
THE
S O M E R S
COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

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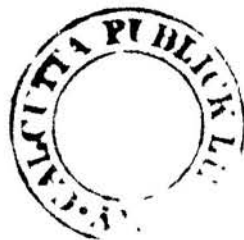
A
COLLECTION
OF
SCARCE AND VALUABLE
TRACTS,
ON THE MOST
INTERESTING AND ENTERTAINING SUBJECTS :

BUT CHIEFLY SUCH AS RELATE TO THE
HISTORY AND CONSTITUTION
OF
THESE KINGDOMS.

SELECTED FROM AN INFINITE NUMBER IN PRINT AND MANUSCRIPT, IN THE ROYAL,
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PARTICULARLY
THAT OF THE LATE LORD SOMERS.

THE SECOND EDITION,
REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND ARRANGED,
BY
WALTER SCOTT, Esq.



VOLUME FOURTH.

The bent and genius of the age is best known, in a free country, by the pamphlets and papers that come daily out,
as the sense of parties, and sometimes the voice of the nation. PREFACE TO KINGSTON'S REVISOR.

Index qui aliquid statuit, una parte audita tantum et inaudita altera, licet æquum statuerit, haud æquus fuerit
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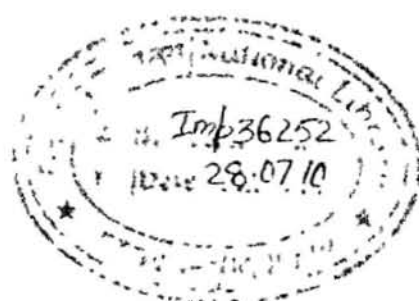


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TRACTS
DURING
THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES I.

FIRST CLASS.
ECCLESIASTICAL TRACTS.

THE
SOMERS
COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

KING CHARLES I.

FIRST CLASS.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRACTS.

The Passionate Remonstrance of the Pope in his Conclave at Rome, upon the disastrous Disappointments given to the Roman Cause, by the late Proceedings and the great Covenant of Scotland. With a Reply of Cardinall De Barbarini, in the Name of the Roman Clergy. 1641. Together with a Letter of Intelligence from the Apostolicke Nuntio (now residing in London) to Pope Urban the Eighth.

Ridentem dicere verum nil vetat.

The unexpected and wonderful unanimity with which the Scottish nation rejected the Book of Common Prayer, so unadvisedly forced upon them in 1637, and entered into the noted and extraordinary engagement, called The Solemn League and Covenant, seems to have astonished not only their opponents, but even themselves. The successes which followed, though as much to be imputed to the discontents of the English nobility and the army, as to Scottish manhood, were not less surprising and elevating. The least that was expected by the most moderate Covenanters was the total abolishing of the English Hierarchy, and the establishment of the Presbyterian Classes.

*et voti Phœbus succedere partem
Mento dedit; partem volucres disperant in auras.*

But the high-strained expectation of others, saw, in the triumph of the Covenant, the total downfall of the papal authority. Among this more sanguine class, the author of the following tract is, or affects to be, numbered. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the civil dissention between two reformed churches, must have necessarily strengthened, rather than weakened, their common enemy. This was an inference wholly overlooked in the vehemence of the Presbyterians' hatred to their Episcopal brethren.

This tract was first printed at Edinburgh, and afterwards reprinted in London, where, until the predominance of the Independants, the Covenant was as much the idol of the parliament party,

as of the Scottish, and their nation was held in such high respect, that, Baillic informs us, even the popular ballads always concluded with the binding word, "*God-a-mercy Scot.*" In the original, the Passionate Remonstrance is adorned with a frontispiece, representing the pope in council, with the cardinals, all in various attitudes of dismay. The titles of Cardinal di Fiorenza, Antonio di Barbarini, Francisco di Barbarini, are inscribed above those who sit highest at the counsel-table, and an open scroll bears the inscription, *Tutto sta male*. From the various recommendatory poems, some of them subscribed by people of rank, it would seem that the author of this satire was a young man of some rank. His wit will, at the present day, hardly be thought to merit the extravagant eulogies thus conferred upon it. These introductory verses have been replaced, from the Edinburgh copy, in the present edition.

To the Author, his well-beloved Friend.

SPRINGS nigh their source into a brook extended,
 Prove rivers great before their course be ended.
 Flowers which their beauty in the bud have shown,
 Are found much fairer when they're fully blown.
 The lion's paw, a lion's whelp describes;
 The great Alcides in his cradle tries
 The combat; and confounding his assailour,
 Gives a heroick presage of his valour.
 Thy spring, bud, paw; this cradle-master-peece,
 Say, thy ripe age shall yeeld a golden fleece.

Sub Fwd. Sp.

In gratiam Auctoris.

*Nulla Cupressus adest, dempta hic de culmine Pindi est
 Laurus in Auctoris danda Corona Comam.
 Non opus est Elegis in funere Præsulis, ipsa
 Melpomene querulum nil tacitura sonat:
 Gravior huic musæ mage dia Urania, et illi
 Basia Castalio mista liquore dedit:
 Hinc, velut Alcides clavo, plura horrida monstra,
 Hinc vates calamo nobiliore necat.
 Macte poli decus Arctoi, nam funere ab isto
 Vita perenna tibi, fama perennis erit.*

Duræus.

De Aureo libello.

*Mellea quam sit res oratio, quamque roundo
 Agmine decurrat, blando glomerata susurro;
 Quam veneranda novo nunc verrat syrmate terram,
 Nunc sublimè volans caput inter nubila condat,
 Aspectus fugiens terrena mole gravatos;
 Quam rapido torrente fluat, quam Suada venusta,
 Quam modulis numerosa suis facundia præcep
 Abripit celeri mentes super astra volutu,
 Audieram dudum: prius at non cognita Pythus
 Eximia et virtus et blandimenta fuere,*

*Ante oculos donec dederat scintillula flammam,
 Claramque ingentemque simul; quæ et purior illa
 Quam præbere solet Phæbus de vertice cæli.
 Quæ simul emicuit, concussa vertice cælum
 Intremuisse putes, talesque dedisse sonores,
 Quales Pythagoræ fuxere oracla renati;
 Angelica aut credas fuisse choreumata cantum,
 Cantum, quale melos mulsit terramque polumque
 Cum cecinere Dei pueri præconia laudes
 Et cecinere hominis de cetero patre perennis,
 Sponte sua in terras qui cælo latus ab alto,
 Ut posset miserans cæli reparare ruinas,
 Et nos mortales superas attollere ad arces.
 At nonnulla meam subito admiratio mentem,
 Qui potis Angelicas infernus reddere voces?
 Ni lateant furtim dulci sub melle venena:
 Sed latet, et gelidum sorbent cum melle venenum
 Aurea qui Scorti Babylonis pocula sugunt.*

V. A.

De Vate, Authore Libelli.

*Omnia Samariæ regi narravit Elisha,
 Quæ Syrus occulta gesserat in camera:
 Scotorum regi hic vates arcana revelat,
 Papanæ celat quæ penetrare domus,
 Elisham Syri, vatem hunc papana requirant
 Argmina, sed pariles par quoque pena premet.
 Papanis pariter Syrisque Scotomate cæsis
 Lucida pro tenebris spicula solis erunt.*

V. A.

In Gratiam charissimi sui amici.

*Præsulis inuisi jam infamis fama superbit
 Authoris genio splendidiore coli.
 Strata jacet prorsus tam insurgens gloria, nulla
 Gente Caledonia nominis umbra foret;
 Si non hic vates celebrasset funera, Papam
 Illius Ambrosio dum facit ore loqui.
 Fecundo ingenio certat facundia lingue,
 Nobile materiam sic superavit opus.
 Materies præsul te indigna est: Præstat amata
 Urania, roseis basia ferre genis;
 Aonidum immortale decus, tibiserta parantur
 Laurea temporibus non peritura tuis.
 Inferiæ tantæ mittent persæcula famam
 Dum super ætherio valvitur axe Polus.*

Jo. Morus.

On the same.

THY deare Urania fits thy soaring quill
 To nothing that's below the arctick waine:
 How comes it then, that with such pretty skill
 Thou dost decipher Rome's infernal traine?
 'Tis that she may from thee make spring a rod,
 To whip the prelates and their mitred god.

She'll spare some time (to thy immortal praise,)
 To ironize upon their damned plot
 For thy refreshment, that with purer layes,
 Thou maist her sound from thy melodious throat:
 How can thy muse, but choose to be divine,
 When sweete Urania's lips in nectar thine?

*Jo. More.**To his ever most esteemed Friend the Author.*

THIS pope here lim'd is said to flourish faire
 In his nurse idiome, and the Latine tongue:
 But here's a wonder, that a sprit so young
 Should blow him north to breathe our native aire,
 And personate his speech, as here is shewn,
 That he and his impostors must admire
 His raptures and embellisht grieffe to heare,
 Pour'd forth in sweeter accents, nor his owne.
 If his and all his consistoriall traine
 Had in a lymbick all their braines distill'd,
 It would outstretch their skill thus to have fill'd
 Those sugred pages with so rare a straine,
 Of flowred speeches, so this generous spark,
 Hath made a light to shine throughout the darke.

*Da. Prymrose, J. C.**To his beloved and hopefull Friend the Author of this Book.*

THOU kills so sweetly, with thy darrest words,
 With powerfull lightnings, and two-edged swords,
 Which thou elances from thy thundering pen,
 That those who challenge over soules of men
 A tyrannie, must humbled all forbear
 To reach thy garlands, or attaine thy spheare:
 All other relishes like aloes be
 Compared with those sweet flowers which here we see,
 Thine high-bred quill, which breathes so gentle fire,
 Drunk with elixar of Castalian ire,
 Proclaimes the honour of the graces love;
 But most thy sweet Urania, like a dove
 Fraught with her purer raptures, doth take pleasure
 To nurse thee with the influence of her treasure,

Yet here is but a flash, what can be said,
When this Aurore her full beams hath displaid ?

T. C.

The Author to Zoilus.

BUT spare to martyre ingenuitie,
Bold sons of censure ; blest be authoritie,
I kisse the scepter's shade, and stand in aw
Rashly to dallie with the lion's paw.
'Tis those base tapers, whose incendiarie breath
Stifles the purer light, poysons to death
The nursing rayes of sacred majestie,
And kills our love-sick soules with jealousie,
Which I blow at ; let soveraigntie appeare
The full delight of every eye and eare :
'Tis those usurping spots which do prophane
The moon's sweet face, her comely beautie stain,
I wish were wiped away, and every ray
Of royal power, kiss't by Persian ey.*

The Passionate Remonstrance of the Pope, in his Conclave at Rome.

You that are the light of the world, the beauty of truth and zeal, (most holy assembly, to which the title of candor doth properly belong) you fathers of integrity, sons and heirs, as well of my institutions, as designs, whom my holy benediction hath erected to be the ornament of the church, throned in all catholically graces ; if naturall compunction touch you truly, you have found how your most deare primitive mother's heart hath received a late wound from the adversaries, and how a number of impostors are risen up, preaching anew sedition, and drawing her very life-blood, her blood of honour from her sweet tender sides : The fearfullest blow our cause ever felt, the lowest tempest that ever hereticall schisme could rouse, doth now rage most furiously, and threatens to pull up our sacred throne by the very roots ; it hath made S. Peter's tremble, shook the very altar and statues, and affrighted the ashes of sleeping popes : we have certainly gotten a master check, never felt extremity like this ; amazement covers us, our infallible staffe doth faile us, and for very feare our mysterious miter is turned paralytick ; thick darknesse dwells upon this houre : integrity, like one of Heaven's bright luminaries, by error's dull element interposing, suffers a black eclipse ; the locusts of hell are let loose, and if they be not swept away, we may resolve to make bonc-fires of all the books of the Vaticane, and let all the religious turne knights errant. it is to be feared my disciples) lest this new-fangled heresie pervert nations and realmes to an open revolt from our spirituall scepter, and these innovators spread over the world, cover the earth's face, and make dark the land like Egyptian grasshoppers.

The affront which our holinesse receives, doth the more afflict us, because it comes from that kingdome of Scotland, the most unfortunate and inconsiderable angle in the world, a people not worthy to be beloved nor sought after : yet our conscience beares us witnesse, how affectionately we have offered unto them our apostolicall embracements, but they hated to be reformed. And to the end, that rebellious nation might be brought under, you know how I have most laboriously bestirred the strength of Machiavell, and diligently solicited Ignatius subtilties, who, like a glittering serpent with his resplendent poyson, can most divinely creep into the very souls of the most impregnable common-

* "The Persians adore the sun."

wealths, and teach them how to deprive life and motion from us; what great proofes we have had of their dexterities in such convoys, the whole Christian world can this day bear record; how nimbly likewise those emissaries, (fraughted with the same excellencies) went about the great work called The Possession of the World, to make it ours, you have learned by the informations of our secretaries, and addresses of our nuncio's, and may likewise judge by the records of the articles and assurances which they duly dispatch from these parts. The continuall current of that primate's intelligence, who, for his active zeale, deserveth well to be called the genius of the distressed church in England, did sweetly refresh our longing soules with glad tydings, and conceived faire hopes in our hearts. We have justly ripened him with the beames of our favour, and we must all confesse, that howsoever we laid our commands both thick and fast upon him, his allegiance notwithstanding was ever devoted to us in a boundlesse obedience, the humblest, yet mightiest of all filiall duties; full well he knew the language of my intent, and, moved by my sanctimonious breath, he hath propined most abundantly to that nation (and I hope effectually too; for the businesse of the universall monarchy went well on, I saw it in an Egyptian glasse,) the most pure waters which run from the threshold of S. Peter's sanctuary; which makes this good ghostly father, amongst those yet unhallowed heretiques, to be branded as great and prime incendiary of all Christendome, who with the French cardinall tossed kingdomes like tennisbals: we heard he can negotiat most handsomely and factiously, with pleasant subtilty, and bewitching courtship, abuse the infatuate state with delight; he muzzles the barking tongue-men of the time; and as cunningly as ever the Florentine monster could poyson the fairest common-wealth of Europe with his politicks, so hath he most episcopally exalted our church hierarchy, and established a spiritual government there, and now happily advanced the opinion of our glory to that eminency, that the two tutelar angels of Cambridge and Oxford, stick not almost to maintaine the myter of equal dignity with the scepter; nay, so good proficients were they in his apostolicall canons, that as boldly durst they kick against the one as spurn at the other: thus were we hopefull to see the old quarrell of the Gwelfes and Gibellines² enflame the swords of potentates, and die the copes of English cardinals with the blood of hereticks; for the course which he ran seemed to be infallible, as the prophecies of the Old Testament, immoveable as fate, and tollerat by heaven's connivance: And thus like a cunning catholick, burning with zeal of the great cause, and desirous to bring that fatall and neighbouring nation under our banner and within the bosome of the church catholick, he fastned upon the most promising and apparent meanes, which our conclave could teach him, and put the same to as assured execution, as if Ignatius spirit had made Pythagoricall transmigration to his venerable brains. For the truly æquivocall father of that church, with his fellow-labourers, the Scottish prelates, caused comyle a service book, (to the great service of our church) wherem were most divinely couched, the true orthodox tenets of the ancient apostolick and catholick faith; but ever opposed by the enemies of the truth in that land: and in this web of their composure, they had so ingeniously interlaced (for though the generals were given out from us, yet we committed the particulars to their owne discretion, respective in times and states,) the sweet embellishments of our art, and the majestic and decency of our missal,³ that none could well discover at the first glance,

¹ The celebrated and unfortunate Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.

² "Two german brethren, the one whereof maintained the popes honour above the emperour; the other sustained the emperours dignitie above the popes: wherupon they fought, and the one killing the other, their quarrel was spread throughout all Italie."—*Original Note.*

³ It was strenuously objected to the Scottish service-book, that, besides the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, and other ceremonies objected to by the Puritans in the English book of common prayers, it enjoins several rites peculiar to popery, and not received by the Anglican church herself. Thus it established consecration at set times and with set prayers, directed that the holy water should stand in the font, that a prayer savouring of transubstantiation should be said at the communion service, and that the deacon should on his knees offer up

the girnes of our holy treason, by which we would have surprised the heretick soules, nor the mysterie of the work, unlesse they had the benefit of Gregory the Great, and Bedae's spectacles, or Calvine's perspective, by which he saw the antichrist say masse within the walls of Rome. And those reverend presbyters of these northerne churches, who sought not themselves, nor the glory of this present world, that they might elude the people alwayes jealous of novations, and dally with princes, they advocate authority, and caused animat the book with the strong influence of a secular power.

This drift walkt apace uncensured, never questioned but in thought, with a whistle or whisper, and what ever disappointment it hath met with since, what ever misfortune hath stopped the current, and very spring of these advancements, and overflowings, it ought not to be imputed to that never enough deserving prelate, who is of the true champ, and perfectly sincere; but these other of Scotland, who were but his *Karexumens*, and Neophytes, have given a little weak evidence of their good breeding in their profession. For the politick institutor had shewn them the true and catholick pathis, and mounted them on the chariots of dignity and power. But once elevate to a sphere too high, and not able to sustaine such happiness, powder was not more ambitious when the match met it, than their mindes to mount; which emboldened them to presse our holy will a little immaturly; their preposterous zeal, blown up with supererogation of obedience, did anticipate the maturity of our designes, with an unluckie discovery, to the eternall disaster of those politicians, and back sliding of the great cause; had they gone more softly, they had come more swiftly to Rome; but (good soules) presuming on the faire path of their meaning, went a little rashly on, and brought within the wilderness of an heretical, though national law, by some *lines* or words dropt unadvisedly out, did innocently hurt the good cause, and gave the adversary advantage by it; had they with an insinuating distance played a while with the care, and grop't the peoples mindes, and found to what point their blood most inclined, and by strong episcopall reasons violented their soules; had they prepared them with purgatives, before they adhibited the book of missall, too strong for the puritanicall complexion of the Scots, this day we might have gone in procession, and sung *Te Deum*, whereas we now shrink under an abortive wound, and are met to celebrate the funerals of the most important members of our church, and most considerable souldiours of that northern conquest. The sooner they dispersed their novations, and the more imperiously they urged obedience, the sooner they hastened to the displaying of all, and loosed the fair advantages of times and plots. If they had not tempted the eye of jealousie too much, they should quickly have gained, no question, the laicks, sons and daughters, of their meritorious seducements.

But when, before the fulnesse of time, the book pointed out his unknowne head, O how it was most profanely persecute, and how the sharpe invectives like points of spears, have rent and discovered his bowels! it was abhorred as a leprous brood, and every parrot in the land was taught to raile reproaches, the very children to preach against it, and every mouth could most protusely vomit forth his blasphemies. The uncatholical multitude, like the spectacled inquisitors of Venice, durst pick out syllables of heresie, against the canonick liberties of our church discipline. The laicall judgements durst canvase the mysteries of our conclave, and question our infallibility; but if our holnesse had doubted their skill in cheating of soules, if we had not thought they had been more spaniolized gamesters, we should have taught them the times and secrets of state, and wrought out our holy purposes more softly, and at length found means to make them swallow it over as greedily, and with as implicate obedience, as ever the Turks did their alcoran; but we thought it was no matter of difficulty to recon-

at the altar, the devotion of the people. All which approaches to popery, with several others, are printed out by the Rev. Mr Robert Baillie, in his "Parallel betwixt the Scotch Service Book and the Romish Missall, Breviary, &c."

cile that silly lunatick church with ours, especially since they began to have a communion of words with us, and use familiarly that idiome, which once heard of before amongst them, would have made a whole church fall into a swoond, so much did we confide the continuall assurances of our attourneyes amongst them, as the cabinet of my intelligences can well instruct, and therefore our diseased prelates would have done well, sometimes to have throwne into the peoples eares out of pulpits, the authority of counsels, and guiled over the rudness of their pillules with the homilies of fathes; yet, faithful soules, we know their intentions were merely and purely cathollicall, but the affectionat passion to approve themselves obsequious to our holy desires, made them prove too Herculean, that offered to strangle serpents in their craddles, for sooner could the signiory of Geneva embrace the missall, and the abject Valdenses assent to our supremacy, than that cursed crew could be moved to welcome that book of reformation, which we, out of our holy and fatherly care, as supream head of the church on earth, conceived to be the soveraigne way to convey the beames of our purity through the darkness of those ilands, but they had all drunk in such a mortall dislike against it, as no authority was able to restraints the strong inward thoughts of the disloyall subjects, and the hot murmurings, from coming to outward resistances, which all the ecclesiasticall canons could not beat down, nor secular power overcome; thus being a people without wisdom, given over to the spirit of delusion and heresie, which wrought most powerfully in them, and laying aside all subjection of their execrable wills and judgements, infected with that leprosie which they suckt from the arch-enemies of the truth with an immoveable resolution, they combine against their own anointed, and those likewises whom by the oyl of purity we have consecrate to be the bishops of their soules, and not knowing the principles of impolitic obedience, they begin to sift those undoubted verities, which are as old as the sunne and starres, and doe arraigne our catholick apostolicke truths before their counsell, where our venerable clergy (being the character of our own image) in whose hands we have absolutely put the raignes of ecclesiasticall and secular government, must stand to their determination, and wait upon the discretion of an usurped and hereticall censure. O high impiety! the last of all nations, (whose revenues could hardly afford us oyle to our sallads) is it to them we owe account of our infallible wayes? Shall not they take of our hands, which multitudes, nations, peoples, and tongues, more regarded by heavens than they have kindly accepted? Shall they refuse to drink of that cup wherewith we have inebriate the powers of the world?

