

III.

LETTERS AND MEMORIALS, 1601–1603.

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1. *Copy of a Letter of Expostulation to Blackwell.*^a

August 1601.

Reuerend Sr, oure greate coste and charges, our paynefull iourneys and daungerous adventures to the sea apostolick have given and to this daie doe give sufficient testimonie of our sincere desire of peace and concorde. And whereas some Jesuits, yo^rs self and others give out that wee had audience and that wee were condempnyed in our brethren who went first to Rome, notwithstanding that they had suche proctors and other helpe as was fitt & necessary for the declaringe and determininge so weightie a matter, it is most vndowbtedly true that so sone as it might conveniently be effected after their speache with the Protector (who then was) they were restrayned of their libertie, and were kept close prisoners in suche sorte as neither they could confer together nor might aske counsell of any other in their cause, but at the end of 7 weekes were brought as prisoners to answer to what yo^r proctors could lay against them. To w^{ch} also, when they shewed themselves readie and demaunded a copie of their accusations, nothinge was delivered vnto them bvt a speache w^{ch} sounded

^a This letter is chiefly directed against that of Blackwell to his Assistants, dated June 23, 1601, and reprinted in *Jesuits and Seculars*, p. 151. Mr. Macray thinks the copy is in the handwriting of Mush or Champney. There are apparently two copyists; the writing changes after the sixth folio.

of peace but brought it not. In what readynes others of o^r brethren are nowe to goe to Rome it is not unknowne vnto yow :^a sparinge neither their persons nor their purses (both beinge more or lesse in the wayne) to procure peace, so much talked of and so many waies avoided or shifted of by yow and yo^r guides, yf iudgem^t may be given of yow accordinge to youre proceedinges, whether they are wth color of pietie or pretence of authoritie. Doth not yo^r daily comendinge of fa: Lister his libell declare what pyetie did move yow to prohibite the divulginge of bookes either then or afterwarde to be sett fourth whereby the fame of any particular ecclesiasticall person of oure nation might receyve blemishe? Is it not evident, when wee were poynted at bothe by you and youre adherents to be the men who were meant thereby, that yo^r edict or prohibicion was to that end made that wee should vse no suche meanes as in all ages haue ben lawfull in the necessary defence of oure selves from yo^r vniust oppressions and from the Jesuits their most wicked calumniationes? Was there any sav^or of peace (after the peace once made amongst vs) in the p e^b of a resolution pretended to come from Rome wherein we were declared to haue been schismaticks? Or was there any 54, f. 401 . tast of pietie in yo^r contemninge and reiectinge the censure of the most famous Universitie in the worlde (although vppon true information as yo^u suppose) given in o^r behalf, after that wee had in vayne, although most humble, requested that o^r controuersies might haue ben determined by a private dispute at home? Did the suspendinge vs from diuine offices as much as lay in yow and the interdictinge yo^r brethren and fellowe laborers in this vyneyard (who were alwaies readie to give an accompt of their actions) proceede of a spirite of peace? Or could any pious ignorance pleade excuse of so fowle an^c or frowardnes in yow to multiply afflictions by censures, yo^r authority to inflict eccles^l penalties beinge

^a The intention of sending the four delegates to Rome was not made public until after July 1.

^b Mutilated.

^c Some word, perhaps "error," omitted.

restrayned in yo^r constitutive letters to the only takinge awaye of faculties, or suspendinge them vntill the offendo^r should be reclaymed, conformable to the former parte of the same letters where, after that the protector had made yow an Archepr: and given yow authoritie to directe, admonishe, reprehende and chasten, he appointed the manner of this chasticement to be in abridginge faculties when there was neede or recallinge them vppon any necessitie? Can yow think that these limitations of yo^r authoritie was but to make a shewe only of some honest course of proceedinge w^h vs, and that the drifte thereof was that yow shoulde at yo^r pleasure doe what yo^u liste w^hout showing any one tittle for yo^r warrant from suche as might give suche authoritie? Were there witts (think yow) at home who perswaded yow to these courses, and to challenge moreover vnto yo^rself a soueraigne power to determine all controuersies w^h should arise here amongst vs vppon so silly a ground as is a power to end a quarrell or controuersie begone vppon an vnkynde worde or some froward action betweene the priests and the cathol: before it should growe to so fowle a matter, as was most falsly and iniuriously suggested to haue alrede ben and was the sole motive for yo^r authoritie? Had that Anti-papall declaracion of yo^{rs} of the 28 of october 1600 any affinitie w^h peace or [uni]tie, when by the authoritie p^rtended to be committed vnto yow [by his] holines yo^u pronounced diffinitively that the first letters by w^h yo^u were made an Archepr: over the seminary priests did truly bynde all the catholicks, and that all they who wittinglie did any waye resiste yo^r authoritie were truly disobedient to the See apostolick and rebellious against yo^r office given yow by the same See? Yf suche a declaracion had proceeded from his holynes who (howsoeuer yow thinke yow doe feele yo^rselfe surely assisted) is only warranted as heade of gods Church on earth and his vicar generall, dowbtlesse it might have caried an infallible creditte: but proceedinge from an Archepr: (who by this office is vnder an Archdeacon) wee may w^hout offence demaund to what these catholickes who were not seminary priests were

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bound by those yo^r first letters, or how all these may be sayd to haue ben verly disobedient to the See apostolick or rebellious against yo^r office given vnto yo^u by the same See, who wittinglie went or sent to that See to vnderstand his holynes his pleasure before they would admitt the authoritie (for other resistance there was not), yo^r first letters being sent vnto you neither from his holynes nor that See. How can it then be thought that yow were possessed wth a spirite of peace, who vsed such vnsemely tearmes against yo^r fellow priests and suche as in all reasonable mens vnderstandinge did continue their ready obedience to his holynes and the see apostolick by submitting themselves so soone as they sawe the Breue? How do you, S^r, desire peace who before these slaunders forbid them vnder more greevous penalties than yow can inflict to defend them selves from such infamies? Is it not evident that yow ayme at no other matter then by threatninge and punishinge to bringe vs to a sinfull silence, while yow and yo^r complices exercise yo^r selves wth most shameles declarations, and to that end now lately haue made an other edict against the divulginge or retayninge of suche bookes as discover yo^r bad proceedinge against vs and oure owne iust defence, and for the greater credit of this edict yow prefixe a title the like whereof men vse to heare bareheaded: George Blackwell by the grace of God and y^e ordynance of y^e See apostolick Archepr[iest] of England. Did ever any Archepr: in suche sorte salute his brethren or children? Whom doe yo^u make yo^rself? Your authoritie stretcheth all over England and Scotland: so doth the authority of y^r brethren, and ouer Ireland also: But by chaunce you are an Archepr: in good tyme; it is a good step to be one day M^r Archdeacon by the grace of God. But this stile of Archepr: of England deserveth no worse an intimation than this George Blackwell by the grace of God etc: Dowbtles, were wee not to be tolde by yo^r owne self that yow are George Blackwell by the grace of god and the ordinance of the see apostolick Archepr: of England, wee should make a

