
THE
S O M E R S
COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

Printed by James Ballantyne & Co,
Edinburgh.

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.

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THAT OF THE LATE LORD SOMERS.

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



VOLUME FIFTH.

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 KENNET'S REGISTER.

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

LD. COOK & JUST. INST.

LONDON :

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, STRAND ;
W. MILLER, ALBEMARLE-STREET ;
R. H. EVANS, PALL-MALL ; J. WHITE AND J. MURRAY, FLEET-STREET ;
AND J. HARDING, ST JAMES'S STREET.

1811.



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[Those Tracts marked with an asterisk are now received into the Collection for the first time.]

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TRACTS
DURING
THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES I.

SECOND CLASS.

HISTORICAL TRACTS

CONTINUED.

THE
S O M E R S
COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

KING CHARLES I.

SECOND CLASS.

HISTORICAL TRACTS.

CONTINUED.

British Lightning ; or, Suddaine Tumults in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to warne the United Provinces to understand the Dangers and the Causes thereof, to Defend those amongst us from being Partakers of their Plagues.

Cujus aures clausæ sunt veritati, ut ab amico verum audire nequeat, hujus salus desperanda est.

The safety of that man is hopelesse, we may feare,
That stopps his eares against his friend, and will the truth not heare.

Mors est servitute potior.

Grim Death's fierce pangs are rather to be sought,
Than that we should to Babels yoke be brought.

Written first in Low Dutch, by G. L. V., and translated for the benefit of Brittain.

Printed in the yeare 1643.

This pamphlet is curious, as tending to shew the light in which the Dutch regarded the civil wars of England. But it may be questioned whether the immense advantage which their trade was likely to derive from the removal of their most potent rival, did not at least weigh as much as their zeal for the Calvinistic doctrine, in inducing them to look upon the struggle with pleasure.

The Translator to all his Loving Countrymen.

EXPERIENCE teacheth that a skilfull physitian standing by, beholding a patient, and asking him of his paines, and order of his bodie, findeth the nature of the disease sooner than the partye himselfe, that groaneth under the burden of it. The same we finde often times in cases ecclesiasticall and politicall: we can sooner see anothers blemish than our owne imperfections. The reason is, because mankind is generallie negligent in self-examination. I must ingenuously confesse, I cannot say so of the author of this dialogue: the verie cause of his publishing it witnesseth the contrarie, and proveth him (whatsoever he be by calling) a feeling member of his owne bodie, and a good friend to his neighbours; for though I have sene manie excellent remonstrances, resolutions of questions, &c., published by the high court of parliament in England, (whom I take to be (under God) the physitian of the land,) and their well-willers, which have most exactly layd out the sicknesse of their body, with the causes and cure, which must have the preheminance, yet, so soone as I first began to read this, (considering that it is the worke of a stranger, and composed in a method and style most pleasing to some capacities,) I thought it might helpe to the information of my poore countrymen in the estate of their bodie politicke, that, knowing their disease, they might (being humbled for their sin, which is the cause) flye unto him for cure, who changeth the times and seasons, shaketh the mountaines, and maketh the earth to tremble, and the great ones to hide themselves when he is angrie; who maketh the warres to cease and sendeth peace into the habitation of the righteous. If, in the publishing hereof, I shall doe my country anie profitable service, I shall be bound to give God thanks for his mercie, and the acceptation of it shall be my reward. In the meane time, whither this profit or no, my prayers shall be incessantly to the Lord, that England may not be a seate of warre, but that therein may flourish the gospell of peace, which bringeth downe the loftie spirits of men, making the wolfe to dwell with the lambe, and the leopard to lye down with the kid and the calfe, and the young lyon and the fawning together, and a little child to lead them, &c., Isa. 11. 6; yea, causeth them to beat their swordes into plowshares, and their speares into pruninghookes, Isa. 2. 4, &c.; and that he who is the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, by whom kings raign, and princes decree justice, (who hath their hearts in his hand, turning them, as the rivers of water, which way soever it pleaseth him,) would be pleased to make the king a nursing father, and the queen a nursing mother unto his Israel.

Rev. xix. 16.
Prov. viii. 15;
xxiv. 1.
Isaiah, xlix. 23.

Holland, this 20 of the first month, according to new computation, 1643.

The Author to the Reader.

My lords, and you, the honest inhabitants of the United Provinces,^y that star with a tail, seen in the year 1618, was a warning and type of a rod that should come over all Christendome, whereupon followed those bloody effects, those horrible warrs, lamentable wastings, barbarous destructions of countreys and cities, the ruine of so many costly buildings, of so many gentlemen, so many inhabitants, men and women, young and old in Germanie. And O that we could yet see the end, the bottome of the cup of indignation! But the rodd flourisheth still; the destroyer is yet busie; the hand of God is stretched out still; there is yet too much chaffe to hang away the fanne; the silver is yet too unclean to blow out the refyneing fire. The inhabitants, and those that are fled from Germany, must (by the weight of their miseries and plagues) be brought to a better minde to farther reformation, to a greater feeling of, and sorrow for their

Historical Tracts.

past and present sins, before there can be any hope that the rod of Gods wrath (where-with they are now oppressed) shall be cast into the fire.

That earthquake, not long since felt in the year 1640, was a token of great commotions, and mighty shakings of the kingdomes of the earth; for a little before, and shortly thereupon, was concluded the revolt of Cathalonia, the falling-off of Portugale. the stirres in Scotland, the rebellion of the Irish, those civill (uncivill) warres, great alterations, unexpected tumults in England, amongst which none more neare, none more fearfull and dangerous to us than the rebellion of Ireland, which had its originall and rise in England, from the great ones, from the papists, from the enemies of our religion and state, seconded by our deadly enemy the king of Spaine, plotted by the jesuits,[†] executed by the barbarous Irish, who are already growne such profitants in the schole of those murdering jesuits, that they (according to their disposition and counsell) strive for the prize, who can invent the cruellest manner of torments for the protestants; cutting off their privie members, eares, fingers, hands, boareing out their eyes, stripping some wives naked, and that in the presence of their husbandes, and brutishly abusing others, ripp ing infants out of their mothers wombe, and presently dashing them against the stones, exerciseing many other cruelties (which are published and dispersed farre and neere, in print, to the amasement of all men) upon our fellow-members, that are of the same covenant and faith with us. Doe not then these miseries touch us, which are executed on our bodie, and that so neere? yea, the civill warres in England are yet more dangerous for us; where the friends, members, citizens, inhabitants, subjects of one kingdome, professors of one faith, Manasse and Ephraim strive one against another. They are our confederates, brethren, friends, antient assistants, nearest neighbours. There wrestleth the king against his subjects, the head against the members, the master against his servants. There the defender is become a spoiler, the shepherd a destroyer, Eden an Adamah, Canaan a wilderness. There a long-lasting misse-used peace is changed into an unexpected wasting warre. There may we now see worne, in the place of plush, velvet, silkes, sattines, costly apparrell, chaines of gold and pearle, harnasse, swordes, bandaleers, musquets. There may we heare now, instead of luxurious wantonnesse, danceing, masking, viols, fluits, harpes, rattlings of drums, sound of trumpets, neighing of horses, the sound of an alarm, groanes of the wounded, and the rumour of the approaching furious cavaleers. There all merchandising and trading standeth still. There is expence without gaine; there consume they that treasure in trouble and distresse which they were so long in gathering; cities and houses are pillaged, the countrie ruinated and wasted. They were fore-told of this miserie, but none would receive, none beleve it. Now feele they the evill day, which they had put so farre from them; now they feele what they have brought upon themselves through their unbelieve; now those thinges presse them, which, for want of feeling, they cast into the ayre. These things we see afarre off: We heare this,[†] but with little observation, to provoke us to behold ourselves in them, that so we may avoide those rocks whereon they have suffered ship-wrack. Their haughtiness and ambition went before their fall; the pride in apparel and dyet, the state (that suckt the monie) had taken the upper hand; and now the kings high-way robbers scrabble, spoile, steale, waste, destroy, burne the treasures and riches of England. Shall not we then amend these things, and put away these sins, which are growen to such an height among us, that so they may not bring the like miseries upon us? Wantonnesse, dancing, drinking, swilling, masking, stage-playing, fornication, adulterie, hate, envie, have borne such sway, that 'twas accounted the highest crime to speake or write against them; and those that have so offended have bin (without mercie) openly brought upon the scaffold, burn-markt, their eares cut off, and they cast into perpetuall imprisonment. Howe farre these have broken in upon us, experience teacheth us but too, too well. O! that (as traytors to our state) they were banished out of all places and heartes, that by them our peace and happiness be not banished from us. That bad government in church and common-wealth, brought in

by unfit, unexperienced, audacious, ambitious, revengefull persons, hath made the land reele like a druncken man, who have wrung, wrested, moulded the lawes, priviledges, liberties, rights to their own ends and passions; who dispossesse, affronte, terrifie, and compell the most antient, grave, honest, fit, faithfull, expert, couragious governors to choose their party, or else to forsake their places, and live in the highest indignation. To what height this also is growne amongst us, and daylie more and more increaseth, the stones cry, that confusion teacheth, which begins to be acknowledged by all men that with cleare eyes doe marke the discords in religion, and suppressions of those priviledges which they have, with lives and goods, so long maintayned, which must be remedied, or else they will bring forth our most certaine ruine. That idolatrie, hartening of papistrie, foisting in of papisticall superstitions, freedome of jesuits, and other holy (unholy) orders, that without feare spread themselves over the whole kingdome, to the misleading of manie thousand sonles, advancing of the pope-like hierarchie, suppressing of the truth, and true professors of the same, and that with such countenance, that the king himself was become their patron and spokesman, when, at any time, (according to the lawes of the land,) they were justly condemned to any punishment; whereas the honest, godly, prudent, politicke preachers could not have anie beame of favor from his majesty, when they were, by the bishops, unjustly condemned to open shame and punishment, (worse than death,) for well-doeing, for withstanding the sinnes of the land, and overflowing of papistrie. At this God himselfe was grieved, and waxed jelous for his truth and faithfull servants, and would not suffer the scepter of the wicked to rest alwayes on the lot of the righteous, least they should put forth their hand to wickednesse, but hath taken the refyning pot into his hand, and put the fire of dissention under it, which hath already discovered many for drosse. These grievances, this flood of idolatrie, this freedome of popish exercises, saying of masse, bonfires on holidayes, processions, tolleration of all sortes of fryers and nuns, to the misleading of the inhabitants, weakening of our state, incouraging of our neighbouring enemye, was (not many yeares sithence) so increased, that the wound was judged incurable, the poyson too much, and their power too great to be daunted, destroyed, or hindered, by sharpe proclamations, strong resolutions, or power of officers. Shall not this then needes make the least danger that shall befall us remedielesse, by reason of the enemies within, which desire our ruine no lesse than those that are without, who will be ready, (according to the example of the papists in England and Ireland,) whensoever they shall have a faire advantage, to contribute thereunto? Shall not this then awaken us before it is too late, and the time shall not permit to drive out these Canaanites, and take away these high places? otherwise they shall take away both us and our religion. This is the case of England, and these be the causes thereof. The same humour is amongst us, and shall not the same disease follow thereupon? Wee are like them in sin, and shall we not be made like in punishment? If wee perswade ourselves otherwise, we deceave ourselves. We are the next to be cured by the like medicine, that would not hearken to those lively admonitions and warnings, exhorting us to repentance. Every one prepare himselfe for a storme, to undergoe the plague that comes driving on. In the meane time, let us have compassion on our brethren in England and Ireland; let us pray for them, that the great ones may helpe to reconcile the king and parliament, to remove the differences, that their ruine become not ours; which will surely come to passe, if those that are on the kings side together with him get the upper hand: then shall they roote out the parliament, alter the government, suppress religion, proceed in their begun revenge against the subjects, restore the bishops, who, as instigated persons, shall rage, more than ever, to bring their missecarriage to a perfect issue; striving to make of force their popish canons, and againe to lord it over the consciences of the inhabitants. The papists, as being now the kings trustyest assistants, shall then be his best beloved children: then shall the best Christians be under the yoke. And when England and Scotland (which shall not goe free) shall be subdued and made slaves, then shall they enter their action

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against us: the pretence of the north sea shall be revived; restitution must be made for that imagined dammage they have suffered in the East Indies, and here at home; and transferre their plagues upon us. What can we else expect from the kings counsellors, who (now these many yeares) have bin friends to Spaine, and enemies to our state, who shall not become better, but worse by this warre. But if the parliament get the upper hand, then shall the king be preserved, (being delivered from the slavery of his servants,) and remaine as free and absolute a king as ever, if he will but advance the good. Religion shall be maintained, the inhabitants defended, and brought into their former rest, the lawes and priviledges established, reformation in church and commonwealth shall powerfully proceede, to the adorning of the state. Our common-weal shall be by that means secured, and the malignants restrained. Let no man then contribute to the suppressing of the parliament, especially let not us Netherlanders; for the foundation of their warre and ours is all one: They have maintained us therein with their goods and bloods. We must not helpe to suppress them, else God shall suppress us, the inhabitants would protest against us before God and the world, and God would see and search it. Let us not imploy those soldiers which are in our service to help the papists there to suppress both them and us. Let us not transport the armes of the land, and leave ourselves naked; for that is our capitall. Let no inhabitant (to satisfie his covetousness) further or assist them; for shall we not then put a knife into their hands, to cut our owne throats? But be well informed concerning the drift of the king and parliament, and then you shall quickly see whose side you must take: That you shall finde in this British Lightning, which sheweth the unexpected and suddaine tumults of the kingdomes, with the causes thereof. Read with consideration, and judge right.

The British Lightning; or, suddaine Tumults in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for a Warning to the United Provinces.

ENGLISHMAN.

NETHERLANDER.

N. WELCOME, sir:—When came you from England?

E. I came thence but just now, as you see: I have my travelling clothes yet on.

N. I am glad I have met you here: I have a long time expected your coming, that I might once heare how all things go.

E. How should it go? Bad enough. There is no kingdome more miserable than ours; it stands all in confusion.

N. How can that be? for 'tis but a little while since that all your kingdomes were alone at peace, when the whole world was at wars: I have also heard that you have had the negotiation of all kingdomes and states in your havens, whereby everie one among you became rich and wealthy.

E. 'Tis so: We sate (as it were) in Abrahams bosome, dwelling among our owne people, had good things under our fig-tree; we ate the fat, we dranke the sweete, knew of no evill; yea, we feared no mischance, not knowing from whence it should come upon us, seeing that we dwell in ilands that have the sea, the sand, the rockes, our ships and saylers for our defence, whereby we became a carelesse people.

N. I have also alwayes heard the same; therefore I wond'ed so much, when you told me that your kingdome was the most miserable of all kingdomes, when, notwithstanding, all kingdomes in Germanie, France, and else where, are in exceeding bloody warres, to the ruine of many thousand soules.

E. You are in the right, that Christendome is in a lamentable condition; where the blood of men is spilt like water; so that many countries, cities, and towns are wasted, burnt, and destroyed; yet their warre is not to be compared with this of ours.

N. How ! Have you warres ? From whence is it come upon you ? You are (alwayes provided) in peace with all kingdomes. I have heard of no breach ; and how can any man come with soldiers into your land, seeing you are so mighty within, both in men and ships ? This is very strange newes to me.

E. Well ! but how can that be, that you have not heard of our warres, when the flame thereof is gone up into heaven, and the sound thereof to all parts of the earth ? Have you no better intelligence ? Yes, we are at wars, but not against our enemies without, but within : It is a civill warre that scourgeth us, which is the most miserable, for 'tis neere us ; the one kingdome against the other, the father against the son, one citizen against the other.

N. What doe I heare ! Mine heart trembleth. Are you come into our place, where we were once, when here, in our land, the one city stood up against the other, the one province against the other, each using soldiers and guards against the other ; so that our land, our church, our liberty hung on a silken thred : yea, we should have consumed one another, had not Gods blessing and the wise and couragious counsell of Prince Maurice prevented it. Oh ! I bemoane, with weeping eyes, those that are in such a condition.

E. Yea, our flourishing kingdom is now in the highest disunion : 'Tis Ephraim against Manasseh, and Manasseh against Ephraim : we heare of nothing but warres and rumours of warres. All trading, traffique, and prosperity stands still : citizens are turned soldiers. In all places you may see the houses provided with armes ; every one standing (as it were) sentinell, not knowing from whence they should expect their enemies ; for the one brother, the one citizen doth not trust the other.

N. But how, friend ! Come you with such tydings ? My heart bleeds to heare it : Who should ever have thought it ? How speedily can the Lord God raise an adder out of our owne bosomes, that shall eat us up. Why doe men then gape after present friends, strength, rivers alliance, mighty people ? for men may have all these, and yet, notwithstanding, fall into the greatest calamities.

E. You say well : for but three yeares agoe there was not the least appearance of any unquietnesse. When the servants of God forewarned us of the plagues that hung over our heads, every one asked from whence they should come. Such preachers as spake of heavie tydings, of great punishments that should come upon the kingdomes, were accounted for raylers, loggerheads, melancholly persons, puritans, whose words the land was not able to beare.⁴

N. Oh, friend ! it goes just so also amongst us. When our teachers warn us, and foretel us (as they many times doe) that our quietness shall be turned into unquietness, our mirth into sadness, our riches into poverty, our blessing into a curse, that there are heavy plagues hanging over our heads, that we shall not escape the tempest of Gods wrath, but (as is to be feared) we (not taking example by the punishments of others) shall drinke out the dregs of the cup of Gods indignation,—then they make a jest of it ; no man believes it, and accounts it an impossible thing, as long as we have so many valiant soldiers, both by sea and land, stand in such alliance, and have such a generall. But as you told us concerning England, so maie they well lay it to heart, for it was a great deale more unlikely to come on you than upon us.—But tell me (I pray) how came you into this warre ? how began it first ? who, and what were the causes thereof ?

E. That cannot so suddenly be related ; but if you please to accompanie me to my lodging, where I may shift and refresh myself a little, I shall willingly spend an houre with you ; for I perceive you have compassion on our estate, and therefore I will presently lay open all things unto you, that so you may the more heartilie pray unto God

⁴ The author seems not to have been aware, that such prophets possess particular opportunities of verifying their own predictions.

for us, and (if need so require) afford us all the assistance you can, and also stirre up others to doe the like.

N. I will verie willingly goe along with you, and give you the welcome; for I love the English nation with myne heart, and would be angry with all such Netherlanders as should not take compassion on the heavinesse of England, that had so great compassion on us when we were wrestling against the tyrannie of Spaine, when they came to helpe us, both with their goods and bloods, and were the principal instruments of our freedome. No true-hearted Netherlander shall forget that favour, but by all meanes seeke to requite it. Seeing then that we are come to a good fire, I pray you relate unto me, in order, what are the occasions of all these stirres in England, and also who be the causes thereof.

E. The causes thereof are divers:—the jesuiticall papists, the bishops, those politicke flatterers that are about the king at court, and other malignant persons besides, who have each his particular end, yet all tending to the falsifying of religion, changing of government, suppressing of the subjects, and ruine of church and common-wealth.

N. You tell me strange things! How could all these persons weave one webbe, seeming so contrary one to another, as light and darkness, heat and cold: The jesuits and bishops are alwayes so farre different one from another, as truth and falsehood, Christ and antichrist; the one being supporters of the popes kingdome, the other heads of the reformed religion: they serve divers masters, are of a divers kingdome, yea, religion: the one seeketh alwayes to build up what the other seeketh to pull downe. How can these two walke together, when they are not agreed?

E. We thought so too, that the papists and our bishops were so farre from one another as the east is from the west, and that they were deadly enemies the one to the other; because, in former times, many of the bishops have resisted the Romish kingdome, even unto bloud; yea, many of them have been martyred by the papists, beheaded, burnt, and in all places, in the pure religion, persecuted unto death. But we have, in our times of peace and wealth, all too well observed that our bishops have forgotten and slighted their office, their promises before God and the congregation, the example of their predecessors, and, instead of leaders, are become misleaders, of defenders of the pure worship of God, falsifiers and corrupters of the doctrine of salvation, and extinguishers thereof.

N. You relate unto me such things as I should never have beleaved. What! I have sometimes heard (as I thinke) propounded by our best politicians, that it were good that we had also bishops in our land, or at least superintendants; that then all things would be better carried in the church for the preservation of order, to breed reverence; whereas now, every one being master alike, great confusion by that means is bred in the church, trouble and an heavy burthen upon the government; for when any man will now prosecute a matter in the church, before church-men, he is sore troubled, then it were no more but speaking to the head, and he should give order to the rest. Hereby all those synods which cost the land so much should be cut off; which seemed to me not so unreasonable a proposition: but if the bishops or superintendants should make such worke as you tell me, the Lord deliver us from them.

E. O, friend! call you them good, yea, your best polititians, that are with childe of such a pernicious conceit? That were the right high-way to turne all things upside-down amongst you, to disturbe the peace both of church and common-weal, and to put to hazard the purity of religion, which, by Gods speciall blessing, is established amongst you, in spight of so many enemies and wicked opposers, and crowned with many blessings from heaven; for that your free order and church government, agreeable to Gods word, not without reason so highly commended among us, is the hedge whereby the truly reformed religion must be preserved and maintained; which our brethren the Scots well knowing, have judged that they could not answer it before God.

and their posterity, if they should suffer their old church government and order (which, as I am informed, differeth not much from that of yours) to be changed, and will rather loose their lives and goods in Gods cause, than suffer the purity of religion, which is the foundation of all prosperity, both in church and common-weale, to be given over as a prey to the enemies, and suffer a company of half papish bishops to domineer over their consciences. And we hope that our lords and burgesses of parliament (perceiving how farre we are run out in this point of church government and worship) will labour to bring our churches into the same church order with our brethren the Scots, at least, that they will utterly roote out the episcopal government, together with all its hurtfull rootes and branches. And should you have such persons amongst you that would bring in these evil plants, which God hath not planted, then were you utterly undone. Let not, therefore, the ancient land-marks be removed: hold that you have, that no man take your crown.

N. You open mine eyes more and more: I had not so deepe an insight into these things before; and I perceive that our churches, and the land wherein we dwell as a free people, can not have peace if they should remove the land-marks of civill and ecclesiastical government: the whole house should by that means totter. And now I thinke upon that which was written to me a while since, concerning those stirs which here and there appeare in our provinces; where men, under pretence of a papish right, (which yet ought to be nullified and cashiered by the power of our reformation,) seeke to rob the churches of that godly right which they have received from Christ, their king, in the free election and choice of their teachers; how that the pretended patrons thrust in preachers against the wills and liking of the assembly, and if they refuse to receive them, they shut the church-doors, and thrust the lawful preachers out of the pulpit, so that publike worship could not be performed, without danger of blood-shedding, quarrelling, and insupportable insolencies. God preserve us that it break no further out; and therefore I will pray to God that all good and godly governors of the land may maintain the authority of synods and church-assemblies, for the redresse of such like evils, and that they may not be hindered in their proceedings in those things which concern the churches: then should not the assemblies many times last so long, but the land be unburthened of unnecessary charges, which otherwise are here very narrowly reckoned on. But I am wholly inclined to hear the state of your church: tell me then what might be the intention of the bishops and jesuits, which you accompt one brood.

E. What intention should they have had? To bring in papistry into England, and the inquisition over the inhabitants.

N. That is lightly to be beleaved concerning the jesuits, who disperse themselves like poison over the whole world, to make one childe of hell twice as bad as themselves: to which end they creep into all courts, sow jealousies in all places, and are the cause of all the warres in the world: but that the bishops had such an intention, that made profession of the reformed religion, that sometimes write and preach against the papists, that is not so easy to be beleaved.