*Hinc dolor, hinc
lacrymæ.*

No, counsellors and rulers of the earth, though hitherto we have sailed with a very prosperous wind, and were hopefull to arrive at the port of our desires, yet now certainly our designs seeme to be scattered by a thing which they call a covenant, even as the fired ship put in, severed the fleet in 88. For when this black heresie had displayed the ensignes of that covenant, then whole squadrons, legions, and numbers of hereticks, like frogs, were so espoused in their soules to the devotion thereof, that sooner might you blow away the light from the sunne, than pull them from their covenant, or work up their festered judgements to right reason. This accursed covenant, the king of all monsters in religion (which is able to make all other monsters to be unadmired, and draw all number to this only), out of whose wombe, like the Trojane horse, are like to come a furious crew of undaunted hereticks to brash the wals of Rome, gives name to a sect, which no nation ever heard of, and, if we were to translate, we could not finde a word to expresse the same in any language. The strength of our confidence, and life of our hopes, all those rank insinuations and alluring snares, wherewith we had enlived, and informed that book of service, like a serpent, hath got his head bruised with a bolt shot from that covenant; nature seemes to debarr us of all meanes of helpe; and if the sublimated inventions of our policies could serve to restore, yet fortune likewises seemes to thunder all, and threatens to shiver our machinations;

for out of the gates of hell doe all the infernall powers rush like a river, whose current cannot be stopt; and who can stay their course: Indeed, as the God of truth, in all the exigencies of the church doth stir up the spirit of truth, to vindicate his purity from the aspersions of the wicked, who love darkness better than truth; so have we found a most gracious and true witnesse amongst themselves; for their own countreyman, (in whom all courtly and catholick graces doe reigne and throng most eminently) hath with a very good successe drawne his victorious and triumphing pen against them and their covenant; we had sufficient hopes that his magnifick manifesto should have curbed the insolencies of these phanatick covenanters, laid open their shame to the world, or restored their diseased judgements, but he hath fallen so many bowes short of his reforming intentions, that, like oyl throwne into the flame, it hath begotten whole generations of covenanters, who will impeach the advancement of our kingdome, more than ever Mahomet, and his fellow Sergius, did obscure Boniface; yet the man hath put forth great strength of wit, his reward doth most duely attend him, he must have some round preferment and corpulent dignity, that he may leade a lordly life, and raile at ease; we must let a beame fall upon him, by which our highnesse useth to keep desert warm, and entertain the life of a holy zeale to the great cause. Certainly he must be exalted, a master piece of man, composed by heavens for a great prince's favour, and kingdome's love; exact envie cannot finde a place, to stick a blot on his person or fame; we do ordaine that never-enough admired book, the whip and shame of covenanters, for the glory of his most doctorall indowments, and reverence of his loyall pains in our service, be translated in all tongues and languages, that his renowne may passe from one end of heaven to the other; for truly he hath most valiantly stood in the gap to hold out this schisme and heresie from encroaching and prevailing; but the practises of these demoniaques are without example, and all language is too narrow to expresse their virulent and aculent humour; for they have torn these reverend names of arch-bishops, prelates, and presbyters, which ought to be used with holy ceremony. They have lybelled, arraigned, sentenced, banished, and O! I'm drunk with rage, that their impiety might appeare in its perfect dye to all after ages, they have excommunicat the right reverend fathers in God. Now my episcopall dignity lyes panting at this wound; here modesty suffers, and all that's virtuous, blushes, and truth's self, like the sunne vext with mist, looks red with anger; mine honour is cast off, as the olive shakes off her flower, it is all swept away at once cast; my refined nostrils doe smell a distracted hurry, great things are a-working either in heaven or hell; here is a state puzzell, this execrable impudency hath given a damnable check to our apostolicke designes, it hath damped up the way of our Catholick stratagems; and if our undaunted power, with the helpe of our sonnes, and executioners, the princes of the earth, doe not obviate the thunder-cracks of this glorious ostentation, and ushering storm of truth's triumph, it will certainly advance with a shrewd insolency to our own throne, and confound the glory of our great name: Nay, we may make ourselves ready for perdition, lay by our purple robes, let kings and emperours returne to their own sacrilegious possessions, and drink in the honour of martyrdom with open throat.

They have placed also propheticall confidence in that their covenant, as David did in his little stone which he sunk in Goliaths braines, and do certainly beleieve (such is the strength of the spirit of delusion) that it shall prove like Daniels stone, hewen out of the mountaine without hands, which filled the earth with the greatnesse thereof: We doe not dissemble, but the fame of it hath made the whole members of our hier-

*Un brave homme
tout à fait, et
sûr qu'il ne
flatte point.*

*Honor est præ
mium virtutis.*

*This may turn
propheticall.*

Sic erat in fatis.

* The general assembly of the kirk of Scotland proceeded to censure and depose most of the bishops of that kingdom. The chief charges against them were, holding the doctrine of Arminianism, profanation of the sabbath by games, or other idle pastime, reviling the covenant, &c. &c. In some cases these were aggravated by irregular living, and, what was still worse, by worship of the crucifix. The bishops were finally excommunicated on 7th December, 1638.—See BAILLIE'S Letters, vol. i. p. 127.

archie tremble and shiver. And if the adjacent parts to the affected places be not timely anointed with the baulme of gilead, which flowes most luxuriously (both for our service and pleasure) from all the common-wealths of Europe, to our cabinet, as the center of their tribute; it may fortune to endanger the whole body of the church; for it is a most usurping poyson, mortally searching into all the veines; we doe not esteeme that desperate church of Scotland, we abhorre to waste a thought upon that losse, which we value no more than the carbuncle which Clement the Fifth, transferring the seat from Avignon, did lose by a fall from his horse. But these our holy children, patrons of piety and sanctitie, the hope of our consolations in these northerne islands, the great officers of our church, ordained before time to propagate the saving light to a land that dwelt in darknesse, these loyall and faithfull ministers of the truth who have devoted their lives, and neglected the world for our service; these we do justly bewaile with our apostolic teares: It cuts our hearts, that those holy patriarches should have received the crowne of martyrdom in so dangerous a way; for now we do, as it were, stand over a vault of powder, where the match lyes a-kindling below. And which is the bane of our grudgings, we begin almost to apprehend, that the businesse of the covenant shall prove a leviathan scandall, to lye rolling and troubling the chry-stall waters of other nations devotions, and to the English especially (which was wont to be our *puteus inexhaustus*) prove as great a stumbling-block as the altars and idols of Rome are to the Jewes conversion. Here is the true matter of grief, and here lies equally engaged the life and state of our church. These tragedies will fill the adversaries mouths, and blow the Lutherans cheeks till they crack againe: Now the whole liberty of our church doth suffer; the hope of absolute monarchy begins to be eclipsed, all things move portentuously a strange way. For what ever gracious services, and worthy the fair reverences of their places these venerable soules have done, yet have they nothing effectuat, but wrought out their own death, even as the blind moall, in casting his ambitious bulke up, is often taken and destroyed in the midst of his advanced work. Thus, while they were raising the glory of the house of candor, they are suddenly throwne downe, and their building levelled to the dust: And that iniquity might ruine them with a more plentiful confusion, and waste the treasure of revenge upon their harmlesse soules, they have excommunicat them, and delivered them up to be buried under the heap of shame, never to appear again.

Yet all peace be multiplied upon their most episcopall soules, we heartily accept their unfained zeal, and pronounce them the well beloved children of the Roman church, though they did not well know how to personate the businesse intrusted to them, and worke out the salvation of the cause with subtiltie and patience. And here, by the power given to us from above, as the universall bishop of the catholicke church, wee doe absolve them from all dangers of such impious sentences gone forth against them, wherewith they would labor to staine the face of truth, which they call excommunication; and upon the contrary, as really and truly, as ever Constantine the Great gave to Sylvester the citie of Rome, with the territories thereof; so in all sincere profession, fatherly and effectuall love, doe we most heartily bestow a free and plenarie indulgence, for all their veniall and mortall sinnes, to their departed soules, and ordaine them by the authoritie of the keyes of the kingdome of heaven, to be related amongst the number of canonized, who have lost their life, for the libertie of our kingdome; and wee doe solemnly appoint dayes of commemoration to be set apart, wherein a requiem to be chaunted in all the cathedralls of our see to their blessed soules, though the whole artizans of Italy should starve: Never had the calendar of saints a more noble accession, never had the adversaries more just reason to erect trophées upon our disasters: Let the spirit of division, of shame, and confusion, rage amongst them un-

"They ought not to lose their soules in his holiness service, though they have spoiled their fortunes."

*Permissa com-
muni plerumque
in Authoris
redundant*

*Magna enim, et
boni moris de-
reputatio tandem
obscuro mag-
nis procellis*

mercifully. Wee doe absolve that indocile people from all oath of allegiance, and claime a free libertie to any catholike king or republick whatsoever, to invade that kingdome securely. That it may be *primi occupantis*; for certainly we have as just reason to pour out the phials of our indignation, and fulminate our extorted excommunication, against both prince and people, as ever Alexander the Third our predecessor of holy memory had, when he excommunicat his stubborne vassall, Henrie the Second of England, and brought his royall and haughtie pride to that ebb, that he was constrained to receive his crowne and confirmation thereof from us.

But what? (invincible souldiours in our spiritual warfare) though there be a deadly overthrow given to our best resolutions; though the king of that scurvie covenanting land,* like a lyon rampant, with a daring courage, holds out his inexorable sword for the advancement of that fatall reformation (as they call it) though those wanton hereticks do now insupportably insult to see him an arrant covenanter, and glory more therein than all the gold of India; though now they triumph most prophanely, and think they have victoriously banished all novations, and barr'd out all dislikes, with the rampart of an everlasting civill sanction, and have enthroned their heresies by a municipall law to be idolized for ever: And though likeways it were almost as easie to blow up the whole isle of Brittain to the moone with a powder traine, as to divorce the princes abused soul, from those inward and malignant heresies which have been propagate to him from his uncatholickall ancestors; though the most pregnant insinuations have proved almost ineffectuall; and though the dazeling pompe of the neighbouring churches and kingdomes of the world, can nothing invite him to be mollified, and sweetned toward us; but, like an adder, he still stops his eare at the voice of the charmer; and though the alliance with the most potent and christian French king can nothing serve to inveigle the eyes of his mind; though (my dearely beloved) all these heavie verities discover to us, many and huge mountaines of impediments, which will be hard to remove, let us gird up our loynes notwithstanding.

*Consultationum
impetus, sept
abripunt bonos
et moderatos
Principes.*

Let not us, who are the soule and light of the world, submit ourselves and our cause to the tyrannie of despair: Recover our game; that handfull of heretickes are but as a schismatick pawne in the play; high impietie and blasphemie it were against the apostolick seat, to think the splendor and honour thereof could be interested and clouded by any thing from these parts; for though ordinarily all evil flowes from these turbulent climats, and the Gothes and Vandals have sundry times made inundation upon our patrimony, and most profanely troden under foot our domicell, Italy, the lady and mistris of the world, though oftentimes emperours and kings of the earth have shaken their scepters upon us, and offered to set bounds to our unlimited powers and desires, yet I hope we are as able to wind about the sacrilegious designs of secular and hereticall factions, as ever any of our holy predecessors.

*Omne malum
ab Aquilone*

Wee know perfectly how to begger kingdomes, by dissimulation, unjoint the faire frame of peace, and traffick, poyson alleageance too: And the transferring of empires, the ruines of kingdomes, the excommunication and deposition of kings, and devastations by fire and sword, are the ordinary marks and characters (you know) of the great statesmen of our order, who doe indeed most canonically hold, that these practises are most lawful for them, conducing to the growth of the church, and vindicating our temporall jurisdiction over princes. Let us not therefore faintly give over, but solace ourselves, with memory of great policies past, wherewith we have chastised emperours, kings, and princes, and redacted them to the obedience of the mother church: what

* The covenanters, even in their most angry mood, professed the most profound veneration for the king's person, and differed essentially in that particular from the English independants. "Had our throne been vnd," says their prolocutor Bailie, "and our voices sought for the filling of Fergus's chair, we would have died ere any other had sate down on that fatal marble but Charles alone."—*Letters*, vol. 1. p. 179.

ever we shall happen to lose by battell (as Matchiavel records of the Venetians, who know all the removes of their game,) let us labour to recover the same by treatie and be still labourers in the great worke; let us assemble all the powers of our soules, and combat the cause.

I'll alambique the Sorbone genius, and squeeze the substance of all the common-wealths of Europe, ere I finde not a Catholicon, and soveraigne elixar for this new sprung poyson, which, if the pride thereof be not counter-checked, is able to defloure the glory of our whole church: No, no, those who will not gentlie resigne themselves to the embracements of the ancient apostolicke truth, which we are sent to offer and preach to the world, as the great pastor of the church, must certainly be broken: And before our niter be not adored by all, amongst nations, tongues, and people, I will first thresh the mountaines and islands of the world with a fleal, I will beat them to powder, and fanne them before the wind of my wrath, I will arme the princes of the earth, and cause them to over-terne them, that they never appear more than the monesteries which are sunk about Venice.

[The following copies of recommendatory verses occur in the Edinburgh edition of 1641, between the *Passionate Complaint* and the *Cardinal's Answer*.]

Aliud.

- B B.—Charon have ov'r the ghostlie fathers come
To thy torne boat, and their eternall home.
Ch—Who calls the ferryman of hell? B. B. It's wee
Prime statesmen of the Roman prelatie;
Bring not thy scurvie barge which looks so thin
As any cloud, as old as sunne and moone.
Ch—Dilles in these prelates pride, they've left the earth
Into a fair combustion; after death
They're come the very hells for to confound,
And our infernall common-wealth to wound.
Enter right reverend, many Catholick kings,
Popes, monarchs, which this nimble vessel brings
Each hour, into these fatall mansions, doe
Embargue without a scruple: What are you?
Come, good my lords, you must be rul'd by me,
You had your time, now take your destinie.
Though your big-bellies could engrosse a coach,
Yet if your soules sink, I'll byde your reproach.

To the Author of this Second most flowing and praise-worthy Speech.

I thought, deare friend, that first essay of thine,
Which thou to me so kindlie didst propine,
Should prove the period of thy precious pen,
A pause, to which thou could not reach again.

But higher still thou springst, and I do find
This second birth the modell of thy mind;
Like to a cleare spring powring forth his drills
Which sweetly glyding through two neighbour hills,

With fertile motions meadows overflow,
Till they turne streames, and streames to rivers grow.

So that transcending inexhausted vein,
From forth the treasure of a fertile brain
Distills such nectars of renewed store,
Are sweeter now, though sweetest of before.
And so no doubt, these rivulets so clear,
Shall of full growth faire rivers once appere.

M. D. Prymrose. J. C.

An Answer to His Holinesse's Remonstrance: By Cardinall Antonio di Barbirini, in the Name of the Rest of the Roman Clergy, in the Consistory at Rome.

Most holy father, to whom we convert our humblest duties and sacrifices of our devoted thoughts, great monarch of the church, to whose glory do all our actions bend as the last scope of their advantage, We do most passionately condole the just anguish of your afflicted heart; certainly our imaginations are so strongly seazed, by the shaking of these turbulent times, that wee have almost resigned the whole powers of our soule to feare and wonder; our tongues are captived, and chayned up without a sound.

Wee can beare record, that your holinesse, like heaven's glorious luminarie, hath bountifully diffused the warme beames of puritie through the whole church catholicke, and every place thereof: You have not onely guided the tops of the mountaines, and made the tall cedars of Lebanon to laugh, swelling them with the graces of your nursing favours, but have likewise daigned to visit the humble vallies, and made the marjoline and myrrhe finde the benignitie of your favourable aspect, and the influence of your apostolicke entertainments.

Thus like the soveraigne Good, who delights to communicate his all embracing sweetness, you would extend the skirts of your favour upon the most neglected parts of the world, even that fatall kingdome of Scotland buried in darknesse and ignorance. Wee that are the cabinet and depositary of your secret workings in the misterie of your episcopizing, doe well know how you have been (as it were) hotly courting that silly people, and with what a fatherly zeale you have wooed that rebellious and gainesaying nation, which hath answered the hopes of your long-wished joy, with the high anatheme of a cruell covenant, and a furious combination never to bee dissolv'd against your holinesse, the great officer of the church, Christ's vicègerent on earth, and all the maintainers of the articles and ceremonies of the Roman faith. We wish our heads were waters, and our eyes fountaynes of tears, to weep for the calamities of our mother. The fears of heresies encrease, and all our disastrous disappointments, which your holinesse, out of the plenitude of your wisdom, and spirit of sagacitie, hath most divinely laid open to our weary soules. Wee are fallen into the ends of the world, and persecution must come for the elect's sake. Now the wicked and hereticks doe hold the church by the throat, and now wee must move every oare, straine all assistances, sollicite all our devoted crownes, and send forth the kings of the earth like victorious Hercules, to destroy the pallulating heads of this terrible and herettical serpent, and to suppress that all-spreading covenant of Scotland, the most horrible invention and usurping monster that ever hell hatched: It hath appeared like a blazing comet in the north (with themselves may the event dwell of the portentuous presage) and hath in many, who were otherwaies in a pretty aptitude, and maturity to be good catholicks, stirred the spirit of curiosity, which may marre implicate obedience, the subversion of which article will make the whole frame of our mystery to crack: A dangerous perspective for laicks to

*Qui malè facit
odit lucem.*

looke into our consistory *Per Madonna santissima di Loretta*. When we fall upon the businesse of that northerne league, and the ensign of the covenant displayed, we loose ourselves, and cannot plumb that deep; it hath affrighted us like a lightning, made all the Christian kings start up on their feet with an, What is it? It is surely a thunderbolt, broke upon the very head of S. Peters, and proudly entring, hath overturned the alters, throwne downe the images, dismantled the beauty of the church, astonished the whole ligators of our Mosaicke workes, and profained the whole glory of the temple. A speare it is, which thrust through the bowells of state catholicke, hath dared the very heart of spirituall monarchy.

Your holinesse, whose vigilant eye, doth most laboriously survey the conditions of times and states, and with a fatherly care watch over the crowns and scepters of nations, hath in trueth and strength of passion, most episcopally discovered the monster begotten by the nimblest witted divell, nurst up in these northern deserts, and destinat to measure the world with his quaint paces. Wee doe feare that by the sting and taylor of a scorpion, it shall naile the tender church throw with shame and torment. Let us provide it cast no venome beyond seas, for then shall it mount over the Alpes, and with his poysonable attempts, presume to assault your holinesse's own domesticks: Neither shall the proud Pirennees keepe it from thrusting in to Spayne, the most intemperate and immaculate place of the church body: It will mock the spectacled fathers of the inquisition, and creepe there invisible like *Fratres Rosæ Crucis*.¹ And no *Index Expurgatorius* (which, like the purgatory fire, we have ever with catholical lenitie used, either for mollifying or eradicating other monsters) will serve to correct or banish this one. Truly, those diseased prelates (holie father) have spun us no fair thread, nor have they proven grand sophies, when, by the conquest of that poot kingdom (which would never make any considerable accession to your revenues, but was like the drop to the bucket) and promoting immature novations, they have occasioned too innocently the losse of our game, and endangered the myters reputation.

If these perturbations doe once come unto a deep working, and beginne to extend their prophaine petulancies, we fear your holinesse, whose all adored niter made prostrate crowns to tremble, and scepters shake, may bee glad to bee sheltered in S. Angelo's castle, or run to the hornes of the altar; and wee the suns of harmonie, who are the carbuncles which adde splendour to your spirituall crowne, must betake our selves to the favour of times and fortunes, and leave our goodly dignities, with the fat of their corpulent affluence, to the devotion of sacrilegious souldiers.

Nay, certainly, if this swelling combustion do but offer to staine the serenity of our heavens, with any smoake, and stifle our purity, wee are all confounded, wee are all blowne up, and the kings of the earth, the powers of the world, and every soule of man, even the begging Capuchine, who can glory of nothing but his venerable beard, his chaplet, and torne breviarie, shall regard your holinesse no more, shall give you no more bended knees, nor sacrifices of real and spirituall tribute, than to the man of the moone. And you knowe, most catholicke monarch of BBs,² if those golden floods, which doe most proudly play upon the philosophical stones of your Vatican, be once withdrawne, and call'd back to their tributary sources, (to which you have as undoubted and irredeemable a³ right, as to those very omnipotent keyes which you carry, and to the monopolie of all benefices, which you have happily engrossed to your most archiepiscopall person) we cannot but faint, who are fed by the refreshments of those streames: Our cardinall caps, bestowed upon us by your holinesse as garlands of our honour and eminencie, must needs wither and fall away, and remove the suns

¹ The Rosicrucians pretended to have intercourse with the spiritual world, and the power of invisibility.

² Bishops

³ "By the right of merite, and the salique law."

beames; where shall his glory be? If we, as so many earth-treading starnes, who adorne the sky of your state be stript of our beautie, if wee shutt and fall, in what *primum mobile* shall your sanctity shine? Wee are set about the seate of your majestic, as summers speckled flowry garment, and if wee bee blasted by the injuries of tempestuous times, what shall embellish your holinesse: These are heavy trueths: but under the rose be it spoke, *Santissimo Padre*. Some blowes wee have received, more are feared: heavens and earth doe know, and all courts, all churches are filled with the fortune or misfortune of the great businesse; that abortive service booke, and those canons, have shamefully disoblighd the church catholick, and with their roaring, have awaked and disturbed all Christendome, and turned their sulphurous throates against their makers. There are certainly some ungracious uncatholick planets raging, who have powred forth the malignitie of their venomous influence upon your reforming and fatherly undertakings. The heavens distill their sterner frownes, and threaten us with their baddest aspects. Wee were ready to teare the clouds with bells ringing, and priests singing, and thought the smoake of our bonfires should shortly ascend to heaven, and staine the sunnes face: but, holie father, it's no time for quaint speaking; we ought not dissemble, nor use indulgence to our wound. Let us mittigate and rectifie our woes as cunningly and quietly as wee may, the spate of disastrous calamitie hath almost drown'd our faire hopes in despaire. A cold feare sits black on each of our hearts; we have not beene well inward with the mind of destinie in the businesse of these northerne negotiations. It seems we have not been sufficiently assisted, but deserted in this particular: consult the propheties, set your astrologitians a worke; may be you finde (but heavens blesse the church catholicke, and avert) that some of these northerne princes have *Capricornum ascendentem in Horoscopo*, which is, and hath ever beene the most fallall and malevolent signe to the Roman empire in all the zodiaque: and for the trueth hefeof, Wee call the times' never to bee forgotten, and histories of all ages, to witnesse: from thence, indeed, doe the first cloudes appeare. and as in your holinesse remonstrance was piously observed, all propagations of empyres, all irruptions and effusions of people, are ever found to have been from the north to the south. If this bee the inclination of our averse sphæares thus unkindly to use us; if this be the purpose of him who beholds the ends of the world, to present this cup to the *Romane* prelacie, and put our spirituall kingdome, which wee beleve shall prosper so long as the heavens cover the earth, thus in jeopardie; certainly those uncircumcised lyons will teare us to pieces, and make banners of our catholicke skinnes, and scratch your myter (whose shaddow was revered by princes of the earth) to very contemptible and forgotten atomes, and powder your supream self in Luthers barrel: they will sacke your citie, the queene of the earth, tread upon the worlds trophees, and fill the holiest place with abomination of desolation.