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stay and inquier howe yow come to be Archepr: of England. Certayne it is that by the letters of the Cardinall Caietane, w^{ch} wee haue seen, yow were not made Archepr: of Engl: but of the seminary prests only, w^{ch} were or should be in Engl: and Scotland, by w^{ch} yow were made Archepr: as well of Scotland as of England. And it would have ben more hono^r vnto you and a greater terro^r to many other to have heard you declare yo^rself to be George Blackwell by the grace of god and the ordinance of the see apostolick Archepr: of England and Scotland: but in truthe this is to make a foundation for so huge an ædifice first because an authoritie given p^rcisely over one particular estate in a cuntreye will not stretche it self ouer all in the Cuntrye. Secondly whatsoever yow are by the grace of god dowbtlesse yow were not Archepriest of England by the ordinance of the See apostolick: yf yow were Archepr: of Eng: but by the ordinance of the Card: Caietane, who in his letters vnto yow sayth playnely that it is his owne ordinance for these are his wordes: Dum hæc nostra ordinatio durauerit: so longe as this oure ordynance shall endure; and afterwardes, Wee give yow the authoritie of an Archepr: ouer the priests of y^e Seminaries. Yf yow vrge the breue w^{ch} came a yere after the ordinance, no man will make him self so ignorant (especially if he reade the breue) as to think that it was an ordinance of his holynes, and not rather a confirmation of somewhat don by the Card: Caietane his letters, wherein howsoeu^{er} the breue took it that yow were described by the Card: Caietane an Archepr: of the Engl: Cathol: and referreth the readers to the Card: letters, yet yow can not but knowe that there is no suche matter in the Cardinalls letters. yow must therefore lett vs see what yo^w can shewe for yo^r title, or give vs leave to thinke that yow strayne muche for this w^{ch} yow p^rtend over and aboue the title of an Archepr: of the seminary priests in Engl: and Scotl: And if it were so as yow might call yo^r self by suche title as his holynes might by error or also wittingly hono^r yow: yet should yow not call yo^r

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self George Blackwell by the grace of god and ordinance of the see apostolick Archep: of England but of the Engl: cathol: only, for these are the wordes w^{ch} his holynes dothe vse in his breue and supposeth that suche a title was given yow by the Card: Caietane his letters, but in truthe was not, as any man may see who will reade them. But if it may please yo^w to turne to youre Clementines, de sententia excom: suspens. etc., yow shall fynde, Cap: si summus pontifex, that if the Pope shall by writt, word or constitution vse any title of hono^r to any man, he is not to be thought to approve suche a title in the person or give any newe righte by this his owne word, writt, or constitution.

But, whosoever you are, wee take yow for no lesse then yo^w are by the permission of god and the appointm^t or confirmacion of the See apostolick and retorne yow as many good wishes as yow doe send to priests and cathol: of bothe sexes, and wee add this wishe overplus that yow had not made this edicte, for that hereby yow doe many waies confirme men in their opinion of yo^r want. And because yo^w doe prayse yo^r selfe so muche for yo^r patience in these controuersies, wee nede not here shewe howe yow haue vsed it marvelously in suspendinge some, interdictinge other some, takinge away their faculties from others, forbiddinge others to preache, beside the detayninge of suche releef as hathe ben appointed for poore priests and prisoners or generally for pious vses from suche as of whom yo^w conceived hardly in respect of these controuersies.

The appellation w^{ch} was made to his holynes and to the See apostolick (most necessary for the reformacion of suche abuses as were offred vs by yow and others who were born out wth youre authoritye) is followed as muche as it may and hathe neede as yet. That w^{ch} is vppon a reasonable cause deferred is not to be indeed forgotten; and in that yow say that the appellacion had not ben delivered to his holynes so soone as it was, had not yow ben,^a yow

^a Something omitted. The words of Blackwell were "perhaps never meant to be presented to him [the pope], although means must be made by me that it may come to his reading."

confirme that w^{ch} wee haue often said, that it is hard for vs to conuey any thinge to his holynes his handes although wee take all the meanes w^{ch} possibly wee may and haue don in this cause: especially about the sendinge of the booke dedicated vnto his holynes, for that was sent by three sundry meanes vnto him, as wee had certeyne intelligence in June last past from suche as did send it. And what other thinge can so well followe hereon as y^e necessity of divulginge our bookes abrode in so many places as wee may, that thereby either by frend or other some one copy may come to his holynes his views. Yow haue therefore litle reason to forbid the divulginge of them especially if yo^w had a sincere meaninge and desire that they shoulde come to his holynes, as yow p^tend in yo^r letters of the 23th of June last past to yo^r assistants. An other cause of divulginge oure bookes was, that as well at home as abrode wee might lay open the causes of these controuersies w^{ch} were most vntruly given out by yow and others to be obstinacie, disobedience, pride, ambition, loosenes of life, schisme, sedition and what ells could turne most to oure discredite, all beinge to be beleued by those whome yowe cold, either wth glosinge wordes or by enterposinge yo^r authority, draw for yo^r parte as muche as if it had [been] already proved or by some oracle revealed vnto them, whereby many of bothe sexes, to vse yo^r owne terme, havinge over nimble instruments some by nature some by practise, yet all extraordinarily stirred and as it were rapt with these newe inspirations wth an vndecent fury (as yf they would inforce men to heare them) daylie bray out a most vnsavery and lothsome breth wthout any outward respecte to tyme, place or persons, or inwardly to truthe, honestye or modestye.

