive Mr Blackwell for their superior upon the Card. Caietans letters, and that they had not lost their faculties but that the confessions made unto them all that while were valid & good, and w'hall his ho: commanded the priests to write downe that sentence and send yt in their common letter unto England to informe the priests 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 unto this the priests did sett downe their reasons against Mr Blackwell the Archpreist his insufficiency w'h consisted in 8 points All w'h they proved out of his owne writings & decrees. Seaven were admitted by the Cards as sufficiently proved although his procurators there and the Jesuits went about to prove that the letters there exhibited out of the w'h they drew their propositions were not his letters or decrees, wherevpon Card. Burghesius asked them whether they knew his hand. Some of them answered yea, and some of them answered 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 denye but that was his writinge. herevpon followed another consult betweene the Card. and his ho: whether Mr Blackwell was to be deposed as the priests required, hauing sett downe 8 causes whereof the last was matter sufficient to displace him. first yt was sett downe against him that he had done uniuestly in charginge the priests w'h scisme & rebellion where none was, and so in goinge
A SECOND NARRATIVE. 37

about to tak awaye their faculties. secondly that he had exceeded his authoritie in takinge vpon him to censure the laye Catholicks by interdiction, hauinge no authoritie over them. also for makinge newe decrees & extendinge his authoritie over the old preists, whereas his comission was only over 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 notwithstanding the Popes pleasure was that he shold remayne and continewhe 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 have iurisdiction ouer them w*th whome they had so greate controversies before, for that he wold euer seeke occasion to be revenged. 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 vnjustice, 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 preuailed 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 busie head of ffa: Parsons bestirred him in spreadinge false rumo's concerninge the Queene of England persecutinge preists & Catholicks contrary to the declaracion of the foure preists, as y^t appeareth in his letters to his complices in England concerninge certaine honorable speaches w*th she vttered of the Pope, w*th also he caused to be deliuered vnto the nouellantes of Rome to be spreaded amongst them . . . trick very usuall w*th 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 w*th he deliuered vnto diuerse Cardinalls

54, t. 211b.
against the priests with whom [came] not to light for that the Cards never believed yet, nor of the divers means he made to persuade the priests to come to the College to feast with him, hoping that if he could have obtained so much as to have them to banquet with him he might find some occasion to entangle them in words or manners.

But the main drift & scope of his pernicious brain was yet unseen, which is this: he labored with the Cards, and specially with the Spanish Ambassador that they should move the Pope that yet was not honorable, nor Christianlike that the priests should be suffered to depart from Rome in any displeasure or dislike with Parsons or the Jesuits, and therefore that his highness should do marvelous well if he would command the priests to come to his presence, and so: Parsons with the Jesuits on the other side, and there command the priests to embrace so. Parsons & reconcile themselves unto him and to the rest of the Jesuits, & so make a full peace whereof his highness should be witness. This drift took such effect that the priests were sent for to the Pope's presence, and the cause secretly by the Lord Ambassador insinuated unto them, who required them to consult among themselves & to tell him what answer they would make, for that the matter was of great importance, for on the one side if they refused upon the Pope's commandment to embrace so: Parsons they should fall into his hand & so incur his displeasure, if they obeyed the Pope's will and reconciled themselves to so: Parsons then did they incur the displeasure of the most Christian King of France in whose protection they were, and of the Queen of England whose subjects they were, for that they had charged Parsons there to be deceiver & plotter of all the treasons, wars, invasions, garboiles, & troubles that had hapned these last twenty years, as yet appeared in his books how he had made sale of the Kingdom of England & of the Kingdom of France unto the infanta and therefore that they could not make peace with him but thereby they should incur the displeasures of these twain great princes whose favor they did
not means to loose. w*th this constant resolucion they went to the Pallace Monte Cauallo against the houre prefixed, hauing for their ease my Lo: Embassadors coach and some of his gentlemen to conduct them. not longe after cometh Parsons w*th 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, w*th greeued him not a little perceuiuinge by theire behauioure that he was like to haue but light entertainement at theire hands, and that his principall designem* fayled him, for yf they had obeyed the Pope & imbraced Parsons makinge peace w*th him, then wold he haue written straight waies to England & to fraunce that the foure negotiators had reconciled themselves to him & most humbly on theire knees before the Popes presence asked him forgiveness, for so Baldwin the Jesuit vsed doctor Gifford in the Lowe Cuntrey, and so he wold haue involved them in his owne treasons, but God so disposinge the Pope fell to examine other matters w*th 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 haue peace w*th Parsons so longe as he had warres w*th the twayne kingdomes. The pope aanswered that his meaninge was [not] to commaund them to haue peace w*th 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 w*th what gibes, & merry taunts he maketh mention 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 *[were authors of all these garboyles]* whom he made nunce Apostolike in Ireland b to prosecute the warres there against the Queene and so

* Inserted above the line.

b James Archer of Kilkenny was a very bellicose Jesuit indeed. He took an
by that meanes alienated her Ma\textsuperscript{t}ies mind from hauinge anie peace; especially findinge so manie w\textsuperscript{h} 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 tie to looke more narrowQie 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\textsuperscript{t}ies inclinacion.\textsuperscript{a}

3. A Third Narrative or Fragment.

When they came to Calice,\textsuperscript{b} it was thought good that some of them shold deale w\textsuperscript{h} 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.

\textsuperscript{a} 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.

\textsuperscript{b} November 1601. The handwriting here closely resembles that of Dr. Gifford.