Uno dato abusu-
do, multa
sequuntur.

To the same
Messieurs.

Where ever wee send forth our enquiring eyes, they report nothing from all the corners of the world, but sad entertainments of these feares, and appearances of mutations from that kingdom of Scotland, (which is now most desperately diseased of a swelling tympanic, or some pluresie, incurable but by the voiding of that prevailing blood, which over rules or offends the head, and choakes the heart,) as the source of our reproach, the fountaine of our shame, doe wee deryve the streames of our injuries and calamities, and to those all despised hereticks likewayes do we justly impute the advancements of the same. Your holinesse ever sollicit to gain that which is lost, had emitted your faithfull labourers, and planted a vine,¹ which for the time was very lux-

¹ "Imp. Carolus V. Frans. Rex Gallia, Carolus Corbonius. Cosmus Med. Florentia Dux."

² "Assyrii vicerunt Chaldaeos, Assyrios Medi: Graeci Persas: Romani Paros: Gothi Romanos. Turcae frangerunt Arabes: Tartari Turcas: Angli Gallos: Scoti Anglos."

³ "The service booke, which produced most sovereign and generous grapes."—Original Notes.

uriant, and did proudly spring like Jonas gourd; but, alas! that unexpected poysonable worme of the covenant hath enroached upon the heart thereof, and vowed to suck out the very soul of it.

Eheu quam levibus percunt ingentia causis!

Nay, this worme is like to bee metamorphosed in a flying dragon. and infest the whole Christian world. Your holinesse did mercifully elance a saving beam upon that Cimmerian land, which was kindly welcommed by those who had submitted themselves to bee doctriate by our fomenting^a suggestions, and it did most effectually animate them to great performances; wee were made hopefull to see the day break foorth gloriously, for the cocks fell a crowing, which told us the nights departure, yet have they maliciously closed their eyes,^b rejected the lights comfort, and most bitterly banished those faithfull evangelists, nay with a more perfect hatred and meritorious violence than ever Loyala's tribe was turned out from among the straight-lact Venetians; and now they thinke (reprobate soules) that they have reproachfully mounted them as it were on the asses of indignitie, and send them to the land of Nod with an *Ecco la fero*, yet nothing so, but the pale horse of a civill and temporall death at woist; upon which, triumphing martyrs, they have entred paradise, and necessary it was, blessed father, that they should bee removed from the contagions and conversation of the wicked, that when the deserved devastations and devourings shall break forth in the fulnesse of their rage, they might laugh at their persecutors. The day of their destruction: thus was the good Josias called to his eternall home before Babylon's captivitie, and the most catholicke bishop S. Augustine's death, like a gentle staines tall, did fore-run and point out the subversion of the city of Bone. Those are the ramparts of the church, which must be taken down, that the inundation of desolation may burst in and swallow the trophées of insulting heresie; for even as the sagacious swallow doth retie her young ones, before the approaching fall of the crasie vault, so are the blessed souls, heaven's minions, promiscuously confounded with the tumultuous hereticks, singled by, and lift above the reach of danger, before the publike ruines. All these impieties and oppressions have no more harmed^c than if a man out of his fury and anger would thinke to afflict and drowne the harmless captive fish by throwing it in a river; for wee are bold to perswade, in the courage of victorious spirituall souldiers, that all these sentences, excommunications, extrusions, and other furies, whereby sacrilegious blasphemie hath exerced the height of tyrannie against trueths heraulds, shall prove in end like Sampson's lyon, out of the strong shall come sweet, their righteousnesse shall spreade as the morning, and their glory shall be terrible as an armie with banners: though they now sleepe, yet it is not to the death. Indeed, fortune for all this hath dealt us a very bad game at this tour, but yet a little, and the cards shall bee shuffled; they have refused our saving and catholick curtesies, and kickt againe, they have affrighted us with lightnings; but may bee, wee shall crush those terrestriall heads with thunder, and blow away their designes as chaffe before the winde: and though the Lutherans and our adversaries doe fatten themselves with their insultings over us, and thinke we have so deeply tasted the bitterness of that last overthrow, which our catholick friends,^d your holinesse's nimble executioners, and those likewayes of your holinesse's own familie did lately suffer by sea, in advancing your evangelicall intentions; and though they stick not to flatter their abused souls with this confidence, that now there are no more Constantines to be found, who dare hold up the banner of the crosse,

^a "Their eyes were anointed with omnipotent balmes."

^b "Light is sown for the righteous."

^c "The Spaniards and Italians." — *Original Notes*.

nor any to march under the same, yet must we be espoused to new resolutions of recovery, and let the triumphing snakes duly find that our arms are not shortened, our wings are not clipt, and that neither are the kingdoms subjected to our two all-commanding swords, exhaust of the true faith's defenders; nor India and Peru, yet prompt of red and white earth, which shall produce us children to maintain truth's garland, even in the midst of our enemies, for our chymists are excellent operators, and can extract the sovereign baulm, and very effectually apply it to the suspected places, which being cunningly adhibite with the concurrence of your apostolike benedictions and encouragements, wee have seene have such a powerfull operation, that it hath never ceased till, awaking an intestine discord, at length it hath cast out all redundant and noxious humours, and expelled the root of the disease. And as to that little shuffle which our apostolicke navy hath received, partly by the indiscretion of the sea, and uncurtesie of the windes, (for among these Huguenotes the very aire and water are puritans) and partly by the neglect and connivance of princes, bee it knowne wee have already digested that little tickling pill of misfortune, as clearly as wee have eclipsed the memory of the¹ crescent in 88.

But here we spare to stretch ourselves on these regates, your episcopall providence will smell the storme afarre, looke to the prevailing thereof, and find out the most powerfull meanes to elude the dangers of these tumbling times, that the afflicted church, as the lilly among thornes, may looke sweet and glorious as the moone in her full pride: Yet, by the presumptions of times, one thing seemes to bee sure, if wee might see fates booke, the senate house of planets hath at no time beene more unfriendly set for the acting of some strange trage-comedie in Europe.

Which makes us call to minde the pernicious prophesies of those unchristian dames, those Sybilles, who, like phanaticke Syrenes, have intoxicate the world, and so strongly possess the soules of those who are conversant with curiosity, that many good catholickes, and of high endowments, poysoned with their Greek musick, doe entertaine secret opinions and fears of a very fatall period, ordained for our spiritual kingdome; for in those their prophane invectives, and hell blowne satyrs, wherewith they have persecuted your holinesse's throne (as the spirit of delusion doth cheate the worlds beliefe) and your seate; this citie likewayes (which looks like the moone amongst the lesser starres) though shee bee stellified to heaven, yet those unpure spirits, with their usurping uncatholick pens, have presumed to lay her horne in the dust; and they have presented the map² of aftertimes (to those who will idolize their oracles) so farre to the disadvantage and shame of your holinesse's high calling, that all the resplendant rayes of our dazeling pomp, wherewith we have obfuscated, even at a great distance, the rest of nations, must bee drowned for sooth in the smoake of an utter ruine and endlesse confusion, your holinesse's purple, and our scarlet robes, wherewith wee darkned the eyes of beholders, and enamoured the admiring stranger, by a prophane and poetickall fury they have turned over our heads, and rejoyce to have our nakednesse display'd to the world. Surely a strange enthusiasme in these feminine braines; yet these times may fortune to renew the ideas, which those chimerick impressions have given to the more facile soules; who are easily carried about with every winde of beliefe; for now there is a great unconstancie and certayne kinde of branktings in many parts, even amongst the sons of your institutions, heires of your unmeasured designs, expectants of the blessed chaine, and those, on whom Ignatius, and Matchiavell, the two genius of the Tryter, had powred a double measure of their spirits.

Spiritual and
temporall
counsellors.

Every alteration in states, even to the better, your holinesse knowes is dangerous: And whether the newes of this great change, of a patriarch to bee set up in France, have arrived at your holinesse ghostly eares, or not, wee are ignorant: You may de-

¹ "The armado which came displayed in forme of the moone's crescent."

² "In the second booke of the Oracles of Sybilla, at this part---*hominum tu denique seculum, existes decimum.*"

Original Note.

scend to view what face the purpose hath, and try the pedigree from whom it came, and whether it goes. Out of the profundity of your infallible judgement, your holinesse can obviate the impertinencie of any event, and devance the consequence of this springing. You best know, what conduceth both to the glory, growth, and indemnitie of the church, and for the honour and majestic of your own throne: But truly, wee the fathers of the conclave, doe thinke it to bee a very strange boutade, and a labouring designe, pregnant with many monstrous productions; and that his vehement and polypragmaticke spirit, through the insolencie and indulgence of a swelling fortune, cannot rest, but making eruption beyond the limits of his vocation, with an inordinate appetite of glory, shall aspire to the top of the pyramide. Such exorbitant humours are most apt to confound the order of geometrick proportion; and being voyde of a politike mansuetude, indocile or blind obedience, lovers of mutations, are most fertile of emulations, and civil warres, and oftentimes involve all in a dolefull conflagration. This (as many other emergencies of these times) seemes to bee the beginning of a deviation, which cannot end but in apostasie, especially among that nation, which doth ever please itself in changes; could not, holie father, all the crownes in France serve to stay his vast ambition, unlesse he had something above his cardinals coronet likewayes? Presse into the inner cabinet of these designs, there your holinesse may well finde something, which cannot bee consistent with your myter.

For though your holinesse hath now obscured the brightnesse of the patriarches of the east, and hath erected your apostolick crest to that unparallel'd height of pre-eminencie, from whence you doe stately overlooke them, and all other churches, even as the mountaines of Ararat, whereupon the arke rested, lifted up their welcome and triumphing tops above the decreasing waters; yet the appearing of this patriarch, as of a new unknown starre, may beget a desire in the laicks, to study the motion of our heavens too officiously, and so run the hazard of revolting heresies, in their supererogatory contemplations. For your holinesse cannot forget to remember, that howbeit by the Florentine and Laterane councill it was unanimously and canonically concluded, that the foure patriarches of Constantinople, Antiochia, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, should receive their mantle, the signe of plenitude of their pontificall dignitie, from your holy hands, and after the order of the assigned precedencie, tender the oath of allegiance to the Roman prelate, at whose appearance in his fullest grace, they must put up their beames and disappear; yet they have alwayes had protestations of reluctance, and rebound to the title of their patriarchall dignitie, holding themselves isopresbyters, composed of that same stuffe whereof popes are said to bee made, and can hardly bee induced to humble themselves to the dependance of a derivation, or be restrained from transcending the category of subordination: nay certainly, it doth relish too much of an exemption from the Romane sea, and study of monarchie: wee should not have wondred so profusely to have seene such hierarchiall ambition, point out his presumptuous head, in the remoter parts of Brittain, and Ireland beeing so farre distant from the influence of your pacificke scepter, (the advancements being there but very greene as yet,) not attained their flourishing lustre; for even as the windes and raines doe exerce a mutuall rage, shooting foorth their luxuries in the lower parts of the ayre, where they raigue in their turbulent kingdome, but in the higher regions thereof, nigh to the fires orbe, and approaching the sunne, no motion, no agitation, but a gentle calme doth continually dwell; so certainly in those forgotten and barbarous places, not apt for the spirit of obedience, the true author of peace; no wonder there bee commotion and scandals: but in France the very myter's eye to build altars of offence, may beget a storme, which will force us to pull downe our sailes, if we escape shipwracke: and if the Pagan souldiers made scruple to use Christ's reverend roabe so rudely as to teare the same, how deservedly ought they to bee redargued, who prepare the renting of his sacred bodie, the church, with their ambitiously swelled zeale?

The crying necessities of these times, which looke too sullen, and the exigencies of the affronted church, if there bee pittie amongst us, and holy zeale to vindicate her credite, would wring from us poyson to kill all the policies of Europe. Yet (holie father,) though the powers of heresie should combine and concentrate their malice, though the frame of the universe should be disjointed, we have a never-failing promise, that the gates of hell shall not prevaile against us. Heavens great substitute, absolute father of the church, if ever power did shew a masterie in you, let it now appeare, and make the redacted world stand amazed.

*O nimium dilecte Deo cui militat æther,
Et conjuratæ curvato poplite gentes
Succumbunt———
Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.*

There's elixir of braine and spirit amongst us, and the God of riches lies imprisoned in our cabines and monasteries. Let us doe any thing to rule alone, though it be very rare to see the world ruled by one: the most proud and obstinate resistances are aloft, and now a dayes women's soft soules are wrought up to a masculine malice and resolution, for persecuting truth, and hugging error; therefore make your wrath likewise to swell. Extend your mighty armes, call up the princes of the earth, let the sounds of your alarum be heard from one ende of heaven to the other, and straight behold the kings and potentates, like children of obedience, shall forsake their palaces out of a filial submission, and leave their stately magnificence to bee possess of solitude, inhabited by bats and owles, and entrust their dearest queenies to the benevolence of churchmen and eunuches: then will they muster their force, employ their scepters, and straine all the nerves of their kingdome for the well of the cause catholike.

Ecclesiastæ volunt esse monarchia.

Let it alwayes be the chiefest of our cares, the first of our desires, to hold up warre immortall, ever to trouble the calme of peace, to shut up the seas, to disable, to disjoyne, to inspire our emissaries and incendiaries, with the spirits of dissimulation and division, to infold all state policies in confusion, to choke all, to inflame all with a most catholike combustion; for certainly some cruelties are better and more necessary than silly improfitable mildnesse, which, like a cold and barren quality, can never mature the churches growth. No, no, the braying of canons, the dawbing of drums are good catholicke musicke, by which our apostolick expeditions use to advance the spirituall kingdome, and goe in procession through the world; our motions must be restlesse and busie, like that of the heavens, every one bestirring himselfe in his owne spheare; and your holinesse, with most grave and venerable alacritie, will give the strong impulse. Wee in the consistorie, and those ministring and subtle spirits of that rich seed-plot of Sorbone, shall come such riddles, and shall so inveagle the heretick soules and churches, that kings shall find themselves enough puzzled. From this holy citadell, this impregnable capitoll, our spirituall engineeres, who are most canonically bred, and authentically practised, shall through such fierie balls among nations and people, as those that dare oppone truth's candor, shall be put in a terrible damp.

*Flectere si nequeunt superos
Acheronta movebunt.*

*From the
conclave.*

Go to (holie father) move strongly, as becomes the state of your courage, and in a high sweld metropolitan confidence, blow downe the strong holds of error; remove the isles out of the sea, and shake the mountains that stand up so heretically against the promised, the prophesied reformatiions to the faith catholike; never unbend your infallible bow, till you have hit the conquered marke of your most evangelick intentions; our adversaries must not erect the trophees of their ambition upon the ruines of our reproaches. Wee will first fetch the compasse of the world, and conglomerate our undaunted forces, like a destroying and inexorable tempest, to sweep away truth's

enemies. All our convents shall first be turned into fencing-schools, before the great cause be disgraced. We will defend mainly, engage our very crucifixes, and hypothecat our cardinals caps, before the mitre's honour be any whit touched.

But now, because many incumbencies advertise us to dissolve, and some strange ambassadors attend your holinesse, from whose bosome they come to receive apostolick directions, to lead them as a starre in the way to the hill of greatnesse, where the laurells of triumph doe condignly attend them: we forbear to presume on this times importance, onely daring represent to your holinesse, how necessary it is to imploy pens, policies, and power, to rack all our might for advancing our holy intentions, and breaking the clouds of error and heresie, which are like to over-spread the whole world; consider how the crying necessities of our bleeding primitive mother doe implore the same: in the mean time (till your holinesse have more precious leisure to bestow upon further catholike resolutions) let there be a grand apostolick nuncio dispatched, upon the wings of speed, to the isle of Brittain, (if there bee any courtesie to receive him there worthily) even strongly assisted with the spirit of truth, which your holinesse's predecessors did usually send to the Tridentine councill for the actuating of those infallible members, and extirping of heresie. Instruct him deeply how to proclaime to the world, and write it on the skie with letters of gold never to be forgotten, and print it in the records of histories to all after-ages, that though religion bee the common pretence of discontent amongst these untamed hereticks, wherewith they use to maske their unbridled licence, their affronted boldnesse, their high contempt of soveraigntie, and dare commit any impiety, guiled with the lustre of sanctity; yet nothing is so strongly desired, nothing so truely intended by them, abhorring the order of subjection, than to shake off the yoke of monarchie, and breake the cords of spirituall and temporall jurisdiction, with the spring of their desperate frenzie.

It will not bee expedient, likewise, to cause some others, who are enriched with the strength of more abilities, and do cunningly know how to creep into the mindes and cabinets of princes, and take dominion there, be sent forth with all convenience, for subverting the machinations of the Matchiavilian Calvinists: let authority, lords of power, and masters of time be taught (for clemencie is the nurse of rebellion) how to presse them downe with weight, though the conspiring crew that breathes nothing but fire, and vomits blasphemie, who hath consecrate their estates, and espoused their neglected lives to the lust of revolting, should crie out violence, and rigour, and crueltie, and tyrannie, and craft, and malice; for those things have been the soveraigne and effectuall ways of our enlargings, and it is the mysterie of greatnesse to hold the inferiours still ignorant of it, and strike like lightning and thunder.

Moreover, because the seditious furie of the unruly multitude (even as a tumbling flood acquiring strength to it selfe by moving, carries all it meets before it in a precipice) doth waxe to such a prevailing strength as none can hold out against the bitterness of the tempest; therefore let us work wisely, and as men use to disappoynt the over-flowings of undaunted rivers, by branching them in little weake rivulets, thus to extenuate the impetuositie of the maine streame, by diverting the fulnesse of indocile waters, and turning them aside. So must wee (in a degree more than becomes supremacie to stoope) flatter a while, and nourish the hopes, and entertaine the desires of conspirers, distract the mindes of the multitude, weaken them by the breach of union, and delude them most egregiously; for so long as those conventions rule, whereby the consent of the abused people receives most poisonous aliment, and they become fortified in their error, then each provokes another, even as the billows of the enraged sea are driven forward by their urging and importune fellows.

Therefore must it bee amongst the first of the articles of your attourneyes instructions, exceedingly to labour this point, that those their great counsels, infallible assemblies, and unwarranted synagogues of hypocrites, bee most divinely impeded; and

that the parliaments bee broke up, and crushed in the bud, both in Scotland and England, for those confluences of demure divells, have ever given us the greatest dash, and beene the very bane of our agonies.

Wee hope withall, your holinesse, out of the bowels of pittie, cannot forget the miserable prelates, your faithfull labourers. It is indeede their fortune, (through too eager and unadvised zeale, to the glory of rising altars to your holinesse's purposes, in that land where they lived) and not their fault, that thus they are left in the wildernesses of times and povertie; make them taste, therefore, of the sweetnesse of your remembrances; for it were high indignitie to your holinesse, the pryncesse of bishops, to let those silly soules engage their surplis and service-books for the maintenance of their laborious lives.

Amongst all other expediences, here is one likewyses which cries extreemely, that since we had very justly anchored our best expectations upon the northerne cities of that rigid and infortunate iland of Scotland, where indeede the religion pretended was never perfectly welcommed, and that by our last intelligence wee have learned they have likewise joyned hand with impietie, and divorcing themselves from the loyaltie of the great worke, have entred the dance with the rest of the giddy hereticks, neglecting our resentments of most catholick services done, and our encouragements to persevere, that yet notwithstanding there might be some zealous invention and spirituall stratagem found how to regaine them, and to redeeme them from that deserved perdition which followes heresie.

And as to the parliamentary stage-men, who do now personat so bravely, we hope, before they come to the last act of the play, where they trust to bring in your holinesse as a mytred boufoone, if there be any soule amongst us, we shall do our best to make their dalliance epilogue in a tragedy, and overturn the stage upon the actors.

The lords of
the parliament.

Intelligence from the Apostolicke Nuncio, Il Conte di Rozetti, now residing at London, to Pope Urban the Eighth.

May it please your Holinesse,

The humble zeale to acquit my selfe loyall to your apostolick employments, and the perfection of that great worke for which I was sent hither, made me hasten with my

* The northern parts of Scotland, but especially the city of Aberdeen, received the covenant with extreme reluctance. Spalding's Memoirs, the minute but interesting record of the events of the time, gives a curious account of the insolence of the commissioners, who came, in 1638, to press the covenant upon the city:—"Upon the 20th day of July, the Marquis of Montrose, the Lord Couper, the master of Forbes, the laird of Leys, the laird of Morplie, Mr Alexander Henderson, minister at Leuchar, in Fife, Mr David Dickson, minister of Irvine, and Mr Andrew Cant, minister at Pitslago, as commissioners from the covenanters, came altogether to New Aberdeen; the provost and baillies courteously salutes them at their lodging, offers them a treat of wine, according to their laudable custom, for their welcome; but this their courteous answer was disdainfully refused, saying, they would drink none with them, till first the covenant was subscribed; whereat, the provost and baillies were somewhat offended, and suddenly took their leave; caused deal the wine in the head-house among the poor men, whilk they had so disdainfully refused, whereof the like was never done to Aberdeen in no man's memory." SPALDING'S *History of the Troubles in Scotland*. Aberdeen. 1792 l. p. 68. The consequence of the arrival of these commissioners was a fierce controversy betwixt them and the divines of the city and university, which spread into demands, answers, replies and duplies, upon the legality of taking the covenant. These were published with a prefatory letter, by the Marquis of Hamilton, in 1638, *cum privilegio*. But the force of an army of 8000 men, which occupied the town in the following spring, proved a more effectual argument with the recusants, than those of Mr David Dickson and Mr Andrew Cant, and the citizens were compelled to receive the covenant. This force was commanded by Montrose, who afterwards played such a different part in the civil wars.

* "The city of Aberdeen, honoured by embracing the covenant."—Original Note.