Can you (to vse yo^r owne arguments) allowe and comend that senseles and shamefull libell of fa: Lister divulged by diuerse manuscripts most iniuriously to oure reproche, and will yow forbid vs to divulge suche [b]okes in o^r owne defence as may cleare vs from these impious calumniationes?

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Shall it be lawfull for fa: Holbye the Jesuite to scatter abrode his

foolishe and false discourses^a although most vaynely and w^hout shame avouched wth protestations by him to be most true? and must wee be debarred to answeere for oure selves, and discover his falshood? Hathe any comaundm^t proceeded from yow that none should divulge any of theire writinges or retayne them? Have yow not in yo^r letters of 23th of June last past to yo^r assistants affirmed and published that yo^w think still that wee were schismatics: and must wee be forbidden to declare how wee are abused therein? Ought wee in yo^r conceyte goe to complayne o^r selves in foraigne cuntries and suffer our selves to be overborne by yow and the Jesuits to our perpetuall infamie at home wth yo^r most wicked and iniurious calumniacions? Did the Jesuits or wee begynne first to pen and spreade abrode? May they and yo^w together strive who can most greevously accuse vs, and is it a breache of peace in vs to purge o^rselves? Can it w^hout shame be asked that yow may in all places say yo^r pleasures, and that wee who suffer thereby infynite iniuries should be silent? Yf wee had ben schismaticks in not giving creditt to a Cardinals letter grounded vpon an egregious slaunder of priests & cathol: and stuffed wth suche matter as was never before herd in the Christian worlde: or if wee had ben so wicked as fa: Lister the Jesuite thinketh that he dothe demonstrate in his absurde treatise and divulged bothe in England and abrode intituled: Against y^e factious in the Church (the first w^h was penned, divulged and yet to this day by yow approved) where was the wisdome w^h crieth out of yo^r last edict to vs to go abrode to superiors to complayne thereof while our good name must lye bleeding at home? Dothe not this bewray that yo^u doe but counterfeyte some tymes Jacobs voyce and in very dede have alwayes Esawe his handes? wee must doe belike as yo^w say and not as yow doe. Hathe the dealinge in this matter ben so secrett as any one can be ignorant of o^r care to haue all matters att all tymes determined wth peace

^a Father Holtby's Letter to a Lady (June 30, 1601), signed 'A. Ducket,' printed in Vol. I. p. 176.

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and quietnes and haue solicited it diuerse tymes at home (where wee haue receyved no other answeres then tauntes and contemptible reproofes) and abroad, where o^r brethren in requitall of their charge, paynes and travell, to be informed themselves and to informe vs what they and wee were to expecte in the hard course begonne against vs, were imprisoned, banished their owne and confined to straunge cuntries w^hout any allowance for their mayntenance there, not w^hstandinge they stode to their triall and were forwarde even to the offence of their and oure adversaries to answer to what yo^r proctors had to say against them, either in o^r generall cause, in w^h they went, or any other private malicious quarrell? Att this doubtlesse yo^u drive in yo^r last edicte that they whom wee should send the second tyme shoulde in the like sorte be intercepted, imprisoned, kept so close as they should have no opportunitie to deale in suche matters as wherein they are employed, after some tyme perchaunce brought forth, accused by yo^r fellows, the matter shuffled vpp: they sent away w^h good wordes: his holynes kept still in ignorance of o^r iniuries, o^r frends certified from Rome by some impudent Intelligenser that they had audience & proctors, their cause heard, they insufficient and not able to say any thinge but aske pardon and suche like stuff as Parsons and m^r Martyn Aray forged and sent vnto yo^u when they undertook to certifie yow of the proceedinges of o^r other brethren at Rome. But belike yo^u assure yo^r selves yo^r matters will not have any suche successe or end, yf the true causes of oure troubles should beforehand be divulged throughout the worlde, thereby at the least to purchase vs audience where wee are to hope for remedy against yo^r slaunders and the Jesuits impious calumniationes. And to this end was the prohibiting of bookes by you, and the divulginge of them by vs iudged necessary, that o^r brethren should not be thought to tempt God and be laughed att by f: Parsons and others as our other two brethren were; because, as f: Parsons tolde the tale himself to the students in the Colledge, they, trusting to their owne innocencye and the iustnesse of their cause, came not

otherwise any way armed or provided from beinge imprisoned and vsed as they were. Your labo^r is therefore in vayne w^{ch} yo^u take in forbiddinge such courses as are to be thought most necessary to haue oure cause decided and peace restored, and no way eyther scandalous to true harted catholickes or cause of laughter to oure adversaries. Neither will the testimonies of ten thousand to the contrary prove other then either greate tyranny in yo^w or a sinfull rashnes in the witnesses, when whatsoener is published will be iustified to their shame, vppon whom (although nowe they consider 54. f. 405. litle thereon) yo^u must and will lay the burden to purge and cleare yo^r self, although their testimonies did induce yow to doe what yo^w doe, and not rather yo^r importunitie induce them to witness they knowe not what, not only against o^r bookes, against w^{ch} yo^u labo^r to gett the priests handes (as though the testimony of many that they knowe no ill by suche a man can purge him at the barre where there are but two or three ready and able to iustifie it against him), but whatsoeuer ells they must and shall at yo^r pleasure witness (goinge about in imitation of fa: Parsons in Spayne, where he deliuereth the catholick princes, or of John Calvine at Geneva in a round cap) to gett their handes to blancks, w^{ch} some for feare, some for foolish hopes perchance, will not stick to give for yo^r satisfaccion, howsoeuer their soules lye at p^sent gage and may hereafter smart for it: at what tyme all their corses will not misse yo^u who did induce them vnto so fowle a matter. Yf any device could be made to perswade men that, by reason or fear of yo^r authoritye, honestye were as infallibly annexed to yo^r actions as in yo^r edict made 18 october 1600, yo^u would insynuate that truthe was inseperably annexed to yo^r definitions, yow might perchance make many to think it a goodly matter to be in authoritie and force vppon you their handes to an hundreth blancks. But w^hout dowbt bothe yow and wee shall finde a fayle bothe in the one and the other. Leave therefore this and other the like conceyts: they guide yow not well to whom yo^u have given over yo^r self. They make yow to multiply edicts to very small purpose