E. You speak the truth therein, that the bishops (to deceave the people, and that the king should not entertain those complaints that come against them concerning that point) do sometimes write and preach against those of the papacy; yea, the archbishop himselfe, preaching on a time before the king, did wholly proceed against popish doctrine, and, in the pulpit, did exhort all church-men to teach and write against them, and that every one in his parish should have a watchfull eye over them, to make them come to church, or else to complain; which when some have done, then hath he (by indirect means) persecuted, imprisoned, and distressed them for the same, letting them secretly know that it was because others should be affrighted from doing the like.

N. Then must he have bin an horrible hypocrite, and have had a sowed conscience;

so shall Gods judgement certainly follow him at the heels, and his kingdome shall not stand.

E. Such an one he was indeed, who knew how so cunningly to dissemble, that the king thought him the holiest man in England: He was always a scoffer of the upright, a friend of jesuits, and a flatterer of great ones; by which meanes he became so great, but now truly as little and despised, sitting where he can doe no more mischief.

N. But how! Is he out of favour? Is his game ended? Hath God brought his wheel about?

E. O yea; God hath verified it on him, that those that oppresse his, shall also be oppressed; for with the same measure that he hath measured to others, it is measured to him again. He hath thrust many out of their offices, and cast them into prison; and that is justly come upon himself. He sits fast in the Tower, and is long agoe condemned as a traitor to the land; and were it not for his age, and that he is god-father to one of the king's children, he had bin long since executed; and what shall become of him yet is uncertain.

N. Yea, I thought that the great God of heaven and earth should yet doe right upon him which had abused his right, to the greatest injustice against his church and worship. But tell me (I pray) where hence it appears that the bishops, together with the jesuits, sought to alter the religion, and bring in papistrie.

E. That shineth as cleer as the bright noon-day: you must also confesse it, and the whole world, when you hear what wayes they went in.

N. I pray now explain it a little unto me; for many in our land, especially amongst the great ones, beleeve it not, and think that they are but reproaches and misse-reports of the puritanes or brownists, or some discontented great ones, because they can not have choice of eare, and share in the prey.

E. O no, they be no slaunders: it appears by the particulers; for all that the jesuits could have bin able to doe suddainly, to make the people papists before they were aware of it, that have they done; and to that end, they have, by little and little, and by degrees, set up all the outward forme of papestrie in the church of England; for the apparel which the bishops and preachers wear in God's service are of the same fashion with the apparel of the bishops and priests under the papacy.

N. Doe the bishops and preachers amongst you weare other clothes then our teachers, and the teachers of the reformed churches in France, Geneva, Switzerland, and Germanie do weare?

E. O yes: if you did but see the bishops, or the bishops preachers, say service in our church, you could not distinguish them from the popish clergie; for they have then on a bishops gowne, wide-sleeves, a fower-cornered cap, the tippet, the surplus, the cope, the hooe, the canonical clothes, and all that a priest at any time puts on.

N. Is that possible? If our preachers here should begin to go so, the children would run after them, and tear such clothes off their backs, and throw dirt at them, and esteem them for the papists apes.

E. Yea, so doe our episcopall clergie carry the businesse, who have a long time used our people to these clothes, that it should not be accompted new, when they should appear in them, not as reformed, but as publike servants to the seat of Rome. Yet this is but the least: The churches also, a few yeares since, were made altogether like the papist churches.

N. What do I hear? I hope that there be no images set up there, or that Dagon is placed by the ark? There are too many excellent anthours that have written against such high places, as that they should not be taken away.

E. O that it had bin so: But we must confesse, to the shame of our nation, that the tempels of God are become slaughter-houses, and right innes for all the wares of anti-christ; for the bishops have caused to be set up in our churches pictures, images, cru-

cifixes, wax-candles, altars; they sing their evening and morning song with beades, organs, musick, as in the popish mattens; they cause the pulpit to be hanged with the armes and marke of the jesuits, especially in the cathedral churches, and in the kings chappell, where they set up great crucifixes, after the manner of the papists, and have also so adorned all corners with images, that many papists and other strangers coming thither, knew no better but that they had been papist churches and chappels.

N. That is no wonder, for, according to your relation, one egge is not so like another as your churches and the papists. But 'tis a wonder that the governours (and especially the king) have suffered such things; for that is the right way to lead all the inhabitants blind-fold to all idolatrie.

E. It was well said concerning the governours; but experience hath taught us that where the bishops are masters, the governours have not much to say; yea, they had such power, that they have given out process to bring divers officers, majors, justices, prisoners to their spirituall court, confiscated their goods, and made them so affraid, that they must fly the land; and all because they did not dispatch to set up altars in place of the communion tables. No man durst lift up their heads against them. And concerning the king, they made him believe that the tolleration of the outward form of papistrie should bring to passe that, seeing there was so little difference in the outward; and that the king condescended so far unto them; that they also would then be ruled by the kings religion, to give him content: and hereby have they blinded the eyes of the king, and brought him so far, that he, instead of hindering this bringing in of papistrie, hath judged it convenient, and maintained it by his authority, to the grief and astonishment of all the godly, and joy of papists.

N. What! were the bishops such lads, to deale by such false practises? Then 'tis no wonder that all the honest men in England care not for them. But tell me yet again, were they also papists in their forme of doctrine, or was it onely in the outward ceremonies and worship?

E. You can easily imagine whether it be possible that any man can come so neer the popish religion in the outward worship, with such zeal for those idolatrous institutions, without beeing one with them in doctrine also. It is very true that the bishops and their adherents will not go to church with such a cloak, that they should be thought papists in doctrine; they have kept that a long time hid; but the oulder they grow, the more their painting falls off, and the more their Esaws coate is worne out: So that all men, by little and little, begin to see what was hid under it; so that they could not alwayes play behinde the curtain, as also was not their intention; but they have now and then begun to appear on the stage, and made it apparent that their mouth was reformed, but their heart papish.

N. You say true; for he that is a true protestant, he will hate even the garment spotted with the flesh: She that is not a whore in her heart will not put on a whorish attire: He that is a right reformed one will not be burthened with such traditions: he will not touch, tast, or handle them, as being brought in according to the institutions and doctrines of men, much lesse he will defend them himselfe, appoint them, be zealous for them, more then for the truth itself. But (I pray you) tell me yet wherein have the episcopall clergie manifested that they are one with the papists in doctrine also.

E. There can plentiful proof be given of that; for they have not onely caused these foresaid things to be observed as indifferent, but they have, with the papists, placed holinesse therein, as by this appeares, seeing they compell the people to do reverence to those things; for when the bare name of Jesus is uttered, then must every one bow; also, no man may approach to the meanest of those altars which they have set up, (and named by the name of the mercy-seate, the place of Gods gifts,) without bowing three

times before it, and then fall upon his knees. They have consecrated and hallowed their churches, chappels, and pavements of the same, the pulpit, cups, church-yarde, and many other places, pretending, that, without this consecration, the places are unholy and unclean, and therefore no service might be performed therein till that were first done; yea, if by any occasion they were never so little defiled, then they were pronounced unclean, till they were again purified by the bishops. Who may not from hence clearly see that their faith concerning humane traditions is all one with that of the papists?

N. You are in the right; for such administrations are altogether according to the faith of papists; so that I hold it for certain, that the bishops and jesuits understood one the other in their doctrine also. But tell me, (I pray,) is there yet any thing else whereby we may judge that they were papists in the faith also?

E. O yes; for I scarcely know any thing exercised in papistrie which may not be found amongst them. They administer the Lord's supper upon an altar, and they must receive it kneeling; they administer baptisme out of a font, with a crosse on the forehead of the childe; they have had that forme of confirmation whereby the bishops must consecrate the children; they have made marriage purely ecclesiastical, as depending on the bishops, who have forbidden marriage at some certaine times, and almost half the year; and unlesse their consent be gotten, either by favour or money, none must marry; yea, some clergiemmen amongst them may, upon no condition, marry, though it be against the mindes and allowance of their parents and friends. They have caused the holy dayes to be more precisely observed then the Saboth, forbidding all work therein, upon great penalties; they pray over the dead; they make women, after childbirth, to appear in the church with white consecrated garments, and then they are purified: and many more such like things, according to the papists institution, are very precisely enjoyed, by order from the bishops.

N. You move my heart, so that I am at the highest pitch, to hear such things of the government of bishops. I have alwayes thought England to be the most reformed land in the world, because I have seen so many excellent bookes that were penned in England, against all such popish institutions, and for the advancing of the doctrine of salvation, and the purity of worship; and therefore I can not enough wonder that so many unclean things should bear such sway there.

E. It makes you wonder, and it hath made us many times exceeding sorrowfull, and to fear (unlesse God speedily prevent it) that we should shortly see all our land papists; which we may perceive by their generall bent that way; for in the universities they began openly to defend that we must pray for the dead; yea, it was preached in London, at Pauls Cross, there are bookes written of it; as also, that the pope is not that antichrist; that men may very well be saved in the papish religion, as the arch-bishop made it manifest to the queen; therefore he hath forbidden to pray for her any more, that God would convert her, and open her eyes, as being a papist. They have publike-ly taught that men may be saved by their good workes, and that with the approbation of the archbishop, as from hence may appeare:—When he perused the lithurgie of the Scots, in the place concerning good workes, it stood that they were not *causa regnandi*, the cause of our salvation, but *via regni*, the way to salvation; which he caused to be put out, and willed them to exhort the people to good works simply, without such distinctions: where hence we might easily perceive what he bare in his buckler, as he hath also approved the foresaid bookes, and by all meanes countenanced the pen-men thereof: from all which it clearly appeareth that they were right papists, both in faith and doctrine.

N. This cuts deepe, and is something more than cæremonious. By such stalking we

often see that the catt leaps quite out of the sack, and that they were altogether papists, and would have made the whole land papists. They must, without doubt, have had great correspondence with the papish clergie, that have so infected them.

E. You have read right; for it hath bin long observed, muttered, and, in the end, come to light, by a certain jesuit, Tho. Abernen, a Scottish gentle-man; who, being by God wonderfully converted, hath discovered how that there was great correspondence held betweene the archbishop and the jesuits in England and Scotland, yea, betwixt him and the pope, writeing letters to and againe to each other on this subject, what might be the best way to make England papists. In which business himself was imployed; so that he can speake by experience.

N. You have made me sufficiently understand and believe that the most bishops and their adherents intended to make England papists; but that would have cost hot water; for the commonaltie of England (as I have heard) are exceeding zealous in Gods service, and well instructed in religion, and therefore they could not by that meanes have gotten the masterie. ✕

E. 'Tis verie true, that in England (by Gods mercy) there have beene, and are many godly, honest, well-disposed preachers and members, who would have stood for the truth unto blood; but these bishops have had divelish practizes, by little and little, to falsifie the doctrine, and root out godlyness; whereby they doubted not but that they should have attained their purpose.

N. I pray lett me once heare what they were.

E. They have had divers, besides their bringing in of the outward forme of papistrick in all places, that so all might be acquainted with it, as I have tolde you before. They have also strip't all the assemblies of their faithfullst preachers, which they have degraded, imprisoned, banished, or so persecuted, that they were faine to forsake the land, and flye into New England or other lands; and instead of godly, zealous, learned, desired preachers, have thrust into their places unruly, ignorant, doboisht, infected persons, which were either arminians or partly papists; that so they might bring the people to ignorance and ungodlie life, and that so they might be able to frame them to what doctrine they listed.

N. Well, those were lamentable workes, to silence lawfull preachers without cause: That is to touch the Lords anoynted, the apple of his eye; that is openly to advance the kingdome of the divell. They must surely have had some pretence, for I cannot imagine that they have done such things without orderly proceeding.

E. It ought indeed so to bee; but their will was a law; and they have taken for a pretence their disobedience against their popish canons, because they would not subscribe to, and observe all those fore-mentioned things; therefore they have thrust them out. In former times they made sale of subscription, and wincked at many honest and learned preachers, but some yeares sithence they would excuse noe man; and when any honest and distressed preachers, not knowing what was best to do, whether to forsake their church for the institutions, or to condescend thereunto, that they might remaine by their churches, and preserve them from the clawes of ungodly preachers, then were they not content with the ordinarie subscription to the olde cæremonies, but have so long burthened them with new, till that they could not in conscience yeeld thereunto: then have they entered their action, and justled them out, not here and there one, but fifty and sixtie, yea, some hondreds, in a short time, without mercie, or hope of restauration, notwithstanding the earnest solicitation of their assemblies, the requests they put up, the gifts they presented, as being famous, learned preachers, that had great audience, were beloved of their congregation, and had wrought great edification in their places; for such there was no hearing; yea, though whole shires came upon their knees, with teares in their eyes: insomuch that sometimes they have wrung teares from

the king himself, to heare their grievous lamentations for the want of their faithfull servants; begging, for the glory of God, and the safetie of their soules, that their preachers might be given them againe: yet they could not prevaile: the king sent them to the bishops; and that was to knock at a deaf mans door; and the stones should sooner be moved than they.

N. You make me weepe for the pittifull condition of such churches. How could God be so long suffering as not to heare such teares? O! what a curse have such bishops pulled on their own heads? God hath seene it, and will revenge it. How could the devill have dealt worse? But have they used this crueltie against the preachers onely?

E. O no, for after they had destroyed the shepherds, then, like ravening wolves, they have also destroyed and dispersed the sheep; for they have daily cited to their spiritual courts the honestest, godliest men and women, married and unmarried, accused them that they would not follow their ceremonies, that they went to hear, here and there, out of their parishes, where they knew was a good preacher, held fast-dayes by themselves, and came together to repeat the sermon, to read, or sing, and pray. These were causes sufficient to imprison the people by heapes, and to let them sit there and consume, to seize upon their goods, to draw them to themselves, so ruinating many households, whereby many thousands were compelled to forsake the land, and to wander into strange countries.

N. O, the miserable condition of the honest inhabitants of England! they have been there as bad as under the inquisition; yea, worse; for this is exercised against them by those that say they are of the same religion with them, and the curats for their soules. O, what reason have we to thank God that we dwell in such a free land, where no man is compelled or troubled for his conscience! We know of no such persecution, thanks be to God, and God keep us from it; for our nation should never endure it, but stand up, and quickly hunt such instruments out of doors, as they did that troop of shavelings that dealt so with the inhabitants in the beginning of the reformation. It was lately seen in the Hague how the inhabitants could ill endure that any man should be over-burthened: each drew it to himself; and then appeared first the loveliness of liberty, and the fidelity of the Netherlanders to each other, that alwaies take compassion on the oppressed, and venture their goods and bloods therefore.

E. It is a commendable thing to relieve the oppressed, and resist the oppressors, so it be orderlie performed: but, alas! what could we do? The bishops were too mightie, and our nation is also exceeding slavish under those that are mightier than they. There was great murmuring at it: The will was good to resist such tyrants, but they could not see where it should begin; neverthelesse, they thought that it would break out into a bad issue one time or other.

N. Undoubtedly, God will, from some place or other, give a good issue, as he did in the beginning of our persecution. God wants no means either to punish a nation or to deliver them out of their distresse; yea, when the danger is at the highest, and the water at the brim, then God takes most pleasure to manifest his power. But tell me (I pray) more particularly, what wayes the bishops have further proceeded in, to bring the papish religion into England.

E. Besides that, spoiling the kingdom in all places of their faithfull preachers, and thrusting in others, according to their own humour, in their places, or leaving the church unprovided, giving them onely a reader, that read their injunction in the church, out of the service-book; so that great circuites of land, of 30 or 40 miles in compasse, had scarce two or three sermons in a whole year, to the unspeakable spoil of the people, who, neverthelesse, must bear the burden of Gods worship, and pay, out of their parishes, two, three, or four hundred pounds sterling per annum, according to the quantity of the parish, unto such lasie and idle bellies, that had the name to be their preachers. Be-

sides this wicked practise, (I say,) they have used many other means to bannish wholly all saving knowledge of the truth out of the kingdom, that so they might the better draw the people unto poperie.

N. Loving friend, what do I hear? Have they so took care for sowls, as to feed them onely with humane traditions, without the preaching of the word of God, the hey and grasse, and yet were so shamelesse, as to take such great wages of the people? God will revenge it. But proceed to shew me what have been their further practices.

E. They had a thousand tricks to blow out that zeal and practise of godliness, which had been exceedingly inflamed by so many excellent preachers, for an example to the world, and to set up in the place thereof an athiestical liberty and worldlinesse; to which end they have with-stood the means of salvation, and set the contrarie readie for the people; as when they brought into contempt the sanctifying of the Sabbath, by exceeding ungodly practices; for they knew so far to abuse the power of the king, that they have stirred him up to give out a proclamation, in the year 1633, wherein he required that all his subjects should have libertie, servants against the will of their masters, and children against the will of their parents, to spend the Sabbath (after service) in all manner of recreations and dancing; men and women going to playes, in running, shooting, bowling, stool-ball; and all to this purpose,—that they might change the repeating of sermons, and other spiritual exercises, into such idle wanton sports, and that by proclamation; as if men were not sufficiently of themselves inclined to profane the day of the Lord by such vanities.

N. Is it possible? Knew they so far to mislead the king, as that he should give out a commandement directly contrary to the command of God, wherein he willeth that the Sabbath should be sanctified, and set a part to all such exercises which tend to the prosperity, not only of the bodie, but the soul of man. You must surely have given strange attention when you heard such things proclaimed; for I have alwayes heard that the English make great conscience of the Sabbath; yea, when they went in the streets of the city, they saw not the least work done, or any wantonness used, but that in all houses the sermons were repeated, psalms sung, and profitable sermons propounded: So that all understanding men did judge that the sanctifying of the Sabbath was the principall reason of Gods blessing and mercie over England. There is great profanation of the Sabbath in our land, by working, playing, ridding, stool-ball, diceing, drinking, wrestling, and running; but (God be thanked) they are not done by vertue of any command of our governours, but contrary thereunto; so there be many excellent proclamations against the prophanation of the Sabbath in many provinces come forth. O, that God would graunt they might be well mainteyned. ¶

E. Yea, so is it came to passe amongst us; and yet the bishops are so shamelesse, that whereas they ought to have stood for Gods right, and to have informed the king better, they have caused all preachers to read the same proclamation out of the pulpit to the people, and to exhort them to observe the same, against the fourth commandement. Those that have refused have been deposed, to more than an hundred in number; notwithstanding that the dean, which was sent by the bishops to see this executed in all churches, a little without London fell dead from his horse, for a warning: yet they could thereby be brought to no remorse, but went forward with the business.

N. O, how just are Gods judgments, and how sottish are the hearts of men, if God mould them not! It was never heard that preachers were commanded to deliver from the pulpit that which clerly and evidently opposeth the command of God. Those that have refused to do it have done like Christians. But what more practices had they?

E. They have also forbidden to preach twice on the Sabbath, under the pretence of catechising, which was then ordered, appointed, and directed, to instruct the children, and teach them the traditions of the pope, or bishops. They have, to their power, forbidden the printing of all good books, and contrarily, suffered to be printed all armi-

nianish, papish, vain books of Amadis de Gaul, and of commedies, to 40 thousand in a yeare. They have also suffered reliques to be solde openly; yea, they have been sent from the pope to the archbishop himself, who knew well how to make his profit by them.

N. Well, those were great wickednesses, which God will seeke and finde. Howsoever, it goeth also very bad amongst us in those things, (for there is here in our land also great libertie to print all unseemlie, hurtfull, hereticall bookes;) yet the honourable magistrates of Amsterdam have, exceeding worthilie, caused to be burned certain Socinian books, and have hindered the players and dancers on ropes (which follow fayres and markets) from playing. Oh! that it were in all places imitated: yet 'tis so, that, here in our land, there be some papish booke-sellers, that openly sell nothing but papish bookes of breviaries, masses, rosaries, legends, and publikly hang out idolatrous images, crucifixes, beads, paternosters, Agnus Deis, &c., without hinderance, which is to be feared will bring Gods judgments on us; and although (by Gods blessing) it is not so yet ordered amongst us that good bookes are forbidden, yet there are few printed, because there is so little vent, while all hands are full of vain, unfit, uncivil, venomous works, that hinder them from reading good ones. But tell me what are the deceits the bishops have used to bring in the popish religion.

E. As it appeareth, from that which hath been said, that the bishops and papists understood one the other in all things well enough, so have they given them great libertie in all places, not executing the proclamations and orders against them, but have connived at their assemblings, idolatrous exercises, absence from sermons in all places; so that England became full of jesuits and all manner of seminaries, that have so done their indeavor to turn England from their religion, that they have heartened or won many thousands to the papish religion, to the unspeakable weakening of our state, and trouble of the reformed, that were (where they were mightie) oppressed by them, yea, must suffer great distresse, without being heard therein, when they came to complaine of it to the clergie, where the favour, notwithstanding, was continually on the papists side. *

N. There hath been then a great fall in England; for I have allwayes heard that every man was compelled to come to church, and attend upon Gods service, so that none were excused, no not the greatest; and that there were very strict orders against the papists made in divers parliaments; so that I heare well that it hath gone amongst you as it doth amongst us; for (the more is the pittie) there were many times strict proclamations read against the breaking in of papistrie; but, notwithstanding, papistrie is openly set up in the midst of us; for they have their formall churches, with stooles, benches, altars, ovals, quiers, candlesticks, cupps, in sundrie cities, as also in the countrie; and they say service at the sound of our bells, going openly thereunto. The priests are knowne amongst us; preaching against this government, that it is unlawful, exhorting the people to helpe the king to his land, will absolve no man in shrift, but such as hold the king for the lawfull lord of the land, goe publike processions with an hundred at a time, place crucifixes in the church-yards, at the graves of the dead, come to torment the people of our religion upon their death-beds with their idol and oyle: yea, they have their whole church government amongst us, and have divided the whole land amongst bishops, arch-bishops, deacons, arch-deacons, every one knowing his jurisdiction. They have also given all the civill offices unto certaine persons, and when they dye, then they confer them upon others againe, upon hope that though now they be but titular, yet that once they shall have the reall possession thereof. So that if any change, through any stir, or other waies, should come, (which God prevent,) each should know his place and office, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs, that so they might at once over rule the land.

E. You wondered that it went so in England; but I wonder exceedingly that it should go so amongst you; for while you give such liberty to the papists, you put the

souls of the inhabitants, yea, the whole church and land in a scale, and suffer your sworn enemies, that are bound by oath to the king of Spain and the pope, to set up a government in your government: who (if it should go ill but in the least, or that there were any likely-hood to make the king of Spain master) would strait fall off: so that you foster an adder in your bosoms.

N. You are in the right, and all good patriots understand it so: it hath also sundry times appeared to be so, when the land was in any trouble; as, when the enemy was in the valle, all papists prickt up their ears, spake exceedingly bouldly, said openly out, Now shortly it shall be our time: and the further the enemy brake into the land, the boulder they were: as also when we lost Schenk-Scans, and that the enemy meant thereby to come in, the countenances of the papists were then cheerfull; and yet when there cometh any bad news, you may easily perceive with which side they hold, although, peradventure, they should be no more the better for it than wee, as it appears in manie places; yet their hate is so great, that they would willinglie wish to perrish themselves, so that we might but perrish with them: yea, they are yet so bould in some places, that when any godly preachers are something zealous to bridle their insolencies, they dare send word to such persons, that they should consider how it now goes in Ireland: yet, notwithstanding, these deadly enemies of our state are winked at, because they blind the eies of the officers and great ones with great guifts and yearlie pensions; as they themselves do say that they are beholding to no man for their freedome, but their monie; by which meanes they cannot be effectually proceeded against, notwithstanding those remonstrances given against them by the church; so that the synods were necessitated to leave it to God, and protest, before all the world, that they would be free of the sowles by this meanes lost, having done, according to their places, what they could, as also from that distruction which shall certainlie come upon the land thereby, if not speedily prevented. Whereunto I pray God the Lord to stirr up all corporations, and their particular members, to take the redresse of these thinges into their hands, and not to let it hang upon the officers, or a few persons, as it is, here and there, to the great advantage of this cause.