* The Count di Rozetti, an Italian ambassador, resided at London as an envoy from the pope to Queen Henrietta Maria, a circumstance which was more than once subject of remonstrance from the House of Commons.

trembling pen in hand, to drop out some advertisements to you, in behalfe of truth's candor, who never in greater extremity than this, doth make her pittiful addresse to your holinesse, by whose protection she is secured from the insolent affronts of the vulgar; being distressed, she makes you her faire sanctuary; being wounded, shee makes you her soveraigne balme. I know this infortunate paper of intelligence shall swell your vext soule mightily, and affright all Italy with feare and wonder. Yet, if your heart bee not split asunder with grieve and terrour, or if there be any counsell, or courage left in your conclave, looke to the agony of the miter, which is now sicke, even sicke to the death: lift up your weeping eyes, consider the times and seasons; and let the spirit of prudence preserve us from utter perdition, least this reprobate indocile iland make us very quickly a reproach and opprobry to the world.

It would certainly burne the hearts of all true catholicks with consuming anguish to looke upon the present distempers, and to thinke how glorious your kingdome had lookt by this time, like a Colossus upon the columnes of strength and policy; scorning thunder, and out lasting tempests; O! that wee had never angled in that abhominable kingdome of Scotland, nor solicited the return of that stubborn people to us so hotly; fore surely belike, they will awake all Cristendome, and pervert the world. Your holinesse did behold them with the eye of disdain, lookt asquint upon them (as the sun doth) and conceaved these northernes to be but dull and half spirited soules, who could not discover plots, resist the majesty of your intentions, nor mount to their wishes in a direct line without stop or hinderance; but let mee tell your sanctity, they resolve to goe on (armed with their princes smile) and destroy your very name, your memory, your ashes, with as easie a freedome, as rough winds demolish crasie buildings.

Not content with that great disgrace they have done your apostolick dignity, in their owne church, (now indeed deserted and desperate) by that covenant (which wee thought a silly shrub, but is now growne a sturdy oake, and waxeth stately like the proud cedar) they have moved a bauner against the residue of our hopes in England; for the episcopall expedition and holy war against the hereticks, and rebels most damnably succeeding (which will make a black and shamefull history to embellish the Vatican library) they have come forward incensed, and with strange pretences (as brave men, who, in their awfull palmes, doe bare about bitter destinies, and command even fate it selfe) advance our destruction strongly; for albeit wee did little regard their harmelesse simplicity, and mocked all their sayings, which they distilled soft as oyle; yet wee have now found their sting sharper than two edged swords; for they have so poysoned the world with their pamphlets, their papers, and new tricks of a reformation as they call it, (a thing as contrary to the mystery of your kingdome, as light to darkness) that now nothing can compose the fury of the obstinate people, nor smooth the commotions, unlesse episcopacy first of all be throwne over boord; and then, having given the swinge to the wheele of their fancy, no hopes of rest.

Your holinesse had wisely, and effectually too, established your right, and continued your possession in those parts, by that hierarchy: but now the glory is departed from those mighty champions; they are chased to and fro as a forsaken leafe before the wind, and know not where to pitch; and he also, that ere while was the great Primate of England, * *alterius Orbis Patriarcha*, for a throne of eminency, is like to be brought upon the scaffold of delinquency; and the rest of the holy fathers of this church, lovers of peace, and most religious observers of the old apostolick enmency, for the honour of the church, and glory of the gospel, are likewise trembling, every day ready to be offered up as a sacrifice to the public hate. The valorous pens of your emissaries, and faithfull labourers, are now discouraged, lulled asleepe, and turned

* Laud was examined, Dec. 4th, impeached, and committed to the charge of the usher of the Black Rod, 13th Dec. 1640. On the 1st March following, he was committed to the Tower, amid the insults and execrations of the mob.

against themselves. The authors of the most meritorious peeces are now arraigned before the hereticall tribunals, and shall hardly be brought off, if the strength of your policy, and assiduity of your prayers, doe not prepare their safety. Their shining vertues, by which they ought to have beene so deare to the church of Rome, are now wrapt in clouds of shame. All things move crosly; and now when our affaires were even ripening, and our just hopes pregnant with conceit of wreaths and triumphs, behold, we are filled with nothing but disappointments, and apprehensions of further reaching woes.

I know the portentuous newes of the Scottish and English treaty (which fills all courts and kingdomes), hath long ere now afflicted your most sacred eares; for the estates of Scotland (which we can never name without shame and anger), have given order to their commissioners (embassadours of our overthrow), to treat with the peeres of England, for the production of an established peace betwixt the two nations, and so, consequently, for preparing worse dayes to us, than the miseries of the most disastrous war; they are linked together like two malignant powerfull planets in conjunction, who have such forceable influence in the times, that they cast forth a flood of fire, and animate every thing against us with a dangerous temper. By the conference of this treaty, (which joynes their interlaced minds in an individuall league) and by the prophane canvassing, and supercilious contractation of the highest mysteries of state, we see how they have over-done us, and over-witted us in all our policies. It shall bee found (most holy father) true as the eternal verities, that their union will prove our infallible confusion; and that ordinary remedy of a division, which has oftentimes proved so effectually, in such exigencies, will likewise now forsake us; for all their purposes, their judgments, their affections,

(Like as a nimble smiling flame
Meeting another, grows the same.)

Are now but all one, pointing upward with their heads, not to Heaven, but to the top of their execrable hopes, being no other than to see your venerable miter (which so long hath beene the terrour of princes), buried in the dust: never did plots thrive like theirs; every day, and every circumstance of time, adds a new degree of strength to their machinations; fortifying themselves against us most sensibly, even as by the continuall revolution of the approaching sun, we find the day is enlengthned, and the summer begotten. There be greater considerations in hands than the curious rules of ceremonies, which, I confesse, did most multiply egregiously, after the majesty, and decency of the Italian splendour; certainly their actions doe carry an unusuall weight, and sutable to themselves doe flye at an unusuall height. Their progresse is swift and powerful as is the progresse of unlimited fire in a populous city; or, like winds, whose force doe, at their birth, rend ope the stubborn wombe of the dull earth.

I have skrewed myself as cunningly as I could, in the bosome of their intelligence, and found the pulse of the buisnesse; but I declare my sagacity fails me, if they do not thirst after the very heart-blood of your honour, and combine for your final fall; and all this, under the gallant name of loyalty to their king, and specious pretext of defending the faith. Oh, the cunning hereticks the Scots! they have besieged us most subtilly, and sprung a mine, as it were, under your holinesse's own throne.

Amongst other inveigling devices, they have coined such a blasphemous way of argumenting against venerable episcopacy, that it will prove most destructive of that heavenly hierarchy, by which your holiness had anchored on the beauty of this church; and this malignancy is followed with congruity of humours so easily elemented, that, I doubt, the miserable torne thing cannot escape ship-wracks in this hell-blowne tem-

pest. They laugh at the authority of our church; they scorne the arguments of antiquity, saying, that truth did precede error; and all the considerations of pompe and state, and externall magnificence, they hold lighter than vanity.

As to the assembly of the high court of parliament, here, (upon which all hereticke churches do gaze more superstitiously than the Indians looke upon the sun, which they adore) 'tis more terrible than many armies with banners, and, by unmercifull wayes, intends a mighty vengeance against the Romish and Prelate faction. They are in a strange motion, and run a tyde cleane contrary to our standing; some wonderfull assistance must prompt the times dangerously, and the great body of this justly redoubted parliament, is like to have a vertue too immense for one region to containe, and moves with greater majesty, than as it were resolved to confine its revolutions within the narrow limits of this island; for the policies are so many and transcendent, their resolutions so firme and immoveable, that they are easily powerfull, not onely to banish the Catholicks out of their owne land, but doe violence to the Romish faith in the heart of Italy, and perswade the Turkes and Barbares to become hereticall impostors. It is able to make your ancestors breake their mable lodgings, come forth and quarrell this superlative fury, which riots so boundlesly. Hee that would discompose this parliament, must first overthrow a kingdome, a prince, a law; nay, else, as easily might hee commixe with lightning, or call backe a thunder-bolt; as offer to restore it; for it is diseased in mind, diseased past recovery. All the canons and constitutions of that sacred synode, (which were truely the magazin of our spirituall strength), are here bitterly pestered, and swept away; and the children of policy, who made the advancement of your estate and honour the greatest part of their study, are now most dangerously censured, and made the deplored subject of the times. They take as little notice of your offspring, the reverend prelates, as the surly north does of the snow; which, when it has engendered, its wild breath scatters through the earth forgotten. If businesse take so hot a working, truely, for what I can conjecture by the purposes of heaven or earth, all the lawreles growing on your holinesse's crest, will bee turned to cypresse, serving to no use but to adorn your funeralls; and the cardinalls, archbishops, and bishops of Italy, shall bee shortly sent to visite their cold urnes, and the nunnes left to keepe warme their ashes with their dearest teares.

Your arch-officers and friends can be no more usefull to your holinesse; though they were indeed your ministring and faithfull spirits, yet are they now shut up in prisons, and groane under the martyring hand of impious and corrupt justice; resolve to compose their funeral anthemes, and make ready condigne places for them in the calender; for the blackest crime in their charge is, that they have befriended the Romish cause, (trusty soules!) and laboured to rectifie a stubborn state too imperiously. The persecution is so hot here, and the winnowing of men so exact, that sundry (out of conscience of humbling and weakening the state, to make it more capable of alterations, and apt to obey) not able to stand before such a sophisticat light as is their parliament, (which, notwithstanding of our light esteem, has melted them as snow) have embraced a voluntar banishment, and transplanted themselves beyond sea, where they may enjoy the safety of a more gracious shade, and, under your holinesse's beams, grow fat. Wee have not yet seene all the links of this chaine of Providence, till the unwearied spheares, the dispensers of time, spin them out one after another; but, if your holinesse will cast your eyes about you, and looke to the commotions and earthquakes in kingdomes and commonwealths, we dare almost be bold to say, that your kingdome is now at the age of consistence, and can grow no further. Your sun-beames have past the meridian, and, chased with the stifling mists of error, like smoake out of the pit, are swiftly declining, and that without hopes to arise againe; so they take it universally for granted, and beleve with strong confidence, that now, upon the stage of Europe, there is a strange comedy acting, whose epilogue shall be in Rome; for matters

cannot stand at this point, but our enemies, who have their desires strengthened, will strive to encompass what yet remains.

May it not well be feared that the English majesty, with his two puissant armies in the fields, (ready for all undertakings) shall espouse the cause of the Huguenots in France; and now, when the French king is offering to set his foot upon that little republike of Geneva, shall appear most terribly for their reliefe, and lift up the hereticke horne, now lying in the dust, and finally confound all the pioning policies of the cardinall Richelieu, who has so prosperously triumphed in the garlands of lillyes, and fountaine de luces. What should hinder him from becomming the head of all these pretended reformed churches? and display an uncontroled banner, till he have sprung over the Alpes, upon the wings of renowne, and, as full of successe as hopes, spread feare and love through the world; and, having forgotten your right to the patrimony of the church, by the benevolence of Constantine the Great, bee strip you naked of all your riches and eminence, making you miserable as the poorest Capuchin; and, armed with zeale, teare downe the walls of Rome, like a ramping lion? I think wee should be sufficiently puzled; and the most generous armies your holinesse could command would take them to their last abilities, and have use of all their counsell and strength, if these motions should be followed.

It is here likewise reported, to the great encouragement of our enemies, that there be strange and dangerous novations in France, which leade to an open revolt, and the powerfull prevailing of heresie; for, if their church service be received in a known tongue, against the practises and constitutions of the church, (as the fame flies) and that by the advice of the Huguenots, who will never move beyond their haie, to meet us (not a haire-breadth,) certainly you may then make the myter's epitaph, and perswade yourselve of greater inundations of evils than ever were thought could have sprung from the covenant of Scotland, or the trienniall pailliaments in England; you may see then, the combustion which began in Scotland, and threatened but weakely at a great distance, is now come to the skirts of the holy land almost, and, that you had need to looke to your owne building.

Our evils multiply as the heads of Hydia; for what consequence may wee apprehend from the marriage of the daughter of England, with those who bee arch-enemies to your most catholicke soune, the right hand of your execution? And, can the Prince Palatine be arrived here for any thing which will bring either happinesse to the common cause, or divert the calamities which are daily emergent, like swolne clouds of infection arising upon the horizon and darkening the skie? No, our evils are preparing as the arrowes are ready to bee sent from the bended bow.

Through this beliefe, the prophane world doe glory in most sacrilegious insolencies; for the dismantling of churches, the pulling up of the railes, (which make the comely distance from the holy place) nay, the overturning of altars, (which, in all the corners of the kingdome, did rise most bravely after the Italian mode), are but the daily practises of the undaunted and undistinguishing vulgar. Wee are come to such height of contempt, that boyes sing our scandale in the streets; they tune ballads to our infamy; and hee that can reproach us most handsomly, and deeply informe against us, has most strongly demerited church and state. I like not the complexion of our affaires; strange symptoms of a most dangerous consumption, and many pregnant reasons for the encrease of our feares! The pulpits have forgotten that gracious sound, with which they were of late most entirely acquainted; the bookes dare not appeare in the Romish dye, but come forth in squadrons, in strange habit, and hereticall colours. Our possession here is gone, it seemes; and our hopes to recover it wholly blasted; nay, if the pernicious counsells, and the opinions of the daring Scots prevaile, wee may as easily thinke to eclipse the sun from his ecliptick, as work an alteration of their hu-

mours, or shake them from these new grounds to which they are now so miserably wedded.

I dare not forget to shew your holinesse, what great expressions of joy have bin heere in the city of London, tearing the clouds with the musicke of their bells, and condensing the aire with the smoake of their bonfires, as if they had already seene their furthest desires crowned, and had bin ringing our funerall knels; because, the prince has granted to the estate, a triennall parliament, wherewith the people have beene as strongly affected, as if they had beene delivered from pest or famine; or had received the spoiles of most important conquest; by this meanes, they resolve to hammer us so flat, that we shall never set up our heads, nor bud againe.

If ever affliction could awake the sonnes and daughters of the Romane church, 'tis now, when the angry winds are let loose from the corners of the earth. Wee have not indeed slept our time here, but practised very laboriously, and according as the churches exigency did call us to a double care, so likewise have we attempted all expedencies for deluding the purposes of our enemies, and strengthening ourselves. We have stretched our wit, and studied fitting policies in all the latitude of a catholick conscience; there remains nothing in the treasure of invention which we have not solicited, and now in these bleeding times with greater strength of wit; but I know not what has interposed betwixt your holinesse's influence and a good effect: some thing of late has made obstructions in the effectuall derivations of your apostolick benedictions; all has proved unprofitable: And (not to offend your holinesse) I feare least the tyde of your sorrowes be but yet growing; for whereas wee have ever magnified and exalted tradition above the scripture, yet we know not how to fasten on these impostures for they adhere so close to their scriptures, in their reasons and opinions, that sooner may you divorce the light from the sun, than pull them from their grand purpose of slighting the traditions and customes of the Romish church with as much disdain as we neglect the Alchoran; and ever, when they oppose scripture to our traditions, we know not what to say, and have not bin acquainted with other authority than the churches: therefore your holinesse would doe well to hearken to this, and consider that the times in likelihood are comming, when the scriptures (which have bin so highly esteemed by the simplicity of that pretended religion) will bee the rule of faith and church government, and overthrow our subtilities: I hope your holinesse, as the great ghostly father of the church, will see that your building be firmly seated upon permanent foundations; for if they be not sure and able for all assaults, it may happily fall, and crush us all: And I assure your holinesse, if your affronts encrease, your strength do not convalesce, and this bad fortune of the miter continue, a pannick feare will invade all your devoted kings, princes, and cardinals; they will betake them to the strongest side, and leave you in the mire.

It is now therefore high time to summon up all that is vertue about you; whatever any of the great monarches of the church could doe, let it now appeare by your power most eminently displayed: your holinesse would doe well to call a counsell, and consult with heaven, and learne how to stop these hereticks mouthes; convince them of the truth, and heape coals on their heads: Seeke out the end of these troubles, that afflict the world, for it is indeed to be feared, if heresie become so insolent, and swell

* "The committee for the bill of the triennial parliament had taken a great deal of pains in the framing of it, and it being past both houses, the king was not without some difficulty (as it was reported) persuaded to give his royal assent to it, which he did, in his speech to both houses, setting forth his confidence thereby in them, and in their future proceedings, and the favour he now did to his subjects.

"The king then also passed the bill of subsidies, and both houses, by the Lord Keeper Littleton, returned their humble thanks to his majesty, and by their order were bonfires and bell-ringing, signs of joy throughout the city."—*Whitlock's Memorials*, 1682, p. 39.

with so good fortune, that shortly their truth shall shine glorious as the sun, and become as it were the idole of the world, extinguishing the life of our misteries, under which wee have had such halcyonian dayes.

Since then all the fabrick of our religion, the standing of the apostolick empire, and all that is deare and splendid to the glory of the miter, is now shaking, rise up from your throne, put to your saving hand to the helme, and doe not neglect one day, one houre, one minute to weare out with toyle of plot, and practise of conceit, your busie and fruitfull wit; bestir, like the first mover, your inferiour and obedient spirits, every one in their owne spheare; never take rest, nor force a smile which is not borrowed from a sacred and papall vengeance, such as becomes the state of your disgrace and unbounded fate, till your holinesse know what way to satisfie fury and revenge; till you and your successors, the undoubted inheritors of the world's metropolitall throne, have touched the ends of the earth with your all-conquering scepter, and hath led truth in procession, triumphing over the ruines of errour.

Certain Observations, collected out of a Treatise, called The Difference between Christian Subjection, and Unchristian Rebellion; compiled by that judicious and learned Divine, Tho. Bilson, then Warden of Winchester, since Bishop there; necessary in these Times to be perused. 1641.

Some account of the learned author, from whose work these passages are extracted, may be found, Vol. II. p. 4, Note. The full title of the treatise runs thus: "The true Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion, wherein the Princes lawfull Power to command for Truth, and indepriveable Right to beare the Sword, are defended against the Popes Censures and the Jesuits Sophismes, uttered in their Apologie, and Defence of English Catholickes: With a Demonstration that the Things reformed in the Church of England, by the Lawes of this Realm, are truly Catholike, notwithstanding the vaine Shew made to the Contrarie in their late Rhemish Testament." Oxford, 1585. 4. London, 1586. 8.

The first and second part of this treatise is employed in vindicating the title and government of queen Elizabeth, against "Dr Allan's Apology and true Declaration of the Institutions and Endeavours of the two English Colleges;" at Rome, namely, and Rhemes. The third part contains an answer to a treatise, entitled "A Defence of the English Catholics that suffer for their Faith." The fourth part is designed as a reply to the Rhemish Testament. In this last division of his subject, the right of subjects to resist their prince in certain cases, is urged with a freedom which has much embarrassed and incensed Collier, and other advocates of passive obedience. Father Cressy endeavours to account for a court divine promulgating doctrine, certainly not very consonant to the feelings of Elizabeth, by supposing that he was employed to write the treatise, when she had determined to patronise the revolt in Holland, and that these arguments were thrown in to justify the resistance offered by the Netherlands to the Spanish monarch.

Be the original purpose of the author, what it might, his authority was too much in favour of the parliamentary party, in 1641, to escape the notice of the able men who conducted that cause. Accordingly the following extracts were published to justify the taking up arms against Charles I. by the opinions of Bishop Bilson.

Theophilus the Christian. Philander the Jesuite.

Theop. Cases may fall out even in Christian kingdoms, where the people may plead their right against the prince, and not be charged with rebellion.

Phil. As when, for example?

Theop. If a prince should goe about to subject his kingdom to a foraigne realme, or change the forme of the common-wealth from impery to tyranny, or neglect the lawes established by common consent of prince and people to execute his owne pleasure; in these and other cases which might be named, if the nobles and commons joyne together to defend their ancient and accustomed liberty, regiment and lawes, they may not well be counted rebels.

Phil. You denied that even now when I did urge it.

Theop. I denied that the bishops had authority to prescribe conditions to kings when they crowned them; but I never denied that the people might preserve the foundation, freedome, and forme of their common-wealth, which they foreprized when they first consented to have a king. I never said that kingdoms and common-wealths might proportion their states as they thought best, by their publique lawes, which afterwards the princes themselves may not violate. By superior powers ordained of God, we understand not onely princes, but all politicke states and regiments, somewhere the people, somewhere the nobles having the same interest to the sword that princes have in their kingdoms, and in kingdoms where princes beare rule, by the sword we doe not mean the princes private wil against his laws; but his precept derived from his laws, and agreeing with his laws; which though it be wicked, yet it may not be resisted of any subject with armed violence. Marry when princes offer their subjects not justice but force, and despise all lawes to practice their lusts; not every nor any private man may take the sword to redresse the prince: but if the lawes of the land appoint the nobles as next to the king to assist him in doing right, and withhold him from doing wrong, then they be licensed by mans law, and so not prohibited by Gods to interpose themselves for the safe-guard of equity and innocence; and by all lawfull and needfull meanes to procure the prince to be reformed; but in no case deprived, where the scepter is inherited, &c.

The Greeke Postscripts of the Epistles of Timothy and Titus cleared in Parliament.

By Sir Simonds D'Ewes.

Printed in the year 1641, as is well known.

Sir Simon D'Ewes, Bart. a most excellent antiquary, and compiler of that useful and laborious work, the *Journals of Parliament*, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He served in the long parliament as representative for Sudbury; and, being a strict, and somewhat bigotted Calvinist, made many attacks upon the authority of bishops, among which the following argument is to be numbered. Sir Simon D'Ewes took the solemn league and covenant, in 1643, and was among other presbyterians, forcibly removed from the house, in 1648. The MS. of the Scriptures referred to has been challenged as of dubious authority.

THE authority of that most ancient parchment MS. copy of the Bible, remaining in his majesties library at St James's, being all written in great capital Greeke letters, was vouched and asserted by Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in a speech delivered by him on Friday, June 11, 1641, in the morning, upon the debate of the bill touching bishops, &c. by which it infallibly appeareth, that the stiling of Timothy the first bishop of Ephesus, and Titus the first bishop of Crete, are but the bold and spurious additions of some eastern bishop or monk, to the postscripts of those epistles of St Paul, at least five hundred yeares after Christ. The postscripts of the said epistles in that ancient manuscript agreeing in the main with the Siriac Testament, are only thus: THE FIRST TO TIMOTHY, WRITTEN FROM LAODICEA. THE SECOND TO TIMOTHY, WRITTEN FROM LAODICEA. TO TITUS, WRITTEN FROM NICOPOLIS. This rare MS. was sent to his majesty, that now is, by Cyrillus, then patriarch of Alexandria, in which the first letter A. stands for πρώτη, and the second letter B. for δεύτερα.

