to a violent separation;—having, I say, thus ordered all things, I gave up myselfe, being then full of devotion, to the meditation of the vanity of all things here beneath, and to the contemplation of celestiall blessednes: In the comparing of the which two things together, I found such a surpassing excellency and transcending beauty in the one, as the other seemed nothing but meere deformity to it.

I began then exceedingly to rejoice at mine owne condition, and to thinke it none of the smallest beatitudes in this life to meet with adversities, and to be confined to solitude in the middest of perill; for it was as tinder and fuell for the kindling and cherishing of all good motions, and a most excellent meanes of the soules retiration from the love of these sublunary things; the desire of the which make most men restlesly miserable. To speake the truth, in this privacy of mine, in the aparitions of my heart, meethought I was in the suburbs of the empyrean paradise, enjoying the beatifical vision; but reflecting my eye from that surpassing beauty and excellency, and looking againe into the glasse of the creature, I saw the perpetuall revolution of all things, and the inevitable inconstancy of the same: By which my affections began more to abhorre them, and more inflamedlier to love the place of permanent and glorious immortality. Withall, I came there to discover which were the best creatures, which were the worst, which were the most subject to their Maker, which were most disloyall, which were the most usefull, which were the most noysome, which were the most to be beloved, and which were most to be abominated.

And although Paules notions, in his rapture, were such as could not be expressed, yet mine were of an inferior allay and nature, and easily effable: Which I do most willingly communicate to you, madam, that you may know what things are most dangerous, and chiefly to be prayed against; what things most to be esteemed and earnestly wished, which was one of the principal causes of this nuncupating my Letany to your ladiship; though, withall, I aymed at the common good of my countrymen; and that all men might take notice how much I honour your goodnesse; and that as in the time of my prosperity you seemed to favour me, so now in the dayes of my bonds I might not onely shew my grateful memory unto you for the same, but also eternalise your name, and make it perennally live, while I am dying.

I most willingly confesse, I had never beene truly acquainted with the comfort of such sweet contemplations, had not great desolation come upon me on every side; for you well know, madam, I was made a prey to mine enemies, a scorne to all the prophane, and sonnes of Beliall; forsaken of all, from the king that sits upon the throne, to the peasant on the dunghill. No sooner was I strucke with the tayle of the scorpion, but all the gentry in the country abandoned me immediately, as if I had been then wounded with the contagion, so that I was a spectacle of misery, and abhorred of my very familiars. The rurall courtiers likewise were all afraid of me; and for the nobility, I was made abominable to them, though unknowne; insomuch, as if any had chanced to name me among them, they would forthwith reply, Where is that rascal? And to all this misery of desertion, and the spoyling of my goods, Satan cast me into prison, where I have now continued in strait durance almost these two yeares. All which things would drive any man to his prayers and devotions, especially the epidemicall calamity also adhering so close unto him.

And little do you thinke, madam, for what I and mine suffer this misery. I desire you may not ever be a stranger to it. My wife and all my small children are deprived of all comforts, for my maintaining the religion established by publick authority, and the kings most excellent majesty's prerogative-royall, and no other cause. How good a subject I have ever been, you can well witness for me; and how ever I have maintained princely regality against papall usurpation and pontifician tiranny, I may boldly say; I have deserved better from king, church, and state, in writing that booke for which I suffer, then all the prelats in England put in one bulke can do, or then most

of them have capacity to judge of. And for the honour of God and the king, or the defence of either, I dare undergoe and suffer more then they dare thinke; and better able I am to doe my prince and country true service, both with my sword and with my pen, then a legion of them; and yet I in bonds, and they at liberty.

They pretend they are the great and faithfullest servants of the king; but I know they are his enemies, and their arrogancy unsupportable, and not farre from blasphemy, and their ingratitude to his majestye notorious. At my arraignment at Lambeth, they condemned mee onely for writing a booke against the pope and Italian bishops, and such as vindicate authority over all kings and princes and their fellow-brethren, *jure divino*: From the number of which I excluded ours, and all such bishops as acknowledge their authority from kings and emperors; expressly saying, in my booke and at the barr, that I intended no dispute against such. Withall, I alledged the statutes, confirmed by both the kingdomes of England and Ireland, by the lords temporall and spirituall, in their publick parliaments, and by all the commons, in the which it was solemnly established and ratified, that all the authority the bishops now exercise over their brethren, in both the dominions, is meerely in, through, from, and by the gracious favour of the king, and immediately derived from him to them, as supreme head, under Christ, in his kingdomes; and that whosoever did not acknowledge the same was, *ipso facto*, in a premunire, an enemy of the king, and under his displeasure and heavy indignation. I added furthermore, that I was sworne by the oath of my allegiance, which I had often taken, to maintaine, to the uttermost of my power, the kings supremacy; and that they likewise, in that publick assembly, and all the judges of the kingdome were equally bound unto the same; and that without incurring his majestyes high displeasure, and perjuring my selfe, I could do no lesse then that I did, being provoked by a papist thereunto. Notwithstanding all this, they averred the authority that they now exercised in England over their brethren was *jure divino*; and that Jesus Christ made them bishops, and the Holy Ghost consecrated them; and that they were princes, and had their thrones, and were before Christian kings, and held the crownes of princes upon their heads; and that all that were of a contrary mind, as Calvin, were base fellows, and enemies of monarchall government, and went about to overthrow kingdomes, for no bishop, no king. Whereupon, after infinite expences, they adjudged mee to pay the costs of sute, to imprisonment, till recantation, (and that is till doomesday, in the afternoone,) to the losse of my practice, and censured my booke to the fire; and after they had most unworthily bespewed mee with contumelies and reproches, and railed at me in the open sessions, and said I ought to be knocked downe with club law, (though I provoked them not in the least thing,) then they fined mee a thousand pounds, and gave mee over to the devill. A good and godly censure it was, of which I may say, as a poore, silly, old country man spake, comming once to London in the time of a greate plague, and seeing a superscription over a doore, not being acquainted with such things in the country, and reading it: It was, "Lord have mercy upon us." I promise you, (saith he,) a good and a godly saying, I would every house in the towne had as much on it; meaning no ill poore man. So I say their sentence was a good and a godly sentence; I would every prelate in England were under the same.