E. Yea, I heare then that thinges go ill, not onely in England, but that in this matter it stands ill enough amongst you also, although you have no bishops to let such mischiefs break in. But hold this for certaine, that the whole heap of papists, if they can master us, and it hit right, shall be quicklie a tip-toe against you; for I have lately seen a letter out of the Netherlands to one of our papists, which earnestlie stirreth ours up to use all meanes possible to become masters, and to advance poperie; assuring them that they, with the helpe of England, should be here strong enough to make themselves masters, both of land and religion; therefore, their breaking in, groweth, and increase of such is not to be slightlie esteemed; for they can all wayes at a start be seconded by your neighbor enemies, if they but make themselves masters of one passe or other; so as they cannot do with us, because they must fetch all assistance from beyond sea.

N. You say right; and I know not how our government is so besotted that they do not better consider it; for every one knoweth that there cannot be a more hurtfull nor dangerous enemy than that within, especially if it be one with a powerfull enemy without, and therefore God open all eyes to see it. You have now told me much concerning the designs of the bishops, and the meanes they used to bring in popery, but tell me now once wherein the malignant courtiers, and other infected statesmen, were the cause of the stirs in England.

E. You well remembered what I told you in the beginning, that the bishops and the malignant politiks, besides the papists, have occasioned all our heaviness; for it is certain that the bishops have spoiled all in the church, and together with the politiks, have turned all things up-side down in the common-weal also.

N. How understand you that, together with the politikes? I think not that the bishops had also the care of worldly matters.

E. How! Have you not known that? O yes, the bishops have had not onely ecclesiasticall, but civill offices also, and have been also privy-counsellors, treasurers, keepers of the great seal, and I know not what; therefore they have been a member of the parliament in the upper house; yea, they have spent the most part of their time in politick affairs, and had so far ingrossed them, that scarce any man, without their assistance, could attaine a civil office.

N. I hear you; but I thought that the preachers, much more the bishops, had so much to do in their own offices, that it well required the whole man, and therefore that they had no time to trouble themselves with state matters. But tell me (pray) how had the bishops and politiks contrived it to bring all government into their hands, to finish their designe?

E. To this purpose they had conceived strange windings; and, first, they put it into the kings head, that he ought to be an absolute soveraigne, not to be under any, according to the example of France, and that they would bring him thereunto, by means of the ecclesiasticall persons which they had now at hand in all places, and sate in the ear of the people. When they had made the king to relish this, to make him confirm all their design, then they made him presently believe that all their doing tended thereunto.

N. Was the king then no absolute king, so that he might do all that he would, not having any man above him?

E. In no wise; for kings are limited by laws, so that they can make no new laws, nor lay any impositions on their subjects, nor go to war with any, without the consent of the parliament, eise the inhabitants are not bound thereunto; yea, they are lyable to punishment, if they pay any impositions or subsidies to the king, upon his particular order or will; and those that counsel the king thereunto, or assist him therein, are guilty of high treason.

N. What is the parliament, under which the king stands also?

E. It is the highest assemblie of the kingdome, which consisteth of the king, dukes, earles, barrons, bishops, and the commons, which is two persons out of every shire and chief citie, deputed with absolute power, that, together, they might redresse the enormities of the kingdom, according to the lawes, and to ordeyne new laws and impositions, to the advantage of the king or kingdome, without any compulsion of votes; which assembly is gathered and dissolved by the king.

N. That is a statelly and powerfull assembly, if they understand themselves, and of great might, to redresse the greatest abuses, and to assist the king with great sums of money. It were to be wished that we had sometime also such parliaments, as, in former times, the assemblie of the states-generall used to be, before that there was a parliament companie of states-generall set up: thereby might great abuses amongst us also be reformed, under which now, 'tis to be feared, we shall sinck. But have the great ones liked this parliament?

E. That you may easily imagine. O no; the archbishop, and all courtiers, and those that were in favour with the king, have alwayes withstood it, many yeares delayed it; or when it was assembled, and that it began to touch the soars, and to search out the bad practises of the great ones, then knew they how to order the king, that he, from time to time, hath caused the parliament to break up; and now the last time, in May, 1640, notwithstanding that the king and state was in exceeding great distraction, by reason of great stirs that were in all places of the kingdome.

N. I hear it well. There is much adoe in all places: It goes so with us also; that they that know how to make themselves masters in the provinces, they hinder, as much as they can, that the states may not come together; or, when they are together, they

set one city against the other, casting many things in amongst the members, that so they might not understand one another, and so depart asunder without effecting any thing; to the highest discommodity, burthen, trouble, dishonour, and spoil of the provinces, and unspeakable disadvantage of many that it concerneth, that can procure no expedition from the table; which, in the end, (if the members be not wise to understand one another, to use their own freedome, without depending upon these of any,) will bring all into confusion, as you said it was in your three kingdomes. But tell me what were the stirs that were in all places of the kingdomes.

E. Unmeasurably great and dangerous; for Scotland was in arms; we had a leager in the field, on the frontiers of Scotland; the king was set on to fall upon the Scots; and they practised daily to set the two kingdomes together by the ears.

N. But tell me (pray) whence proceeded this disunion; for the two kingdomes have one king, one religion, and have, till this time, lived in peace: What hath brought forth this disquiet?

E. This disunion hath been a long time in breeding by the bishops and papists, whose designe was not onely the changing of religion in England, but also in Scotland; yea, to thrust in all their superstitions into Scotland first, as being the weaker nation, and from thence into England; to which end they have (by little and little) thrust in bishops there, against the minde of the kingdom; which they first pretended should but serve to keep good order in the church, without having such authoritie over the church and ecclesiasticall persons as in England, but growing, by little and little, in authoritie and power. So 'twas that they indeavoured alwaies to have as great authoritie in Scotland as in England; wherein they were heartened by the bishop of Canterbury, and (through his advice) by the king also; and, in the end, set on work to thrust in the service-book (that is the liturgie) of England into the church of Scotland, augmented with many additions, some openly and some covertly opposing the reformed religion; together with all those former papish ceremonies that went before in England; which first of all began to be set on work when the king was in Scotland to be crowned.

N. How have the Scots behaved themselves therein? for they have been alwayes famous for great protestants, and lovers of the puritie of worship, full of courage to mainteyn the liberties of the kingdom against all opposers.

E. The Scots, so soon as they were aware of these novelties, and that they were propounded by the king himself, in their parliament, so to thrust in some beginning thereof into Scotland, then have all the gentrie and burghesses cried it down in the presence of the king, and persisted therein, notwithstanding that the king took it very discourteously, and manifested the same by his suddain discontented departure out of the kingdom, commanding his counsell to thrust in such church orders as he had given them in charge by authority.

N. Durst the kings counsell attempt such a thing, against the minde of the gentrie and commons? for they might well fear that they were lesse able to bring such a thing to passe, and now against the resolution of the parliament, which the king himself could not accomplish.

E. The counsell was exceedingly animated by the king, and specially by the bishops, as well of Scotland as of England, to go forward courageously herein, not to fear, with promise of assistance, and punishment upon all those that should refuse; whereupon the counsell, with the advise of the bishops of Scotland, and command of the archbishop of Canterbury, did augment the service-book of England, and mingled it with a great deal more poison than in England, which, together with the five ceremonies of England, they decreed to thrust into the church by publike proclamation; declaring those preachers to be fallen from their obedience that should oppose it; and severely

to punish all such inhabitants that would not subject themselves to these institutions. ¶

N. This was a bould attempt ; but what was the issue?

E. Presently thereupon it came to passe, that a great number of committees out of the church and state addressed themselves to the high counsil, and divers times desired that such a resolution might not go forth, but that they would leave the church and church men to their antient customs, without thrusting in of novelties ; otherwayes the whole kingdome was prepared to come into a great uprore ; which exceedingly distracted the counsil ; but being set on by the bishops, they went forward, to the great discontent of the committees and their chiefs : whereupon the gentrie, the particular magistrates, and the ecclesiasticks began to bethink themselves of some means to resist this evill, and to this end, resolved to bind themselves by oath to maintein (with their estates and lives) that old covenant, concerning the maintenance of religion, forme of doctrine and government, as it hath been alwayes maintained in Scotland. Which covenant was confirmed and subscribed by all the inhabitants of Scotland, except those that were papists, or held with the bishops faction.

N. That was a fast bond, and exceeding fearfull ; for by that means the strength of those that would stand for religion against the popish institutions did presently appear. But what way could the counsil, together with the bishops, take to mainteyn their resolution ?

E. They were exceedingly distracted hereabout ; but their fury and zeal to the popish institutions was so great, that they would hold firmly this point against the whole kingdome : and to this end, they perswaded the king that his prerogative was ingaged, that he mainteyn his purpose, use all his strength therein ; yea, though he should compell them thereunto by force of arms ; advising him to this end, to insure all the castels and forts of Scotland ; which was in like manner put in practice. In the mean time, they in Scotland went forward to thrust in the service-book and the five ceremonies, deposing and punishing many that were against it ; so that there fell out great stirs and heavy oppositions in all places ; which, by little and little, increased more and more, bred great distrust against the king, and so much the more, when it was found that he caused arms and amunition to be secretly brought into the castels where he had his governours. ¶

N. I hear well. There was a bad fire kindled, which could not so quickly be quenched : but how went it at last ? Did no man put himself upon the pikes to prevent this threatning evil, to informe the king of the danger he should bring his kingdomes into, and that for a few papish ceremonies ?

E. O yes ; divers did seek to dissuade the king, but in vain ; for either they could have no hearing, or else the bishops knew strait so to bewitch the king, that he believed no man, but accounted them all for enemies to his prerogative that counselled him to the contrary : whereby the common governours of Scotland were necessitated, for the mainteynance of their freedoms, and defence of themselves, to come into armes under Generall Lesly, with such a general concourse of all the people, that every one alike willingly offered himself thereunto, both with his person and also his money ; which, in great abundance, was given for to pay the souldiers.

N. How did the king take this ? for it seemeth much that a kingdom should betake themselves to arms, without consent of their king.

E. The king is hereby induced to take up men against the Scots, to beset their havens, to proclaim their ships prize, and to permit the Dyynkerkers to take all such as had no comission from him ; so that Scotland was exceedingly distressed, both by sea and land ; which made them resolve to take in certain forts, to free their sea coasts, to bring their leagers to the frontiers of England, and so to begin a formall order of war, not against the king, but against his bad counsillers.

N. So 'tis often seen that a great fire cometh of small sparks. These were sad beginnings : But how did the king behave himself in these dangers ?

E. The king did also place himself in order of warre, through the counsell of the bishops, who promised to pay his leager out of the contributions of the clergie ; so that an English leager was pitcht, which, together with the king, came to the borders of Scotland, in the mean time proclaiming the Scots for rebels, and suppressors of the kings prerogative ; so that the two kingdomes stood in direct opposition, the one against the other ; yea, so farre, that the king made the greatest part of the English leager approach upon the Scots ; who, encompassing the English, took some prisoners, and got their ordonance and amunition without bloodshed : all which they discharged, and sent to the king, to shew that they intended not the damage of their brethren the English : Whereby the English gentry have gotten better experience of the Scots then others had informed them, in reporting that the Scots began this war to enrich themselves out of the revenues of the English ; which then appeared to be contrary, and was also otherwise conceived by the English.

N. You report strange things unto me. I never read any historie of such civillie, in those that were together by the eares, that they should so freelie dismisse one another. Here hence it also appeared that the Scots sought not the blood of their brethren, but their own freedome ; which, without doubt, made the English to entertaine a good concept of the Scots.

E. Wee have all, in generall, so conceived it ; and our gentry began to perceive that it was but the worke of the bishops, to adorne their chaire ; who knew how wonderouslie to lead on the king to the destruction of both his kingdoms ; which hath excited the great ones to advise the king to make an agreement with Scotland ; which was also performed, upon condition that both the armies should be cashiered, the castels restored unto the hands of the king and synode, and a parliament assembled, absolutely to end all differences : whereupon there was great joy, and all the former conditions likewise performed on the Scots side, but not in the least on his majesties behalf.

N. This was yet a happy issue : But wherein did the king not hold his word ?

E. He did exceeding slowly cashiere his souldiers, insured the castels, contrary to agreement. 'Tis true, he consented to the synode, but many waies abridged their freedom by his committees, which caused great jealousies ; for although the king hath consented to the deposing of the bishops, called in his proclamations against the preachers, and approved their covenant, yet there was much deceit under it ; for the king did, in the mean time, strengthen himself against that partie, as well within as without Scotland, shewing all courtesies to the bishops, privily taking in and fortifying certain holds ; whereat every one began to look about him, to take up arms a new, with a purpose to come into England to the king, by him to be mainteyned in their freedoms ; which exceedingly distracted the faction in England, and also the king.

N. That's easy to imagine ; for the king, who is the head of the kingdome, might easily conclude that a kingdom divided could not stand, and therefore it must exceedingly prick him at the heart.

E. It may be the king did well foresee the danger, but he was never himself, but alwayes led by others ; and therefore they made him believe what they would, perswading him that the bishops and their adherents alone could maintein him against the Scots, if the king would but let them alone, as he hath done ; whereupon they held a kind of a bastard synode, where all the institutions of the bishops were approved, to contribute, out of the means of the clergie, to the maintainance of the war against the Scots ; which came all too late. In the mean time, the Scots seeing their leagers in the land, their havens blocked up, their trading to fail, and their kingdom in danger of ruine, did resolve to march into England ; as also they happily did, and overcame New-Castel, where they fortified themselves, yet without blood, (except a little in the

conquest,) or in dammaging any of the inhabitants of England, to the wonder of the whole English nation.

N. It is also greatly to be wondered at, that the Scots durst enter upon so populous a kingdome, to come so far out of their own country; but it is much more to be wondered at, that they knew how to keep such a strict order in their leager, that they should do violence to no man, which is almost unheard-of: But how could this be cleered?

E. Our whole nation is, by this coming in of the Scots, yet more confirmed that they intended not to spoil England, as the bishops had accused them, but that they were led by God's Spirit, and intended nothing but their own freedome, and the freedome of England, and the maintenance of the purity of religion; whereby the eyes of our nation were also opened to take notice of their oppression under that insupportable yoke of the bishops.

N. Were not the English exceeding jealous of this invasion, and did they not endeavour, by all means, to drive the Scots out of the kingdome?

E. In no wise; but (on the contrary) all were glad that such a reformed leager was in England, which gave some freedome to many that sate bowing under the burthen. Then also a great number of the gentry went unto the king at York, laying open before him the grievances of the kingdomes, and also of England, in divers notorious instances; desiring that the Scots and they might have satisfaction, and that to this end a parliament might be called: which the king also granted: whereupon the bishops presently sent their agents through the whole kingdomes, to many hundreds, to procure burgesses to their own minds, by them to hinder all their former proceedings, and to procure means to fall upon the Scots; which they knew how to effect by the earle of Strafford in Ireland, where the parliament had granted many men and divers subsidies against the Scots, that so they might, to purpose, bring under the Scots and the purity of religion.

N. You report strange things. The bishops faction did well perceive that it should now come to the point, and therefore they took such pains to get men after their own mindes in the parliament; but did they effect it?

E. In no wise; although they made use of the king himself to desire (in many places) that such and such might be chosen; but the inhabitants would not suffer themselves to be so over-reached; but as the election of parliament-men is in the power of the commons, so have they chosen none but such as with whom they knew religion and the liberty of the land to be in highest estimation, and went with absolute power as their deputies; so that the parliament being independent in her resolutions, and having power out of her own head to make and alter lawes, to appoint impositions, as great and as many as it will, therefore every good man was carefull to send conscionable and courageous men, that could not easilie be overcome, either by deceits or promises, but goe resolved to suffer all things rather than yeeld to any thing that shall be to the least damage of the inhabitants; as ordinarily divers parliament-men, at the dissolving of the parliament, have beene, by the king, set in the Tower, because they durst with such libertie resist him in the parliament, to the advantage of the inhabitants.

N. That is a great priviledge of the inhabitants of England, that all free-borne doe chuse and appoint to the highest assemblie: There can be no cup prepared that can corrupt so many thousand men. The commons are ordinarily good: all the corruption is about the head, and the great ones, who, to get into places and offices, carry themselves a loft; and they are no sooner come upon the cusheon, but presently they are politicks, though they were never so good patriots before; which we have also had experience of in our popular government. Many, so long as they are citizens, are lovers of religion and libertie; but so soon as they come into the counsell-house, then observe they presently how the winde blowes, and suffer themselves to be misse-led by some

great ones, that beare sway in all assemblies, and begin to be enemies to religion, and helpe to suppress the cities and provinces; making one or two masters, who then direct all things in government for themselves and their fat offices; yea, it goes so grosse in this point, that 'tis to be feared that the commons shall, one time or other, go to pot. Oh, that there might be once amongst us, also, a general parliament assembled, for the redresse of that great declining amongst us! and that the governours themselves (though upon their oath, and for all those advantages which they reape by the government) would take care to maintein our dear-bought freedome, and watch to the furtherance of the prosperity and welfare of their citizens: then should the lords have honour, love, and all things from their subjects; who, with great affection, are taken up with all those lords which shew themselves good patriots.

E. Yea, have you also flatterers amongst you? I thought that all Netherlanders were free-born, and that the blood of their forefathers was in their veins; who did not fear the mighty king of Spain, but adventured their lives and estates for their liberty, and would not be slaves to these or any. Whom hath any man need to fear amongst you? You have no sovereign: the cities themselves make the sovereignty amongst you: every lord amongst you is a member of the assembly; and each can have in himself great attention and power, if they be but wise enough to imploy it.

N. You speak with understanding concerning our government; and no man needeth to be a slave, if every one were content with his own, and were not too ambitious; but there are many who (for an office, or to remain on the cusheon) feare not much to damme their souls, and to ruine their countrie, and to give away all to some great ones, to make the cities amen-sayers, and the provinces slaves, that, by their means, they may effect that which the time, all too soon, (as is to be feared,) shall manifest. But we digresse from our purpose: Tell me then how had the parliament its beginning, and how all things went there.

E. The parliament, by God's wonderfull direction, against the will of all the great ones, are come together; and after that the Scots had shewen the end of their falling into England, that it was not out of any covetous desire either of the goods or bloods of the English nation, but only out of an upright desire and love to their own freedom, and the freedoms of their loving and affectionate brethren in the kingdome of England, then have they presently more exactly understood one another, and the parliament began more narrowly to consider the disorders of their own state.

N. So was there then presently concluded a brotherhood between the English and the Scots? O, wonderfull work of God! that knew how so suddainly to remove that dispersed jealousie, and to use so small a nation (but full of courage and religion) to open the eyes of the mighty kingdome of England, to effect their own freedoms. But how did the parliament then farther proceede?

E. That would be too much to relate; but we will only point at some principall things. They have first inquired what were the inormities of the kingdom, and who were the causes thereof; and they found such a masse of corruption, that in the whole kingdom (either in the church or common-weal) there was scarce any thing sound; and all occasioned principally by the bishops, and some Espaniolized English about the king; as it was manifested to the parliament daily, by an over flood of requests and greevances of the inhabitants, out of all quarters of the kingdome, with the subscriptions of many thousands of men, exhorting them to remove the evil, and authors thereof.

N. We may see that the boil was ripe, for the launce no sooner came neer it, but presently the matter issued out. But what were those matters which they found out?

E. Concerning the church matters, and the exorbitances thereof, I have noted them before: there was a generall crye against them, all calling for the deposing of the bishops, and the rooting out of their hierarchie: whereupon presently there arose a great

adde, and opposition of the whole episcopall faction, especially in the higher house, where they, about fower-and-twenty, or more, are members, and also all the papish lords of the upper house, which are also twenty-four, or more, which constantly held with the bishops: whence men may easily judge what correspondence the bishops have had with the papists, who ought, by the form of their office, to have been so far separated from them, as light and darknesse, Christ and Belial: so that whatsoever was concluded against them, or their popely institutions, in the lower house, was presently opposed in the upper house, so that there could be no proceeding, till, by degrees, divers matters were discovered, whereby now these bishops are in the Tower, and, at last, the arch-bishop also, for divers heavy accusations which the Scots brought in against him; by whose absence the good lords of the parliament procured now one, and then another good resolution, to the hinderance of many sorts of newly-appointed institutions.

N. These are great beginnings of reformation. It is wonder that the bishops have not (as it began to be thought of them) incited the king (with whom they are at all times conversant) to dissolve the parliament, as other Nimrods have done in the like case.

E. That was prevented; for the parliament being desired to graunt the king certain subsidies, have granted the same upon this condition, that the king should passe an act, that he should not dissolve them but by consent of both houses; which he hath subscribed: Beside, there were many thousands of apprentices stood up in London to defend the parliament, desiring that the arch-bishop and other bad instruments might be punished; so that the parliament could not be dissolved, especially seeing the parliament-men had bound themselves to each other, by oath, not to depart till all things were redressed.

N. Therein hath the king yet manifested an inclination to reformation, in that he hath graunted the parliament such an act.

E. The king perceived well in what hatred all his servants that were about him were, by reason whereof many, through an evill conscience, fled to France or the Netherlands; so that the king, without the parliament, could not have quieted the people; and therefore he was necessitated to agree to it, hoping (through his authority, and those persons which he had in the houses) to bring all yet to his own minde. But the king was too great a patron of all the malignants, which he sought to save, that made the members more and more to strengthen themselves against the king, to resist him therein: whereupon the king put on the foxes skin, dissembling and abandoning many persons; yea, did passe an act, that the bishops should sit no more in the higher house: which gave great content: and had the king left all his bad servants, and joynd himself with the parliament, there had never bin a more mighty king in England then this.

N. I am also of that opinion: but do we not see ordinarily that the servants of kings and princes abuse their masters with calumnies and lyes against the best, to displace them, and then alone to abuse the ear of princes to their own ends; not caring whether their masters be beloved or hated, if they can but be great with them, and by their power work but their own passions against others? It goeth alwayes so amongst us also, that the servants that are most about our prince, in all places where they have authority, bring in drunkards and novices, thrusting out the antient, honourable, beloved, grave gentlemen, to the great distaste and offence of the comunalty, and that by false reports brought to his highnesse against them: who unwittingly, and without his fault, is thereby ill thought of in all places, as if he were a patron of such vile persons; which we must, notwithstanding, judge to be far from his prince-like disposition. But tell me what is there more fallen out in the parliament?

E. Continual requests of the inhabitants, full of complaints against the king's cour-

tiers, concerning the great oppression which they have used over the people, in monopolies and unjust impositions, whereby they have drawn millions from the comunalty, part for the king, but most for themselves : whereof many that sate in the parliament are found guilty ; which were presently put out of their commissions and places, as well in the higher as the lower house ; whereby the parliament was more and more refined : which being disannulled, and declared to be unlawfull, to the great content of the comunalty, who thereby have gotten more affection to the parliament, and given them the more encouragement to proceed in the reformation ; so^a that they themselves have caused the earl of Strafford to be apprehended, made his process, and proved that he had brought the king to many bad enterprises ; made him break his covenant with the Scots, tyrannized over the Irish, as was daily confirmed by a thousand abominable instances out of Ireland, held the dominion for himself, compelled the parliament of Ireland to graunt great summes of money and men to imploy against the Scots, and other criminall causes more, for which they have (with an enforced consent from the king, who would willingly have saved him) beheaded him, and so made him an example ; whereupon yet more, that were also guilty, are fled.

N. This was a great resolution of the parliament, and I wonder exceedingly how they could bring the king to consent unto that, seeing I have alwaies understood that he was one of the principallest instruments by whom the king hath brought out his designes, having promised to maintein him. ♣

E. The king hath done much for him, taking all his guiltinesses upon himself, and by practises hath sought to get him out of the Tower ; but the stream was too great against him, as well of the parliament, who manifested unto the king, by many learned lawyers, that he was worthy of death, as also of the people, that by force would have him out of the way ; so that the king must (although exceedingly constrained) consent thereunto ; but he did not subscribe the sentence himself, but caused it to be done by others.