The letters were transcribed almost identically out of the said most antient MS.

The spurious additions of latter times are set down in red or miniated letters.'

Ibid fol. 146. a.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΝ Α. ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΑΠΟ ΛΑΟΔΙ-
ΚΕΙΑΣ.

Πρὸς Τιμόθεον πρώτη ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Λαοδικείας.
[Ἦν δὲ δεύτερ' οὗ μὲν μητρόπολις Φρυγίας τ' Παναπαμῆς.]

Testamentum Siriacum concordat.

Ibid. fol. 147. b.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΝ Β. ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΑΠΟ ΛΑΟΔΙ-
ΚΕΙΑΣ.

Πρὸς Τιμόθεον δεύτερα [τ' Εφεσίων ἐκκλησίας
πρώτον ὁπίσκοπον χειροτονηθέντα] ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ρώ-
μης [ὅτι ὁ δεύτερος παρέση Παῦλος τῷ Καίσαρι Νέ-
ρονι.]

*Testamentum Siriacum concordat in omni-
bus excepta loci appellatione. Nam
Romæ habet.*

Ibid. fol. 148. b.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΙΤΟΝ ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΑΠΟ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ.

Πρὸς Τίτον [τ' Κρητῶν ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον ἐπίσκο-
πον χειροτονηθέντα ἐμράφη] ἀπὸ Νικοπόλειως [τ' Μα-
κεδονίας.]

Testamentum Siriacum concordat.

In this edition they are inclosed in brackets.

A Protestant's Account of his Orthodox holding in Matters of Religion, at this present in Difference in the Church: For his own and others better Confirmation or Rectification in the Points treated on, humbly submitted to the Censure of the Church of England.

By Sir Henry Spellman.

Printed by Roger Daniel, Printer to the Universitie of Cambridge. 1642.

The learned antiquary, Sir Henry Spellman, still more famous for his learned researches than Sir Simon D'Ewes, entertained, as appears from the following treatise, very different views upon church government. He is well known by his works upon the Antiquities of the English Law, his History of the English Councils, and his Saxon Glossary. The doctrines maintained in the following tract, if it be indeed composed by Spellman, are expressive of what was afterwards termed high-church principles, but not more so than might be expected from the author of the History of Sacrilege. I do not find the treatise noticed among the ordinary lists of Spellman's laborious works; and, as he died in 1641, at the advanced age of eighty, it is possible his name may have been used to grace a defence of the cause which he always befriended. Internal evidence, however, is in favour of its authenticity, for it is written in a strain, not unbefitting "a gentleman of great learning, and a hearty promoter and encourager of it, in his temper calm and sedate, and in his writings grave and inoffensive; a true lover of the established church, and a zealous maintainer of her rights and privileges."

WHEN in all controversies about matter of religion, the dictate of the word of God is principally to be attended; and the certainty of that dictate depends upon the assurance of the true sense and interpretation of the scripture, it is necessary that, in the first place, we have consideration of the assurance one may have of the true and genuine sense thereof.

For though, without controversie, the scripture be a rule of the highest, most absolute, and most sacred authority that may be, and such as, wheresoever it extends to give rule, bindes and regulates all human laws and constitutions, from what authority soever derived, and though in many things (as, namely, in the fundamentals of religion, in matters of necessary faith, and in the expresse commands of God,) the truths thereof are so manifest, and of so assured receipt, as that no authority, no not of an "angel from Heaven," is to be received to the contrary, but every one must, of his own illumination, embrace and hold them; yet are there other truths which may so easily admit dispute, as that, without the awe of some authorized moderatour, men of perverse affections would inevitably subvert the peace of the church, with their infinite dissensions about them. It is true, that, to the great calamities of the church, there is much dissension made about the moderatour or interpreter of the scripture; but that is not so much error of judgment, as obstinacy of parties, among whom the two most adverse and dangerous parties are neither of them so blamelesse, but that they are culpable of detracting from the authority of the scripture, by authorizing unwarrantable interpretation of it.

It is true, that, in the first place, the church of Rome is the great subverter of the

scripture, by assuming to her self the person of the whole church catholique, and by vertue thereof to have infallibility of judgment in interpretation of scripture; for whilst she as judge arrogates to her self infallibility, she makes that there is no more regard to be had what the text is, then there is to be taken what was the warrant that the Holy Ghost had for those things which he hath at any time delivered; for he that is infallible, pronounces of his own authority, and can no more depend or be restrained to any originall out of himself, then infinitenesse can be restrained to a finite thing, or God himself unto a creature; wherefore there can be no externall judge of scripture, of infallible authority, for that of necessity annuls the scripture, and makes it no other then a dead letter.

But in the second place, they also destroy the authority of scripture, who, when in word and outward profession they magnifie it above all things, do then, by subjecting it indifferently to the judgement of every one that takes upon him to interpret it, trample under foot the honour that they gave unto it; for as infallibility of the interpreter takes away the scripture from the hearer, so incertainty in the interpreter takes away the hearer from the scripture; for how can one hear, when he may either doubt the judgement or fidelity of the interpreter? or when (as it often happens,) the interpreters that are authorized one as much as another, do make a diverse, perhaps an adverse, delivery of the scripture? as in the Romish errour the scripture is made a dead letter, so in this, it is made a trumpet of uncertain sound, which none can with safety hear and receive, unlesse you will suppose some hearer also infallible. To say truth, as in the question whether one God or many, it was truly said, *dicite plures, dicite nullos*; so in the interpreters of God's word (whereof none can be authentick, but with whom the spirit of God is warrantably to be presumed,) if in equall degree and authority we make many, we make as good as none at all. We must therefore find an especiall interpreter, and that of such potiority of judgement before all others, as that we may safely confide therein, and yet so confide, as that we may not detract ought from the authority of the scripture, by ascribing infallibility to the interpreter.

We are taught negatively, That¹ "No prophesie of the scripture is of private interpretation;" we are also told, That the² "Church is the ground and pillar of the truth;" and we are warned not to adhere to the doctrines of particular men, be they never so eminent and famous in the congregation, but to weigh their doctrines delivered as the word of God, and to see if they have alwayes been so understood and received by the church; for if we find not authority (of our own church at least,) for them, we are then but cautiously to receive them; but if we find the judgement of the church catholick against them, we are altogether then to reject them; for when the promises of the Holy Ghost's assistance were made, not to single disciples, nor to some in particular, but indefinitely to the universality of them: ³ "I am with you unto the end." ⁴ "He that heareth you, heareth me." ⁵ "He (the spirit of truth) will guide you in all truth;" that is, not some, nor every one of you, but generally the body of you; we cannot receive doctrines with any confident assurance, but from the concurrent judgement of all the pastours of the whole church universall, to whom the promise of assistance is properly, and in the first place made; or, in defect thereof, from the concurrent judgement of the pastours of our particular church, which, as to her own members, is to be received as the judgement of the whole, till the judgement of the whole appeareth to the contrary. For as the spirits of the particular prophets in every church ought to be heard and received of all the members thereof, untill it appeareth their particular spirits and doctrines recede from the concurrent judgement of all the prophets of that church (to which they ought to submit their judgements) so ought the concurrent judgement of all the prophets of every particular

¹ Pet. i. 20.² 1 Tim. iii. 15.³ Math. xxviii. 20.⁴ Luke x. 16.⁵ John xvi. 13.

church to be received of that church, untill it appear that it is contrary to the judgement of the church universall: but then, as the universall church must be heard before the particular, so must the universality of the particular, before any particulars of that particular church; for "God," saith Saint Paul, "is not the author of confusion:" and therefore, he not onely objects against the refractory particulars of Corinth, "We" (that is, the church of Corinth,) have no such custome;" but least they should alledge error also in that particular church, he justifies their practice, by the practice of the universall; "Neither," saith he, "have the churches of God." By which it appears, private men are tyed to submit to the judgement of their particular church, and that unto the judgement of the universall.

But if any ask what is the catholick church, when and how is her judgement to be?

The catholick church (properly so called,) is the whole number of Christians, all places universally professing Christ; and this, since the apostles times never was, nor can be assembled into one, to give sentence upon any thing; but as in the politick body of civill states, (the reall assembling of all the members personally being unnecessary, inconvenient, and almost impossible,) some persons representative of the whole, being by intimation of the superiours from all parts, delegate to give the common suffrage of the whole, do by the lawes of God and man, give the binding sentence of the whole body universall; so in the mysticall body of the church, the ecclesiasticks, which are the onely authorized members, for discerning and judging matters that depend upon the word of God, because, that to them, and to them alone, were the promises of the Holy Ghost's assistance made, they (I say) either all assembling themselves together, or at least, in their severall diocesses, chosing and delegating, from among themselves, trusty men, to do the office of the clergy in that point, do truly and properly give the entire vote of the whole catholick church: and in this way, we have many sentences and decrees thereof remaining to us; which, being from age to age successively received, do stand in force and speak unto this very present; against which, whosoever shall, in practice or doctrine, attempt any thing to the prejudice of what is so established, shall apparently declare himself an insolent and schismaticall exalter of himself, and of his own private judgement, against the judgement of the whole catholick church; and in the same way that the church catholick speaketh, in the same also, if need be, speaketh every particular church.

This being the extraordinary way (wherein the church speaketh not, but upon extraordinary occasions) she hath also, for ordinary occasions, a continuall constant voice in an ordinary way. The church, considered in itself, is not, nor cannot be lesse then the whole body of it; but considered in the actions of it, any part by which it duly worketh, as to that work onely which it so intendeth, is truly and properly enough called the church: If we speak of a man, as of his being, as that he lives, is in health, young, lusty, &c. we mean by the man, no lesse then the whole man, with all his members; but if we speak of the particular actions of the man, as that he did hear, see, speak, take, &c. we do not then intend that every distinct member of his body did actually hear, see, speak, take, &c. but that the man performed those actions by the proper members respectively ordained for the doing of them; and that, nevertheless, the office of each member so ministring, was the proper act of the whole man; so that, though the eyes of the man onely saw, his ears heard, his tongue spake, and his hands handled, yet is the whole man said truly to hear, see, speak, and handle.

As, then, in the body naturall, so in the body mysticall, the church: Though the church, in her being, comprehend all members, as well lay as clergie, yet, in her work and actions, she worketh not promiscuously by all, but by her proper and ordained

* 1 Cor. xiv. 32, 33.

* 1 Cor. xi. 16.

* 1 Cor. xii. 12.

members; for if every one were an eye to see, a head to judge, or a mouth to give sentence, then were they all but one equipotent member, and "where then were the body?" saith Saint Paul: Therefore, though in the question of circumcising the believing Gentiles, the letters of ordinance went in name of the² apostles, elders, and brethren; yet plainly the brethren had no vote in the decision of the question; but as the apostles and elders are onely said to have "come together to consider of the matter," so the debate and the decision there is only theirs; and the decrees thereupon are in the 16th chapter, called onely³ "The Decrees that were ordained of the Apostles and Elders." And if we will have the brethren to have been named in the apostles letters, to shew that laymen have authority to vote in matters of religion, then must we also confesse, that laymen, as well as "the man of God," have authority to judge in matters of doctrine also; for they that writ the letters, say of the point of doctrine, "We gave not such commandment." Therefore plainly the judgement of the apostles and elders was, in that matter, the judgement of the brethren, and of the whole church there, by their unanimous submission and agreement unto them; and not the voting of apostles, elders, and brethren together, which yet is a thing farre differing from the voting of laymen onely, and from laymens choosing of them that shall vote.

In the same manner the voice of the ordained governours and ministers in every particular church, in those things that are committed to their care and charge, is the voice of the church itself; and the voice of that particular church, not being repugnant to faith, nor the declared judgement of the catholick church, is (as to the members of that church) the voice of the whole church catholick: so that he that refuseth to hear the voice of the governours of his particular church, refuseth to hear his particular church; and not that church onely, but the whole church catholick.

* Again, as in the body, the most usefull members thereof, the eyes, the ears, the tongue, the hands, the feet, would not onely be uselesse, but make a confused deformity, if they were every one annexed immediately to the grosse of the body, and not joyned by the mediation of some noble limb; the eyes, the ears, and tongue, by the head; the hands, by the arms; and the feet, by the legs; so would it be in the church catholick, if every particular member should hold itself immediately to depend on it, and not on the noble and mediating limb of his particular church, that so by an usefull and decent subordination of the members under the head,⁴ "The body from thence (as the apostle speaks) by joynts and hands, having nourishment and knit together, may encrease with the encrease of God."

These same things doth our Saviour teach, when giving a rule for governing ones self in private offences betwixt his brother and him, he bids him⁵ "Tell it to the church:" Our Saviour meant not that, upon every such occasion, the church catholick should, or could be convoked, but onely that the offended should complain to the governours of the church he lived in; the doing whereof, is properly to complain to the whole church, yea to the whole church catholick, as appears by our Saviours adding, that if the "offender refuse to hear the church, he should be as an heathen man;" as much as to say, that, if by refusing to hear his particular church, he refused to hear the whole church catholick, he should then be as an heathen man, cut off from the communion of the whole church; for it were no just sentence to cut off one from the whole church, for disobeying the particular, unless that disobedience to the particular, were disobeying of the whole church.

Every particular church, then, hath so farre the authority of the church universall, that (as to her own members) her voice is the voice of the catholick church, and tyes them all in conscience to submit their judgements to hers, and to yield observance to

¹ 1 Cor. xii. 19.² Acts xv. 2.³ Acts xvi. 4.⁴ Coloss. ii 19.⁵ Matt. xviii. 17.

all her ordinances that are not against the expresse word of God, nor judgement of the catholick church. And even in her ordinances that minister question, whether they be orthodox and agreeable to the word of God or no, her authority is so farre binding, as that even those ordinances are not to be rejected nor condemned upon the judgement of any of her private members onely, but either by her own review and censure, by some more generall national assembly, or (if the consequence require it) by a full and true generall assembly of the church; whose sentence, when once it shall be obtained, shall be received, as the most sacred, and most authentique judgement that may be had in that matter, and nearest approaching to the judgement of the Holy Ghost; but shall not be received as infallible, as if pronounced by a judge infallible: For what assistance soever God hath promised to his church, it is onely such as agrees with the condition of a church militant: Therefore he hath neither promised it to the single ministers in every of their preachings, neither yet so to the church itself, as that in every of her consultations and degrees, she should infallibly produce the sentence of the Holy Ghost, (for then were the scripture needlesse, seeing the church should be able to pronounce infallibly with authority, equally to the very text; and the church, as to error in knowledge and understanding, should not be militant, but triumphant;) but every judgement of every church shall have such a potiority of credit and authority, in respect of the judgement of any part or member thereof, as that it must not be rejected nor over-ruled by any other judgement, then either her own revisall and censure, by assembly of her proper judges, by a more generall nationall assembly, or a full generall assembly of the church.

To conclude, then, when, for avoiding confusion in the church, "God hath subjected the spirits of the (particular) preachers," to the concurrent judgement of all the preachers; for men, under pretence of preaching God's word, to preach their own private judgements, in detraction from the authority of their church, and without submitting their opinions to the judgement of their church; this is so farre from honouring God by magnifying of his word, as that, contrarily, it destroyes the authority of the scripture, by confused and wrong arrogated judgement in interpreting of it; it, by sects and schismes, subverts the peace of the church, and, contrary to the admonition that God hath given in that behalf, makes God the author of confusion.

The assurance of our orthodox profession, depending upon the consideration of these things, cannot but occasion a little farther examination of them.

Religion, *a religando, ex vi termini*, is that which, whatsoever it be, ought to bind the professor; but, of all other, * godlinesse (which only is the true religion) must not have that binding power of hers denyed; and therefore will-worship, as repugnant to religion, is to be rejected. "Ye shall not (saith Moses to the people, when they were to enter into the land, and be a settled church) † Ye shall not (saith he) do as we do this day, every one that which is good in his own eyes." It is impossible for the professor, which followeth his own judgement or conscience onely, to avoide disobedience and will-worship; for private judgement and conscience are neither sure nor constant observers of God's law: nor can a man alwayes tell whether his judgement, or his affection, leads his conscience; but as ‡ obedience is that which our Saviour himself learning, sheweth that we all must learn; so the power of godlinesse is to constrain obedience. And if there be a question what we shall obey, the scripture tells us, § "The priest's lips should preserve knowledge, and we should seek the law at his mouth." And our Saviour tells his disciples, ¶ "he that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me;" and bids that he that "will not hear the church be as an Heathen man;" and St Paul tells us, ** "the church is the pillar and ground of the truth;" and against private superstitions and indecencies in the service of God.

* Cor. xiv. 22.

† 2 Tim. iii. 2.

‡ Deut. xii. 8.

§ Heb. v. 8.

¶ Matt. 23. 1.

** 1 Tim. iii. 15.

he objects, that "their church had no such custome, neither the churches of God;" we are also commanded to submit to "all manner of ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake;" and that "every soul be subject to the higher power;" that "he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and receiveth to himself damnation." The scripture is abundant to this purpose, and, among many other places, Gen. xxvii. 6, is remarkable: When Jacob (or Israel) was afraid, in the apparell of his elder brother, to seek his father's supreme blessing, lest, by seeking it in an undue manner, he should, instead of a blessing, get a curse; his mother requires his obedience to her voice; Israel obeyed her, and by it obtained the blessing. If this allegory so much concern us, as that we be the Israel, the younger brother that want and seek the blessing, our Saviour our elder brother, in whose cloathing we seek it, and God our father that gives it; who is our directing mother, by obeying whose voice we obtain the blessing, but she that is the wife of our father, the church of God? By these, then, and many other scriptures, it appears, that in all matters of religion, wheresoever there is a doubt, and consequently use of judgement, the judgement of the church is to be preferred: So God's word (which must be observed) directs, so the exigence of things requires; the particular man cannot otherwise avoid will-worship and singularity, nor the church of God confusion.

When now there is so great offence taken at divers ordinances of our church, what is there in any of them so erroneous or corrupt as to discharge one's conscience from the terrour of these precepts, and from the obedience that they command? Is there any thing in the ordinances of our church against the expresse command of God? If there be, why do not the offended shew it, that they may justifie themselves, vindicate God's truth, and stop the mouthes of all gain-sayers? But when, instead of things expressly crossing God's commandments, they find no exceptions but what, at the most, are disputable, grounded upon inferences and collections, and those not generally received, nor yet all approved, by the judgement of any particular church, but late imaginations of men, of a few, and them private men; whether it be meet in the sight of God, upon such grounds, to follow men, or, indeed, one's own self, rather than God, every one may judge.

And were that granted (which, indeed, cannot be proved, nor may be granted) that the ordinances of our church are superstitious, how yet will that warrant the disobeying of them, to a conscience that is guided onely by the word of God? For where is superstition by the word of God forbidden? Or where is it there described? Though, then, we sincerely grant superstition to be the foulest corruption a Christian church can be depraved with, and nearest approaching to idolatry, yet being a corruption discovered by the judgement of the church, rather than any expresse word of God, with what warrant can any man's conscience, against God's expresse command, disobey the ordinance, for fear of superstition, when concerning it he hath received no command from God? especially, when disobedience, being like "the sinnes of witchcraft and idolatry," he commits a sinne that is equal to them, and onely to avoid superstition, which is lesse then either. Nay, that is not all; but, while he disturbs his duty with false apprehensions of superstition, he, with his disobedience commits the superstition which he fears; for when superstition properly is an over-strict religious insisting upon the doing or not doing of that which in itself is but indifferent, his own scrupulousnesse not to kneel, not to bow, not to stand up, not to be uncovered, not to answer, &c. according to the use of the church, is not onely disobedience, but very superstition itself, serving "religion in that wherein there is no religion to be placed, and teaching the conscience more to fear pollution from without, by things externally enjoyed, then to fear it within from the haughtinesse, stubbornesse, or self-conceitedness of the

heart, then which nothing doth sooner defile the actions of a man, and make his religion vain.

But, will he say his conscience cannot be satisfied, but that the ordinance of the church in some things is superstitious, so as he may not submit unto it? We must answer, Let him use the liberty of his conscience, but let him withall take heed he use it not for a cloke of maliciousnesse; for if, through weaknesse of conscience, he takes offence at the ordinance of the church, as superstitious, which otherwise he knows himself tyed to reverence and observe, let him, in true humiliation of his soul, behave himself like one afflicted, that laments the breach between the church and him; let him labour for satisfaction by the help of those, whose integrity in that behalf shall not, by any adversenesse to the ordinance, be suspected; let him forbear rayling language on governours, and contemptuous behaviour towards the ordinance, that so, though he cannot be conformable, he may not yet become refractory, but may be piously embraced of the church, till, in the spirit of meeknesse, he be at last restored to his strength. But if he will not do thus, but will contend, hold his own opinion sufficient to oppose against the judgement of the church, adde contempt to his non-conformity, seek to possesse others with his opinions, glory in their association, and towards the governours of the church, be "as one of those that controll the priest," yea, that controll the whole priesthood, that man, in pretending conscience, lyeth unto the Holy Ghost; he is not priest with conscience, but a lift-up heart, self-conceited, and affecting singularity, hath seduced him, and makes him maintain an affected scruple of his own, before the judgement, yea, and the peace of the whole church.

From these generals, we come somewhat more particularly to consider that which some affirm, that, for remedy of the corruptions of the church, any assembly representative of the whole body of any state, seeing it implicitly comprehends all orders, degrees, and conditions, that are parts of the state, have full power and authority of doing whatsoever any order or part of the state may do; and that therefore they, as well as the clergie, may, in that state, determine what form of ecclesiastical government, what discipline, what ceremonies are most fit for the church, and most agreeable to the word of God.

Who knows not but that by the same reason they may as well determine what doctrines are most agreeable to the word of God? But we shun captiousnesse, and seek our own and every one's clear satisfaction.