in this kinde: as well for y^t yo^u have not as yet shewed what or where yo^r authoritie is to make edicts, as also for that yo^r edicts tend to one and the same cause, w^{ch} is longe since devolved from yow to yo^r superio^r, wee havinge appealed not only for oure selves but all other also oure frendes bothe from the greevance wee felt and all other to force afterward vpon vs in or for the cause in controuersye or any thinge perteyninge therevnto. And the iniustice of this yo^r last edicte appeareth the greater in that it is given out by yo^r frendes that our bookes contayne many falshoodes w^{ch} are to be vrged against vs and therefore in reason wee are to retayne them that wee may not be to muche abused by suche as seeke for such advantages. We haue been also certified by the superio^r of the Jesuites here in England that, er it were longe, the two printed bookes should god-willinge be answered from Rome. And how then shall wee understand y^e answere vnles wee may see how well it is applyed, vnles perchance yo^u woulde that wee should beleewe that wee say what this answerer maketh vs to say, and that wee are the men w^{ch} he wolde finde in his harte we were, and in him to prove, or that his wordes should be taken for oracles and the bookes fully satisfied when they can not be seen what is conteyned in them. What man of corage would aske of his aduersarie so greate an advantage if he had any conceyte that the least right were in his generall? Take a good hart vnto yow: seeke not by suche disgracefull meanes to preiudice yo^r owne case. Yf yow haue don well, be you assured that the least heare of yo^r head can not perishe. Yf you haue ben [un]iustly charged w^{ch} any thinge free yo^r self not by wordes but by proofes: keepe not yo^r frendes still in this suspence that there may be somewhat said for yo^u and in yo^r cause, whe[r]e they see nothinge but wordes and those detractions against men (were yow not of England) farre yo^r betters, and in England of farre greater merite in the cause of god and his Church. The greater these yo^r lamentations are, the more greevously will they light vpon you, who can not but see, vnles the case (beinge yo^r owne) doe to muche blynde yow, how

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that all yo^r actions are but very shiftes for the present to wyn tyme, w^{ch} in the end will trye who hathe the truthe. I will not here repeate what either in this letter vnto yow or former discourses are at large mentioned so playf[n]ully that none but affected ignorance or blindnes colde misse. How doe yo^u forbid all aswell the laytie as y^e Clergie to divulge or retayne any bookes of that argument of w^{ch} o^r bookes were, and both divulge and retayne yo^r self, yea and beare out some other bothe of the laytie & the clergie to divulge or retayne such bookes? Is there not an Epistle of pious greef, by S. N. to his ffrend, lately sett fo^th in printe^a divulged and retayned by yo^u and yo^r frendes, wherein, amongst some idly applied common places against discorde, foolish prayses of f: Parsons and other, this argument is handled, so muche as it is, very simply, god wott, but in slaunderous termes and most wicked assertions, and S. N. the author thereof is nothinge ashamed to intitule it An epistle of pious greefe. If he had called it an epistle of greef, it might very well have borne the title, and euey man who should reade it wolde thinke the author had over muche greeved, yf not to the losse of his senses yet dowbtles to the losse of his sowle. But callinge it an epistle of pious greef, it conteyninge most impious exclamacions against cathol: 54, f. 406. priests, the title hathe litle congruitie wth the treatise: the other might haue ben thought to haue beene caried wth some humane passion or wrong informacion, yf his greef had ben that wee could not frame o^rselves to be in order vnder a superio^r, and that wee made strife and contentions against the Jesuites and Archepr: but to exclame in this manner, O that it weare not against Jesus fol. 3^a. him selfe! was to shew his greef was mixed with more then a mans malice and to make an insoluble argum^t, that it was a most impious greef, whatsoeuer he p^tended. To the lik effecte he vttereth that, of w^{ch} his stomack semeth an indeficiant springe: fol. 3^a. and chargeth vs some tyme, that wee haue brought cathol: into

^a I can learn nothing of this book. The initials point to Silvester Norris, a priest, who in 1606 became a Jesuit, and wrote books under that signature.

daunger of their lives or their soules: some tyme that wee had secrett intelligence wth the enimies, and have o^r selves made a further resolution yf occasion serve. Cold this be written wth any charity, or so muche as one sparke of the pious greefe? What enemy is this wth whom wee haue had this secret intelligence, or what resolution may it be, that wee are charged to have made, yf occasion serve? or what occasion may this be w^{ch} is here left as a relic? when every man shall haue made the worst conceyte he may of vs: yet doth this sentence leave worse matter to stay vpon, if her ma^{ty} or any of her honorable Counsell or any other by their appointm^t (perceyvinge a reall diffrence betweene vs risen vpon the falshood of the one parte against them, and fidelity vpon the other parte who never toke them for enimies but rather what they iudged amisse in them) have shewed some extraordinary favo^r vnto some: and given them leave to followe their case against suche as haue abused them, what harme hathe come thereon? These men thus favored have don much goode bothe to priestes and lay men: as o^r most impudent adversary can not deny, although some (for mere splene against them) boldly give out that they caused a soden and perilous serche in London for the Archepr: and Jesuites: a slaunder evidently convinced to suche as live in London to be most false, the serche beinge in suche places as where some of vs might haue been endaungered, and these not disturbed, who to vs and all in London are knowne to be most impudent of their tongues against vs, the chiefe lay assistantes to the Archepr: and highly devoted to the Jesuites. Should wee vpon this grounde (w^{ch} were the case changed would be an invincible argum^t to o^r adversaries against vs) say: that the Archepr: and Jesuites caused that serche for the disturbance of vs and o^r frendes wth whom at that tyme wee might haue ben and they supposed wee were, they who by all likelihood might haue harbored some of them at that tyme not beinge once called vpon? Yf we would have Jesuited and caried so small a respect to charity, those sturres w^{ch} nowe are in England perchance had never