N. There cometh to my minde the marriage of the young prince : tell me once how it went about that ; for he was in England when the deputy of Ireland was executed. I think I have heard some say that it was thought that the young prince would have made intercession for him to the parliament ; but I understood that he did it not, least he should thereby gain the hatred of the people, which should be discommodious for him.

E. Concerning the marriage of your prince, it was first set on foot by the queen Mary, being in the Hague, to make her acceptable : but many judged that she meant it not ; for, being in England, it was opposed by her faction, as also by the bishops, and most of the courtiers and great ones which are yet by the king : but the parliament did exceedingly presse it forward, to hinder her that she should not go to Spain, from whence she was solicited by many ambassadours, one after another, but to marry with a reformed lord ; who presently coming into England, was gracious and welcome to the inhabitants ; so that in the end that marriage was solemnised and made sure, to the great content of the good inhabitants in England, who have judged that it would be a faster bond to maintain the true religion, resist the popish faction, and binde the king faster to the parliament : But I hear that many amongst you have bin much troubled about that match.

N. I know nothing of that : all have accounted it a good marriage for our state, thereby to make yet a neerer friendship with England, which is of one faith with us. Onely some are troubled, least, by this marriage, all the corruption, pride, vanity, and ungodlinesse of the English court, coming over with her, should break in upon us, seeing that our nation at this time is exceedingly inclined to pompe and novelties, to the ruine of many.

E. No, that is not it which I have heard ; but I have understood that some were jealous

of this great marriage, because they thought it might be an allurements to the young prince to affect the sovereignty of the provinces, whereunto his father-in-law, and his uncle, the king of France, should help him.

N. Those are but evill aspersions, like those wherewith Prince Maurice was accused by the arminians; for therewith our prince should win nothing, but loose much; for he hath now more to say than any duke of Gelderland, or earle of Holland or Zeeland ever had; disposing of all places and offices in the state and camp; by which meanes every one reverenceth him, and seeketh to doe him all manner of service; without having any burthen of warr to beare, or to have his head troubled from whence the money should come to manteyne the warr: he lets the states take care for that; so that it is not to be thought that there is one hair on the princes head that thinks thereupon: Besides, his prince-like excellency hath been brought up in this land, and knoweth the nature of our Netherlanders, who should not be brought under any soveraigne. Every one would rather adventure his life and goods, as they have done now, these sixty or seventy years, than that they should let go their liberty, or stand under the absolute government of one soveraign. Should that be ever attempted, it would prove the ruine of the land: therefore it is not to be thought that the king of France or England would lend any assistance thereunto, although the prince should desire it. How dangerous it is to entertain soveraignty, hath bin well to be seen in the king of Bohemia: The English nation hath yet too great a feeling thereof, than that they should attempt the like again in any of theirs, and therefore entertain not such calumnies. Let us leave this, and return again to the English affaires. What more hath since that passed there?

E. After that both the English and Scots leager was cashiered, the king went into Scotland, where he disburthened the Scots, and pronounced them free from rebellion, confirmed all the acts of the parliament, and the resolution of the synod, and declared that they were falsly accused by him; whereupon there was made a new covenant betwixt the king and them, as also with England, to the great joy of both the nations; who thereupon have performed solemn thanksgiving in both the kingdoms, that God the Lord hath brought to shame the evill counsellors about the king, who alwayes incensed him, thereby to cause war between the two kingdomes; that so, by the help of the papists, and the force without, (as they perswaded themselves,) they might be master of the king and the two kingdomes, to root out the true religion, and bring in popery. But, God be thanked, that hath made the king to see how shamefully they have possessed him against Scotland, that he himself, before the whole world, must call in and nullifie all his proclamations against the Scots, as having unjustly proceeded against them.

N. So knoweth God how to bring the counsils of the wicked to shame. God preserve the king, that he may no more hearken to those bad instruments, that he come into no greater danger; which I exceedingly fear; for I have heard that most of his bad counsellors are yet with him, and those that are fled, for their misdeeds, do yet hold correspondence with the king, and especially with the queen, who is a papist, and hath many jesuits about her; who, together, will never rest, but alwayes stir to bring in the popish religion, and to incense the king thereunto, who is kind, and hearkeneth much to the queen: What think you thereof?

E. This troubleth many amongst us also exceedingly; so much the more, because it hath appeared to the parliament that the queen, by an act in her name, subscribed by the secretary, which is fled to France, hath ordained a fasting-day amongst the papists, to pray to the saints that the great designe which was in hand for the favour of the catholikes might prosper: from whence may be easily gathered, that she hath knowledge of all those bad designes.

N. Yea, is it so? Then shall you quickly see, thogh (so long as the king is among

the Scots, who open his eyes) it now goeth well with him, that he shall be soon otherwise led, when he shall return into England, to the queen and his bad counsellors; for if they knew how to make the king unfaithful, and to break his kingly word, in that first agreement made between him and the Scots, whereupon the Scots layed down their arms, and surrendered the castels and forts in Scotland to the king, they will know how to do it yet once more, (as is to be feared.) But tell me, have I not heard that there are now and then many treasons discovered?

E. You must not have so bad a conceipt of our king; but that there are divers treasons discovered is true, both before the kings going into Scotland, in the time of his being there, and also since his return thence unto London; and especially, there is discovered (by some intercepted letters written out of Scotland to London) a treason against the principallest lords of Scotland, by some great ones in Scotland, as also against the eminentest gentlemen of the English parliament; whereupon the papists in all quarters should instantly have stood up, mastered the Tower of London, and in all parts overrun the strong holds, and then have massacred those of the religion, according to the example of the murther in Parice.

N. O, horrible design, if it were so! But were these not counterfeit letters, by that means to make the communalty more intraged, and to stick closer to the parliament?

E. Oh, that it had been so, that they were but shadows and flourishes! Yet many things that followed thereupon do demonstrate that it was but all too surely intended; for there are many great ones before this apprehended in Scotland, which had intended to have massacred some of the greatest; as was discovered by some who themselves should have had a hand in it; for whom the king did intercede before his departure out of the Scots parliament; which did also pardon them; whereof they shall in time feele the smart. In England, a French cooke hath confessed that he had undertaken to poyson all the meate at a certaine feast, where all the principallest gentlemen of the English parliament should have been, by that meanes to have murdered them.

N. O! wonderfull worke of God, that discovereth such hellish designes! These come no other wise than out of the bosomes of the jesuites, who, after the example of their father the devil, are murderers of men. Trulie, out of these instances it sufficiently appeareth that the traitors were in the knot. But should there be any thing of that, that the papists (if this murder had succeeded) should have betaken themselves to armes?

E. There is nothing more sure; for so soone as the treason in Scotland was discovered, then did the papists of Scotland stir up the English to proceede nevertheless with the designe; as also the Ireish did revolt at the same time; who (as is probable) had no certaine intelligence of the ill successe which the designe in England and Scotland had, and therefore went they forward with the concluded work; as also, certain of the chief in this rebellion being taken prisoners, have confessed that there was intelligence concerning this point between the papists in Ireland, England, and Scotland, and that with the knowledge of the queen, whose leager they have openly professed themselves to be: so that the effects have shewed, that while the king was busie in England and Scotland, with deep protestations, declarations, and remonstrances, to manifest his zeal for the reformed religion, against the papists, whom he hath caused to depart from his court, and from about London, with giving out sharp proclamations against them, to make all the world believe that he meant it; in the mean time, notwithstanding that, the queen and the minions and counsellors of the king were busie to raise up, strengthen, and arm the papists against the religion, parliament, and good inhabitants of England; which made many to fear that such a thing is not come to passe without the king's knowledge. Though it be not to be believed that a king should play so with his fidelity, ce tainly God would not suffer such things unpunished.

N. A crafty country clown wold judge, if that the king had no hand therein, he would not retain such servants by him as were found guilty of such mischiefs, but pu-

nish them as traytors, to justifie himself. But is there nothing come to pass, whence we may well perceive that the king is no longer in the Scottish aire, but hath forgotten all his fair conclusion in Scotland?

E. There are (sure enough) heavy things come to pass, whereinto the king hath suffered himself to be led, which give great suspition that the king is yet ruled by the malignants; for the king hath suffered himself to be so far carried away by his bad counsell, that he went with armed men to the parliament, and that, as his servants themselves have confessed, to fall upon the parliament lords; whereby the king did put himself in the greatest danger to cause a common massacre, had not God himself wonderfully prevented it; for which the king hath yet thanked God afterward: for through but one unadvised word from the king, those blood bounds should have fallen on, as they already began to justle, and strike some gentlemen coming to the parliament.

N. This must have exceedingly distracted the parliament lords, and made great alteration amongst the people, for had that come to passe, the whole kingdome should have been in an uproar. We may well see that these counsellors care not though they bring the king in great danger of his life, and spoil his kingdome, so they may but effect their designe. But what was the issue thereof?

E. Some of the counsellors to this work are fled; the people began to fall upon the souldiers; the parliament ensured themselves with a guard, and began to perceive that it was coyned for them; which made the members of both houses unite themselves, with the more courage, to take in hand the reformation. The malignants have so much the more incensed the king against the parliament and his people, making him believe that he was not safe within London; whereby they induced him to leave London, and go into the country with his son, that, by his absence from the parliament, all resolutions might be the easier hindred, and to make farther distrusts between him and the parliament, of which, also, we dayly perceive the effect; for, notwithstanding that the parliament have bin very instant to get his majesty again to London by them, and to remain by the affairs of the kingdome, yet all was in vain. How great security they have also promised the king? But he is yet departed farther and farther, to the wonderful hinderance of all the affairs of the kingdome.

N. These were all bad signes of further mischief; for if the malignants be so powerful with the king, that they can make him to forsake his great counsell, (who, in all her actions hitherto, hath manifested nothing else but to be advocates for the religion, prerogative of the king, and defenders of the priviledges of the inhabitants,) to betake himself wholly to their counsil, so shall they in the end draw him wholly from his parliament, and bring him into a civil war. But how goeth it in the mean time with the Irish rebellion?

E. It goeth there very pitifully: The rebels are exceeding strong, almost master of all, and deal more barbarously with the reformed than the Spaniards have done with the Indians, as appeareth by many printed papers, which maketh mens hearts to melt with grief when they do but hear of their tyranny; so that those of the religion be in the extreamest distresse, and relief cometh but slowly to them; so that we may fear that the rebels will go away with that kingdome, which God preserve.

N. What is the reason that it is not speedily handled to send succour that way? for the king is well inclined to the furtherance of that work, as is not to be believed but that he hath compassion on the poor people of the religion, who every moment are in fear of death.

E. What shall I say? Oh, that it were so, that we had no reason to believe it. The Irish brag that they are the kings leager, and have no other intention but to maintein him against the parliament; for whatsoever ordinance the parliament passeth for the hindering of the rebellion in Ireland, the king refuseth to subscribe, or delayeth it so long, till the occasion to send succour is by-past, without taking this work to heart, or in-

couraging the inhabitants thereunto; yea, the king sheweth that he is quite otherwise conceited against them than he was against the Scots: These he proclaimed presently rebels, beset their havens, gave their ships to the prey, when he would not, but by great adoe, suffer the Irish to be declared rebels by publication; whereof he would have but forty copies printed, that this proclamation of the kings should be the lesse known, when he hath declared the Scots rebels by a thousand proclamations; yea, he hath caused this to be read in every pulpit, and so manifested more affection or mildnesse to the papistical Irish than to the reformed Scots. Every one may from hence judge where the king or his counsell is lodged.

N. I begin wholly to believe that the queen hath made the king sure to the papish faction, and though he be now faire of the religion, and meaneth not to root it out, they should yet bring him thereunto, to the destruction of himself and his kingdome. God open the eyes of the king, to take notice of those Achitiphels and sons of Belial which are about him, and to beware of them. O, unhappy kings! that meet with papish wives, who thrust forward their husbands (unawares) till they be drowned in tumults. Oh that this bad instrument were seperated from the king!

E. There is great likelihood thereof; for the queen hath made it known to the parliament, that she, with her daughter, would come hither to the Hague, by the young prince her son; which the parliament hath assented to, and she is come already, fetcht in by your prince, and welcomed in the Brill, and thereupon come with the young prince to the Hague, where she was some daies entertained in the lands behalf, and welcomed by all the counsils.

N. You tell me now some news which doth not please me very well. This must have a bad foundation, that a queen should so come out of her country, while her husband with his inhabitants are in such distraction, and that she herself, so inconsiderately and unexpectedly, should bring over the young princesse before the appointed time. God graunt that she bring not the two divisions of England into our land, or ingage our prince or state for the king against the parliament, which should cause great stirres here in our land.

E. This was also feared in England, that she should use all means to get in this state against the parliament for the king, whereby great disadvantages should happen both to the good partie, as also to Netherland itself: yet it is hoped that the prince of Orange and the states of the land should keep themselves out of this, and not meddle in this matter, but hold themselves neutrals, seeing they know well that the parliament seeketh but to maintain the religion and their priviledges; on the contrary, the king's counsell intendeth nothing but furtherance of the popish religion, and oppression of the inhabitants, as hath been before plentifully declared.

N. It is a needlesse fear: Our state shall in nothing resist the parliament, else we should condemne our own war. Their cause is just as ours was in the beginning, when the states of the land mainteined the religion and freedom against the king of Spain, wherein the English nation did help us. Far be it then from any true-hearted Netherlanders, that they should resist the parliament, either in counsell or action; yea, if it should come so far, all should rather help the parliament than the king. If the king get the upper hand, the papish religion shall be exalted; yea, the king himself and all well-willers should be ruinated: if the parliament prevail, so shall the king be yet well preserved, and honest men shall dwell in rest.

E. Our fear is not without reason; for now, of late, souldiers and officers which are, and remain in the service of the land, and hold their gages here, with much ammunition out of the magazines of the land, have bin sent to the king, at the request of the queen, and with knowledge of those from where the man is now lost. What is this else, but to give the knife to cut our own throats and yours? for which we have cause to protest before God and the world, and call for vengeance thereupon. This exceed-

ingly distracted our nation, that they have not so much favour shewed them as the Scots, with whom they have not so handled.

N. If it be so, you have reason to be distracted: We have also as great cause; for in so doing, we disturnish ourselves of ammunition and men, that we might be the more easily fallen upon. To do so is the head; and if the commons should know it, it would not go well with them. I cannot receive it, that the governours would trouble themselves herewith; for though there were many slaves among the lords, yet there be many good cities that would take it upon them.

E. You judge well; for they of Holland take it exceedingly on them; have well received the messengers of the parliament; at their intreaty, have arrested divers ships with ammunition, that would go to the king, notwithstanding the deep protestations of the queen against it: They also will that those shall be sought for that have sent away the former ammunition without their knowledge; yea, they presse this point so far, that they have sent a message to them of Zealand, to be one with them in this point, and other points tending to the maintainance of the freedom of the land; which is there also exceedingly well taken up, and concluded to the contentment of those of Holland, although it were there stoutly strugled against. God graunt that the provinces may understand it so likewise.

* *N.* Sir, whence heard you all this? You must have listned with a curious ear: You tell me here choice tydings. God must be praised for the zeal of the honourable states of Holland: This is a token that there must be yet many good lords there: God make their number tenfold more, and so incourage them, that, neither by promises nor deceits, they may be won to desist from this good begun work: Their reward shall be with God, and all good inhabitants shall carry them upon their hands, and with them adventure all for the freedom.

E. We doubt not of the affection of the commons; but they know not many times that their safety dependeth upon ours, and that this doing is not for us alone, but for them also. But the governours see this well, and therefore we hope that they shall be for us as for themselves, as it is also very needfull; for the queen doth not cease to be on his highness ear, to ingage himself, and assist her with men and mony, for the marriage sake; yea, she regardeth not to write to the king, that the prince hath afforded her all help in this thing already; which must be received with discretion; for she can write that to animate the king, although there be nothing of it: such practises go through the world. She pawneth still daily the jewels of the kingdom knoweth how to send officers privately with ammunition to the king; which, by little and little, through the wonderfull providence of God, falleth into the parliaments hands; by which all her designs are discovered, like as God, from time to time, hath brought to light all enterprises against the parliament. God graunt it may be alwayes so.

N. All good men are with his highness exceedingly perplexed, who, by this marriage is in a great streyt: On the one side, he would willingly give content to the queen and the king, being so neer bound unto them by alliance, in regard of his son; on the other side, the best governours and body of the inhabitants incline to the parliament, whose good will doth most concern his highness, for therewith he must keep house. God give his highness wisdom, that he sail not against the stream, to ingage himself farther with them, that no farther diseases or unquietness come upon us and England. But tell me how it goeth forward with the kings matters.

E. I have gotten, even now, a letter from England, that the earle of Essex, with the leager, is marched towards the king, first, to desire his majesty, by request, to be pleased to joyn himself to his parliament, and, in case of refusal, to see if he can free his majesty from his bad counsellors with so little blood-shed as he can.

N. But I hear that the king hath also a mighty leager, and besides, that he gets the papists dayly to his assistance, yea, that he himself hath called them to aide him. Tell

me once what there is concerning that ; for that should manifestly oppugne all his former deep protestations, wherein he hath many times cal'd God to witnesse ; and thereby should, before God and the whole world, make himself a perjured person, justify the parliament in their proceedings, and let every one see that they intend nothing but the suppression of the freedoms of the kingdom and the religion.

E. That is certain, that the papists who were disarmed by order from the parliament have, at their request, received expresse order from his majesty to arme themselves, for his and their own defence.

N. But we wonder that the parliament hath so long delayed : They might, long before this time, have more easily beset the king, when he had but two or three hundred men with him ; now it will cost much blood, and spoil England.

E. The parliament have taken the mildest way, and alwayes hoped, by humble messages, supplications, and high presentations to the king, to mollifie him, open his eies, and bring him again unto them. Now they can manifest to all the common people, and before the whole world, that they are brought, by the greatest necessity, to the last remedy of open war against their king, and are free from all the innocent blood.

N. The parliament sheweth themselves to be right fathers of their country, that seek to content their inhabitants so much as they can. God give them wisdom and courage to do all things according to justice and right, in sincerity before God, for his holy truth, to the rooting out of papacy, and then they need not fear but God will further his own cause.

E. This the parliament lords of both houses have professed with high and deep oaths, and all their actions also manifest the same. But they about the king shew that they have sworn the destruction of the whole kingdome ; for they do nothing but pilleage and steal, and especially from the best inhabitants, and such as are known and commended for their godlinesse, whom they have upon a roll, not to passe by their houses, before that (like a company of ungodly persons) they have turned all things up-side down, and, like barbarous men, have handled the men, women, and children. So that 'tis to be feared, if these blood-thirsty persons should once get the upper hand, and effect their designe, there would follow as bloody dayes as in the time of Mary.

N. In truth, the estate of your kingdome and church is exceeding pittifull ; it is wholly a popish work. The Lord go forth with the parliaments leager, and bring to shame such blood-thirsty men. Have you not heard whether any thing hath passed between the two leaguers ?

E. I got, even now, writings, that the two leaguers are on each other ; that there hath bin a fierce battail ; yea, with great advantage for the king ; seeing that two regiments of the parliament presently took flight : but the earle of Essex, with some other assistance, fell on with new courage, and have, after a bloody fight, put the kings folk to a retreat, and with honour and advantage kept the field ; so that on the kings side well 3000, and amongst them many great ones, were slaine, and on the parliament's side but about 400. God the Lord fought for them.

N. This was a bloody beginning. God stay this fury, heale the wound, appease the quarrels, and change the war into peace.

E. There is little signe of it ; for the king seemeth rather to be a king of a pillaged people and wasted country, than that he should study to agree with the parliament to the reforming of the kingdome ; yea, since this battail, his folke, and especially Prince Robert, have, to the great distaste of the English, who have bin so tender-hearted of their troubles, more and more intruded, plundered Bandbury and some other places, and used the people most shamefully ; and so they approached close towards the city of London with their leaguer, there to share the best boote, if they could but get it.

N. There must then needs have been great feare in London.

E. You may well thinke that ; but there was good order held in all places within and

without the citie, watch set at all passages, and ordnance planted : besides this, the earle of Warwicke is on foot with a new leager, to joyne with the earle of Essex, and then apparantly to fall againe upon the kings leaguer. God graunt that we may heare good newes. I must goe about my businesse : We must brea ke off till a bettr opportunitie.

N. One word more.—Is there no more hope of an accomodation ?

E. Those that now speake of an agreement in the parliament are fearfull-hearted men, and, it may be, also, many of them not true-hearted enough. The business is goen too farr : Notwithstanding, seeing many have good hope to bring the king to a good agreement, therefore the good members of both houses, to give unto his majestie full measure, have againe nominated certaine persons to deliver a request to his majestie, tending to peace and agreement ; and thereupon some intercessions begun : but they, in the meane time, fell upon the parliaments troopes, and occasioned new blood-shed, contrary to all protestations ; and so all proved fruitlesse ; and now all things are made ready in London to adventure the utmost for the religion and libertie. The people are full of courage, all alike willing to pawn their lives upon it ; and a new bloody battaile is spoken of. The Lord fight for his.

N. Well, is the cause so exceeding pittifull ? How shall we answer it before God, that we take no more compassion upon you ? God shall see and search it, that we are now so carelesse, knowing nothing but of devillish masking, ungodly and wanton ballades and daunces, superfluous meals, wherewith we dayly pamper ourselves, as on a feast day : and the queene of England, with our great ones, can make themselves merry with these in this time of sorrow, as if this misery concerned them not. How can it goe well with them and us ? Is it now your turne, it can quickly be ours. My heart is so overwhelmed with sorrow, that I can scarce speake any more. I thanke you for your friendly communication. I shall pray to God for England, that he will spare that glorious kingdome, discover the malignants, open the eyes of the king, and also of all our statesmen, that we may either remaine neutrall, or chuse the right partie. Farewell, my good friend : if you heare any more newes, I pray make me partaker thereof.

FINIS.

England's Petition to their King ; or, an humble Petition of the Distressed and almost Destroyed Subjects of England, to the King's most excellent Majesty ; containing (in the judgement of the Wise) the very sense of the True-hearted of the Kingdome ; but because the way to the King's eare is stopt, it was sent to London, and there printed, as it is briefly declared to the Reader.

Knowest thou not yet that our Canaan is destroyed ? *Exod. x. 7.*

Printed on the day of Jacob's trouble, and to make way (in hope) for its deliverance out of it. May 5, 1643.

This is a tract written on the side of the parliament, with the same purpose for which we have already seen several published by the royalists, that is, to throw upon the opposite party the odium of refusing peace.

To the obvious, not desired Reader.

Good friend, we would have you know this petition was intended onely for his majesties view, but because plain dealing is seldome well taken, and his majesty so guarded from the requests of his subjects, we are therefore forced to submit it to your common view, and to turn it out, in hope his majestie may light of one copie, and seriously read it, and lay to heart the distresse of the miserable. If you censure it, as the work of some few discontented persons, know you, it is the sense of our part of the kingdome; and if you will promise us freedom and hopes of successe, we'll soone returne it you with the hands of 1,000,000. If you condemne us for speaking too plainly, know that misery makes men forget good manners, and dying men use not compliments: We are in the case of the lepers: if we sit still we perish; therefore we will move in the way of hope, and go in to the king, though it be not according to law; and if we perish, we perish. Yet know, we will come far short of the plainnesse of better persons and tymes. *2 Sam. xii. 7. 1 Kings, xviii. 18. &c. &c. &c.*

To the Kings most excellent Majestic, the humble Petition of your Distressed and almost Destroyed Subjects of your Kingdome of England.