It is true, a body representative of the whole state, hath the power of the whole state, to do whatsoever the whole body of the state, if it could be all assembled, could do; but the whole state, if it were gathered together in one, and the whole clergie in it, could not by their promiscuous vote determine of any thing that God hath subjected to the judgement of the clergie onely. Some argue, that the whole state be Christians, and every true Christian a spirituall man: the spirituall man judgeth all things. and it is true; but that judgement is onely as to himself, to discern and judge for his own right governance, but not to bind others therewith: he may exercise such judgement as grace administreth for his particular salvation, but cannot exercise directive judgement for the government of other; for that is not to be practised, but by especiall commission of authority. It was the ground of Corah's fearful sinne, that, because all the "congregation were holy, every one of them, and the Lord among them," that therefore Levites and laymen might offer incense as well as the priests: "one without lawfull authority may not more meddle with decreeing the suppression of vice, and encouragement of virrue, in a way that belongs onely to the jurisdiction of another: then might the sonnes of" Scova use the authority of Christ's name to casting out of devils.

¹ Hosea iv. 4.

² Num. xvi. 2.

³ This seems to allude to the rise of the sect of Independants, who did not acknowledge any separate priesthood

⁴ Acts xix. 14.

Therefore particular men must have expresse warrant, before they can decree any thing. And were it granted that they, if known, might in this life exercise directive judgement in ecclesiastick affairs, yet being so small a number, in respect of worldlings, and it being impossible in this world to distinguish them, or to avoid, but that, while they vote together with worldlings, their votes will be over-ruled by worldlings; for these causes, the being inwardly a spirituall man can nothing more avail him in that point, then if he were not so.

And for this last cause, it nothing also avails, though the clergie themselves actually vote against seculars; for, where the carriage of matters cannot certainly follow the votes of the clergie, but be subject to the votes of the seculars, their votes so given cannot have the authority of ecclesiastick votes, but of lay. And, both for the peace of private consciences, and also for the peace of the church, it would advisedly be examined whether the votes of clergymen chosen by the seculars (say by the body representative of a whole state) be of more authority for deciding matters of religion in question, then the votes of seculars themselves that chuse them be: for when, by the expresse word of God, "the spirits of the prophets are to be subject to the prophets," the prophets must either all of them together hear and determine, or all of them freely make choice of such of their brethren as shall do it for them; lest, if the secular power assume the choice of the men, they, by assuming the choice of those that shall give the clergie's vote, assume the giving of their vote, and upon the matter reject the vote and judgement of the clergie: for the few men that so be chosen, have no authority of themselves, to judge by themselves, but have the authority of those onely that made the fiduciary commitment of power to them; and if they that committed the authority be seculars, then is the judgement of those ecclesiastick committees the judgement and executing of the spirit of seculars onely. And it would further be taken into consideration, whether, as the bishop of Rome's usurpation of the authority of the universall church, manifested him to be the great spirit of Antichrist, so in every particular church, any usurping or undue assuming of the authority thereof, will not amount to an inferior exercise of the same spirit?

Now, whereas it is conceived that forms of government ecclesiastick are not tyed to the judgement of the clergie, but are arbitrary as the state shall judge expedient, it is not denied but that church-government may be accommodate to the occasions of the state: but then these cautions are to be observed, (1.) That as the state is judge what form of church-government will be most commodious for the well-fare thereof, so the clergie be judges, whether the form desired be safe for the church, and agreeable to the word of God; otherwise one may be oppressed, while the other is accommodated; therefore we see, that upon every change and remove of the¹ camp, not onely the taking down and folding up of the tabernacle, and all things belonging to it, was committed to the priests, but even the utmost act of carrying of it, when all was disposed and ordered by the priests, was given in charge to those onely that were Levites. And whereunto are² helps in government reckoned among apostles, prophets, teachers, and other members which Christ hath set in his church, if the government of the church be to be managed by those that are not to be numbred among them? and if among pastours, which God hath set in his church, he hath ordained some to be helps in government, how dangerous matter will it be for those that are not of their calling, to juttle them out of their authority, and in that point usurp their function? Moses hath long since put terror in the case, when, with a propheticall spirit, praying for Levi, he cryeth, "smite thorow the loyns of them that rise up against him:" and the prophet likewise, where speaking of the church, he saith, "No weapon that is formed

¹ Cor. xiv. 32.² Numb. iv. 15.³ 1 Cor. xii. 28.⁴ Deut. xxxiii. 11.⁵ Isa. liv. 17.

against thee shall prosper, and every tongue that ariseth against thee in judgement, thou shalt condemn ;" and our Saviour himself, where he saith to his apostles, "What ye binde on earth, shall be bound in heaven."

Another caution to be observed, is, that, in accommodating church-government to the frame and occasion of the state, nothing be disestablished or unsettled, that seems to have been settled by any authority of scripture. Therefore, whereas we see hee the government of the church first settled in the hands of bishops (that is, of pastours that had authority over pastours, ¹ "to rebuke with all authority : ² not to suffer themselves to be despised : ³ to ordain elders : ⁴ to receive no accusation against them : ⁵ to charge some to preach no other doctrine : ⁶ to stop the mouthes of unruly deceivers : ⁷ to set in order things that are wanting," &c.) and find we not any other form of church-government neither in the scripture, nor in the practice of the universall church, (as well where the pope never ruled, at where he did) that therefore men make not such an accommodating as by an entire rejecting of the ordinance set on foot by the apostles themselves, so appearing in the scripture, and universally so followed by the church, they reject both the judgement of the universall church, and also of the spirit of God revealed in the scripture.

For, as in the change of the sabbath from the Saturday to the Lord's day, the church hath clearly shown that she had power to make such a change ; but that change being once made for important causes, the like whereof hereafter can never happen, that power of her's, once lawfully used, can never lawfully come to be used again for another change, because there can no more such ground and cause to do it come again to passe. So it is likewise in point of episcopall government ; though the whole form and frame of it is not so expressly prescribed, but that the church may, in many things, have power of making therein accommodations to the times and exigence of state ; yet may not those acts of accommodation amount to such a height, as to subvert or abolish the government which by the judgement of her members, then infallible, was set on foot ; because no judgement of her present members now can come in any competition with her first : and, if any state shall so accommodate itself, the accommodatours may, perhaps, be found fighters against the spirit of God, manifested both in the scripture, and in the judgement and practice of the universall church of God.

One further particular depending upon these points, and necessary for every one to have his conscience clear and well assured in, is the lawfulness of the liturgie of our church, concerning which these considerations present themselves.

The church being freed from the tyranny of the heathen persecutors, and settled in peace, it was necessary that God (that had done so great things for her) should be honoured, not onely by the private devotion of her single members, but also with the publick service of her greatest congregations : and seeing that in the church Jerusalem (ever since Christianity) becoming inhabited without walls, occasions the making of as many places of worship as there are places of severall cohabitation, it was necessary, both for observing decency and order, for avoiding confusion, and for shewing (by as much unity of way as might be) the unanimity and true communion of the church's members, that throughout all her severall congregations (at least, all of one nation) one form of divine service should universally be observed. Hence have the western churches (where religion flourished most and longest) received much one form ; perhaps not all at once, nor alwayes the very same, but with some addition or change, as use and experience gave occasion, untill the church of Rome (corrupting with her greatnesse) suffered not the service of God to be exempt from her corruptions, and growing at length so licentious in them, as even to subvert the fundamentalls of reli-

¹ Tit. ii. 15.⁶ Tit. i. 11.² 1 Tim. iv. 12.⁷ Tit. i. 5.³ Tit. i. 5.⁴ 1 Tim. v. 19.⁵ 1 Tim. i. 3.

gion, it pleased God in divers parts, so farre to enlighten and strengthen his church, as to examine the Roman adulterations by the test of God's word, which the church of England having more happily then others performed, rejected what was repugnant to God's word, and wisely retaining the rest, left us that form of divine service, that unto this day by the laws of this kingdome, is advisedly confirmed in the church.

In this our restored liturgie, the long practiced judgement of the church (regarding one way the property of devotion, and another the infirmitie of man) thought it fitting not to have prayers, preaching, and thanksgiving alone, without the publick reading also of the very word of God; neither thought they it fit that the confessions of sinnes, supplications and thanksgivings, that publickly were to be made, should all at once in one continued exercise be performed, lest happily in many, devotion wanting matter of present excitation, should wax cold, and then the intention of the mind growing remisse, and the thoughts wandring, men in spite of their hearts, should with their lips onely, perform an empty mock-God service.

To the end therefore that the whole service of the congregation should be truly publick, performed with true communion, and likewise with true and lively fervour of spirit, they ordained such change and succession of all duties belonging to God's service, as might best make those several duties most effectually to the performers.

First, therefore, that the congregation, observing one and the same demeanour throughout all her members, should upon their knees, with loud voices, and articular confessions, make an humble and publick acknowledgement of their sinnes, and vile condition, and beseech God for mercy and forgiveness; and the minister, for the comfort of the penitent, to pronounce God's promisse to forgive, and to pray for them, and with them.

That after their humiliation they should with hymnes of mutuall exhortation, taken out of scripture, stirre up one another to proceed to praise, to singing, and rejoycing before God.

Then some portions of the scripture should be read in course, of which the psalmes should ever be part: which, because they contain matter so abundantly usefull for instruction, for meditation, for comfort, prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, they should therefore be read alternately betwixt the minister and the congregation, to make them in publick more fervent in the prayers and praises wherewith the psalmes abound, and to make them also more perfect in the contents of them for their private use. Then as God's works, (especially of man's redemption) are so done as that they ought to be had in remembrance, so on Sundayes, and other dayes of especiall commemoration of them, such portions of scripture as tended most to the setting forth of God's work on that day annually commemorated, should be read; at the end of which, the congregation (as moved by the impressions which those portions ought to make in every one) to render God that praise, that glory and blessing which the sense of his mercy in his work then declared, doth justly procure from the heart and mouth of the thankfull hearer; and this they do in hymnes either taken out of scripture, or composed and allowed by the ancient and general approbation of the church.

After the lessons of scripture and hymnes ended, the congregation to stand up, and make a publick confession of their faith, and then prostrate on their knees, in prayers fitted to the divers necessities and infirmities of humane nature, to make supplications for all sorts, degrees, and conditions of men, in which the minister should not alwayes himself alone utter the words of prayer, (but for the better entertainment and incitement of devotion) every member of the congregation, with frequent interjecting of their votes and invocations, should, like more active parties in God's service, make a more frequent and effectual joynt importuning of him.

Then (after an especiall prayer for grace and sanctification) the two tables of com-

mandments to be read, which, summarily, containing our whole duty both to God and man, the congregation, conscious of the breach of every one of them, should, at the reading of each commandment, cry out for mercy for their breaking of it, and implore grace, for the better observing of it in future: And that done, some choice portions of scripture, of especiall comfort and instruction, and more especially relating to the work of redemption, that day commemorated, taken out of the epistles of the apostles, and the gospel of the evangelists, to be read, with which (unless the communion be administred, the word preached, or an homily read) the publick service of the church to be concluded with certain prayers, and with the minister's blessing of the people.

How well this ordinance provides for offering unto God the reasonable service of man, we must leave unto the consciences of every man. As for the exceptions that are made against it, they are chiefly these. First, in genei II, That it is popish, superstitious, antichristian, (a charge which is very foul, if true) then, in particular, That it is in a set form.

Now, first to be popish, is no more then to partake of the manners, customes, or ordinances of the popes, which, when in plain tearmes, it is not forbidden in the scripture, we must seek how it comes to passe, that to partake of them must be unlawfull.

The popes (briefly) were the bishops of Rome, of which the foremost having, both for life and doctrine, been glorious members of the church, that church grew so renowned, as that, for judgement in matters of religion, they had the priority of repute, were to the western church the authours of many good ordinances in religion, and the great support thereof: till abusing their repute, and by little and little degenerating, they grew into so unspeakable corruptions, as no intelligent man may partake in those things with them, without a conscious committing of manifest sinne against the word of God.

Now, though their corruptions are by all means to be rejected, yet are they not therefore corrupt, or to be rejected, because they were the acts of popes, but because they were things which the popes acted contrary to the word of God; so, as repugnancy to God's word being the true and onely ground of their unlawfulness, we can reckon them no farther unlawfull then that ground or reason will demonstrate; and we may no more for respect of persons, (be they popes or whatsoever) call "good evil, or evil good," then we may, for respect of persons, break the commandments of God; nor is it more to be abhorred as a popish corruption, to use the ordinances of popes, which are not wicked ordinances in themselves, then blessing the people of God in the words wherewith Balaam blessed them, is to be abhorred as a Balaamish corruption. For, when by the names of Popish, Jewish, Heathenish, &c. we condemn any thing, we all intend, that the thing condemned is of the nature of those things, wherein they were especially corrupt, and not of the nature of their doings, which were neither good nor evil, and much lesse of the nature of those wherein they excelled: So as to be popish, simply being no argument of necessary faultinesse, we must see whether our liturgie partakes of any popish corruption or no.

To come readily to the matter, when, in all the whole frame of our liturgie, there is no worship nor invocation, but of the true God onely, neither is he worshipped any other way, then by the sole and immediate mediation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, there first can be no idolatrous corruption in the liturgie.

Secondly, It cannot be antichristian, because that contrary to the proper work of Antichrist, (which is "to deny the Sonne and the Father," and "in the Temple of God, to exalt himself above all that is called God,") the liturgie, throughout the whole course thereof, makes an exact acknowledgement, adoration, and exaltation above all things whatsoever of the three persons of the Trinity: which it acknowledges them,

* Isa. v. 20.

John ii. 22.

2.2 Thess. ii. 4.

in profession, so is there not any thing in it, whereby they are denied in practice: So as to call it antichristian, is a malicious slander against the clear truth examined by the light and rule of God's word.

Lastly, It cannot be superstitious neither; for, howsoever, in the performance of it there may be some few ceremonies brought in, which, rightly weighed, do perhaps conduce more to worldly solemnity and ostentation in religion, then to true and necessary religious decency and reverence, and therefore would be laid down: yet, being things otherwise indifferent introduced for decency onely, and not pressed as things of any other necessity, they can (at the worst) be but errors of judgement, mistaking what is decent and orderly; they cannot be superstitious, seeing they are not made matters of religion, but of decency and order, without which nothing ought to be done.

When then, according to true understanding and intention, nothing is meant popish, but what partakes of the superstitious corruptions of the popes, the liturgie of the English church must needs be acquit and discharged, not onely of the infamous calumny of being idolatrous, antichristian, and superstitious, but even also of that malicious aspersion of popish; and then it will follow, that the censures of those sinners against their own souls, who, in and for these things do falsely judge, censure, and condemn their mother church, and renounce obedience to her, and communion with her, because, as they suppose, she is popish, superstitious, idolatrous, antichristian; their unjust censures (I say) will prove the condemnation of themselves, both of uncharitableness, of self-conceit, and of insolent exalting themselves against the church of God at least, if not of antichristian persecution of it also; and, the more for this, that while they promise liberty and freedom from superstition, they, themselves, become slaves unto superstition, making a matter of religion, not to obey the ordinance of their church in things indifferent, and where the word of God doth not forbid obedience, but command it. This briefly touch the generall exceptions, popish, superstitious idolatrous, antichristian.

As for the particular exception, that in our liturgy, all prayer, praise, and thanksgiving is in a set form, a device of man's, not the command of God, a muzzling of the minister's spirit, a nurse of idlenesse, and means of neglecting the gifts and graces of God, &c. We must consider, 1. That there is not any expresse scripture against set forms of prayer, and, therefore, the use of it is not against any expresse command of God.

2. All Christian churches throughout the world, as well the Greek and eastern (where popery never reigned), as these our western churches, when once they attained a settled government, have, in all ages, served God in set forms of divine service; yea, even the reformed churches beyond sea use some set forms. And for our set liturgy, if any man list to be contentious against it, we can truly say, it is the custome of our church, and also of the churches of God; and then the depravers of it will prove to be despisers of authority, and advancers of their own private judgement, against the universal judgement of the church catholick.

3. Under the law there were set forms of publick confession, thanksgivings, blessings, &c. which, being no part of the ceremoniall, is warrant enough for Christians to use the like.

4. The Psalms of David, (which, as they abound with all those necessary parts of God's public service, confession of sinnes, prayers, praise, and thanksgiving, so especially with prayer) many of them having that title, (a prayer) they were not onely used publicly, by both the Jewes church and the Christians, but were penned to that end, and dedicated to the priests that had the office of praising God, and were most excellent in those kinds of musick to which they were set; and the most excellent passages of praise and prayer in them had the word *Selah* added to them, to the end that, in the publick use of them, those passages might be iterated, and said or sung over again.

Also, our Saviour himself having given us one form of set prayer, (which he bids, when ye pray, say) and not at all forbidden the use of set forms, makes it out of question, that to pray in a given form is lawfull (so the form be good). And what doubt we but when John Baptist taught his disciples to pray, he did it, by giving them some form, which, our Saviour's apostles liking, desired to have the like from him; and our SAVIOUR (we see) did not so much give them precepts and rules, instructing them how to make prayers of their own, (though his prayer hath that office too) but gave them a perfect prayer, in an exact conceived form; how much should men fear that their conscience (offended at the use of set prayer, without the light of God's word, declaring it to be unlawfull) are consciences blinded with superstition, afraid where no fear is, and their consciences not onely darkened, but their hearts also seduced with self-conceit and singularity, unto perverse and affected contention with the church.

5. While they pretend to free ministers, from a supposed restraint put upon their spirits by the use of set forms, they lay a reall restraint upon the spirits of all congregations; who, being always perfect in the contents and use of their set prayers, do, with prepared hearts and spirits, attend the public and joynt presenting of their known supplications to God for those mercies and graces, which the church, by those forms, declares all men to stand in need of, and every one's particular spirit attesteth to be necessary for him; but if all congregations (which God forbid) should be deprived of the use of them, every man shall go to church bound in the spirit, and know not what supplications he shall make to God, till the mouth of the minister shall declare it, and then the single minister (whatsoever his gifts or faculties be) shall determine of the devotion of the whole congregation, and conclude them all, that they shall make no publick invocation of God, neither for matter nor form, otherwise then as his spirit, and, perhaps, sudden conceit shall minister unto him.

6. When all the service of the church shall stand onely upon the strength and gifts of the preachers, and they differing in gifts one from another, it will inevitably follow, that those of the best gifts will more draw disciples after them than ever, and men will become followers of men, when they shall have no other means of public communion with God, either to hear him, or to speak unto him, then onely by the gifts of the preacher, and so the church shall, against God's word, be necessarily drawn into sectarisme and division.

7. Lastly, If we change our set forms of divine worship, into the various and arbitrary service that is to be performed by the minister onely, among many evils (not now to be foreseen) there is to be feared, that when men shall have known no other public exercise of religion, then by the preacher's arbitrary administration, and that he be generally beheld, as the onely minister of the spirit, of publick service and prayer, the consciences of men thenceforth subdued to an awfull dependance on him, shall find the ministers (like the Jesuites) through the sovereignty they hold in matters of religion, to exercise an externall dominion over their fortunes also, and set on foot a more dangerous tyranny in religion, than hitherto the church hath ever known. And if their opposition to set forms of publick service, and to what is used in the church of Rome, shall proceed so farre, as to reject the public reading of the scripture (eight¹ severall lessons or portions of which are now, by God's mercifull providence, dayly, or at least every Sunday and holy-day, publicly read in the church) then shall our church of England, by an ill-guided meaning to oppose the church of Rome, come to imitate her, and towards her children, commit the same cruelty that we justly condemn the church of Rome for using towards her; who, though she suffer her layicks to hear the word preached, yet suffers them not to hear in their own tongue, the powerfull word of God

¹ "Viz. Two in the Psalms, two in the Old Testament, one in the New, and two out of the Epistles and Gospels."—Original Note.

read unto them ; and we, as well as the Romanists, shall (toward those that cannot, or are carelesse to read) even wholly take away the means which our pious mother the church hath ordained for their conversion. And whereas such publick reading of God's lively and powerfull word is no mean degree of preaching, we shall, in an important part, suppress the word of God, and through disuse of frequent hearing, breed a generall unacquaintednesse with the precepts and stories of the scripture, which will in time hinder both the understanding and applying of that which shall be preached.

We need not further seek to give particular answer to every quarrell that is now made against severall parts and passages of our liturgy. But when kneeling at the receipt of the sacrament is so agreeable to the religious performance of that duty, and yet is quarrelled with, we cannot in silence passe it over ; for when want of due preparation is dangerous, yet is not performed without humiliation, contrition, abhorring one's self, forgiving others, turning to them in all charitable affections, thirsting for grace, and fervent invocation of the Divine Majesty for them ; how can we perform these rightly, without the lowliest prostration of soul and body that one can sollicite God withall ? Will we say, it should be done before, but not at our receiving ? It is true, it ought to be begun before, but he that can so approve of his preparation before, as to cease, and say, I have done enough, he is rather to fear his presumption, then to rest in such preparation, he perhaps makes a popish *opus aperatum* of his preparation, and cries peace, before there is peace ; nor can he say kneeling is an unfit posture to receive that grace in, which is fittest to be begged on our knees. Will we say kneeling is idolatry to the bread and wine ? We must then shew that it is commanded to be done to the bread and wine, or intended so, or a least, by protestants, abused so ; if none of these be, but it be commanded onely as the proper expression of the reverence and humiliation belonging to the duty, then is the exception not onely without cause, but slanderous and malicious. Will we say, that in the institution of it, our Saviour made not the disciples kneel ? True, but let us also confesse that the disciples had the " Bridegroom with them ;" who, though he were their Lord, yet called them friends, and admitted them to a liberty suitable. We will not (I am sure) say the sacrament is now to be celebrated in all things as it was then, and no otherwise ; and if in any thing there be liberty of receding from what was done at first, whose judgement shall we trust what we must hold, and what we may recede from, if not the judgement and practice of the universall church from the first to this present ? And if indeed we would observe the first institution, why spurn we at receiving it together at the table, for so the disciples did ? And Saint Paul calls it " the partaking of the table of the Lord ;" and David, " the preparing of a table for us : " truly the receiving every one, or every family apart by themselves in their seats, suits not with observing of communion, nor coming together to eat, nor eating together into one body, but savours of singularity and inconformableness to the observance of a true Eucharist. *

John xv. 14, 15.