ben; but these speches against vs must still be in every mans mouthe and fill all cuntries where either the Jesuites or any of their faction doe come and fynd their wished intertaynment^t. What secret intelligence the Jesuites haue had wth suche as [they] would have vs knowe they take for their enimies, and what resolutions they have had themselves, if occasion should serve, their duple message to the castle and vnto vs, their bookes and letters of state, matters doe declare and convince in such sorte as greate must the imprudence of S. N. be, to vrge any suche poynt against vs, who have not at any time dealt in hugger mugger, but playnely and openlie (evident signes of o^r integritie and fidelitie), to w^{ch} although it rest vncertayne what end they will give in, when it is to give it good or bad, or howe longe or shorte this respite may be to breathe vnder so perilous a yoake, yet it is most certeyne that many haue found comforte and ease for the present in reason not to be refused and no man any way preiudiced thereby: what tales soever be vrged against vs already or may hereafter vppon such ingrounded suspitions as S. N. in his evill applied epistle would engender in his frendes minde by cryinge out against scandalls, discorde, and contention w^{thout} showinge who were the authors thereof: but rather blaminge suche as beynge abused should endevo^r to remove the suspitions and crimes layed against them. And to the end that he and his fellowes might the more surely & w^{thout} rebuke proceede in slaunderinge the priestes he censureth that sentence of Pamachus to S^t Hierome as voide of sounde iudgem^t w^{ch} in this epistle he citeth: *Purga suspitiones hominum et convince criminantem ne, si dissimulaueris, consentire videaris. Cleare thy self of mens suspitions and shew that their accusations be false, lest by dissemblinge them thow mayst seeme to agree vnto them. What conscience may wee think doth S. N. beare whose advice is so voyde of reason? Howe would he have censured S^t Augustine if he had red this iudgem^t in him: Duæ res sunt, conscientia et fama; conscientia necessaria est tibi, fama proximo tuo: qui fidens conscientia sua negligit famam suam,*

54, f. 406b.

fol. 2^o.Ser: 49 de
diuersis.

crudelis est. Conscience and good name are two things: conscience is necessary for thy self, good name for thy neighbour: who trusting to his conscience neglecteth his good name is cruell. Whosoever were the authors of these contentions nowe in Engl: his epistle of pious grief is a most impious treatise: where he taketh it as a verity not to be contradicted that who so opposeth himself against a Jesuite or superiour, opposeth himself against Jesus: as though (to omitt his blasphemie) no Jes. or superiour can doe that w^{ch} is amiss, nor necessary meanes for redresse be vsed but wth an opposicion against Jesus. Yf S. N. did knowe that the Jes: & Archepr: haue ben the Authors of these controuersies in Engl: how wickedlie hathe he employed his tyme in framinge this epistle and applyinge it to vs as to men who by repynge at authoritie had caused these tumultes? Yf S. N. hathe forgotten it, he may call to minde that the first begynninge of those controuersies was at Wisbiche, where by most vnchristian meanes as the defraudinge of some priestes there & abridginge them of the cathol. almes by w^{ch} they lived, the Jes: and some other adheringe vnto them for y^t purpose endeavored to compell the rest to become their subiectes. This not succeedinge altogether to their mindes, by the shamelesnes of one who had a resolution to be of their order they procured an absolute authoritie ouer all y^e priestes of y^e Seminaries w^{ch} were or should be in Engl. or Scotland in such a man as would be at their deuotion. ffor the furtheringe whereof a most wicked slaunder was raised & suggested at Rome against the seminarie priestes & cathol: as may be seene in the Card: Caietans letters to m^r Blackwell. The authoritie beinge given by this false suggestion was as falsly proposed, & because when wee sawe a thief wee woulde not runne wth him wee were by the Jes: and y^e Archepr: proclaymed schismatickes, excommunicated factious seditious Rebels, irregular, no better then southsayers & Idolaters & as ethenickes & publicans, even at suche tyme as wee sent to Rome to acquaint his ho:^{ness} wth y^e abuses w^{ch} were offred to him & his flock, an argum^t for vs to men of sence that, whosoever were

guilty of these & oth^r suche crymes, wee were most free from them : since y^t y^e departing from him argueth schisme not y^e hasteninge vnto him, when there is iust cause as was here in a matter of so greate weight, procured by palpable deceyte & by most false & ignominious suggestions, alwaies likely to growe to that passe to w^{ch} it is nowe come.

The authority beinge at y^e length by sinister meanes also confirmed, at y^e sight of y^e breve wee did^a submitt our selves vnto it w^h a free remission [?] of those greevous iniuries w^{ch} wee had receyved^a y^e aforesaid slaunders. But the Jesuites and Archepr. had not as yet what th[ey] aymed at. Their thirste would not be quenched^b greater furtherance of this wickednes a Jesuite beganne to renew the forged calumniationes and to averre that whosoever shall dogmatizando affirme, that we were not schismaticks (in not obeying the authority before we saw the Breve) shold incurre the censures of holy Church. The Archpriest being warned hereof, to the ende that this fyrebrand of faction (to vse his own tearmes) shold be quenched, was so farre from giving redresse as he allowed of the assertion, and for the more credit thereof our infamy, and to bringe somewhat to passe, in w^{ch} it shold seeme he and his followers were crossed by our submission to the authority, he published a resolution, w^{ch} he sayd he had from the mother City (to give it perchance an extraordinary authority) that the refusers of his authority were schismaticks; and from time to tyme [he] commended Listers seditious libell, as a most learned discourse even at such time as he wold beare the world in hande that he held it as a matter of opinion whether we were schismaticks or no, and that he gave every man leave to hold what he wold therein. And this being so vndoubtedly true, as the Jesuits and Archpriest cannot disprove it, and hath been in other discourses so demonstrated, as it were to spend time vainly to prove it in this place: how are we condemned for indeavoring by all meanes possible to

^a MS. mutilated.