DREAD SOVERAIGN, its a double grieffe to our souls, that wee should be constrained to beg for our lives at your hands, who are bound, by the law of God and nature, and by your oath, to preserve them, and that wee should bee forced to entreat you to spare our estates, liberties, and blood, whose honour and strength depends so much on these our enjoyments: but extremity prevaiileth, and drives us to you, and casteth us here prostrate at the feet of your majestie. And let not your majestie bee offended, if we speak more plainly then usually becometh us; for necessitie hath no law: It is for our lives, and more, and therefore blame us not to speak. Our friends, our wives, our children, our wants, our dangers, our countrey, our blood, do all pierce our eares and hearts with their daily and dolefull cryes. Oh, that our requests could finde as quick accesse to yours! Surely its impossible your majesty should be ignorant of the dolefull condition your two kingdomes are in. Do you not know that our houses are plundered, and the fruit of our long labours taken from us; that men who have heretofore relieved hundreds of the poore, have not left them a bed to lye on, food to sustaine them, or a house to put their heads in? And the poor they were wont to relieve are forced to become souldiers, that they may rob us by authority. Know you not how many thousand distressed soules cry to God day and night, in their anguish and misery, while they see you, the father of their countrey, having no compassion on them? Oh! where is now your majesties ancient clemencie? You were wont, if we lost our estates by pyrates, or but a house by fire, to grant your gracious letters patents for our relief; but now your souldiers rob us of all, and burne our houses to the ground; and this not onely for obtaining victory in heat of fight, but upon deliberation afterwards; as they did at Birmingham, in Warwickshire, by neere a hundred houses, the next day when they left the town. You were wont to relieve your subjects when taken by pyrates, and made gally-slaves; and now the loathsome prisons of Oxford and other places are filled with their miserable, starved, diseased bodies, who (some of them) would think themselves half free-men were they Turkish gally-slaves; such is their cruell usage. Know you not how our lands lye untilled, while your souldiers take our horses by a thousand at a time? And what can follow this but extreme famine? Know you not how our blood is spilt, and the dead bodies of your subjects, yea, many of your nobles, scattered as dung on the face of the earth? Have not your eyes seen it, and your eares heard the groanes of the

wounded, gasping for life? Is all this nothing in your eyes? To whom should your people go but to your majestie, in this our distresse? We have tryed all other known meaus, and professe, in the sight of God, we know none but your majesty, under God, that can deliver us, without more bloud and desolation: and the world knows it is in your hands: You may do it if you will, and do it easily, and do it with increase of your honour, safety, and happinesse. What if it were to part with something of your right, yet should not your majestie do it to save the life of your people, from whom, and for whose good, you first received it?

Dread soveraigne, we beseech you, consider what hath your parliament and people done, that deserves all this from you? Is it because your parliament relieved us from oppressing courts and illegall taxations? Was it not with your own consent; and is it not your glory to be king of a rich and free people? Is it because they prosecute delinquents? Why, to what end are your courts of justice else? and are not they your chiefest court? And can those bee friends to you, and worth the defending, that are enemies to your kingdomes? For your forts and navy, are they not yours, for your kingdomes good? And is not your parliament the kingdom representative? We know your majesty cannot manage them in your own person, but by your ministers, and those chosen by counsell; and can you or the kingdom possible judge any more able, impartiall, and faithful to advise you in this, then your parliament? They medled not with it till absolute necessitie constrained; till they saw Ireland in rebellion, the rebels threatning England, the same spirit as malignant and active at home, and their own lives and the kingdom in present apparent jeopardy, and your majesties consent to their bill denied. We cannot but see the same counsels setting your majestie against your parliament now, which caused their so long discontinuance, which caused the ship-money and other illegall taxations, which caused the late innovations in church and state, which caused the war with Scotland, which broke up the last parliament, and caused that invective declaration against them, in the very language of the present times. We cannot possible conceive what your parliament can do now to remedy any of these miseries: They humbly seek your royall consent in vain: the offenders legallie proceeded against are defended from them, yea, those that your majestie hath proclaimed such: that is denied them which is yeilded to every the lowest court of justice: they desire nothing more then your presence and concurrence; and wee know, if humble petitions or loyall affections would procure it, there would not have been so long a distance. Neither is there any visible means left, but either give up our states, liberties, lives, and religion to the dispose of your too long tryed secret counsell, and make your majesties meere will the onelie law, and so betray their country and the trust committed to them, (which God forbid.) or else defend us by the sword.

And for us, your people, what have we done, that we are made a common spoyle? Would your majestie desire us perfidiously to betray them whom we have trusted, and desert them that have been so faithfull to us, and to kill them whom wee have chosen to save us, and destroy those who are ourselves representatively? Then should we be the disgrace of the English nation, the reproach of our posteritie, the verie shame of nature, and should presentlie expect some strange judgement of God, according to the strangenesse of our offence. Its true, we are forced to take *antidotum contra Cæsarem*, or, rather, to save our throats from the violence of desperate persons about you: But, we beseech you, call not this bearing arms against you: It may be against your will: but if any of your now followers be more respective of your royal authority, established by law, more trulie tender of your person and honour then we, then let not God prosper our proceedings, but cause us to fall before them, and give us up into their hands. We are fallen upon by the cruel, and because wee will not die quietly, and without resistance, we are accused as traytors and enemies to your majestie. We beseech your majestie, consider, in the presence of God, if your own father and king had run upon you with his drawne sword, whether would you have suffered death without resistance, or have taken

the sword, *pro tempore*, out of his hand, and yet neither be adverse to his honour and person, or his proprietie in his weapon? Doth not nature teach us the preservation of ourselves? Will not the eye winke without deliberation, and the smallest worm turn back, if you tread on it? And beside nature, wee have frequent presidents in sacred writt, for even more then defensive resistance of transcendent monarchs; 1 Sam. xiv. 44, 45. 1 Sam. xxiii. 11, 12. 2 Kings, i. 10, 12, 13. 2 Chr. xxvi. 18, 20. Dan. vi. 14, &c. But if all this were nothing, yet we know your majestie hath passed an act for the continuance of this parliament; and sure that act must needs mean a parliament with its power and authoritie, and not the meere name and carkasse of a parliament. It is not onely that they shall stay together in London, and do nothing, or no more then another court, but that they continue your chief counsel, your chiefe court, and have sole legislative power, which are your parliaments peculiar properties. And if your majestie hath enacted the continuance of a reall parliament in its power, who seeth not that you have thereby joyned with them your royall authoritie, though not your person? Doth not your majestie, in your expresses, oft mention yourselfe a part of the parliament, and that the head, without which the body cannot live? And is the parliament valid without your authoritie? Therefore, if your majestie may and have withdrawn from them your royall authoritie, then you may and have broke your own lawes; which we dare not judge, after so many sollemne protestations to maintaine and rule by the knowne laws. Wherefore, we hope your majesty must needs discern that we fight not against you, but for your known establisht authoritie in parliament. And we hope your majestie will not deny them to be your entire parliament; for is the act recalled whereby they were established? If not, how can they cease to be your parliament? Neither let the fault be laid on part of them; for wee all know the major part hath the authority of the whole; and if it were the minor part, why did not, or doth not the major over-vote them? And, we beseech your majestie, blame us not to think our religion and all lyes at the stake, while wee looke back by what a train poperie had been almost brought upon us by that partie, and see them still, the chief in favour, and when so many papists, English and forraigne, are now in armes against us, and know not one papist in the land, that is not zealous in the cause. Wonder not, dread soveraigne, if wee hardly beleve that those come now to save us, who, in 88,* and the powder plot, would so cruelly have destroyed us. That papists should be most zealous in fighting for the protestant religion, and delinquents (proceeded against in parliament) should stand for the priviledges and lawes of the parliament; that oppressing monopolists should fight for the subjects liberties, seem all riddles and paradoxes to us. Blame us not, we beseech you, to fear, while we see no contradiction appeare to Monsieur de Chesne his booke, sold openly for many yeares, not in Paris onely, but in London, and read at court; which records your majesties letter to the pope, promising to venture crowne and all to unite us to Rome again.

Dread soveraigne, many princes have gone astray through strength of temptation, and after have been happie in repenting and returning. Oh, that the Lord would make it your case, and glorifie his mercy on you and us, in making knowne to you the thing concerning our peace, and not his justice in hardening you to destruction; that it may never be read in our chronicle, by the generations to come, that England had a prince who lived and dyed in seeking the desolation of his people and the church of God. Your majestie knoweth there is a king and a judge above you, before whom you must very shortly stand, and give account of your government. Wee desire you, in the presence of that God, to think, and thinke seriously, and thinke againe, how and it will bee to have all this bloud charged on your soule. Can your majesty think of this with comfort when you are dying? Can these counsellors, that now put you on, then bring you as safely off? Your majestie may despise what we say, and cast away our petition, and tread down your poore people, and judge us your enemies, because we tell you the truth, and speake as dying men, in the sorrow of our soules; but you cannot so put by divine

justice, or quiet conscience at the last. As true as the Lord liveth, your majestie will one day know that blasphemers, papists, and flatterers, are not your friends, but plain dealers, who do assure you, the way you take tends to the utter ruine and destruction of your selfe and kingdome. And can your heart endure, or can your hands be strong in the day the Lord will reckon with you for his people, committed to your charge. Oh! suppose you now heard the blood of your people, already spilt, crying in your ears, and saw the many thousands yet living a life worse then death, lying, in their sorrows, at your feet, crying, for pittie, Help, O king, help, or we lose our liberties, laws, lives, and religion: Help, that your selfe and royall posteritie bee not princes of an impoverished desolate nation: Help, as ever you would have God help you in the day of death and judgement, when your self shall cry for help and pitie: Help, that deliverance come not some other way, while you and your fathers house are destroyed. The Lord God of our hopes, who hath, for our sinnes, most justly afflicted us in you, give your majestie a discerning eye, a holy and tender heart, to yeeld to the petition of your distressed subjects, to returne to and concurre with your parliament, that God and man may forget your mistakings, and you may bee the blessed prince that ever reigned in our land, the terror of your reall enemies, the joy of your people, and the glory of posteritie: Such shall be the daily and heartie prayers of

Your majesties loyall (how ever esteemed) subjects, &c.

England's Tears for the present Wars, which, for the Nature of the Quarrel, the Quality of Strength, the Diversity of Battles, Skirmishes, Encounters, and Sieges, happened in so short a compass of Time, cannot be paralleled by any precedent Age.

James Howell, the celebrated letter-writer, after various attempts to rise by courtly patronage, in most of which he was unsuccessful, became clerk of the council, just upon the breaking out of the great civil war. In 1643, having ventured to London, upon some business of his own, he was discovered; and after his papers had been seized by a committee of parliament, he was imprisoned in the Fleet, where he remained for several years. During this time he subsisted chiefly by the profits of his pen, and although at his heart a sincere royalist, took care so far to moderate his expressions on political subjects, as not to give great offence to the successful party. This moderation seems to have been represented to Charles I. as ungrateful indifference, from which charge he thus vindicates himself, in a letter addressed to the king, at Oxford.

"The foreign minister of state, by whose conveyance this comes, did lately intimate to me, that, among divers things which go abroad under my name, reflecting upon the times, there are some which are not so well taken; your majesty being informed that they discover a spirit of indifference and luke-warmness in the author. This added much to the weight of my present sufferances, and exceedingly embittered the sense of them to me, being no other than a corrosive to one already in a hectic condition. I must confess that some of them were more moderate than others, yet (most humbly, under favour) there were none of them but displayed the heart of a constant, true, loyal subject; and, as divers of those who are most zealous to your majesty's service told me, they had the good success to rectify multitudes of people in their opinion of some things: insomuch, that I am not only conscious, but almost confident that none of them could tend to your majesty's disservice, in any way imaginable. Therefore I humbly beseech that your majesty would vouchsafe to conceive me accordingly, and of one who, by this recluse, passive condition, hath his share in this hideous storm: yet he is in assurance, rather than hopes, that though divers cross winds have blown, these times will bring in better at last."

—Howell's Letters, p. 391.

The following tract appears to have been popular. It was translated into Latin, and published, under the title of *Angliæ Suspiria et Lachrymæ*, &c. London, 1646.

*Hei mihi, quàm misere rugit Leo, Lilia languent,
Heu, Lyra, quàm mæstos pulsat Hiberna sonos.*

Printed according to order, 1644.

To my Imperial Chamber, the City of London.

Renowned City,

IF any showers of adversity fall on me, some of the drops thereof must needs dash on thy streets. It is not a shower, but a furious storm, that pours upon me now, accompanied with thunder and unusual fulgurations. The fatal cloud wherein this storm lay long ingendering, though, when it began to condense first, it appeared but as big as a hand, yet by degrees it hath spread to such a vast expansion, that it hath diffused itself through all my regions, and obscured that fair face of Heaven which was used to shine upon me: if it last long, it is impossible but we both should perish. Peace may, but war must destroy. I see Poverty posting a-pace, and ready to knock at thy gates; that ghastly harbinger of death, the pestilence, appears already within and without thy walls; and methinks I spy meagre-faced Famine afar off, making towards thee; nor can all thy elaborate circumvallations and trenches, or any art of enginery, keep him out of thy line of communication, if this hold. Therefore, my dear daughter, think, oh think upon some timely prevention: it is the counsel and request of

Thy most afflicted mother,

ENGLAND.

OH that my head did flow with waters! Oh that my eyes were limbecks, through which might distil drops and essences of blood! Oh that I could melt away, and dissolve into tears, more brackish than those seas that surround me! Oh that I could weep myself blind, to prevent the seeing of those mountains of mischiefs that are likely to fall down upon me! Oh that I could rend the rocks that gird me about, and, with my ejaculations, tear and dissipate those black, dismal clouds which hang over me! Oh that I could cleave the air with my cries, that they might find passage up to heaven, and fetch down the moon, that watry planet, to weep and wail with me, or make old Saturn descend from his sphere, to partake with me in my melancholy, and bring along with him the mournful pleiades, to make a full concert, and sing *Lachrymæ* with me, for that woeful taking, that desperate case, that most deplorable condition I have plunged myself into unawares, by this unnatural, self-destroying war, by this intricate, odd kind of enigmatical war; wherein both parties are so intangled, like a skein of ravelled silk, that they know not how to unwind and untwist themselves, but by violent and destructive ways; by tearing my intrails, by exhausting my vital spirits, by breaking my very heart-strings to cure the malady! Oh, I am deadly sick; and as that famous chancellor of France spoke of the civil wars of his country, that France was sick of an unknown disease, so, if Hippocrates himself were living, he could not be able to tell the true symptoms of mine, though he felt my pulse, and made inspection into my water never so exactly; only, in the general, he may discover a strange kind of infection that hath seized upon the affections of my people; but for the disease itself, it will gravel him to judge of it; nor can there be any prediction made of it, it is so sharp; which made some tell me, that I cannot grow better, but by growing yet worse; that

is no way to staunch this flux of blood, but by opening some of the master veins; that it is not enough for me to have drunk so deep of this cup of affliction, but I must swallow up the dregs also! ☞

Oh, passenger, stop thy pace, and if there be any sparkles of human compassion glowing in thy bosom, stay a while, and hear my complaints, and I know they will not only strike a resentment, but a horror into thee; for they are of such a nature, that they are able to penetrate a breast of brass, to mollify a heart hooped with adamant, to wring tears out of a statue of marble. ☞

I that have been always accounted the queen of isles, the darling of Nature, and Neptune's minion; I that have been stiled by the character of the first daughter of the church, that have converted eight several nations; I that made the morning beams of Christianity shine upon Scotland, upon Ireland, and a good part of France; I that did irradiate Denmark, Sweden, and Norway with the light thereof; I that brought the Saxons, with other Germans, High and Low, from paganism to the knowledge of the gospel; I that had the first Christian king that ever was, (Lucius,) and the first reformed king, Henry the Eighth, to reign over me; I out of whose bowels sprung the first Christian emperor that ever was, Constantine; I that had five several kings, viz. John, king of France, David, king of Scotland, Peter, king of Bohemia, and two Irish kings my captives, in less than one year; I under whose banner the great emperor Maximilian took it an honour to serve in person, and receive pay from me, and quarter his arms with mine; I that had the lion rampant of Scotland lately added to fill up my escutcheon, and had reduced Ireland, after so many intermissive wars, to such a perfect pass of obedience; I that, to the wonderment and envy of all the world, preserved my dominions free, when all my neighbour countries were a fire; I that did so wonderfully flourish and improve in commerce, domestick and foreign, by land and sea; I that did so abound with bullion, with buildings, with all sort of bravery that heart could wish; in sum, I that did live in that height of happiness, in that affluence of all earthly felicity, that some thought I had yet remaining some ingots of that gold whereof the first age was made;—behold, I am now become the object of pity to some, of scorn to others, of laughter to all people. My children abroad are driven to disavow me, for fear of being jeered; they dare not own me for their mother, neither upon the Rialto of Venice, the Berle of Augsburgh, the new bridge of Paris, the Cambios of Spain, or upon the quays of Holland, for fear of being baffled. Methinks I see my next neighbour, France, (through whose bowels my grey-goose wing flew so often,) making mouths at me, and saying, that whereas she was wont to be the chief theatre where Fortune used to play her pranks, she hath now removed her stage hither: She laughs at me, that I should let the common people, and now, lately, the females, to know their strength so much.

Methinks I see the Spaniard standing at a gaze, and crossing himself, to see me so foolish as to execute the designs of my enemies upon myself. The Italian admires to see a people argue themselves thus into arms, and to be so active in their own ruin. The German drinks carouses, that he hath now a co-partner in his miseries. The Swede rejoices, in a manner, to see me bring in a foreign nation to be my champion. The Netherlander strikes his hand upon his breast, and protests, that he wisheth me as well as once the duke of Burgundy did France, when he swore he loved France so well, that for one king he wished she had twenty.

Methinks I see the Turk nodding with his turban, and telling me that I should thank Heaven for that distance which is betwixt us, else he would swallow me up all at one morsel. Only the Hollander, my bosom-friend, seems to resent my hard condition: yet he thinks it no ill-favoured sight to see his shops and lombards every-where full of my plundered goods; to find my trade cast into his hands, and that he can under-sell me in my own native commodities; to see my gold brought over in such heaps, by those that fly from me, with all they have, for their security. In fine, methinks I hear

my neighbours about me bargaining very hotly for my skin, while, like an unruly horse, I run headlong to dash out my own brains.

O cursed jealousy, the source of all my sorrows, the ground of all my inexpressible miseries! Is it not enough for thee to creep in betwixt the husband and the wife, betwixt the lemon and his mate, betwixt parents and children, betwixt kindred and friends? Hast thou not scope enough to sway in private families, in staple societies and corporations, in common-councils; but thou must get in betwixt king and parliament, betwixt the head and the members, betwixt the members amongst themselves; but thou must divide prince and people, sovereign and subject? Avant, avant, thou hollow-eyed, snake-haired monster: hence; away into the abyss below, the bottomless gulph, thy proper mansion; sit there in the chair, and preside over the councils of hell, amongst the cacodæmons, and never ascend again, to turn my high law-making court into a council of war, to turn my cordials into corrosives, and throw so many scruples into that sovereign physick which was used to cure me of all distempers.

But when I well consider the constitution of this elementary world, when I find man to be part of it, when I think on those light and changeable ingredients that go to his composition, I conclude that men will be men while there is a world; and as long as the moon hath an influxive power to make impressions upon their humours, they will be ever greedy and covetous of novelties and mutation: The common people will be still common people; they will some time or other shew what they are, and vent their instable passions. And when I consider further the distractions, the tossings, the tumblings, and tumblings of other regions round about me, as well as mine own, I conclude also, that kingdomes, and states, and cities, and all bodies politick, are subject to convulsions, to calentures, and consumptions, as well as the frail bodies of men, and must have evacuation for their corrupt humours; they must be phlebotomised. I have often felt this kind of phlebotomy. I have had also shrewd purges and pills given me, which did not only work upon my superfluous humours, but wasted sometimes my very vital spirits; yet I had electuaries and cordials given me afterwards: Insomuch that this present tragedy is but *vetus fabula, novi histriones*: it is but an old play represented by new actors: I have often had the like. Therefore let no man wonder at these traverses and humour of change in me. I remember there was much wondering at the demolishing of my six hundred and odd monasteries, nunneries, and abbies, for being held to be hives of drones, as there is now at the pulling down of my crosses, organs, and windows. There was much wondering when the pope fell here, as now that the prelates are like to fall. The world wondered as much when the mass was disliked, as men wonder now the liturgy should be distasted. And God grant that people do not take at last a surfeit of that most divine ordinance of preaching; for no violent things last long: And though there should be no satiety in holy things, yet such is the depraved condition of man, he is naturally such a changeling, that the over-frequency and commonness of any thing, be it never so good, breeds, in tract of time, a kind of contempt in him; it breeds a fulness and nauseousness in him.

The first reformation of my church began at court, and so was the more feaseable, and it was brought to pass without a war. The scene is now otherwise; it is far more sanguinary, and full of actors. Never had a tragedy acts of more variety in so short a time; there was never such a confused mysterious civil war as this; there were never so many bodies of strength on sea and shore, never such choice of arms and artillery, never such a numerous cavalry on both sides, never greater eagerness and confidence, never such an amphibolous quarrel, both parties declaring themselves for the king, and making use of his name in all their remonstrances, to justify their actions, the affection and understandings of people were never so confounded and puzzled, not knowing where to acquiesce, by reason of such counter-commands. One side calls the resisting of royall commands loyalty; the other terms loyalty the opposing of parliamentary orders and ordinances. Both parties would have peace: the one would have it with

honour, the other with truth, (and God forbid but both should go together;) but *interea ringor Ego*. in the mean time I suffer by both; the one taking away what the other leaves; insomuch, that whosoever will be curious to read the future story of this intricate war, if it be possible to compile a story of it, he will find himself much staggered, and put to a kind of riddle; for, touching the intricacy of it, touching the strange nature, or rather the unnaturalness of it, it cannot be paralleled by any precedent example; for, in my chronicles, I am sure no age can match it, as I will make it briefly appear, by comparing it with all the wars that ever embroiled me, which I find to be of three sorts; either by the invasion of foreigners, the insurrection of my commons, or by the confederacy of my peers and princes of the blood. ■

I will not rake the ashes of antiquity so far as to speak of that deluge of blood I spilt before I would take the Roman legions for my garrison; I am loth to set down how the Saxons used me, and how the Danes used them, nor how I had one whole brave race of people, the Picts I mean, quite extinguished in me: I will begin with the Norman expedition: and, indeed, to make researches of matters before, is but to grope in the dark; but I have authentick annals and records for things since. The Norman came in with the slaughter of near upon sixty-eight thousand combatants upon the place; a battle so memorable, that the very ground which sucked in the blood retains the name of it to this day. . The Dane, not long after, struck in to recover his right, with the sacking of my second great city of York, and the firing of her, with the slaughter of three thousand of my children in one afternoon; yet he was sent away without his errand. In the reign of Rufus, I was made of his colour, red with blood, both by the Welsh and the Scot, who lost his king Malcolm in the battle of Alnwick. All my eight Henries were infested with some civill broils, except my fifth Henry, the greatest of them, who had work enough cut him out in France; and he plied his work so well, that he put the crown upon his son's head. All my Edwards also had some intestine insurrection or other. Indeed, two of my three Richards had always quietness at home, though the first did go the furthest off from me, and was longest absent of any; and the third, though he came in by blood, yet the short time of his triennial reign he was without any, and proved one of my best lawgivers; yet his life ended in blood. Touching my second Richard and second Edward, there were never any of my kings came to a more tragical end; and the greatest stains in my story were the violent deaths they suffered by the hands of their own (regicide) subjects. The two sister queens that swayed my scepter had also some domestick commotions; and now my Charles hath them to the height: insomuch, that, of those five-and-twenty monarchs who have worn my diadems since the Norman entered, there were only four, viz. the fore-mentioned Henry and Richards, with King James, escaped free from all intestine broils. Oh, how it torments my soul to remember how my barons did tear my bowels! what an ocean of blood the two roses cost me before they were conjoined; for, during the time that I was a monster with two heads, (made so by their division,) I mean, during the time that I had two kings at once, Edward the Fourth. and Henry the Sixth, within me, in five years space I had twelve battles fought within my intails, and I lost near upon fourscore princes of the royal stem, and parted with more of my spirits than there were spent in winning of France. The world knows how free and prodigal I have been of my blood abroad, in divers places: I watered the Holy Land with much of it; against my co-islander the Scot I had above twenty pitched battles, took many, and killed some of their kings in the field; the flower-de lucas cost me dear, before I brought them over upon my sword; and the reduction of Ireland, from time to time, to civility, and to an exact rule of allegiance, wasted my children in great numbers. I never grudged to venture my blood this way, for I ever had glorious returns for it, and my sons died in the bed of honour; but for them to glut themselves with one another's blood, for them to lacerate and rip up (viper-like) the womb

that brought them forth, to tear the paps that gave them suck,—can there be a greater piacle against nature? can there be a more execrable and horrid thing? If a stranger had used me thus, it would not have grieved me half so much: It is better to be stung with a nettle, than to be pricked by a rose: I had rather suffer by an enemy, than by my own natural born offspring. Those former home-waged wars, whereof there happened above fourscore since the Norman came in, were but as fires of flax in comparison of this horrid combustion, both in my church and state. One may find those wars epitomised in small volumes, but a whole library cannot contain this. They were but scratches, being compared to those deep wounds which prince, peer, and people have received by this; such wounds, that it seems no gentle cataplasms can cure them: they must be lanced and cauterised; and the huge scars they will leave behind them will, I fear, make me appear deformed and ugly to all posterity, so that I am half in despair to recover my former beauty ever again. The deep stains these wars will leave behind, I fear all the water of the Severn, Trent, or Thames, cannot wash away.