¹ 1 Cor. x. 21.

² Paul. xxiii.

* The observances at receiving the communion were much contested by the Puritans. Nor was the position of the table or altar less keenly reprobated, of which we have the following account in the Biographia : " At the time of our reformation from the errors of popery, on purpose to divert people's minds from considering the Lord's Supper as a sacrifice, the name of altar was turned into table, and it was ordered to be removed from the east end to another part of the chancel. This appears from one of bishop Ridley's injunctions, in 1550, being in these words : ' Whereas, in divers places, some use the Lord's board, after the form of a table, and some of an altar, whereby dissention is perceived to arise among the unlearned ; therefore, wishing a unity to be observed in all our diocess ; and for that, the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the old superstitious opinion of the popish mass, and to the right use of the Lord's Supper, we exhort the curate, church wardens, and quondam, to erect and set up the Lord's board, after the form of an honest table, decently covered, in such place of the quire or chancel, as shall be thought most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers, with the communicants, may have their place separated from the rest of the people.' Accordingly the altars were thus removed in most places. But archbishop Laud observing that by this situation they were liable to several profanations ; as, for instance, that the church war-

It is not to be expected we should here examine all the dissensions in religion that are among us. But seeing that in generall they are the quarrels of particular men for exercise of religion, in wayes either besides, or contrary to the established ordinances and usage of our church (in which yet they can neither charge the church with violating the word of God, nor shew by the judgement of the church catholick, that their own exercise of religion is that which by the word of God is onely to be taught and practised;) it will not be unnecessary, to represent to further search and consideration, how much some passages of God's word (too little examined by us) are pertinent to the decision of these matters.

For whereas true Christianity is a perfect catholicisme, and contrarily antichristianisme, or fighting against God, walks in singularities, partialities, sects, separations, and the like, it is too apparent, that the ways, wherein men now pretend that the true exercise of religion lyeth, do very much hold the byasse of sectarisme. Who sees it not in our extraordinary running after choice and affected teachers? In which, though the shew of godlinesse so awes our judgements, that we distrust no error in it, yet does it concern us to take heed of a deceivableness of unrighteousnesse in it. To love, desire, and seek, the lively delivery of God's word, is good, and our duty: and so is it also to love and honour the preacher for the word's sake. But there is great danger in comparing, preferring, and despising of one in respect of another; this ¹ Saint Paul condemns as the practice of carnall men indeed, while we assume the judgement and choice of teachers, and hear, and follow them according as we like their doctrine, and no otherwise, we, under the shew of godly longing after God's word, and honouring the choice preachers of it, discover an hidden exaltation of our selves and of our own minds and judgements, both above the preachers, and the word they preach.

On the other side, toward the ordinance of the church, and our proper ministers, we do not onely unduely exalt ourselves, but adde unto it disobedience; yea, even a faulting of God's providence: We make our own Jordans, too shallow brooks to cleanse our leprosies: Our ² Siloams that are sent, too unclean pools to help our blindness: Yea, and we refuse the waters of ³ Shiloab, for no other reason then that they runne softly: We choose our selves streams to our liking, which, like the rivers of Damascus, must be better waters, and of more approved depth and current. Every one must follow his ⁴ Paul, his Apollo, his Cephas, his Christ.

And as ourselves encline to these wayes, so have we teachers that cherish inclination in us, and find it no small advantage to them, that by applying themselves to the present affectations of men, they can so draw disciples after them. For the effecting of which, though ⁵ "the weak in faith ought not to be received to doubtfull disputations," yet they, making no difference between strong and weak, school and pulpit, governours and private men, do unto their vulgar auditories, (who, they know, have neither capacity to judge, nor authority to reform) frequently preach their own apprehensions concerning the government of the church, and the right exercise of religion, not onely in things apparent and agreed on, but even in things which they themselves have late-

deus kept their accounts, and dispatched parish-business upon them; schoolmasters taught boys to write upon them, who laid their hats, satchels, and books thereon; many sat and leaned irreverently against them, during sermon time; dogs pissed against them, and otherwise defiled them; glaziers mending windows there, knocked them full of nail-holes, &c.; the archbishop, I say, observing this, ordered the tables to be removed close to the east wall, with the ends north and south, and to be railed in, to avoid the like profanations. But this alteration was attended with violent and unreasonable opposition on the one hand, and too severe prohibitions on the other. And all might have been easily prevented or accommodated only by this plain expedient; that is, by setting out the communion-table, on sacrament-days, in the middle or some convenient place of the chancel, and keeping it at other times within rails where the altar had stood, conformably to Queen Elizabeth's injunctions. But in those miserable times, there was no moderation on either side." *Note in Biographia Britannica*, article LAUD.

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 4.

² John ix. 7.

³ Isa. viii. 6.

⁴ 1 Cor. i. 12.

⁵ Rom. xiv.

ly questioned, and drawn in doubt, whether they be right or no. By which means, private presumption, insolence, self-concept, disdain, uncharitableness, and disobedience (sinnes most incompatible with true religion) are grown so great and generall, as that they are become like an epidemick contagion, putting all men in amaze what shall be the end and consequence of them. Of which when we cannot have a greater admonition, then where the spirit of God sets forth the last and penious times of the church; it is not amisse to summe up into one entire view, what it is, that the Holy Ghost doth there admonish us of.

Our Saviour himself first warnes the church, "to beware of false prophets," that come (saith he) in sheeps cloathing, but inwardly are ravening woolves." Whom that we may know he gives a rule, "Ye shall know them by their fruits," and in another place, "by their works." Where we must note, that fruits and works are to be taken as they are in themselves, and as they are naturally taken notice of in all men's understandings; otherwise we make our Saviour teach *Ignotum per ignatius*. It is true that in every fruit and work that is good in it self, if an evil circumstance, or way, or end, accompany it, the fruit that was good in itself, may by way, or end, be made evil, (as if mercy, charity, zeal, &c. be shewed for ostentation, or for a cloak of pretence, &c.) But in evil fruits and works, it is otherwise, for no end, or circumstance whatsoever, can make that work good, that is evil in itself, as disobedience, sedition, treason, &c. For God, "having no need of a wicked man," and forbidding us, "Thou shalt not do evil, that good may come thereon," he takes from evil works all the help that their good end or circumstances may do them. When, therefore, we find a deed, that in itself is evil, we must not make that good, for the good end, or good intent of the doer; but, contrarily, we must make him a misdoer, notwithstanding the good end and intent of the action. Our Saviour further reveals, That "many shall come in his name, and shall deceive many;" the manner of whose coming, he intimates to be by way of secret insinuation here in the chamber, or by way of seperation "there in the wilderness."

In the Acts of the Apostles, Saint Paul gives warning of the like false teachers, and tells the pastours of the church, "Of your own selves shall men arise, preaching perverse things, to draw away disciples after them." In the second of the Thessalonians he foretells of a "falling away," and of the "revealing of the man of sinne that exalteth himself above all that is called God, or worshipped," whose coming he shews to be after the "working of Saten, with all power and signes, and lying wonders, and with all deceiveableness of unrighteousnesse." Again, in the first of Timothy, he foretels a "departing of some from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and that speak lyes in hypocrisie, forbidding marriage, and meats:" in the second of Timothy, he declares, that in the last dayes, "perilous times shall come," the perilousnesse of which he shews to be in this, that "men shall be lovers of themselves, covetous, boasters, proud, truce breakers, false-accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of the good, traitorous, heady, high-minded, &c. having a form of godlinesse, but denying the power thereof, &c. Of which sort are they that creep into houses, and lead captives silly women, laden with divers lusts, ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth." And, lastly, that "the time would come, when they would not endure sound doctrine, but, after their own lusts heap to themselves teachers.

Saint Peter forewarneth also of false teachers, "shewing that they should "privily bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them;" an especiall description of whom he maketh in this, that they "despise government, are presumptuous, self-willed, and not afraid to speak evil of dignities."

* This first class of false teachers, characterized as covetous, boasters, proud, and despisers of dignities, was probably intended to shadow forth the insolent, predominating, and intolerant steps of the presbyterian clergy. 1. 1. 20. 2. Thessal. ii. 3. 3. 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3. 4. 2 Tim. iii. 1, 2, &c. 5. 1 Pet. ii. 10.

Saint John tells us, that as ¹ "we have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now there are many Antichrists." And then he deciphereth by their inconformity and disobedience, "They went out from us, (saith he,) but are not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us."

Lastly, Saint Jude, in his generall epistle, ² warneth the universall church of men of like singularities, noted by this, that "they creep in unawares, that they despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities, that they speak evil of those things they understand not, that they go the wayes of Core, and runne greedily after the error of Balaam for reward, and perish in the gainsaying of Core," (as much as to say, men of unbrother-like affections, seekers of their own gain, and disobedient to their superiours) further, that they "are murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts, speaking swelling words, having men's persons in admiration for advantage;" and, lastly, that they be "they, that separate themselves."

What have we in this, but an entire description of the whole practice of the spirit of error, and of adversation to Christianity, which the scripture calleth Antichrists. By which, sinne (that through the light of the gospel was subdued, and deprived of his first and naturall empire, consisting in the grosse viciousnesse of corrupt nature) turning himself unto his arts, like the devil into an angel of light, does now, with refined and mysterious falsities (such as resemble piety, and true religion) renew his onsets in a warfare of a more dangerous consequence; so various, and, in appearance, so contrary often to sinne, as puts the strongest Christian to the use of all his "armour of righteousness, as well on the right hand as on the left," ³ to be able to withstand him.

This anticbristianisme is here represented to us in a twofold form. The first an empire of mysterious sinne; a body of members well united together under one head, or soveraigne, set forth one while by the names of the "man of sinne, the sonne of perdition, the wicked one;" another while by the name of "Babylon the Great, the mother of fornication, the great whore," &c. The description of which empire is in such characters as marvelously suiteth with the Roman papacy.

The other form of mysterious wickednesse is of a quite contrary nature. ⁴ A loose anarchy of singulars, of men by themselves, not united together in one by any common bond of true communion; but (like quick-sands cast together, by the working of the sea, and from time to time shifted and changed with it so) they, as judgements, private ends, or affections, do concur, are brought accidentally to a concurrence among themselves, but without any ground, or solid principle of uniting. For tho' they seem to put on the yoke of Christ, yet every one keeps the bonds of the yoke in his own hands, and is the soveraigne arbiter of his own obedience. Notwithstanding which contrariety of theirs to the Roman church (who abuses obedience as these do liberty,) they are no other then derivatives of the same spirit of error, begot by way of opposition, on her that is "the mother of fornications," who having, against the manifest word of God, usurped a tyrannicall soveraignty both over God's word, his church, and all the princes of his church, and being beaten from it, the devil, instead of quitting the rule, that he held by her monarchall tyranny, changes onely his vicegerent, and continues the same usurpation in a popular and anarchell way; that is,

¹ 1 John ii. 19.

² Ep. Jude v.

³ 2 Thess. ii. 3 and 8.

⁴ The author proceeds to describe the independents, including various sects of anabaptists, quakers, &c. with monarchy men, and persons above ordinances, who resorted neither to counsel nor to classes for removal of doubts, but held the private spirit to be the guide of every individual in interpreting the scriptures, and consequently, made as absurd deductions as it was possible for enthusiasm to beget upon ignorance.

by the hands of every particular man, or number of men, who (abusing the example of rejection of her usurped authority) shall invade and reject all authority how lawfully soever established in the church. Both are opposers of Christ's doctrine, both usurpers of the authority of his church; both hiding their usurpation under a form of godliness. They differ but in this: men in the one, partake onely of the iniquity by influence from the head; but in the other, every distinct member is the original author of it to himself.

We finding then such an alarme in the scripture blown against perverse and self-led professors of religion, set forth unto us by such characters as "wolves," followers of Cain, "Balaam, and Corah, cursed children," and the like; notwithstanding that they have "sheep's cloathing, forms of godliness, and fained words" to cover them; it remains, that we strictly examine what fruits, or works, have passed our hands, which in their common and naturall acceptation are evil, though brought forth for good ends, and that we utterly relinquish them; that we take heed of wayes of singularity, that lead to "false accusation, trayterousnesse, headyness, high-mindednesse, and denying of the power of godliness;" that we take heed of the doctrines of those "that draw disciples after them," that "creep into houses," that "go out from the fellowship of the apostles, and continue not with them," that follow the wayes of Cain's uncharitableness, of Balaam's prophesying for lucre, or of Corah's disobedience; that we take heed of those that "despise government, are presumptuous, self-willed, not afraid to speak evil of dignities, that despise dominion, have men's persons in admiration because of advantage," that "heap to themselves teachers," that "separate themselves." And, lastly, that while we justly hate popery, we do not in any thing partake of that sinne of the pope's which made him that hatefull apostate, and mystical enemy of the church, namely, that we do not, by assuming into a wrong hand, any power or authority which God hath by his word committed to the body of the pastours of his church onely, rob him of his rightfull signory and jurisdiction, as they that have invaded his "tythes and offerings, robbed him" of his rightfull revenue, and possessions.

Exod. xxiii. 2.

Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil; neither shalt thou speak in a cause, to decline after many, to wrest judgement: or as St Hierome translates these words:

Non sequeris turbam ad faciendum malum, nec in judicio plurimorum acquiesces sententia, ut à vero devies.

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 15.² Ep. Jude x.

Mal. ii. 8.

The Popes Nuntios, or the Negotiation of Seignior Panzani, Seignior Con, &c. resident here in England with the Queen, and treating about the Alteration of Religion with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his Adherents, in the Years of our Lord, 1634, 1635, 1636, &c. Together with a Letter to a Nobleman of this kingdom, concerning the same.

London, Printed for R. B. 1643.

Lord Clarendon thus describes the halcyon state of the English Catholics before the civil war:—"The papists had for many years enjoyed a great calm, being upon the matter absolved from the severest parts of the law, and dispensed with for the gentlest, and were grown only a part of the revenue, without any probable danger of being made a sacrifice to the law. They were looked upon as good subjects at court, and as good neighbours in the country; all the restraints and reproaches of former times being forgotten. But they were not prudent managers of this prosperity, being too elate and transported with the protection and connivance they received, though I am persuaded their numbers increased not, their pomp and boldness did to that degree, that, as if they affected to be thought dangerous to the state, they appeared more publicly, entertained and urged conferences more avowedly, than had been before known: they resorted at common hours to mass to Somerset House, and returned thence in great multitudes, with the same barefacedness as others came from the Savoy or other neighbour churches: they attempted, and sometimes obtained, proselytes of weak uninformed ladies, with such circumstances as provoked the rage, and destroyed the charity, of great and powerful families, which longed for their suppression: they grew not only secret contrivers, but public professed promoters of, and ministers in, the most odious and the most grievous projects; as in that of soap, formed, framed, and executed, by almost a corporation of that religion; which, under that licence and notion, might be, and were suspected to be, qualified for other agitations. The priests, and such as were in orders, (orders that, in themselves, were punishable by death,) were departed from their former modesty and fear, and were as willing to be known as to be hearkened to; insomuch, that a Jesuit at Paris, who was coming for England, had the boldness to visit the ambassador there, who knew him to be such, and, offering his service, acquainted him with his journey, as if there had been no laws there for his reception. And for the most invidious protection and countenance of that whole party, a public agent from Rome, (first Mr Con, a Scottish man, and after him the Count of Rozetti, an Italian,) resided at London in great port; publicly visited the court; and was avowedly resorted to by the Catholics of all conditions, over whom he assumed a particular jurisdiction; and was caressed and presented magnificently by the ladies of honour who inclined to that profession. They had likewise, with more noise and vanity, than prudence would have admitted, made public collections of money to a considerable sum, upon some recommendations from the queen, and to be by her majesty presented as a free-will-offering from his Roman Catholic subjects to the king, for the carrying on the war against the Scots; which drew upon them the rage of that nation, with little devotion and reverence to the queen herself; as if she desired to suppress the protestant religion in one kingdom, as well as the other, by the arms of the Roman Catholics. To conclude, they carried themselves so, as if they had been suborn'd by the Scots, to root out their own religion."—CLARENDON'S *History of the Rebellion*, I. 148.

This favourable state of affairs for the Catholic cause in England, was somewhat enervated by the internal division which prosperity occasioned, or at least encouraged. The perpetual feud between their secular and regular clergy, broke forth with great animosity in a controversy, concerning the spiritual authority of Dr Smith, bishop of Chalcidon, a catholic bishop in partibus. In order to compose this strife, the Pope, in 1634, sent to England, Gregory Panzani, a civilian and a Roman priest, who appears also to have been empowered to treat with such of the English clergy as might, upon any terms, be disposed towards a reconciliation with Rome. The constant opposition of the Puritans to rites and ceremonies, festivals and holidays, fasts and forms of prayer, increased the devotion of Laud and his adherents to those matters which were the point of controversy between them, and disposed them of course to

look with a more indulgent eye toward the catholic ritual. The pope's envoy was undoubtedly instructed to avail himself of these favourable circumstances, and, in particular, it is certain, that, through him, or some similar channel, a cardinal's hat was offered to the archbishop of Canterbury; but Laud replied, "there was something within him, which would not allow him to accept that, untill Rome were otherwise than it then was." He was, in truth, better pleased with the catholic doctrine, than with the court of Rome, and his designs were probably most truly estimated by those who thought that he rather intended to reconcile the English Catholics to the church of England, by making some concessions in point of form and ritual, than again to reduce England to the obedience of the papal see. This was much the tendency of a work, written by one Sancta Clara, alias Dampert, a Franciscan friar, entitled, *Deus, Natura, Gratia*. The having relieved and encouraged this priest, was one of the articles of accusation against the archbishop; and how the purpose of the work was regarded by the papists, will appear from the following conversation between Wilson the historian, and Weston, an English priest.

"Some English and Scotch jesuits found me out at my lodging, with whom I had often conversed: Among the rest, one Dr Weston, an old man, fell into discourse with me about the state of England. Hee loath'd the memory of Queen Elizabeth. These times please him better: but the little archbishop of Canterbury hee could not endure.

"I pull'd a booke out of my pocket, written by the provincial of the English friers, Joha de Sancta Clara, which tended to reconcile the church of England and the church of Rome if we would come up a step to them, and they come down a step to us. Hee told mee, 'twas impossible that the church of Rome should ever descend in the least degree; and the author of the book, if hee were at Rome, would be mew'd up between two stone walls, and the book burnt under his nose. I know the man (said he) hee is one of Canterbury's trendle flies, and eates perpetually at his table; a creature of his making.

"Then, said I, you should better approve of my lord of Canterbury's actions, being heere so much your way. Noe, reply'd hee, hee is too subtle to be yok't; too ambitious to have a superiour. Heele never submit to Rome. Hee means to frame a mottley religion of his owne, and bee lord himselfe."—*Puck's Desiderata Curiosa*, II. 479.

Sir Philip Warwick's account of the religious principles of Charles comes to the same issue.

"No gentleman in his three nations, tho' there were many learned, (for I have supposed him but competently learned, tho' eminently rational) better understood the foundations of his own church, and the grounds of the reformation, than he did; which made the pope's nuncio to the queen, Signior Con, to say (both of him and Archbishop Laud), when the king had forced the archbishop to admit a visit from, and a conference with, the nuncio, that, when he came first to court, he hoped to have made great impressions there; but after he had conferred with prince and prelate, who never denyed him any thing forwardly or ignorantly, but admitted all which primitive and uncorrupted Rome for the first 500 years had exercised, he declared he found that they resolved to deal with his master the pope, as wrestlers do with one another, take him up to fling him down."—*SIR PHILIP WARWICK'S Memoires*, p. 68.

The issue of these obscure intrigues was fatal to Laud; and the following account of them was published, with the obvious purpose of inflaming the popular mind against him. The narrative is said to have been furnished by the Venetian envoy, the republic being then on bad terms with the papal see. Whether this be the case or no, the moderation of the statement entitles it to very considerable credit, and redeems it from any charge of being forged by the adherents to the popular party, as may easily appear from comparing the spirit of the statement itself, with that which appears in the preliminary epistle of the editor.

My Lord,

I HAVE read with a studious eye this discourse which your lordship commanded to my observation, and I must confess, that I was not more sorry that England loved Rome so well, than I am glad the affection betwixt them is thus discovered. For, although the marks of the beast, for some years past, were legible enough in every corner of this land, and the clergy generally could speak Italian, or were apt to learn it; yet such a spirit of security did possess us, and hope and fear had such influence upon our wretched senses, that we could not see that situation which we lookt upon, and the gospel was almost flung away before we believed it had any wings. But the great and mysterious riddle is here unfolded, and those curtains of peace and charity

which did so speciously cover this work of darkness, are drawn from off it. He that will not now understand, that Tibur and Thames were almost in one channell, shall have my vote to graze upon the mountains, and forfeit his reasonable soule, which in so clear a day will not discern the waters running. I believe your lordship with more boldnesse, will concur in this sentence, when you shall hear that the Venetian ambassadour was the author of this little story, a man, whose religion would not permit him to favour the reformed churches, or to blast his own with any falshood, especially in an accompt to a wise state which had employed him; a man of dear acquaintance with Panzani, and although no master-builder, yet a pious servant and spectator of the work; when you shall also hear the Italian copy was first translated into French for the great cardinals satisfaction; and I do not doubt it hath good acquaintances in the Spanish court, and could speak that language long ago. I could proceed further, but that the limits of a letter cannot receive my thoughts concerning this argument, and my eyes behold so much light, that they are altogether dazled with the lustre. A short time (if God permit) shall produce a volume, which may prove me not only a lover of the truth, but in all lawfull commands,

Your lordships most obedient servant,

D: T.