^b Page torn: the second copyist begins here.

remove those calumniationes and crymes most falsly layd against vs? how could silence be vsed herein, w^{ch} as Pamachus above rehearsed doth affirme is an argument of guiltines, or as S^t Augustine sayth, is cruelty against ourselves, how cleare soever our consciences are before God? And how then hath this pious griever, if not vainly imployed his time in quoting authors sacred and prophane against discord and contention, yet impiously applyed them to vs and for wante of matter exclaymeth against our knowen courses for peace as against discord and contentions, w^h these tearmes; ô, that it were not against Jesus himselfe? We will not say, that Jesuita, a Jesuite, is derived from Jesus; as mons, a hill, is a movendo, w^{ch} signifyeth to move; because as the derivers say, the hills doe not move, although some, eyther by miracle or by some accident in the earth have moved: doubtles some of the Jesuites actions in these affayres have had no more coherance w^h Jesus then detraction hath w^h charity, falshood w^h verity, cruelty w^h compassion, that most iustly S. N. might in his grieffe have both exclaymed against the spiritt w^{ch} hath possessed them, ô that it were not against Jesus himselfe: and charged them (as not being content to perishe alone) that they plunge our litle barke (already shaken by the tempest of persecution) in theyr owne ruyne, having themselves through pryde and most vnchristianlike courses sonke lower then wthowt some speciall miracle they may rise againe. And if by them we have been compelled to lay open more then is for theyr credit, wthowt towche of any who have well deserved of vs, we are most vniustly accused of vngratefulness.

54, f. 407b.

Who this S. N. is, who hath declared his grieffe in this epistle, it is not much materiall: some by the frivolous heaping of sentences have iudged it your owne. Some have thought that it is ffa: Parsons his piety; both for that we have been kept a long time in expectation of an answer from Rome to two bookes (as this epistle seemeth to be) and also for many sayinges therein knowen to be his. If it could have been made by you both,

neyther of you had been indebtped to the other. ffor who cannot see here how *mulus mulum*. If yow being putt in authority have demeaned yo^r selfe otherwise then becometh you, why shold you being our Archp^rs biter bynde vs to soothe yow in it? Many murmuring against theyr superior have been diversly smitten by the hande of god: therefore (if this epistle maker will conclude to his purpose) no man must contradict a superior, how soever he behave himselfe: who seeth not this folly? or who since the Breve hath refused the authority? who of any sense can yeald that he was a schismaticke in not obeying of it, before he saw cause why he shold? This is the question, and not, whether a man knowen to be in authority ought to be obeyed. And the case of this controversy is not that any doe repyne at authority (as this epistle maker falsly suggesteth) but whether Catholicke priestes ought to beleve theyr superior, that they were schismatickes, excommunicated, irregular, factious, seditious and fallers owt of the Church and from the spouse of Christ; lost theyr facultyes w^{ch} they vsed in the gaine of soules to Christ, and consequently have abused all theyr ghostly children in hearing theyr confessions wthout power to absolve them; been disobedyent to Christ his vicar, yea and to Christ him selfe, and for what? fforsoth because they did not submitt themselves to an vnknown authority before they saw a Breve: wherein they first perceyved the popes mynde therein. Neyther is this the first time, that this foolishe Rhetorick hath been vsed. *The times are such, as yow could have very litle vse of externall discipline and correction towards any:* as though no great matter could be practised by yow against vs: whereas yow taking hold of this, have (as you say yo^r selfe) made yo^r edictes wth punishmentes to be incurred ipso facto: and notwithstanding have made examinations of matters (post factum) as it is at large declared, in *the hope we have of peace.*

23 June 1601.

The deserts of the Jesuits are declared in this epistle: by theyr being our masters, our govern^{ors}: our masters to wryte bookes, buylders of Colleges for vs, and procurers of great almes for our

54, f. 408.

relief. If the epistle maker doe meane, that all Jesuites haue deserved thus of all the priestes: it is euydent, that he is deceyved: many of the chief and those who have and doe full labor in our Church, having never been beholden vnto them for any of these matters. And if he will fly to his meaning that some Jesuites have well deserved of some priestes: then must he neyther condemne all the priestes of vngratefulness to the Jesuites, nor any at all, vnlesse he can shew an opposition in them against all the Jesuites, w^{ch} surely he shall never doe: the priestes reteyning an honorable respect vnto the order and particularly to such as they are bound vnto; and finding themselves agrieved only by the bad dealings of some of them, who are a disgrace to theyr order. Our college of Doway (afterwards translated to Rhemes) hath sent the greatest sorte of laborers into this vineyarde: and while it was vnder oure owne government, it was mainteyned wth double the number, that now it hath, being now at curtesy of the Jesuites: besydes theyr disgracefull vsage thereof in putting downe such lectures therein, as by w^{ch} our priests might attaine to some knowledge of divinity; vnder a color forsoth that learning maketh them prowde (but in very truth to abvse the Cleargy of England, that no sæcular priest hereafter shall be able to match them in learning, and thereby to grow into contempt amongst the Catholicks, whose soares must lye and fester vntill theyr parishe priest can finde out a Jesuite to aske his counsell): besydes the caveats they putt vnto the governo^r thereof (a vassall of theyr owne) for receyving of such students as they only must preferre and the Archpriest, who is also at theyr devotion: w^{ch} they performe wth that charity, that if they may vnderstand, that a youth (howsoever he is affected in his mynde) doth receyve any benefitt by vs, or any of vs, it is a sufficient occasion for them not to further him; w^{ch} as the case is declared is to hinder him: As if when a man should see one in neede receyve some reliefe of such as he cannot brooke: he must whett his stomach against him who receyved reliefe, and doe him what mischief he can. As of late the Arch-