The twentieth moon hath not yet run her course, since the two-edged sword of war hath raged and done many executions within me, since that hellish invention of powder hath thundered in every corner, since it hath darkened and torn my well-tempered air, since I have weltered in my own blood, and been made a kind of cock-pit, a theatre of death; and, in so short a circumvolution of time, I may confidently affirm, take battles, rencounters, sieges, and skirmishes together, there never happened so many in any country; nor do I see any appearance (the more is my misery) of any period to be put to these distractions. Every day is spectator of some new tragedy; and the relations that are hourly blazed abroad sound sometimes well on the one side, sometimes on the other, like a peel of bells in windy weather; (though, oftentimes, in a whole volley of news, you shall hardly find one true report;) which makes me fear that the all-disposing Deity of Heaven continueth the successes of both parties in a kind of equality, to prolong my punishment. *Ita ferior, ut diu me sentiam mori*; I am wounded with that dexterity, that the sense and agonies of my sufferings are like to be extended to the uttermost length of time and possibility of nature.

But O, passenger, if thou art desirous to know the cause of these fatal discomposures, of this inextricable war, truly I must deal plainly: I cannot resolve thee herein to any full satisfaction. Grievances there were, I must confess, and some incongruities in my civil government, (wherein, some say, the crozier, some say, the distaff was too busy,) but I little thought, God knows, that those grievances required a redress this way. Dost thou ask me whether Religion was the cause? God forbid: That innocent and holy matron had rather go clad in the snowy white robes of Meekness and Longanimity, than in a vest of sanguine dye: her practice hath been to overcome by a passive fortitude, without reaction, and to triumph in the milk-white ivory chariot of Innocency and Patience, not to be hurried away with the fiery wheels of war; *les larmes, not les armes*, (as my next neighbour hath it.) Groans, not guns, were used to be her weapons, unless in case of open and impending danger, of invincible necessity, and visible actual oppression; and then the arms she useth most is the target, to shroud herself under, and fence away the blow: she leaves all other weapons to the Alcharron, to propagate and expand itself. This gentle, grave lady, though the rubricks of her service be in red characters, yet she is no lover of blood: she is an improver of peace; and the sole object of her devotion is the God of Peace, in whose highest name, in the name Jehovah, as the rabbies observe, all the letters are quiescent. That sacred comforter which inspires her ambassadors uses to ascend in form of a dove, not in the likeness of a devouring vulture; and he that brings him down so may be said to sin against the Holy Ghost. To beat religion into the brains with a pole-ax, is to make a Moloch of the Messias, to offer him victims of human blood. Therefore I should traduce and much

wrong Religion, if I should cast this war upon her. Yet, methinks, I hear this holy distressed matron lament that she is not also without her grievances: Some of her chiefest governours, for want of moderation, could not be content to walk upon the battlements of the church, but they must put themselves upon stilts, and thence mount up to the turrets of civil policy: Some of her preachers grew to be mere parasites, some to the court, some to the country; some would have nothing in their mouths but prerogative, others nothing but privilege; some would give the crown all, some nothing at all; some, to feed zeal, would famish the understanding, others, to feast the understanding, and tickle the outward ear, (with essays and flourishes of rhetorick,) would quite starve the soul of her true food, &c. ♫

But the principal thing that I hear that reverend lady, that queen of souls, and key of heaven, make her moan of, is, that that seamless garment of unity and love, which our Saviour left her for a legacy, should be torn and rent into so many scissures and sects, by those that would make that coat which she wore in her infancy to serve her in her riper years. I hear her cry out at the monstrous exorbitant liberty that almost every capricious mechanick takes to himself, to shape and form what religion he lists; for the world is come now to that pass, that the taylor and shoemaker may cut out what religion they please; the vintner and tapster may broach what religion they please; the druggist and apothecary may mingle her as they please; the haberdasher may put her upon what block he pleases; the armourer and cutler may furbish her as they please; the dyer may put what colour, the painter may put what face upon her he pleases; the draper and mercer may measure her as they please; the weaver may cast her upon what loom he pleases; the boatswain and mariner may bring her to what dock they please; the barber may trim her as he pleases; the gardener may lop her as he pleases; the blacksmith may forge what religion he pleases; and so every artisan, according to his profession and fancy, may form her as he pleases. Methinks I hear that venerable matron complain further, how her pulpits in some places are become beacons; how, in lieu of lights, her churches up and down are full of fire-brands; how every caprichio of the brain is termed tenderness of conscience, which, well examined, is nothing but some frantick fancy, or frenzy rather, of some shallow-brained sciolist; and whereas others have been used to run mad for excess of knowledge, some of my children grow mad now-a-days out of too much ignorance. It stands upon record in my story, that when the Norman had taken firm footing within me, he did demolish many churches and chapels in New Forest, to make it fitter for his pleasure and venery; but amongst other judgments which fell upon this sacrilege, one was, that tame fowl grew wild. I fear God Almighty is more angry with me now than then, and that I am guilty of worse crimes; for not my fowl, but my folk and people are grown half wild in many places: they would not worry one another so, in that wolvis, belluine manner, else; they would not precipitate themselves else into such a mixed mungrell war—a war that passeth all understanding; they would not cut their own throats, hang, drown, and do themselves away in such a desperate sort; which is now grown so common, that self-murder is scarce accounted any news; which makes strangers cry out, that I am all turned into a kind of great bedlam; that Barbary is come into the midst of me; that my children are grown so savage, so fleshed in blood, and become so inhuman and obdurate, that with the same tenderness of sense they can see a man fall as a horse, or some other brute animal; they have so lost all reverence to the image of their Creator, which was used to be more valued in me than amongst any other nations. ♫

But I hope my king and great council will take a course to bring them to their old English temper again, to cure mee of this vertigo, and preserve me from ruine; for such is my desperate case, that, as there is more difficulty, so it would be a greater honour for them to prevent my destruction, and pull me out of this plunge, than to add

unto me a whole new kingdome; for true wisdom hath always gloried as much in conversation as in conquest.

The Roman, though his ambition of conquering had no horizon, yet he used to triumph more (as multitudes of examples might be produced) at the composing of an intestine war, than for any new conquest, or foreign achievement whatsoever; and though he was a great martial man, and loved fighting as well as any other, yet his maxim was, that no peace could be so bad, but it was preferable to the best war. It seems the Italian, his successor, retains the same genius to this day, by the late peace (notwithstanding the many knots that were in the thing) which he concluded: for although six absolute princes were interested in the quarrel, and that they had all just pretences, and were heated and heightened in their designs, yet, rather than they would dilaniate the intrails of their own mother, fair Italy, and expose her thereby to be ravished by tramontanes, they met half way, and complied with one another in a gallant kind of freedom, though every one bore his share in some inconvenience. Oh! that my children would be moved by this so seasonable example of the Italian, who, amongst others of his characters, is said to be wise *à priori*, before the blow is given. I desire my gracious sovereign to think that it was never held inglorious or derogatory for a king to be guided, and to steer his course by the compass of his great council, and to make his understanding descend and condescend to their advice; nor was it ever held dishonourable for subjects to yield and bow to their king; to be willows, not oaks; and if any mistake should happen, to take it upon themselves, rather than any should reflect upon their sovereign. And if, in case of difference, he be willing to meet them half way, it were handsome they went three parts thereof, to prevent him. Therefore I conjure them both, in the name of the great Deity of Heaven, who transvolves kingdoms, and tumbleth down kings in his indignation, that they would think of some speedy way to stop this issue of blood; for, to deal plainly with them, I see far greater reason to conclude this war, than ever there was to commence it. Let them consider well they are but outward church rites and ceremonies they fight for, as the rigidest sort of reformers confess. The Lutheran, the first reformist, hath many more conformable to the church of Rome, which he hath continued these hundred and twenty years; yet is he as far from Rome as the first day he left her, and as free from danger of relapse into popery, as Amsterdam herself. And must I, unhappy I, be lacerated and torn in pieces thus, for shadows and ceremonies? I know there is a clashing betwixt prerogative and privilege; but I must put them in mind of the misfortune that befel the flock of sheep and the bell-wether, whereof the first fed in a common, the latter in an inclosure; and thinking to break into one another's pasture, (as all creatures naturally desire change,) and being to pass over a narrow bridge, which severed them, they met in the middle, and jostled one another so long, till both fell into the ditch. And now that I have begun, I will warn them by another fable, of the Spanish mule, who having, by accident, gone out of the great road, and carried her rider thorough a bye-path, upon the top of a huge steep rock, stopped upon a sudden, and being not able to turn and go backward, by reason of the narrowness of the path, nor forward, in regard of a huge rocky precipice, she gently put one foot behind the other, and recoiled in that manner, until she had found the great road again.

I desire my high council to consider that the royal prerogative is like the sea, which, as navigators observe, what it loseth at one time, or in one place, gets always in some other. I desire my dear king to consider that the privilege of parliament, the lawes and liberties of the subject, is the firmest support of his crown; that his great council is the truest glass, wherein he may discern his people's love and his own happiness. It were wisdom that both did strike sail in so dangerous a storm, to avoid shipwreck. I am loth to say what consultations, what plots and machinations are fomenting and forging abroad against me, by that time I have enfeebled and wasted myself, and lost

the flower of my best children in these woeful broils. Methinks I spie the jesuit sitting in his cell, and laughing in his sleeve at me, and crying out, The devil part the fray, for they do but execute my designs.

Oh ! I feel a cold qualm come over my heart, that I faint ; I can speak no longer ; yet I will strain myself to breathe out this one invocation, which shall be my conclusion :—

Sweet Peace, most benign and amiable goddess, how comes it to pass that thou hast so abandoned earth, and, taking thy flight to heaven, as once Astrea did, dost reject the sighs and sacrifices of poor mortals ? Was that flaming usher of God's vengeance, which appeared six-and-twenty years since in the heavens, the herald that fetched thee away ? For ever since poor Europe hath been harrassed, and pitifully rent up and down with wars ; and now I am become the last scene. Gentle Peace, thou which goest always attended on by Plenty and Pleasure ; thou which fillest the husbandman's barns, the grazier's folds, the tradesman's shop, the vintner's cellars, the lawyer's desk, the merchant's magazines, the prince's treasury, how comes it to pass that thou hast given up thy throne to Bellona, that all-destroying fury ? Behold how my plundered yeoman wants hinds and horses to plow up my fertile soil. The poor labourer who used to mingle the morning dew with his anheled sweat, shakes at his work, for fear of pressing ; the tradesman shuts up his shop, and keeps more holidays than willingly he would ; the merchant walks to the Exchange only to learn news, not to negotiate. Sweet Peace, thou which wast used to make princes courts triumph, with tilt, and tournaments, and other gallantries, to make them receive lustre by foreign ambassadors ; to make the arts and sciences flourish ; to make cities and suburbs shine with goodly structures ; to make the country ring with the huntsman's horn and the shepherd's pipe ;—how comes it to pass that blood-thirsty Discord now usurps thy place, and flings about her snakes in every corner ? Behold my prince's court is now full of nothing but buff-coats, spanners, and musquet-rests ; the country echoes with nothing but the sound of drums and trumpets. Hark how pitifully my lions roar, how dejectedly my roses and flower-de-luces hang down their heads, what doleful strains my harp gives.

O, consider my case, most blissful queen : descend, descend again in thy ivory chariot ; resume thy throne ; crown thy temples with thy wonted laurel and olive ; bar up Janus's gates ; and make new halcyonian days to shine in this hemisphere ; dispel those clouds which hover betwixt my king and his highest council ; chace away all jealousies and umbrages of mistrust, that my great law-making court be forced to turn no more to polemical committees, and to a council of war, (unless it be for some foreign conquest,) but that they may come again to the old parliamentary road, to the path of their predecessors, to consult of means how to sweep away those cob-webs that hang in the courts of justice, and to make the laws run in their right channel ; to retrench excessive fees, and find remedies, for the future, that the poor client be not so peeced by his lawyer, and made to suffer such monstrous delays, that one may go from one tro-pick to another, and cross the equinoctial twenty times, before his suit be done ; that they may think of a course to restrain gold and silver from travelling without license, with other staple commodities, and to punish those that transport hides for calves skins ; to advance native commodities and manufactures ; to balance and improve trade, and settle it so, that it may stand upon its own bottom, and not by any accidental ways, as, of late years, a glut of trade was cast upon me by the wars betwixt France and the house of Austria and others.

That this trade of mine, my chiefest sinew, be not cast into the hands of aliens, who eat me out, in many places, in my own commodities ; that it be prevented hereafter that one be not permitted to ingross and ingulph all, but that my trade and wealth may, by some wholesome policy, be diffused up and down my cities in a more equal distribution ; that they may advise of a way to relieve the orphan, who suffers more for

his minority in me than any where else ; that the poor insolvent subject be not so buried alive, and made to rot in prison, notwithstanding his apparent disability ; whereas were he abroad, he might be useful to the common-wealth some way or other, and come haply afterwards to an ability to pay ; to regulate the business of drained lands, which, well managed, would tend very much to enlarge and enrich my quarters ; to secure the dominion of my seas, the fairest flower of my crown, which is now almost quite ost ; to preserve my woods, whereof, if this course hold, there will hardly be found in some places enough to make a tooth-pick ; to settle the revenues, and supply the wants of my crown : for the wants of the crown and the grievances of the subject have been always used to go hand in hand in my parliament. And now that my neighbour princes, especially France and Spain, have of late years enhanced the revenue-royal, at least to the third part more than it was, it were a disparagement to me that my king should not bear up in equal proportion and point of greatness this way, considering that he hath more of the royal stem to maintain than any of his progenitors ever had. Lastly, that they may settle a way to regulate all exorbitant fancies of novelists in the exercise of holy religion. Where there is no obedience, subordination, and restrictive laws, to curb the changeable humours and extravagancies of men, there can be no peace or piety : If the fire be not kept within the tunnel of the chimney, and that some be appointed to sweep down the soot, (which may be done otherwise than by shooting up of musquets,) the whole house will be in danger of burning.

Oh me ! I feel the pangs of death assail me : Let some good body go toll the bell. And as one of my kings, the night before he was slain in New Forest, or the expiation of his father's sacrilege, did dream that a cold wind did pass through his bowels, so, methinks, I feel a bleak cold northern blast blowing upon me, which I fear will make an end of me : It is a miracle if I escape : It is only the high hand of Providence can preserve me. If I and my monarchy miscarry, I desire that my epitaph may be written (in regard I know him to have been a long time not only sensible, but a sharer with me in point of suffering) by my dearly beloved child,

JAMES HOWELL.

To the discerning Reader.

He that with a well-weighed judgment observeth the passions of this discourse, must needs conclude that the author, besides his own hard condition, hath a deep sense of the common calamities of this country in general, which makes him break out into such pathetic expressions. And because he might do it with more freedom and less presumption, he makes England herself to breathe out his disordered passions. We know a mother hath a prerogative by nature to speak home unto her children, and sometimes in a chiding way, though with tears in her eyes, to give them advice. The same doth England in this discourse, but with all the indulgence and indifferency that may be to both parties. Therefore the author humbly hopes that no exception, much less any offence, will be taken at her complaints or counsel.

J. H.

The Preheminence and Pedigree of Parleмент ; by James Howell, Esquire, one of the Clerks of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Councell : Whereunto is added, A Vindication of some Passages reflecting upon him, in a Booke called the Popish Royall Favorite, penn'd and published by Master Prymne. page 42. wherein he sties him no Friend to Parlements, and a Malignant : Together with a cleering of some Occurrences in Spaine, at his Majesties being there, cited by the said Master Prymne out of the Vocal Forest. —Published by specuall Lisence, and entred into the Hall-Booke, according to Order.

Printed at London, by Richard Heron, 1644.

One of James Howell's most noted pieces was entitled, *Dodona's Grove*; or, the *Vocal Forest*, in which, under a tiresome and silly allegory, and in a most wretchedly bombastic style, he shadowed forth some of the principal incidents in the history of Europe, from 1603 down to 1640. From some passages in this work, his zeal for the cause of royalty was sufficiently apparent, and these furnished a charge against him to the more violent of the parliament party. As this was adopted by their Coryphæus, Prymne, it became a matter of serious necessity to poor Howell to justify himself from imputations which might have produced very bad consequences, considering he was in the power of the parliament. This treatise, therefore, was at once intended as a vindication and a propitiatory offering to the parliament. His exertions in their cause, however, while they did not procure him present liberty, were afterwards remembered to his disadvantage by Charles II., who did not, upon the restoration, replace Howell as clerk of the council. He obtained, however, the post of historiographer, with a small pension, and died in 1666.

To my worthily honoured Friend, Sir W. S., Knight.

SIR,

I received the book you pleased to send me, called the *Popish Royall Favorite*, and according to your advice, which I value in a high degree. I put pen to paper; and something you may see I have done, (though in a poore pamphleting way,) to cleare myselfe of those aspersions that are cast upon me therein: but truly, sir, I was never so unfit for such a taske; all my papers, manuscripts, and notes having been long since seized upon and kept from me: Adde hereunto, that, besides this pressure and languishment of sixteen moneths close restraint, (the sense whereof, I finde, hath much stupified my spirits,) it pleased God to visit me lately with a dangerous fit of sicknesse, a high burning feaver, with the new disease, whereof my body, as well as my minde, is yet somewhat crazie; so that (take all afflictions together) I may truly say, I have passed the ordeal, the fiery tryal. But it hath pleased God to reprieve me to see better dayes, I hope; for out of this fatall blacke cloud which now oresets this poore island, I hope there will breake a glorious sunne-shine of peace and firme happinesse: To effect which, had I a jury, a grand jury of lives, I would sacrifice them all, and triumph in the oblation.

* "Popish Royal Favorite; or, a full Discovery of his Majesties extraordinary favour to, and protection of notorious papists, priests, jesuits, &c., manifested by sundry letters of grace, warrants, &c, London, 1643, in about 10 sh. in qu.: Answered by N. D., in a book entitled, *Vindiciæ Caroli Regis; or, a Loyal Vindication of the King, &c.*, pr. 1645, qu., in 9 sh."—*Wood's Athenæ*, II. 444.

So I most affectionately kisse your hands, and, as the season invites me, wish you a good new yeare.

Your faithfull (though afflicted) servant,

JAMES HOWELL.

From the Prison of the Fleet, this 23d of February.

The Preheminence of Parlement.

Sectio Prima.

I AM a free-borne subject of the realme of England, whereby I claime, as my native inheritance, undoubted right, propriety, and portion in the lawes of the land; and this distinguisheth me from a slave. I claime also an interest and common right in the high national court of parlement, and in the power, the priviledges, and jurisdiction thereof, which I put in equal ballance with the lawes, in regard it is the fountain from whence they spring; and this I hold also to be a principall part of my birth-right: Which great councill I honour, respect, value, and love, in as high a degree as can be; as being the bulwarke of our liberties, the maine boundary and banke which keeps us from slavery, from the inundations of tyrannicall rule and unbounded will-government: And I hold myselfe obliged, in a tye of indispensable obedience, to conforme and submit myselfe to whatsoever shall be transacted, concluded, and constituted by its authority in church or state; whether it be by making, enlarging, altering, diminishing, disanulling, repealing, or reviving of any law, statute, act, or ordinance whatsoever; whether it be touching matters ecclesiasticall, civill, common, capitall, criminall, martiall, maritime, municipall, or any other; of all which the transcendent and uncontroulable jurisdiction of that court is capable to take cognizance.

Amongst the three things which the Athenian captaine thank'd the gods for, one was, that he was borne a Grecian, and not a barbarian; for such was the vanity of the Greeks, and, after them, of the Romans, in the flourish of their monarchy, to arrogate all civility to themselves, and to terme all the world besides barbarians. So I may say to have cause to rejoyce that I was borne a vassal to the crowne of England; that I was borne under so well moulded and tempered a government, which endowes the subject with such liberties and infranchisements, that bear up his naturall courage, and keep him still in heart; that free and secure him eternally from the gripes and talions of tyranny. And all this may be imputed to the authority and wisdom of this high court of parlement, wherein there is such a rare co-ordination of power, (though the sovereignty remaine still entire and untransferrable in the prince,) there is such a wholesome mixture 'twixt monarchy, optimacy, and democraey, 'twixt prince, peers, and communalty, during the time of consultation, that of so many distinct parts, by a rare co-operation and unanimity, they make but one body politicke, (like that sheafe of arrows in the emblem,) one entire concentricall peece, and the results of their deliberations but as so many harmonious diapasons, arising from different strings. And what greater immunity and happiness can there be to a people, than to be liable to no lawes but what they make themselves; to be subject to no contribution, assessment, or any pecuniary levy whatsoever, but what they vote and voluntarily yeeld unto themselves? For in this compacted politicke body there be all degrees of people represented: Both the mechanicke, tradesman, and yeoman have their inclusive vote, as well as the gentry, in the persons of their trustees, their knights, and burgesses, in passing of all things.

Nor is this sovereigne superintendent councill an epitome of this kingdome only, but it may be said to have a representation of the whole universe; as I heard a fluent, well-

worded knight deliver the last parliament, who compared the beautifull composure of that high court to the great worke of God, the world it selfe:—The king is as the sun; the nobles the fixed starres; the itinerant judges and other officers (that goe upon messages twixt both houses) to the planets; the clergy to the element of fire; the commons to the solid body of earth and the rest of the elements. And to pursue this comparison a little further:—As the heavenly bodies, when three of them meet in conjunction, produce some admirable effects in the elementary world, so when these three states convene and assemble in one solemne great junta, some notable and extraordinary things are brought forth, tending to the welfare of the whole kingdome, our microcosme.

He that is never so little versed in the annales of this isle will finde that it hath been her fate to be foure times conquered. I exclude the Scot; for the scituation of his countrey, and the quality of the clime, hath been such an advantage and security to him, that neither the Roman eagles would fly thither, for feare of freezing their wings, nor any other nation attempt the worke.

These so many conquests must needs bring with them many tumblings and tossings, many disturbances and changes in government; yet I have observed, that, notwithstanding these tumblings, it retained still the forme of monarchy, and something there was alwayes that had an analogy with the great assembly the parlement. x

The first conquest I finde was made by Claudius Cæsar; at which time, as some well observe, the Roman ensignes and the standard of Christ came in together. It is well knowne what lawes the Roman had: He had his *comitia*, which bore a resemblance with our convention in parliament; the place of their meeting was called *prætorium*, and the lawes which they enacted, *plebescita*.