Religion having a great power over the spirit of man, and an incomparable force thereupon to produce effects extraordinary, some men embrace it with sinceritie of affection as a way leading to true felicitie: but other esteeme more of it for the general profit which redounds from it to humane societie, then for any other excellence discerned in it. Princes and sage polititians are of this latter sort of men, giving reverence to it for the commoditie which they receive from it; as well knowing by experience of all ages, that there is nothing more proper to preserve men in concord, and render the people obedient to the higher powers. Therefore the most advised and reserved princes, though in their souls they make no account of religion, yet in appearance they alwayes endeavour to seem extreamely religious, and inflict exemplary punishment on such as attempt any thing against the puritie of it; foreseeing with great prudence, that it is impossible any alteration of religion should happen without trouble and distraction in the state. And indeed in these latter times we see those states and realms which have prevented divisions of religion have maintained themselves in peace and tranquillitie, as Italy and Spaine: whereas in others, on the contrary, where the introducing of new opinions has divided the people, there consequently arms have been taken up by one against the other; witness France and Germany. And though some countreys have undergone change of religion without interruption of their repose; yet, if we examine the reasons of it, we shall find the said change to have sprong from some extraordinarie cause, rather than from diversitie of opinion amongst the people. The separation of England from the church of Rome was not caused so much by the desire of reforming religion, as from animosities conceived by Hen. 8. against the court of Rome, by reason of its difficult consenting to the dissolution of his marriage with Kathrine of Castile. And though under Edward his son the reformation was received by publick consent of the whole realm, it was grounded upon the same cause, and by obstinate opinion of new doctrine; for under the reign of Queen Mary the kingdom was as easily reconciled to the church of Rome again, as it had been separated before. Queen Elizabeth being come to the crown, and her interests swaying her to favour the reformation, she found her people as far disposed to embrace it, as they had been forward to reject it, in her sisters's time; and so the length of her reign bringing in a permanence of form, she so well establisht it, that it hath since firmly continued under her successors James and Charles. But forasmuch as this reformation (as has been said) was induced more for interest of state, and to deliver that kingdom from the pope's yoke, then for love of new opinions, therefore the English did not so ingage themselves to those parrticular opinions, but that they have since set themselves to reform the abuse of re-

ligion by reducing themselves again to the old practise of their fore-fathers. Nevertheless this realm is so perversly addicted to maintain its own resolute opinion of excluding the pope's authority, that this hath been the cause why the Catholicks (who for the first 12 years conformed themselves to the policie introduced into the church of England) have since separated themselves from it; and to testifie their uniting to the pope, have refused to frequent the protestant churches, and thereby have framed one partie in that state. England being so divided into Protestants and Catholicks, a considerable number of people, by reason of the warres in France and the Netherlands, retired into it from those countreys with their preachers; and being seasoned and initiated with the doctrine of Calvin, they judged the English reformation but imperfect, and so refusing submission to that form of policie, by this means they constituted a third partie, named Puritans. These three factions are still at this day in sway. That of the Puritans is the most potent, consisting of some bishops, all the gentry and commonalitie. That of the Protestants is composed of the king, almost all the bishops and nobilitie, and besides of both the universities. The Catholicks are the least in number, yet make up a partie in that state sufficiently considerable, because the body of them is composed of such of the nobility as are most rich, powerfull, and strong in alliance, and of no small number amongst the inferior sort. Now these three factions in religion, though they all oppose one another, yet the hatred of Protestants against Puritans is greater then against Catholicks, and that of Puritans is greater against Catholicks then Protestants. And thus both Catholicks and Protestants do very easily combine together for the ruin and rooting out of Puritans: And, were it not for the interests of some great ones at court, who serve themselves by pretext of religion, to attain to their own ends, and thereupon to win their attendance, have received them into protection, it would be no hard matter to suppress, and quell the Puritans. The realm being in this condition, there is happened a discord amongst Catholikes, which has distracted them also into factions, the occasion whereof was the pretended jurisdiction of Dr Smith, an Englishman, bishop of Chalcedon, contesting for the power of ordinary over all England: In which he was abetted with the favour of all the secular clergy, and all Catholicks adhering to them.* The regulars hereupon, and more especially the Jesuits, opposed themselves, and wrote divers books both scandalous and

* The policy of dividing the Roman Catholic secular-clergy from the regulars, was adopted by the primate Bancroft, who assisted the former by his advice, and even by his pen. Wood gives the following account of Dr Smith, &c. whose claims of jurisdiction gave vivacity to the controversy:—"Richard Smith was born in Lincolnshire 1566, became a student of Trinity College about 1583, went a course there, but before he took a degree, he left the college, went to Rome, ran another course of studies there, not in philosophy, as he did in Trinity College, but in divinity, wherein making great proficiency, was sent by his superior to Valladolid in Spain, where he took the degree of doctor of divinity. Thence I suppose he went into the mission of England, in which employment he remained some years. From thence he was sent for to Rome, to be consulted with about the affairs of the English popish clergy. Which being finished according to his mind, he was remitted into England again, and at length was by the pope made bishop titular only of Chalcedon in Greece, and by him commissioned to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in England, over the Catholicks there. The chief stage of his action was Lancashire, where he appeared in his pontificalia, with his horned mitre and crosier, conferring of orders, bestowing his benediction, and such like, to the wonder of ignorant and poor people. At length the king, having received notice of these matters, he renewed his proclamation in 1628 (one of a former date taking no effect) for his apprehension, promising an hundred pounds to be presently paid to him that did it, besides all the profits which accrued to the crown, as legally due from the person that entertained him. But the bishop having timely notice of these matters, conveyed himself over into France, where he became a confident of Armandus du Plessis, cardinal and duke of Richlieu, who conferred upon him the abbotsip of Charroux, in the diocese of Poitou, which he kept and received the profits of it till 1647, and then Julius Cardinal Mazarine took it into his own hands. The convenience and validity of the episcopal power of the said Dr Smith was made the subject of several books, which were written thereon, viz. in favour of him were, 1. *N. le Maistre*, a Sorbon priest, in a book entitled, *De persecutione Episcoporum et de Illustrissimo Antistite Chalcedonensi*. 2. The Faculty of Paris which censured all such that opposed him. In opposition to him or them, were, 1. Daniel, a Jesuit, or *Dan à Jesu*, i. e. John Floyd, a Jesuit; 2. one Horucan; 3. Lumley, an Englishman; and 4. Nicholas Smith, a regular, who, with his brethren, did make so great a stir about this bishops authority, and were heightened to that animosity against the secular priests, (the bishop being of that number,) that the pope was forced to rouse and de-

prejudicial to the power of bishops : all which have been censured and condemned by the university of Paris : And Peter Aurelius, a doctor there, has written very learnedly in confutation of the said books. But this did little avail to the appeasing of the difference, it did exasperate rather the regulars, so, that they raised such persecution against the said bishop, that he was faine to fly out of England into France, and there he is still residing. And since his retreat, the dissention is grown more fierce, insomuch, as the pope taking notice thereof, and desiring to apply some convenient remedie, and, yet not clearly discerning the truth of those affairs, so as they were disguised by the cunning and subtilty of each party, he then resolved to send over some person, by whose presence upon the place he might be best informed of the truth for the applying of some expedient to those broyls. Thus, in the year 1634, his holinesse did dispatch into England Signior Gregory Panzani, a doctor in law and Romish priest, and by his papal brief, dated the 10 of October of the same year, directed to the English clergy and Catholicks, he required and commanded credence to be given him, in whatsoever Signior Panzani on his part should expose to them. Cardinal Fran. Barbarini also, to accompany his holiness brief, sent a letter of his own to the said Catholicks and their clergy, with which and his instructions Signior Panzani arrived at London the 25 Decem. 1634, where he saluted the queen, and afterwards the king also, who received and treated him with much kindnesse, telling him that he was very welcome : Yea, his majesty remained uncovered during all the discourse, and entertainment. He did also desire conference with the archbishop of Canterbury, but was put off and procrastinated therein from day to day : So that at last he departed the kingdom without any speech had with him. From his arrival at the time of his abode in England he much applied himself to Secretary Windebank, and the Lord Cottington, presuming by the means of the one to maintain himself in the favour of the archbishop and his party, and by the other to avoid the hatred of the contrary side. By means of a friend of his, he endeavoured to sound some of the English doctors of the archbishops adherents, whether or no the king would permit the residing of a catholick bishop of the English nation to be nominated by his majesty, and not to exercise his function, but as his majesty should limit. This proposition was not very pleasing ; yet, after better advisement, they answered, that Seignior Panzani should first declare, whether the pope would allow of such a bishop to be designed as did hold the oath of allegiance lawfull, or at least would tolerate the taking thereof by the Catholicks. In this Seignior Panz. would not declare himself, excusing it for want of commission, and so that treatie was interrupted. Nevertheless, to his intimate friend, on the second of Octob. 1635, he declared privately, that the pope would never admit any man to govern as bishop that would not favour the oath of allegiance or fidelitie : Yet as to the said oath, some divines of the archbishop's party told the forenamed friend of Panzani, that forasmuch as Catholicks formerly would not take the said oath of fidelity, because they believed it prejudicial to the pope's authority, and that the pope might not complain, that the taking of the said oath was contrary to two of his briefs prohibiting the same, the king

clare himself concerned in so great a scandal to the unity of the Roman church. And because he would not proceed to cure this schism, untill he rightly understood the original ground thereof, he dispatched over into England, Gregory Panzani, a civilian Roman priest, an. 1634, with a commission of over and terminer, of hearing and determining the quarrel ; if not to certify to him the state of the cause, and where the fault lay. This was the upper mantle of the plot, which had readily in it enough to overspread more secret designs, so that they were not transparent to vulgar eyes. But tho' his instructions would not own any other lading, yet some, especially the puritanicall party, held it for certain, that they had taken in other contrivances of pernicious import to the church and state of England. He tarried here till 1636, having by that time procured an indifferent fair agreement between the seculars and the regulars. What else was to be done in the matter, was to be performed by seignor George Con, the pope's agent, sent into England the same year of Panzani his departure. As for the bishop of Chalcedon, he was a general read scholar in the controversies between the papists and protestants, in histories whether civil or profane, and did great service for the cause he professed."—Wool's *Athenæ*. II. 186.

did declare that he did intend no prejudice to the pope's spiritual authoritie by the said oath, nor require therein any other fidelity from his subjects then such as God and nature obliged them to. And this will and intention of the king should be published to all Catholickes, at such time as the oath should be presented. The court of England, and the prelates, with much zeal and passion, sought to procure a toleration of the said oath from the pope; alleadging, that, if it were in the king's power to change it, he would retrench all such words as seemed opposite to his holinesse authority; but the same being conceived, and enacted solemnly in parliament, to change it was beyond the kings power: Yet the explication appertained to his majesty what the intendment thereof should be; and so by a declaration his majesty would clear, that he intended no prejudice to the pope. On the contrary, Panzani replied, that the oath containing some formal terms, contrary to the authority due to his holinesse, and the intention of the parliament being to oblige subjects to such fidelity as was due to princes only, the king ought to change the said oath, and put in such terms as he pleased, so long as he altered not the parliament's intention. Whereupon, we are to consider deliberately the different intentions of these two courts: That of Rome, in perpetual pursuance of its old pretences, is more solicitous and laborious to reverse and destroy the said oath, because the same seems contrary to its temporal grandeur, than to extirpate such heresies as that realm is infected with. But the aim of the English court is to procure either an approbation, or toleration, of the oath from Rome, out of hope to effect thereby a reconciliation between both courts; yet, not intending to effect the same without very great advantage, and that in things contrary to the maxims of Rome, to which that will never accord. As, for example, to get permission that Catholicks may indifferently frequent Protestant churches; that the papal power and dignity shall be confessed to be only of human right, &c. And that which persuades the court of England, that the pope may grant his approbation to the oath is, because it seems that many of the catholick doctors, notwithstanding any briefs of the pope to the contrary, have maintained the lawfulness of it, both with their tongues and their pens. As to a reconciliation between the churches of England and Rome, there were made some general propositions and overtures by the archbishop's agents, they assuring that his grace was very much disposed thereunto, and that, if it was not accomlisht in his life time, 'twould prove a work of more difficulty after his death; that, in very truth, for the last three years, the archbishop had introduced some innovations approaching the rites and forms of Rome; that the bishop of Chichester, a great confidant of his grace and the lord treasurer, and eight other bishops of his grace's party, did most passionately desire a reconciliation with the church of Rome; that they did day by day recede from their ancient tenets, to accommodate with the church of Rome; that, therefore, the pope, on his part, ought to make some steps to meet them, and the court of Rome remit something of its rigour in doctrine, otherwise no accord could be. And in very deed, the universities, bishops, and divines of this realm, do daily embrace catholick opinions, though they profess not so much with open mouth, for fear of the Puritans. For example, they hold that the church of Rome is a true church; that the pope is superior to all bishops; that to him it appertains to call general councils; that it is lawful to pray for the soul of the departed; that altars ought to be erected of stone: In sum, that they believe all that is taught by the church, but not by the court of Rome.

There was likewise an English doctor, that told Panzani's forementioned friend, that the king did approve of auricular confession, and was willing to introduce it; and would use force to make it received; were it not for fear of sedition amongst the people.

These affairs being so disposed, and the overture of a peaceable reconciliation so mature, for the treating of the same, Signior Panzani was advised to speak no more of the establishment of a catholic bishop in England, that being so odious to the prelates there,

but to procure from the king permission for a nuntio or agent from the pope, to be addressed to the queen; which, without any bruit, might reconcile the two courts.

And Panzani's forementioned friend did communicate the same to a personage, which had many friends about the king; so that this expedient was proposed to the king, and by Panzani himself to the queen.

The king entered into deliberation upon it with some of his most intimate counselors, who did approve thereof; upon condition, that he that should be sent from the pope should be no priest.

The king also, to stop the mouths of murmurers, when this should be publicly rumoured, said, in the presence of many, Why may not I as well receive an ambassador from the pope as I do from other catholick princes? And another time, I can now reconcile myself to the church of Rome with much advantage.

This affair being so established by Panzani, further to cover his designs, and to afford some satisfaction, both to the popish clergy and regulars of England, and to testify his care of the main business, for which he was sent over, he did procure some accord betwixt the seculars and regulars, by common consent, upon the 22d of November, 1635, where the Jesuits alone would not come in.

Since that time Panzani did apply himself to court the amity of the bishops and clergy of England; and particularly of the bishop of Chichester, to whom he was presented by his old friend; by whom he did also caress others; injoyning his said friend to make promise of cardinalships to such as live unmarried; and of pensions to such as aspired not thereunto.²

As to affairs of the civil state, the said Panzani hath used incredible diligence to discover the passions, inclinations, and dependances of the king's counsellors; especially of such as are well-affected to Spain; and to discern the inclinations of the prelates, and the means of gaining and assuring them; as also all the officers of the prince's house, whose names he has also taken, and entered in his memorial.

In the month of July, 1636, there arrived in England, as the pope's resident, Seignior George Con, a Scottishman, secretary for the Latin tongue, to cardinal Barbarini, who was most kindly entertained by the king, queen, and all the court; and, having great acquaintance and friends, he made much more noise and bruit, than Panzani had done, by giving and receiving visits from a great number of the nobility. Yet there is little evidence that he shall advance the affairs of religion better than Panzani, because of the diffidence of the English, to whom he seems a more cunning vulpine man. And though the report is, that he is insinuated into the hearts of the Jesuits, who now govern the best families of England, yet there is little hope of profit by that means;

² Archbishop Laud made the following answer to that part of his indictment, which stated his having been tempted with the offer of a cardinal's hat: "At last came in the last charge of this day, that a cardinal's hat was offered unto me. My diary quoted for this, at August 4, and 21, 1633. I could hinder no offer, unless I could prophesy what each man came about, and so shun them. But why is not my answer there set down, expressed too? My answer was, 'That somewhat dwelt in me, which would not suffer me to accept that till Rome were other than now it is.' Besides I went presently to his majesty, and acquainted him with it; which is all that the law requires at my hands. And his majesty very prudently and religiously, (yet in a calm way, the persons offering it having relation to some ambassadour) freed me speedily of that, both trouble and danger. They urged farther out of the papers of Andreas ab Habernfield (which Mr Prynn took from me in his search) that signior Con had power to offer me a cardinal's hat. The words which they cite are (for I could never get a sight of those papers since,) *Mandatum habuit offerre, sed non obtulit*. What power he had to make me such an offer, I know not; but themselves confess he did not offer it. Nor had ever any speech with him during all the time he staid here. I was solicited as much by honourable friends, to give him admittance to me at Lambeth, with assurance he should speak nothing about religion, as ever I had about any thing in my life. I still refused, and could not persuade myself to do other; and yet could not but inwardly (*in verbo sacerdotis*, this is true) condemn myself of gross incivility for refusing; for which yet now I see I am much bound to God for that unmannerlyness. Had I correspondence with him, though never so innocent, where had I now been? Besides I would not have it forgotten, that, if to offer a cardinal's hat, or any like thing, shall be a sufficient cause to make a man guilty of treason, it shall be in the power of any Romanist to make any English bishop a traitor when he pleases: a mischief not to be endured. And thus this long and tedious day ended; and I had order to attend again on July 24, which I did accordingly."—*State Trials*, l. p. 921.

because if the court perceive this compliance, it may diminish the good opinion which is now conceived of him. For both the archbishop and bishop of Chichester have said often, that there are but two sorts of persons likely to impeach and hinder reconciliation, to wit, Puritans among the Protestants, and Jesuits amongst the Catholicks.

Out of this discourse it may be inferred (if it be lawful to make judgment of things future by things past) this realm so divided into so many factions in matter of religion, and that of the Catholicks encreasing daily by the countenance of the king, will in time (as is to be feared) be troubled and torn with civil wars, which cannot fail amongst so many parties, when some heads shall once appear to them, and such will soon be found amongst the king's children.

A Sermon preached at a Fast, &c.

This is one of the alarms beaten by the "drum ecclesiastic," during the great civil war. It would be trifling to repeat, that so often as the spirits of the London citizens began to flag owing to the stagnation of trade, and other privations occasioned by the war, it was the custom of the leaders in the House of Commons to appoint a fast, when the most popular preachers employed their eloquence to re-animate the sinking spirits of the city. This resource was never more necessary than in January, 1642-3, when the king's late approach to Brentford had struck terror into the minds of the wealthy Londoners, while the commencement of a treaty had given them hopes of peace, which they were impatient to see realized. At this crisis, therefore, to subdue the rising "of contradiction or malignity," which had displayed itself in some, and to dispel the apathy and insensibility of others, the following sermon was preached and printed. Of the preacher I know nothing, except what is communicated by the following extract from Wood, which, indeed, shews rather who he was not than who he was.

"This William Bridges, (speaking of one who had written on the legality of bearing arms against the king,) I take to be the same with him who wrote some short annotations on the Loyal Convert. Lond. 1644. in 4 sheets, in qu. But not the same, I presume, with William Bridges, preacher at S. Dunstan's in the East, London, author of 'Joab's Counsel and David's seasonable hearing it,' Sermon before the House of Commons at the public Fast, 22 Feb. 1641, on 2 Sam. 19. 5, 6, 7, 8. Lond. 1643-4, and of other things. I find one Will. Bridge to have been fellow of Emanuel College, in Cambridge, and afterwards a minister in Norfolk; but, to avoid the censures of episcopal consistories, he, with Jeremiah Burroughs, withdrew themselves into the Low-Countries. Archbishop Laud, in his annual accounts of his province to the king, for 1636, thus mentions this man: "Mr Bridge, of Norwich, rather than he will conform, hath left his lecture and two cures, and is gone into Holland." King Charles's note upon this is, "Let him go, we are well rid of him." Upon the change of the times, occasioned by the Presbyterians, Bridge returned, became minister at Yarmouth, in Norfolk, a frequent preacher before the Long Parliament, a notorious independent, and a keeper up of that faction by continual preaching, during the time of usurpation; silenced upon his majesty's return, carried on his cause, with the said Jeremiah Burroughs, in conventicles at Clapham, in Surrey, till about the time of his death, which happened in 1670. I say this Will. Bridge, while he lived, published several sermons and theological tracts, and after his death had 8 of his sermons made public, which are entitled, Bridge's Remains, &c. Lond. 1673-8, with his picture before them, is not to be taken to be the same with Will. Bridges before-mentioned, because of the different writings of their names."—Wood's *Athenæ*, 11. col. 364.

Die Mecurii, 22. Feb. 1642.

It is this day ordered by the commons house of parliament, that Mr Glyn shall returne thanks to Mr Bridges, for the great pains he tooke in the sermon he preached at the intreaty of this house at St. Margarets, in the city of Westminster, (being the day of publique humiliation,) and is likewise to desire him to print and publish his sermon; and it is further ordered, that no man shall presume to print his sermon, but whom he shall authorise under his hand-writing.

H. ELSYNCE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

I doe appoint Andrew Crooke, stationer, to print my sermon.

W. BRIDGES.

To the Honourable the House of Commons assembled in Parliament.

In a willing obedience to your commands, I here present to your eyes, what you were lately pleased to attend unto with great patience and Christian chearfullnesse with your eares. Christ Jesus please to speake that to the hearts of the auditory, which I did to their eares, that in this time of great sorrow, there may that evidence be to our ministrey, (which would be to every conscionable man a matter of great joy) that some may be undeceived, and brought to see the things that concerne their peace: A wonderfull security and insensiblenesse lies upon our people every where, beside a spirit of contradiction or malignity, deserving a censure like that, *Act 7. 51.* My humble request to you is, that you will please to accept this as an earnest of my affectionate service to you and the publique. My humble request to God for you is, that he will please to carry on the weighty services you have in hand for his glory, and the good of the kingdome of Jesus Christ, and the bringing to passe the worke of reformation, through so maine, so great oppositions.

So prays your most humble servant,

From my study in Mincing Lane, Feb. 27, 1642.

W. BRIDGES.

The Preface.

The businesse of Christ Jesus kingdome, in these sad times, (yee servants of the living God) is looked upon with the squint eyed multitude, under an Hexapala of considerations.

The first is a theologicall, they would make us beleeye they desire divinely, or at least divine-like to behold it. To say nothing of bookes,* for they have had their answers, and some of them newly furbushed over, speake such language now, as the author knew not in the time of his delivery, of himselfe, upon that subject, or else the title page² says that which the booke proves not at all. I shall deliver the sense of the whole in that of Rom. 13. He that resisteth, &c. and of the evangelist, resist not evil, &c. To let goe,³ fathers, something out of the counsels, the doctrine of our owne

* Dr Ferne. ² Grand Rebellion by Gr. Williams. ³ Prosper out of them. *Epis. Synod. Cui nomen libellus simplex* Tom. 1. fol. 803. *Conc. Ephes. Davenet. pa. 77.—Original Notes.*