priest and Jesuites vnderstanding of a young gentleman, who was by our meanes to be conveyed over, notwithstanding he was to mainteyne himselfe and in such place where the Jesuites make a good commodity of such, as not to be brought to any account of what they receyved for this cause, they absolutly denyed to give him theyr letters, w^howt w^{ch} he could not be there interteyned. The English college at Rome was and is governed by the Jesuites: in w^{ch} theyr practises to allure the schollers to theyr society and to disturbe such as will not yealde vnto them, declareth how well they deserve of God and our contry. Our hearing some of them reade in the scholes bound so many vnto them as heard them: although at home those who wold not be of them were vpon theyr Doway pollicy dieply [?] hindred from the profitt they must have taken. But no doubt God hath and doth supply otherwise what through theyr faithfulness to him in opposing themselves to manifest perill in defence of the Catholick church they might through the Jesuites evill pollicyes have wanted: and they have hearde as occasion hath served both in the vniversityes and in prisons that they have had learning, when such as contrary to theyr oath taken in the Colledge for the present helpe of theyr contry have loytered behinde, pretendinge to purchase more piety and learning, and bewrayed how they have only profited in a foule senselesse and detracterious spiritt. But if for our hearing them in the scholes we shold not be gratefull, we shold incurre the cryme, w^{ch} they also may incurre, if they think not themselves beholden to vs, by whom they have profited in learning: some of them especially, who have been brought vp in such universityes, as whereof some of vs are members; or some had the helpe of such in particular in theyr proceedinges, as had been of vs: as Card: Alane, D. Sanders, D. Stapleton: to say nothing of Bp: ffysher, Gardiner, Cope and diverse others, from whom theyr chiefest wryter and most at this day admired, had had no small furniture. Vnto what tumultes the Jesuites have brought that college at Rome, it were lamentable to rehearse, of w^{ch} howsoever they may post the cause to the

54, f. 408b.

studentes, yet cannot it be doubted but that through theyr disorder it standeth in very hard tearmes. The Colleges in Spaine sett forward by ffa. Parsons are at litle rest (a strange observation, that there shold be no quietnes where the Jesuites once putt in theyr foote, howsoever they color theyr actions wth piety and spiritt) how well they are manteyned I know : possibly they are in farre better case then eyther the Colledge of Doway, or that at Rome, because they are of ffa. Parsons erecting : in w^{ch} if he have deserved ought, perchance it is not of vs who had colleges inough before : w^{ch}, if the honor of God and the good of my contry had been aymed at, wold not have been in those desperate tearmes in w^{ch} they are : but it is evydent that those new colleges were erected vpon some other ground ; as may appeare by the vsage of the Studentes : w^{ch} hitherto hath been to abvse the Catholick princes of that contry, and to induce them into an admiration of ffa. Parsons, as of a man likely to further any intention, w^{ch} he shold putt into them. And to the better effecting thereof the studentes have been pressed some of them to sett to theyr handes directly to the lady Isabell her title to England : some of them to diverse blankes, subscribing in English to some, to other some in latine and to other in Spanish : w^{ch} and his like practises (how well soever he might otherwise deserve of vs) cannot be reckoned amongst good deserts ; as having thereby given our adversaryes so cleare a prooffe of his disloyalty towards his prince and contry, that vnlesse we shold yealde our selves to be traytors to the state, for the love of w^{ch} and the reducing thereof to the Catholick faith we daily adventure our lives, we cannot but severre ourselves from him and his complices, of what quality soever or cloth the cloake is of, w^{ch} must cover them. ffor these and such like both generall and particular his plottes and his fellowes against our contry, and consequently against the quyet w^{ch} otherwise Catholicks might have in England, who now are grown in hatred wth our state and religion more in contempt than ever it was in England (vpon the reduction of w^{ch} S. N. confesseth, the reduction of all about it

doth depend) for his and their misdemeanors: also towards vs, because we do not labor in the furthering of such his plotts we have little cause to give him thanks, or to be noted of vngratefulnes towards him and such his fellowes or followers. Hath he at any time then done well for vs? we thank him for it. But this his wel doing must be no warrant for him to doe any evill wthout rebuke. If a cow give a good soope of milke she is to be *thanked*: but if she kicke it downe w^h her heele, the good turne she did may not save her from blame. If the Card: Alane vsed any complements at any time vnto the Jesuites, all the gentlemen who were wth him before his death can testify that he much disliked theyr dealinges towards vs: and the Jesuites cannot w^howt great impudency deny it, to whomsoever they doe shuffle of the blame. Dr. Stillingtons letters of complementes from Spaine also may be shewed: but it is well knowen that through his inward affection to them, not knowing how to mend himselfe, he left his life soner then by course of nature he shold have done: although perchance his being vnder water did him litle good, when in an expedition again[st] England, he was by fa: Parsons meanes compelled against his will to take shipping: at what time that many were driven home by tempest, and many of o^r English priests perished by shipwreck. Dr. Stapleton his devotion to the Jesuites was cooled, when he departed owt of theyr order: ^a w^{ch} if they will attribute to a hastines against them they must not vrge his gravity for themselves against vs. Dr. Barrett, who was President at Doway, was knowen to all men to dissemble wth the Jesuites, as they dissembled wth him, keeping him to serve theyr turnes as now they keep an other, and perchance wth the like foolish hope of preferm^t by them. But putt the case, that all these did like marvaylously well of the Jesuites, is it an argument that if they were now living, they wold doe so? Could they indure to see theyr brethren in pamphlettes and speeches to be attached of schisme, accounted as excommunicate, fallen from the Church of

54, f. 409.

cherished.

^a He did not complete his noviciate. See Dodd, ii. 85.

god no better than Ethnickes and publicans: because they wold send to Rome to his holines, to know his pleasure before they wold submitt themselves to an authority intruded vpon them, as they might well think, it comming w^howt any letters from his holines, or testimony that his holines had given such power to any other . . . they knowing no other superior in spirituall matters then his holines: can any man inferre, that those grave and learned men wold have taken the Jesuites parte in so foule a matter, against men of theyr owne coate and profession? How doth S. N. in his epistle of grieffe forgett himselfe, or how can he think to draw to this conceyt that those grave men if they were now living wold take the Jesuites parte against vs: whereas there are many living who can testify that y^e Card: Alane did take our parte against them, and bewayled oftentimes the garboyles, w^h he saw wold follow after his death between them and vs. The opinion of ffa: Campian (as S. N. confesseth) was, that the priestes of England were piissimi et doctissimi: compare this wth ffa: Listers opinion and the Jesuites of vs, who most proudly & yet shamefully condemne vs both of impiety and wante of learning, and as homunculi (to vse ffa: Listers tearme) in theologia, and to touch that point of vngratefulnes w^h S. N. layeth to our charge, our vsage towards the Jesuites hath been such as more then all the good w^h ever they meant vnto vs hath been abundantly recompensed: w^h if they shall deny, we appeale to theyr forefather ffa: Campian, who (as S. N. here also affirmeth) sayth that we have given him and his fellowes that credit in England, as he could not w^howt feare rehearse it. And to conclude, yow may see if it please yow, that S. N. hath taken great paines to quote many places against discord w^h we hate more than he doth, and were it not a frivolous labor, we wold make a repetition of them or the like. He blameth vs that we doe wryte such thinges, as such as be adversaryes to both may take advantage against vs. He blameth vs that we sent a booke to his holines, and putt no name vnto it. He supposeth, and must have all to think that we repyne at

fol. 6 et 7.