The Saxon conquest succeeded next, which were the English, there being no name in Welsh or Irish for an Englishman, but Saxon to this day. They governed by parlement, though it went under other names; as, *micel sinoth*, *micel gemote*, and *witena gemote*.

There are records above a thousand yeares old of their parlements, in the raignes of King Ina, Offa, Etheibert, and the rest of the seven kings during the heptarchy. The British kings also, who retained a great while some part of the island, governed and made lawes by a kinde of parliamentary way. Witnessse the famous lawes of Prince Howell, called Howell Dha, whereof there are yet extant some Welsh records. Parlements were also used after the heptarchy, by King Kenulphus, Alphred, and others: witnessse that renowned parlement held at Grately by King Athelstan.

The third conquest was by the Danes, and they governed also by such generall assemblies as they doe this day: witnessse that great and so much celebrated parlement held by that mighty monarch Canutus, who was king of England, Denmark, Norway, and other regions, 150 yeares before the compiling of Magna Charta: and this the learned in the laws do hold to be one of the specialest and most authenticke peeces of antiquity we have extant. Edward the Confessor made all his lawes thus, (and he was a great law-giver,) which the Norman conqueror (who, liking none of his sonnes, made God Almighty his heire, bequeathing unto him this island for a legacy) did ratifie and establish, being digested into one entire methodicall systeme; which, being violated by Rufus, who came to such a disastrous end, as to be shot to death in lieu of a bucke, for his tyranny, were restored by Henry the First, and so they continued in force till King John, whose raigne is renowned for first confirming Magna Charta, the foundation of our liberties ever since; which may be compared to divers outlandish graffs set upon one English stock, or to a posie of sundry fragrant flowers; for the choicest of the British, the Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Norman lawes, being culled and picked out, and gathered, as it were, into one bundle, out of them the foresaid grand charter was extracted: and the establishment of this charter was the worke of a parlement.

Nor are the lawes of this island only, and the freedome of the subject conserved by

parlement, but all the best policed countries of Europe have the like. The Germanes have their diets, the Danes and Swedes their *rijscks dachs*; the Spaniard calls his parliament *las cortes*; and the French have, or should have, at least, their assembly of three states, which is growne now in a manner obsolete, because the authority thereof was (by accident) devolved to the king. And very remarkable it is how this happened; for when the English had taken such large footing in most parts of France, having advanced as far as Orleans, and driven their then king Charles the Seventh to Bourges in Berry, the assembly of three states, in these pressures, being not able to meet after the usuall manner in full parlement, because the countrey was unpassable, the enemy having made such firme invasions up and downe through the very bowels of the kingdome,—that power which formerly was inherent in the parliamentary assembly, of making lawes, of assessing the subject with taxes, subsidiary levies, and other impositions, was transmitted to the king during the war, which continuing many yeares, that intrusted power, by length of time, grew, as it were, habituall in him, and could never after be re-assumed and taken from him; so that ever since his edicts countervayle acts of parlement. And that which made the businesse more feasible for the king was, that the burthen fell most upon the communalty, the clergy and nobility not feeling the weight of it; who were willing to see the peasant pulled down a little, because, not many yeares before, in that notable rebellion called *la laquerie de Beaurcosin*, which was suppressed by Charles the Wise, the common people put themselves boldly in armes against the nobility and gentry, to lessen their power. Adde hereunto, as an advantage to the worke, that the next succeeding king, Lewis the Eleventh, was a close cunning prince, and could well tell how to play his game, and draw water to his owne mill; for, amongst all the rest, he was said to be the first that put the kings of France *hors de page*, out of their minority, or from being pages any more, though thereby he brought the poore peasants to be worse than laquays.

With the fall, or at least the discontinuance of that usuall parliamentary assembly of the three states, the liberty of the French nation utterly fell; the poore roturier and vineyard-man, with the rest of the yeomanry, being reduced ever since to such an abject, *asinin* condition, that they serve but as sponges for the king to squeeze when he list. Neverthesse, as that king hath an advantage hereby one way to monarchize more absolutely, and never to want money, but to be able to ballast his purse when he will, so there is another mighty inconvenience ariseth to him and his whole kingdome another way; for this illegall peeling of the poore peasant hath so dejected him, and cowed his native courage so much by the sense of poverty, which brings along with it a narrownesse of soule, that he is little usefull for the war; which puts the French king to make other nations mercenary to him, to fill up his infantry; insomuch, that the kingdome of France may be not unfitly compared to a body that hath all its blood drawne up to the armes, breast, and backe, and scarce any left, from the girdle downwards, to cherish and beare up the lower parts, and keep them from starving.

All this seriously considered, there cannot be a more proper and pregnant example than this of our next neighbours, to prove how infinitely necessarie the parliament is, to assert, to prop up, and preserve the publike libertie and nationall rights of a people, with the incolumitie and welfare of a countrey.

Nor doth the subject only reap benefit thus by parlement, but the prince, if he would well consider it, hath equal advantage thereby: it rendreth him a king of free and able men, which is far more glorious than to be a king of slaves, beggars, and bankrupts; men that, by their freedome and competencie of wealth, are kept still in heart to do him service against any foraine force. And it is a true maxime in all states, that 'tis less danger and dishonour for the prince to be poore, than his people: Rich subjects can make their king rich when they please; if he gaine their hearts, he will quickly get their purses. Parlement increaseth love and good intelligence betwixt him and

his people : it acquaints him with the realitie of things, and with the true state and diseases of his kingdome : it brings him to the knowledge of his better sort of subjects, and of their abilities, which he may employ accordingly upon all occasions : it provides for his royal issue, payes his debts, findes meanes to fill his coffers ; and it is no ill observation, that parliament-moneys (the great aid) have prospered best with the kings of England : it exceedingly raiseth his repute abroad, and enableth him to keep his foes in feare, his subjects in awe, his neighbours and confederates in securitie,—the three maine things which go to aggrandize a prince, and render him glorious : In summe, it is the parlement that supports and bears up the honour of his crowne, and settles his throne in safetie, which is the chiefe end of all their consultations ; for whosoever is entrusted to be a member of this high court carrieth with him a double capacitie : he sits there as a patriot and as a subject : as hee is the one, the countrey is his object ; his dutie being to vindicate the publike libertie ; to make wholesome lawes ; to reach his hand to the pump, and stop the leaks of the great vessel of the state ; to pry into and punish corruption and oppression ; to improve and advance trade ; to have the grievances of the place he serves for redressed, and cast about how to find something that may tend to the enriching of it.

But he must not forget that hee sits there also as a subject ; and, according to that capacitie, he must apply himselfe to do his soveraignes businesse ; to provide not only for his publike, but his personall wants ; to beare up the lustre and glorie of his court ; to consider what occasions of extraordinarie expences he may have, by encrease of royall issue, or maintenance of any of them abroad ; to enable him to vindicate any affront or indignitie that should bee offered to his person, crowne, or dignitie, by any forraigne state or kingdome ; to consult what may enlarge his honour, contentment, and pleasure. And as the French Tacitus (Comines) hath it, the English nation was used to be more forward and zealous in this particular than any other, according to that ancient eloquent speech of a great lawyer,^e—*Domus regis vigilia defendit omnium, otium illius labor omnium, deliciae illius industria omnium, vacatio illius occupatio omnium, salus illius periculum omnium, honor illius objectum omnium*. Every one should stand centinell to defend the kings houses, his safety should be the danger of all, his pleasures the industrie of all, his ease should be the labour of all, his honour the object of all.

Out of these premisses this conclusion may be easily deduced,—that the principall fountaine whence the king derives his happinesse and safety is his parlement. It is that great conduit-pipe which conveighes unto him his peoples bounty and gratitude ; the truest looking-glasse, wherein hee discernes their loves ; and the subject's love hath been alwayes accounted the prime cittadell of a prince. In his parlement he appears as the sun in the meridian, in the altitude of his glory, in his highest state-royall, as the law tells us.

Therefore, whosoever is averse or disaffected to this soveraigne law-making court cannot have his heart well planted within him ; he can be neither good subject nor good patriot, and therefore unworthy to breathe English ayre, or have the benefit, or any protection from the lawes.

Sectio Secunda.

By that which hath been spoken, which is the language of my heart, I hope no indifferent judicious reader will doubt of the cordiall affection of the respects and reverence I beare to parlement, as being the wholesomest constitution (and done by the highest reach of policy) that ever was established in this island : therefore I must tell that gentleman, who was author of a booke entituled the Popish Royall Favorite, lately printed and exposed to the world, that he offers me very hard measure ; nay, he

doth me apparent wrong, to terme me therein no friend to parliament, and a malignant; a character which, as I deserve it not, so I disdaine it.

For the first part of his charge, I would have him know, that I am as much a friend, and as reall an affectionate humble servant and votary to the parlement as possibly he can be, and will live and dye with these affections about me: and I could wish that he were secretary of my thoughts a while; or, if I may take the boldnesse to apply that comparison his late majesty used in a famous speech to one of his parlements, I could wish there were a chrystall casement in my breast, through which the world might espye the inward motions and palpitations of my heart: then would he be certified of the sincerity of this protestation.

For the second part of his charge, to be a malignant,¹ I must confesse to have some malignity that lurks within me, much against my will; but it is no malignity of minde: it is amongst the humors, not in my intellectuals. And I beleve there is no natural man, let him have his humors never so well ballanced, but hath some of this malignity raining within him; for as long as we are composed of the foure elements whence these humors are derived, and with whom they symbolize in qualities; which elements the philosophers hold to be in a restlesse contention amongst themselves,² (which made the stoicke thinke that the world subsisted by this innated mutual strife; (as long, I say, as the four humors, in imitation of their principles, the elements, are in perpetuall reluctance, and combate for predominancy, there must be some malignity lodged within us, as adosted choller, and the like; whereof I had very late experience this Christmas, in a shrewd fit of sicknesse it pleased God to lay upon me, which the physitions told me proceeded from the malignant hypocondriacall effects of melancholy; having been so long in this saturnine blacke condition of close imprisonment, and buried alive between these walls. These kinds of malignities, I confesse, are very rife in me; and they are not only incident, but con-natural to every one, according to his complexion: And were it not for this incessant struggling and enmity amongst the humors for mastery, which produceth such malignant effects in us, our soules would never depart from our bodies, nor abandon this mansion of clay.

Now what malignity my accuser meanes, I know not. If he meanes malignity of spirit, as some antipathy or ill impression upon the mind, proceeding from disaffection, or from hatred and rancor, with a desire of revenge, he is mightily deceived in me: I maligne or hate no creature that ever God made, but the devill, who is the author of all malignity, and therefore is most commonly called in French, *le malin esprit*, the malignant spirit. Every night, before I goe to bed, I have the grace, I thanke God for it, to forgive all the world, and not to harbour, or let roost in my bosome the least malignant thought. Yet none can deny but the publick aspersions which this my accuser casts upon me were enough to make me a malignant towards him; yet it could never have the power to doe it; for I have prevailed with myself to forgive him; this his censure of me proceeding rather from his not knowledge of me than malice; for we never mingled speech, or saw one another in our lives, to my remembrance: which makes me wonder the more, that a professor of the law, as he is, should pronounce such a positive sentence against me so sleightly. But methinks I over-heare him say that the precedent discourse of parlement is involv'd in generals, and the tropique axiome tells us, that *dolus versatur in universalibus*, there is double dealing in universals. His meaning is, that I am no friend to this present parliament, (though he speaks in the plural number, parliaments,) and consequently he concludes me a malignant. Therein I must tell him also that I am traduc'd; and I am confident it will never be proved against me, from any actions, words, or letters, (though divers of mine have bin intercepted,) or any other misdemeanor. Alas, how unworthy and incapable am I to censure the proceedings of that great senate, wherein the wisdoms of the whole state is

¹ This was the *vox signata* by which the republicans distinguished the friends of royalty and episcopacy.

epitomized? It were a presumption in me, of the highest nature that could be: It is enough for me to pray for the prosperous successe of their consultations. And as I hold it my duty, so I have good reason so to doe, in regard I am to have my share in the happines; and could the utmost of my poore endeavours, by any ministeriall humble office, (and sometimes the meanest boatswaine may help to preserve the ship from sinking,) be so happy as to contribute any thing to advance that great worke, (which I am in despaire to doe, while I am thus under hatches in this Fleet,) I would esteeme it the greatest honour that possibly could befall me, as I hold it now to be my greatest disaster to have fallen so heavily under the displeasure of that highest councell, and to be made a sacrifice thus to publick fame; than which there is no other prooffe nor that yet urg'd against me, or any thing else produc'd, after so long, so long captivity, which hath brought me to such a low ebbe, and put me so far in the arreare in the course of my fortunes: For although my whole life (since I was left to my selfe to swim, as they say, without bladders) has bin nothing else but a continued succession of crosses, for which I account not myself a whit the lesse happy; yet this crosse has carried with it a greater weight, and lighted heavier upon me than any other: and as I have present patience to beare it, so I hope for subsequent grace to make use of it accordingly, that my old motto may be confirmed, *παθήματα μαθήματα*.¹

He produceth my attestation for some passages in Spaine,² at his majesties being there: and he quotes me right, which obligeth me to him: and I hope all his quotations, wherein he is so extraordinary copious and elaborate in all his works, are so: yet I must tell him, that those interchangeable letters which passed between his majesty and the pope, which were originally couched in Latine, the language wherein all nations treat with Rome and the empire, with all the princes thereof; those letters, I say, are adulterated in many places; which I impute not to him, but to the French chronicler, from whom he took them in trust. The truth of that businesse is this:—The world knowes there was a tedious treaty of an alliance 'twixt the infanta Dona Maria (who now is empress) and his majesty, which, in regard of the slow, affected pace of the Spaniard, lasted about ten yeres; as that in Henry the 7th's time, 'twixt

² Howell, in his Familiar Letters, gives the following account of his imprisonment:—

“ To the Earl of B., from the Fleet. ”

My lord,

I was lately come to London upon some occasions of mine own, and I had been divers times in Westminster-hall, where I convers'd with many parliament-men of my acquiintance; but one morning betimes there rush'd into my chamber five armed men, with swords, pistols, and bills, and told me they had a warrant from the parliament for me: I desired to see the date of it; they denyed it: I desired to see my name in the warrant; they denyed all. At last one of them pulled a greasy paper out of his pocket, and shewed me only three or four names subscribed, and no more. So they rushed presently into my closet, and seized on all my papers and letters, and any thing that was manuscript; and many printed books they took also, and hurled them all into a great hair trunk, which they carried away with them. I had taken a little physic that morning, and, with very much ado, they suffered me to stay in my chamber, with two guards upon me, till the evening; at which time they brought me before the committee of examination, where, I confess, I found good respect: and being brought up to the close committee, I was ordered to be forth-coming till some papers of mine were perused; and Mr Corbet was appointed to do it. Some days after, I came to Mr Corbet, and he told me he had perus'd them, and could find nothing that might give offence. Hereupon I desired him to make a report to the house; according to which (as I was told) he did very fairly: yet such was my hardship, that I was committed to the Fleet, where I am now under close restraint: and, as far as I see, I must lie at dead anchor in this Fleet a long time, unless some gentle gale blow thence, to make me launch out. God's will be done, and amend the times, and make up these ruptures, which threaten so much calamity. So I am your lordship's most faithful (though now afflicted) servitor,

J. H.

Fleet, Nov. 20, 1643.”

¹ Howell was good evidence on the subject of the Spanish match. He was in Spain at the time of the prince and Buckingham's arrival, and in the *Vocal Forest*, as well as in his Familiar Letters, has preserved some curious particulars respecting that extraordinary passage of history.

Prince Arthur and (afterwards) Q. Katharine, was spun out above seven. To quicken, or rather to consummate the worke, his majesty made that adventurous journey through the whole continent of France, into Spaine: Which voyage, though there was a great deale of gallantry in it, whereof all posterity will ring, untill it turne at last to a romance, yet it proved the bane of the businesse, which 'tis not the errand of so poore a pamphlet as this to unfold. His majesty being there arrived; the ignorant common people cry'd out, the Prince of Wales came thither to make himself a Christian. The pope writ to the inquisitor-generall and others, to use all the industry they could to reduce him to the Romane religion: and one of Olivares first compliments to him was, that he doubted not but his highnesse came thither to change his religion: whereunto he made a short answer,—that he came not thither for a religion, but for a wife. There were extraordinary processions made, and other artifices us'd, as the protraction of things, to make him stay there, of purpose, till the spring following, to work upon him the better: And the infanta herself desir'd him (which was esteem'd the greatest favour he received from her all the while) to visit the nunne of Carion; hoping that the said nunne, who was so much cryed up for miracles, might have wrought one upon him. But her art failed her,* nor was his highness so weak a subject to work upon, according to his late majesties speech to Dr Mawe and Wren; who, when they came to kisse his hands, before they went to Spaine, to attend the prince their master, he wished them to have a care of Buckingham. As touching his sonne Charles, he apprehended no feare at all of him; for he knew him to be so well grounded a protestant, that nothing could shake him. The Arabian proverbe is, that the sunne never soiles in his passage, though his beams reverberate and dwell never so long upon the miry lake of Mæotis, the blacke-turf'd moores of Holland, the aguish woose of Kent and Essex, or any other place, be it never so dirty. Though Spaine be a hot countrey, yet one may passe and repasse through the very centre of it, and never be sun-burnt, if he carry with him a bon grace; and such a one his majesty had. †

Well, after his majesties arrivall to Madrid, the treaty of marriage (though he told them that he came not thither like an ambassador, to treat of marriage, but as Prince of Wales, to fetch home a wife) went on still; and in regard they were of different religions, it could not be done without a dispensation from the pope; and the pope would grant none, unlesse some capitulations were stipulated in favour of the Romish catholics in England: (the same were agreed on with France.) Well, when the dispensation came, which was negotiated solely by the king of Spaine's ministers, because his majesty would have nothing to doe with Rome, Pope Gregory the 15th, who died a little after, sent his majesty a letter, which was delivered by the nuncio, whereof an answer was sent a while after: Which letters were imprinted, and exposed to the view of the world; because his majesty would not have people whisper that the businesse was carried in huggur-muggur, or in a clandestine manner. Nor, truly, do I know of any letter, or message, or complement, that ever passed 'twixt his majesty and Rome, afore or after.

Now, touching that responsory letter from his majesty, it was no other than a complement, in the severest interpretation; and such formalities passe 'twixt the crowne of England and the great Turke, and divers heathen princes. The pope writ first; and

* Howell mentions this circumstance in the *Vocal Forest*.—"Prince Rosalino, taking his leave of the lady Amira, was desired by her to see a vestall saint in his way as he passed, who was then cried up for miracles. In some divine exercises she was reported to be often lifted up in the aire, and appeare as fresh as a rose, though she was so furrowed with age, that she looked like a spirit kept in a bagge by some conjuror."

† But hee coming thither, and abee mingling discourse with him a long time, the substance whereof was, for the most part, that he should be good to the petropolitans in Druma, and to bestow an aim among her poor vestall sisters, there could no elevations be discerned, or any sudden changes at all in her, or any other miraculous feates, though she could have never shewed them in better company."—*Dodond's Grove; or, the Vocal Forest*, by J. H., London, 1640, fol. p. 152.

no man can deny but, by all morall rules, and in common humane civility, his majesty was bound to answer it, specially, considering how punctuall they are in those countries to correspond in this kinde; how exact they are in repaying visits, and the performance of such ceremonies. And had this compliance been omitted, it might have made very ill impressions, as the posture of things stood then; for it had prejudiced the great work in hand; I meane the match, which was then in the heate and height of agitation: His majesties person was there engag'd, and so it was no time to give the least offence. They that are never so little vers'd in businesse abroad doe know that there must be addresses, compliances, and formalities of this nature (according to the Italian proverbe, that one must sometimes light a candle to the devil) us'd in the carriage of matters of state, as this great businesse was, whereon the eyes of all Christendome were so greedily fix'd; a businesse which was like to bring with it such an universall good, as the restitution of the Palatinate, the quenching of those hideous fires in Germany, and the establishing of a peace through all the Christian world.

I hope none will take offence, that, in this particular, which comes within the compasse of my knowledge, being upon the stage when this scene was acted, I doe this right to the king my master, in displaying the truth, and putting her forth in her own colours; a rare thing in these dayes.

Touching the Vocall Forrest, an allegoricall discourse that goes abroad under my name a good while before the beginning of this parlement, which this gentleman cites, (and that very faithfully,) I understand there be some that mutter at certaine passages therein, by putting ill glosses upon the text, and taking with the left hand what I offer with the right. (Nor is it a wonder for trees which lye open, and stand exposed to all weathers, to be nipt.) But I desire this favour, which, in common justice, I am sure, in the court of Chancery cannot be denyed me, it being the priviledge of every author, and a received maxime through the world, *cujus est condere, ejus est interpretari*; I say I crave this favour,—to have leave to expound my owne text; and I doubt not then but to rectifie any one in his opinion of me, and that in lieu of those plums which I give him from those trees, he will not throw stones at me.

Moreover, I desire those that are over-criticall censurers of that peece to know, that as in divinity it is a rule, *scriptura parabolica non est argumentativa*, so it is in all other kinde of knowledge. Parables, (whereof that discourse is composed,) though pressed never so hard, prove nothing. There is another rule also, that parables must be gently used, like a nurse's breast; which if you presse too hard, you shall have blood instead of milke.

But as the author of that worke thinks he hath done neither his countrey nor the common-wealth of learning any prejudice thereby, (that maiden fancy having received so good entertainment and respect abroad, as to be translated to divers languages, and to gaine the publicke approbation of some famous universities,) so he makes this humble protest unto all the world,—that though the designe of that discourse was partly satiricall, (which made the author to shrowd it under trees; and where should satyres be but amongst trees?) yet it never entered into his imagination to let fall from him the least thing that might give any offence to the high and honourable court of parliament, whereof he had the honour to be once a member, and hopes he may be thought worthy againe: And were he guilty of such an offence, or piacle rather, he thinks he should never forgive himself, though he were appointed his owne judge. If there occurre any passage therein that may admit a hard construction, let the reader observe that the author doth not positively assert or passe a judgement on any thing in that discourse, which consists principally of concise, cursory narrations, of the choicest occurrences and criticismes of state, according as the pulse of times did beate then: And matters of state, as all other sublunary things, are subject to alterations, continuance, and change, which makes the opinions and minds of men vary accordingly: Not one amongst twenty is the same man to-day as he was foure yeares agoe, in

point of judgement, which turnes and alters according to the circumstance and successe of things : And it is a true saying, whereof we finde common experience, *posterior dies est prioris magister* ; the day following is the former dayes schoolmaster. There's another saying,—the wisdom of one day is the foolishnesse of another ; and it will be so while it is a world.

I will conclude with this modest request to that gentleman of the long robe :—that having unpassionately perused what I have written in this small discourse, in penning whereof my conscience guided my quill all along as well as my hand, he would be pleased to be so charitable and just, as to reverse that harsh sentence upon me,—to be no friend to parlements, and a malignant.

The Divine Right and Irresistibility of Kings and Supreme Magistrates clearly evidenced ; not from any private Authority, but from the publick Confessions of the Reformed Churches, and the Homilies of the Church of England. 1645.

If he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican. MATTH. xviii. 17.

This is an attempt to prove a doctrine which those who were most anxious to establish it were equally ready to discard, when they found their own rights infringed upon by the monarch. The author has gleaned together a few general principles received by every well-ordered community, which condemn insurrection against the magistracy, but cannot, by any fair construction, be extended to recommend passive obedience, should that magistrate please to become a tyrant.

To the Reader.

Reader,

I HAVE cited the confessions of the reformed churches as they were printed at Cambridge, 1586.

And I have quoted the homilies according to their late impression, 1633. And from the confessions and homilies thou mayst learn that God is the author of politicall order, and that himself is the first in that order, and that kings and princes are in that rank and order next under him, as his lieutenants and deputies, having their authority and power from him, and so to give an account of their ministration to him ; and that, by reason of their rank and place, they must not be resisted by us, much less may we wring their authority from them, or rebel against them, or endeavour (upon any pretences) to shake off the yoke of subjection under them. Now, resisting and rebelling are a rising up against, and opposing of the higher power : and resisting properly is, in respect of that order which God hath constituted in all government ; and rebellion is against the speciall order and constitutions in several kingdoms and commonwealths : that contrary to the subjection which the law of God requires ; this contrary to the subjection and obedience required by the laws of men.

And where these are accompanied with civil war, (as amongst us at this day,) they produce far greater miseries to the people, and mischiefs far more fatal to the commonwealth, than tyranny and oppression ; under tyranny there being some order, not on-

ly the divine, but the human also, in respect of matters between subject and subject. But resisting, and rebellion, and such war, overthrow all order, divine (and so infer damnation, Rom. xiii.) and humane, even to anarchy and confusion; which God avert from us.

Besides, (saith Mr Calvin, in his Comment. upon Rom. xiii. 3,) an evil prince is the scourge of God, to punish the sins of the people; and that excellent and wholsom institution of magistracy is never corrupted (by tyranny) but upon our default: Wherefore, we must impute to ourselves, and to our sins, the evil that is in it, and evermore reverence the ordination itself. And (lib. 4. Institut. cap. 20, art. 29,) if we be persecuted for godliness by an impious and sacrilegious prince, let us first of all remember our sins, which, no doubt, are corrected by God with such scourges: this will bridle our impatience with humility: Then let us entertain this thought, that 'tis not our part to heal such distempers; but our only remedy is, to implore the help of God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, and the inclinations of kingdoms.

O! consider this, ye that forget God. PSAL. l. 22.

As in this case most men, both in their writings and proceedings, forget him: his first ordinance of political power for government, and his second ordination of the power sometime to judgment: And especially do they forget him, who make the people the author of that power, and maintain their right of re-assuming it at pleasure, and preach and press resistance of the power, and consequently of God himself, in his ordinance and judgments.

Consider what I say, &c. 2 TIM. ii. 7.

*The Helvetian Confession.**

THE magistrate, of what sort soever it be, is ordained of God himself, for the peace and quietness of mankind, and so that he ought to have the chiefest place in the world. (And) God doth work the safety of his people by the magistrate, whom, as he hath given to be as a father of the world, so all the subjects are commanded to acknowledge this benefit of God in the magistrate, and honour him as the minister of God. And if the common safety of the country and justice require it, and the magistrate do of necessity make war, let them lay down their life and spend their blood for the common safety and defence of the magistrate, and that in the name of God, willingly, valiantly, and cheerfully; for that he that opposeth himself against the magistrate doth procure the wrath of God against him. We know that though we be free, we ought wholly, in a true faith, holy to submit ourselves to the magistrate, both with our body and with our goods and endeavours of mind, so far forth as his government is not evidently repugnant to him for whose sake we reverence the magistrate.

The Confession of Bohemia.

It is taught out of the Holy Scriptures, that the civil magistrate is the ordinance of God, and appointed by God, who both taketh his original from God, and by the effectual power of his presence and continual aid is maintained to govern the people in those things which appertain to the life of this body here upon earth; whereof is that

* In Syntag. Confession, Genev. an. 1612, pag. 85.
264, pa. 12.

* In Syntag, Confes. edit. Genev. an. 1612, p.

of St Paul, Rom. xiii. 1, There is no power, &c. And magistrates must know and remember this, that they are God's deputies, and in his stead, and that God is the sovereign lord and king, even of them all, as well as of other men, to whom they must give an account, at the last day, of the degree wherein they were placed, and of their dominion, and of the whole administration of their government; whereof it is expressly written in the book of Wisdom, cap. vi. 1. The people also are taught of their duty, and by the word of God are effectually thereto enforced, that all, and every of them, in all things, so that they be not contrary to God, perform their obedience to the superior power; first to the king's majesty, then to all other magistrates, and such as are in authority, in what charge soever they be placed, whether they be of themselves good men or evil.

The French Confession. ¹

WE believe that God would have the world to be governed by laws, and by civil government, that there may be certain bridles, whereby the immoderate desires of the world may be restrained; and that therefore he appointed kingdoms, commonwealths, and other kind of principalities, whether they come by inheritance or otherwise: (And) therefore, because of the author of this order, we must not only suffer them to rule whom he hath set over us, but also give unto them all honour and reverence, as unto his ambassadors and ministers, assigned of him to execute a lawful and holy function. We affirm also, that we must obey the laws and statutes; that tribute must be paid; and we must patiently endure the other burthens: to conclude, that we must willingly suffer the yoke of subjection, although the magistrates be infidels, so that the sovereign power of God do remain whole or entire, and nothing be diminished.

The Confession of Belgia. ²

WE believe that the most gracious and mighty God did appoint kings, princes, and magistrates, because of the depravation of mankind; and that it is his will that this world should be governed by laws, and by a certain civil government, to punish the faults of men, and that all things may be done in good order among men: therefore he hath armed the magistrate with a sword, to punish the wicked and defend the good.

The Confession of Ausburg. ³

WE are sure, that, seeing the godly must obey the magistrates that be over them, they must not wring their authority out of their hands, nor overthrow governments by sedition, for as much as Paul wisheth every soul to be subject to the magistrates. We know also that the church in this life is subject to the cross, as St Paul saith, We must be made like to the image of the Son of God.

The Confession of Saxony. ⁴

WE teach that in the whole doctrine of God, delivered by the apostles and prophets,

¹ In Corpor. Confession. Geneva, an. 1612, p. 110. Art. 39. Confess. Gall. can. fess. Belg. artic. 36.

² Ibid. pa. 17. Vid. Confession August. art. 16, part 2.

Ibid. p. 183. Confess. Sax. art. 23, in edit. Gen. 1612, part 2, p. 128.

the degrees of the civil state are avouched; and that magistrates, laws, order in judgment, and the lawful society of mankind, are not by chance sprung up among men. And although there be many horrible confusions which grow from the devil and madness of men, yet the lawful government and society of men is ordained of God; and whatsoever order is yet left by the exceeding goodness of God, it is preserved for the churches sake. (And) subjects owe to the civil magistrate obedience, as Paul saith, not only because of wrath, *i. e.*, for fear of corporal punishment, wherewith the rebellious are rewarded by the magistrate, but also for conscience sake; *i. e.*, rebellion is a sin that offendeth God, and withdraweth the conscience from God. (And again,) God would have all men to be ruled and kept in order by civil government, even those that are not regenerate: and in this government the justice and goodness of God towards us is most clearly to be seen.

1. Wisdom, by order, and the societies of mankind under lawfull government.

2. Justice, in that he will have open sins to be punished by the magistrates: and when they that are in authority do not take punishment on the offenders, God himself doth miraculously draw them unto punishment, and proportionably doth lay upon grievous sins grievous punishments in this life. Mat. xxvi. 52. Heb. xiii. 4.

3. Goodness towards mankind, in that he preserveth the societies of mankind after this order: and for that cause doth he maintain it, that from thence his church may be gathered; and he will have common-wealths to be places for the maintenance of his church.

*The Confession of Scotland.**

WE confess and acknowledge empires, kingdoms, dominions, and cities to be distincted and ordained by God; the powers and authorities in the same, be it of emperors in their empires, kings in their realms, dukes and princes in their dominions, and of other magistrates in their cities, to be God's holy ordinance, ordained for manifestation of his own glory, and for the singular profit and commodity of mankind; so that whosoever goeth about to take away or confound the whole state of civil policies now long established, we affirm the same men not only to be enemies to mankind, but also wickedly fight against God's expressed will.

The sum of these Confessions.

THE sum is:—All power is originally in God himself, who is *solus potens*,¹ the only king and independant potentate. 2. He hath (for the good of mankind) communicated some of his power immediately to kings, and by them² to inferior magistrates; so that a king is God's immediate vicegerent and deputy; and therefore his authority and person are both sacred, and should be inviolable. He is minister³ *Dei*, and *unctus Domini*; not the people's, but the Lord's deputy, the Lord's anointed; and therefore none can stretch out his hand against him,⁴ (though he be a Saul, a tyrant,) and be guiltless. And if the kirk of Scotland may be judge, they that go about to take away or confound monarchy, those men are not only enemies to mankind, but also wickedly fight against God's express will. I would to God the practice of that nation were any way suitable to the piety and truth of this profession. *a*

And because of the author of this order, we must both suffer those whom he hath

* Confess. Scot. artic. 24, in Corp. Confess. Gen. an. 1612, p. 156, part 1.

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 17.

² 1 Pet. ii. 13.

³ Rom. xiii. 14.

⁴ 1 Sam. xxvi. 9.

set over us for to rule, and also honour them in their place and office, as his ambassadors and ministers; of which their ministration they must give an account at the last day. And in all things that be not contrary to God, we must perform obedience to the superior power; first to the king's majesty, then to all other magistrates, whether they be of themselves good men or evil; yea, we must patiently suffer the yoke of subjection, though they be infidels.

And if the common safety of the country and justice require it, and the magistrate do of necessity make war, they must lay down their lives and spend their blood for the common safety and defence of the magistrate, and that in the name of God, willingly, valiantly, and chearfully; for that he that opposeth himself against the magistrate doth procure the wrath of God against him.

Lastly, we must not wring their authority out of their hands, nor overthrow government by sedition: and they that go about to take away civil policies established, are enemies to mankind: and they that resist and rebel against their prince, resist God himself, whose deputy and ambassador and minister he is: and they who teach such doctrine withdraw the consciences of men from God.

And, reader, see the harmony between the confessions of the reformed churches and the doctrine of the church of England, delivered in the books of Homilies, concerning civil obedience and subjection.

The authority of which books is declared and confirmed by the 35th article of our religion.

The second book of Homilies doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times; as doth the former book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of King Edward the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in churches, by the minister, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people.

And now I shall present unto thee the sum of the doctrine of these books concerning the premisses.

God.

God is the universal monarch of the world, lib. 2. p. 278. lin. 7.

Order.

God hath appointed all things in a most excellent order, lib. 1. p. 69. lin. 1.

Where there is no order nor magistrate, there is confusion, lin. 31.

Kings.

Kings are from God, 1. 70. 81. 2. 276. 39. 45. 278. 1. 10. 23. Kings have their power from God only, 1. 71. 31.

They are the chief and supreme rulers next under God, 1. 76. 15.

They only have the use of the sword, 1. 74. 19.

Evil Kings.

Evil kings are from God, 2. 276. 45.

God placeth them over a country for the sine thereof, 2. 278. 31. They are reserved for God's punishment and judgment, 1. 74. 10.

Obedience.

We learn by the word of God to yield to our king that is due to our king; that is, honour, obedience, payments of due taxes, customs, tributes, subsidies, fear, and love, 1. 77. 7.

This is God's ordinance, God's commandment, and God's holy will, that all the whole body of every realm, and all the members and parts thereof, should be subject to their head, their king, 1. 77. 2.

They that live in true obedience to God and the king please God, and have peace of conscience; and having God on their side, let them not fear what man can do against them, *ibid.* 37.

We must obey sharp and rigorous princes, 2. 277. 46, and patiently suffer under them, 289. 32. 42, and pray for their prosperity, 2. 280. 46. 288. 3. 6.

If the king command any thing contrary to God's word, we must rather obey God than man; yet, in that case, we may not in any wise withstand violently, or make any insurrection, sedition, or tumults by force of arms, or otherwise, against the Lord's anointed, or any of his officers, 1. 74. 44.

If God give a heathen tyrant to reign over us, we must obey him, and pray for him, 2. 282. 13.

Where is obedience, there is the figure of heaven, 2. 296. 46. Heaven is the place of good subjects, *ibid.* 44.

Judging.

We must not judge of the king, his government, or counsellors; yea, it is a perilous thing to commit unto subjects the judgment, which prince is wise and godly, and his government good, and which is otherwise; as though the foot must judge of the head; an enterprize very heinous, and must needs breed rebellion, 2. 279. 23.

Murmuring.

We may not murmur against the king, or speak evil of him, 1. 299. 12. 31. 34. 300. 3.

Resisting.

We may not in any case resist or stand against the superior powers, though they be wicked, because they have their power from God, 1. 72. 12. 29. 30. 2. 280. 5. 33. 285. 6. 28. Though we have great numbers of men, (2. 286. 40,) yet we must not attempt any thing against the king, though hated of God, and God's enemy, and so likely to be pernicious to the common-wealth, 287. 2. 16; though he doth not consider our faithful service, or safe-guard of our posterity, 22; and, lastly, though he be our known mortal deadly enemy, and that he seeketh our lives, 26.

They that resist, resist not man, but God. 1. 71. 35.

Rebellion.

The sink of all sins, both of the first and second table, 2. 292. 7.

Lucifer, the first author of rebellion, 2. 276. 7.

The two principal causes of rebellion are,

1. Ambition, and restless desire in some men to be of higher estate than God hath given them.

2. Ignorance in the people, and lack of knowledge of God's blessed will, declared in his holy word, concerning their obedience, 2. 307. 16. 28. 313. 14.

Rebels no true Christians, 2. 289. 45.

Rebels a wicked example against all Christendom, and whole man'kind, &c., 2. 282. 24.

Rebels pretences vain, viz. redress of the common-wealth, and reformation of religion, 2. 301. 19. 302. 2. 22. 25. 29.

Rebellion no good means of reformation, 2. 279. 34.

Miseries following rebellion, viz. pestilence, famine, the calamities of war extraordinary, 2. 294. 29.

God's judgment on rebels, 2. 300. 9.

Rebels never prospered long, 2. 300. 45.

Hell the place of rebels, 2. 296. 45.

Unless we do what we are able to stay rebellion, we are most wicked, &c., 2. 282. 36.

The Clergy.

The clergy ought both, themselves especially, to be obedient to their prince, and also to exhort others to the same, 2. 308. 27.

Almighty God, whose kingdom is everlasting, and power infinite, have mercy upon the whole congregation, and so rule the heart of thy chosen servant Charles, our king and governor, that he, knowing whose minister he is, may, above all things, seek thy honour and glory; and that we his subjects, duly considering whose authority he hath, may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey him, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed word and ordinance, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

*Some Advertisements for the new Election of Burgesses for the House of Commons.
Anno 1645.*

That passage in the foregoing narrative which treats of the recruiting the house of commons, will sufficiently explain the occasion of the new election here intended. And as to these advertisements, as they are called, though the author of them was unknown, they made such an impression on the public; that John Cooke of Gray's Inn (so noted afterwards, for his acting as solicitor in the trial of King Charles I.) thought it a matter of consequence to the professors of the law to set forth a long and laboured answer to them; which he dedicated "to the most high and most honourable courts of parliament, the supreme judicature of this kingdom," with the following remarkable address: "Most honourable and most religious lords and commons, from whom the king's majesty can no more be divided in his capacity politic, than the head from the living body natural."¹

In this great and weighty business of electing fit persons to fill up the much decayed house of commons, I will bestow upon my dear country an admonition for rectifying their judgements. My admonition will be twofold. Upon the first I will not insist, because it is sufficiently treated of by Mr Withers:² It is against electing such men whom fools admire for their wealth. The second part is against chusing such men whom fools admire for their wit,—lawyers. This ulcer must be thoroughly handled.

³ When Rome was in her integrity, the great men studied the laws, and pleaded the cause of the poor without fee, *jure clientela*; every eminent man having many hun-

¹ The hatred of the fanatical and republican party at the profession of the law, was such as became men who had found the sword the most effectual statute. In the time of Cromwell's domination, one of his mock parliaments set about rooting up the common law of England from its very foundations, destroying the court of Chancery, and reducing the whole judicial system of England to the Mosiac institutions.

² In his "*Vox Pacifica*; or, Voice tending to Pacification of God's wrath," &c., in 6 cantos. This performance was put forth in 1645, and, like most of Withers's productions, contains much sound sense, with a mixture of political furor and prophetic enthusiasm.

³ *Dion. Halicarn.* l. 2. *Livius*, l. 1. *Plutarch*, in *Romulo*. The like was used amongst the Thessalians, who called these kind of clients *penestæ*; and amongst the Athenians, who called them *theæta*, *laxius*.—*Comment. Reipub. Rom.* lib. 12. c. 8. *Dampster*, *Antiquitatum Rom.* lib. 1. c. 16, 17. *Car. Sigon.* de *Antiquo Jure Civium Rom.*

dreds, nay, some thousands of poor men under their protection, for whom they did *respondere de jure*, make defence in law. This was a mutual obligation of common charity; and these unfeed patrons were justly styled *sacerdotis justitiæ*, priests of Themis, the goddess of justice. But afterwards, *cum abundantes divitiæ desiderium invexere per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia*; when abundant wealth brought in luxury, to afflict the manners of the commonwealth, they grew into corruption with the times, took fees, and became *viles rabulæ*, hackney petty-foggers, and hucksters of the law.

Now, though our lawyers were never in that state of innocency to practise without fee, yet were they never in that height of corruption, and unlimited way of gain, they are now in. I have heard old men say, they remembered when lawyers, at the beginning of a term, would stand at a pillar in Paul's, Temple-Bar, the corner of Chancery-Lane, and other avenues, attending the coming in of their countrymen, with cap in hand, courteously saluting them, and enquiring what business brought them to town; not much unlike watermen plying for a fare. But now they are grown to that height of pride, that a man can hardly (after long attendance) come so near a great lawyer's study-door, as to bid God save him, without a fee or bribe. Nor are their fees of mean value; three pounds, five pounds, six pounds being usual, even for making a motion of five or six lines: and if he be a lawyer *interioris admissionis*, a privado, or favourite, so much is well given to buy his silence, that he appear not against you. O, misery! Poor men cannot go to the price of justice, and rich men are oft undone by buying it. Nor is it an unusual thing for a lawyer to be of council with one party, and to prevaricate, and be of confederacy under-hand with the adverse party. By these means, though there are so many lawyers (besides attorneys, clerks, and solicitors, to spring game for them) that they can hardly live one by another, that the multitude of professors scandalizeth the profession, and oppresseth the commonwealth, yet many of them rise from nothing to great estates; five thousand pounds, six thousand pounds, nay, ten thousand pounds, twelve thousand pounds land by the year, (to the admiration and detestation of foreigners,) and purchase baronies and earldoms. But this bought honour is Honour the whore, not Honour the virgin: and this is an evident demonstration of a decrepid commonwealth, when these necessary evils do so increase and multiply upon us. Nor do our lawyers practise any thing more than to please their more litigious clients, by evading laws and statutes with intricate pleadings, misconstructions, and delays, and, where they fail, by enervating the laws, under a pretence of equity in Chancery. This court was originally *officina juris*, the work-house where original writs were made: it received inquisitions and offices *post mortem*, and dealt in some other businesses assigned to it by acts of parliament: And the lord-keeper, or chancellor, had the keeping not only of the king's great seal, but of his conscience also, and did right to many men, upon supplication to him, of wrongs and torts done them by the king's immediate officers or tenants; over-ruling that law maxim, "the king can do no wrong;" where equity (sharper sighted than the law) saw a wrong. But, very few ages since, the lord-keeper (under pretence of keeping the king's conscience) takes upon him to have an oar in every man's boat, a conscience in every man's case but his

* Prevarication was so detestable to the Roman patrons, when they took no fees, that, by the decemviral laws, it was enacted, *Patronus si clienti fraudem facerit sacer esto*. But when they practised for fees, all-corrupting money taught them to sell their faith, and betray their clients. *Claudius in Ruffin. Profert arcana, clientes fallit. Waller. Norborne.*

² Injuries, from the Fr. tort.

³ *Spelman, trifarium facit cancellariam.*

1. *Ministralium, quæ originis antiquæ.*

2. *Judicialium, seu forensem, quæ mediæ antiquitatis.*

3. *Prætoriam, quæ recentioris originis est, et hoc sensu records curia non habetur: Huic subjiciuntur casus anomali et exorbitantes.*

own, and exercises a pretorian power, *secundum equum et bonum*, according to equity and good conscience. Under which notion the jurisdiction of this court hath very lately overflowed the land like a deluge; so that all sorts of civil causes, first or last, are ventilated there, and all other courts are but courts of pie-powder,² in comparison: And yet it ought to meddle but with three sorts of businesses:—

1. Breach of trust. Take away the statute of uses, (whereof we have little use,) and this clause is almost gone.

2. Combinations: Which are now made the impudent suggestions of every bill, though never so apparently false, only to hold in the cause; which is a clear confession that frauds and deceits are the greatest things that this court ought to deal in. Yet it is now become the common sanctuary for all babbling and deceitful persons, which ought to be a shelter for the simple and oppressed.

3. Accidents. *Cusus fortuiti*. As when a man travelling with money to pay his debts falls into the hands of thieves, whereby he is enforced to forfeit his security. Yet in this case the common law courts may give a remedy, and do. Nor doth it appear upon what grounds in law the lord-keeper hath cognizance of these three recited points.

But now, if a man have but communication of a bargain with a litigious crafty person, he will, by the help of that thing called equity, cry it up for an absolute bargain, and enforce the performance of it. Nay, contrary to the statute 4 H. IV. c. 23, this court is grown to that boldness, as to examine judgments given in the king's courts, (though anciently the Kings Bench did reverse errors of the Chancery,) whereby suits are revived, and have more than one life, and become almost immortal. What suit of buff lasteth half so long? Nay, the suits which the children of Israel wore in their forty years peregrination through the wilderness were of no durableness in comparison.

This examination of businesses after judgment at the common law was countenanced by King James, (in the year 1614,) who, affecting to weaken the power of the laws, and to have all laws *in scrinio pectoris*, within his own and his lord-keeper's breast, (whom he can displace at pleasure,) knew that the frequent use of equity in Chancery was a more hidden and powerful way to undetermine our laws, and bring all our rights and properties under an arbitrary power, than his boisterous prerogative-royal; free from envy, and fitter to extinguish common concord, and to divide families, by multiplicity of suits; which all immoderate princes desire; their rule being, *divide et impera*: and this is Bacon's meaning where he saith, "Henry VII. would govern his people by his laws, yet would govern his laws by his lawyers;" that is, they should first consult with him or his favourites, what interpretation to put upon the laws; as the mufti at Constantinople privately doth the Grand Signior, before he gives out his definitive sentences and oracles to the people, whereby they may be more serviceable to the state; both

¹ Williams affirms, in his "*Jus Appellandi*," that the court of equity in the Chancery began in the reign of Henry VI., under the chancellorship of Cardinal Beaufort; and it is remarked by Mr Barrington, that the inconvenience to the subject arose not only from the proceedings being more expensive and dilatory than by the common law, but likewise from the inexperience and ignorance of the judge, whose office was rather that of a secretary of state, than the president of a court of justice.—*Obs. on the Statutes*, A. D. 1436.

² The petty courts held for deciding causes occurring during the sitting of fairs. It has been supposed to derive its name from the judgment being pronounced before the parties' shoes were wiped, or from the judges sitting with their feet among the dust. But the truth is, that *pie-powder* was applied to the frequenters of fairs, as distinguished from the usual inhabitants of the place where they were held, by the dust their shoes had gathered in travelling. "Mr John Constable, his gift from the king is read, to be director of the chapmen company, and to get 20s. sterling a-year from a horseman, and 10s. from each dusty foot.—*Quæritur*—If men residing in towns, but going to fairs and markets with goods, shall pay? It was much opposed; and the like gift being granted in England, was recalled."—*FOUNTAINHALL'S Decisions*, l. 427.

³ Hist. H. 7. Such were our judgments for ship-money:—1. Fore-judged at court; 2. Seemingly argued in the Chequer Chamber; 3. Adjudged there according to the said fore-judgment.