54, f. 409b.

authority, regard not our superio^r, and y^t by our bookes we confirme men in opinion at Rome that we are factious: And because he will have no obloquy w^{ch} he may vse against vs vpon this supposall, he will also rather then fayle of his purpose, include himselfe and all our nation in this generall and ignominious judgment *English men p[utt in] passion regard no law of God nature or civility in theyr speach or manner of proceeding*: and least perchance this proposition shold seeme to fayle in himselfe, who found it in this his evilly intituled epistle of pious grief, he hath shewed small regard to law of God, nature or civility by his manifest vntruthes, defaming his contry, and most folish exclamations against such as for any thing we know are his equals, and if not his betters no way his inferio^rs. His vntruthes are, that we repyne at authority to w^{ch} all our contry knoweth we did yeald, so sone as we saw any letters from his holines: to whom only in spirituall causes we owe obedyence. Secondly he sayth that our book was dedicated to his holines wthhowt any name putt vnto it: w^{ch} is in this manner: Declaratio etc Ad S. D. N. Clementem 8^m exhibita ab ipsis sacerdotibus qui schismatis aliorumq' criminum sunt insimulati. A declaration etc. put up to o^r holy father, pope Clement 8th of that name, by those priests, who are accused of schisme and other crymes: of w^{ch} priestes the names of 30 are particularly sett downe, pa: 119. His taxing of all his countrymen that being putt in passion, they regard no law of God, nature, or civility in theyr proceeding, sheweth how he sinneth against nature, and vpon a conceyt (most foolish also and false) that we rayse contentions against the Jesuites and Archpriest, he exclaymeth in this sorte: O that it were not against Jesus himselfe. If his wisdome cold see y^t a booke written by O. C. might take quotations owt of our writinges against the misdemeano^rs of the Jesuites, and that this was not to be liked of, can he think that S. N. can escape margent of any book, written by any as impudent [as] himselfe: in witnes that such priestes as have a long time adven[tured] more for Jesus than the Jesuits

fol. 18.

54, f. 410.

have done, shold now become Aposta[tes] and rayse contention against Jesus himselve: or that such priestes who have been knowen to have susteyned the heate of persecution with no other resolution then hath become Catholick priestes (when as the Jesuites dared not to shew themselves, or wth that timorousnes as they thought every houre a day vntill they returned to some morall safety for themselves) now to be by S. N. noted for men of a dishonorable resolution, if occasion should serve, and to bring Catholickes into perill of losse eyther of theyr lives or of theyr soules? Can we, if eyther we resist the law of god as priestes, or of nature as men, or of civility as living among others, heare our selves thus defamed, other mens soules depending vpon theyr good opinion of vs, our selves of yeares to vse reason in our actions and not of so meane bringing vp, especially the greater parte, and be silent? Are we not in all mens iudgments (except S. N. and his fellowes who could perchance make a better benefitt by our silence) bound to purge our selves in this case, our adversaries pressing vs still most falsly that we repyne at authority and seeking to enforme the world thus of vs, wthowt shewing any acte of our disobedyence except our forbearing to submitt ourselves before there was cause why we shold: yow shewing no letters from his holines for yo^r authority? Doe you cease to publishe or man-
 teyne these vntruthes against vs, and we will attende the decyding of this controversy, where it ought to be. But if yow shall eyther yo^rselfe publishe bookes of this arguement, or beare others out therein: yow must thinke that we must take yo^r edictes to the contrary, as most vniust in themselves, yo^r practise explaining them, that all may be sayd and published by w^{ch} we may be brought into infamy: and that nothing is to be divulged by vs by w^{ch} we may be cleared from it: perswade yo^rselfe that notwth-
 standing yow are the first of our coate who hath been in the authority of an Archpriest here in England (a matter much vrged by yo^r flatterers) is no such priviledge, but that yow may erre as grossly in yo^r actions as Aron did and Saul, both imediatly chosen

by God: the one to the highest priesthood; the other to the kingdome over his people; George Blackwell by the grace of God, and the ordinance of the Sea Apostolick, Archpriest of England, yow were preferred by falshood etc, the motive of yo^r authority appeareth in the Cardinalls letters. And if the pope him[self] did preferre yow, he preferred one whom he knew not. And thus farre, Reverend S^r, we have emboldened our selves to signify vnto yow the many iniustices of yo^r last edict against the divulging or re-
teyning such bookes as are to cleare vs of the many and iniurious slanders daily spreadd against vs: how also notwthstanding this yo^r edict against the divulging or re-
teyning any bookes of this arguement, there is an epistle, intituled of pious grieffe, written by S. N. to his frend, and divulged by order from you, as by all likelyhood we may thinke: it being in theyr handes, who wold not else have it: w^{ch} epistle argueth . . . earnest desire, that the readers shold yet conceyve worse of vs (yf worse they can) then heretofore they have, as we see have shewed owt of diverse places quoted owt of the epistle called of *pious grieffe* but in very deed of a wicked and very frivolous discourse, and such as may aswell, perchance much better be applyed to the writer thereof and his parte, then to vs. ffare yow well. 54, f. 410b

Yo^{rs} as you are in will to deserve
of vs the vniustly defamed priestes.

Concordat cum originali,
Wilm. Clerke.

2. Letter from Dr. William Gifford to his Sister.

54, f. 242.

Dec. 17. 1601.

Right wo^rship^{ll} my lovinge sister.

I was very glad by this gentleman to vnderstande of yo^r welfare and by his returne to have occasion to salute you, being amongst other afflictions incident to my longe exile and banishment an extreme greefe that I could not, nor this 30 yeares did have,