But now, good madame, let me intreat you to looke upon this censure of the bishops, a little passing by the untruths in it, and their ingratitude towards the king, come to the blasphemy against God, and the wrong done to the subjects. No bishop, no king, the prelats maxime; what is blasphemy, if this be not? God challengeth this prerogative, as peculiar to himselfe, saying, By me kings raigne: kisse the sonne, lest he be angry. He puts downe the mighty from their thrones, and exalts the humble and meeke. And the Lord sayes againe, A king that judgeth the poore in truth, his throne shall be established for ever: Remove the wicked from the

king, and his throne shall be established. This is the dialect of God himselfe. These things established the crownes of kings, and this is the language of Canaan, so to speake. For the prelates prattle in their courts, no bishop, no king, it is one of the solecismes of the beast; and I averre it to be injurious to God, the king, the whole nobility, and all the subjects; as if they did nothing for the upholding of his imperiall diademe. If they truly feared God, and loved and honoured the king as they ought, they would remove such wicked fellowes from him, that his throne might be established for ever, as the sun in the firmament.

For the prelates to say, no bishop, no king, is as great impiety as to say, no devill, no king; which were damnable to thinke: Yea, a man may better say it, then no bishop, no king: For of all creatures, bishops, priests, and deacons are most wicked, ungratefull, disobedient, and rebellious: And disobedience is as the sin of witchcraft, and rebellion as the iniquity of idolatry; and Saul for his disobedience alone to God lost his kingdome. Now, I say, if disobedience to God be the overthrow of kingdomes, and the ruine of nations, by pulling downe plagues among them, can any man thinke that those that live in a perpetuall rebellion against God are the onely supporters of kings crownes and dignityes, when they pull downe speedy destruction upon their dominions and empires? Let the histories of times be read, and you shall see how many flourishing kingdomes and monarchies have been made desolate by bishops, but none established by them: For the Lord Jesus saith, "Bring mee those mine enemies to mee hither, that I may slay them that would not that I should rule over them." If slaughter to a kingdome be the preservation of it, then the prelats are the maintayners and preservers of it; for of all creatures, they are most rebellious and impious; which that you may not thinke, most vertuous lady, I speake more out of hatred or passion then from reason, let mee intreate you to compare the obedience of the priests and prelates with all other creatures obsequy, and you will quickly be convinced of the truth of this assertion. Behold, therefore, the creatures in general, heaven, and earth, you shall find them ever most obnoxious to the great architect. Look againe upon all the elements, fire, aire, water, earth, all most morigirous. The winds and the seas obey him, exceeding not their bounds and limits; doing whatsoever he commands them, even against their owne nature, as divine authority abundantly every where testifies. See againe all the meteors of raine, haile, snow, sleet, frosts, dews, all at his command, and ever in their seasons; and every creature, as the centurion said, speake but the word, it is done, for every thing is at thy beck; yea, the very devils themselves were subject to him. What he commanded them, what he forbade them, it was equally listened unto and performed, without any reluctation, as all the gospels witness. But prelates, priests, and deacons will do nothing he bids them, nor leave undone nothing he forbids them. If God bids them feed his sheepe, as they love him, and as they will answer it at his greate appearing, and before that terrible tribunall; and that they should feed the flocke which he hath redeemed with his most precious bloud, preaching in season, and out of season,—they act like a dog in a manger; they will neither feed themselves, nor let others feed: they say plainly there is too much preaching. Is not this now fine obedience? If God forbids them to be lords over his inheritance, then say they, take away all government. What shall we thinke; is Christ, or are they to be beleeved? Christ and his disciples say, the princes of the Gentiles rule over them; but it shall not be so with you; you shall not be lords of Gods inheritance. Then reply the prelates, by and by these fellows would have no government. They that speake thus, would disthrone kings, when it is the place onely of kings, and the art proper to princes, so to raigne and governe; into whose hands alone God peculiarly hath committed the authority and premenency; forbidding all the apostles and their successors,

the ministers of the word and sacraments, not to meddle with it, for they cannot serve God and tables. Yet, notwithstanding, the prelates usurp this authority, to the utter undoing of millions of the dearest servants of God, and the kings obsequious subjects; and shall we say this is obedience to Christs commands, prohibition, to omit many other things?

I dare boldly maintaine, they are more disobedient and worse then the devills themselves, to say nothing in passion and perturbation. The devills obeyed Christ in all things he commanded or forbad them, as the Holy Scripture every where testifieth; and to this they added feare and trembling: For the devills beleeve and tremble, as the same sacred writ witnesseth, and the prelates doe neither of all. Are they not pretty youths, I pray? I promise you, proper props to support kings crownes and dignityes; rather able, I woose, to ruine kingdomes, and demolish states; to invocate a plague upon their dominions, by their disloyalty to God and the king. Nay, I most peremptorily affirme, that the prelates are worse than the devill, for he hath onely a simple suggestion in his bringing men to sin: They have also power of co-action, to constraine them to execute wickednesse: And whereas the devill doth but dallingly perswade, they inforce and compell; and where he doth easily move, they by rigerous authority constraine: when he hath propounded an error, they by their power establish it for an infallible truth, and make it a necessary article in their Christian faith and beleefe, as they have done of many things. When he hath once made a lie, as he is the father of all lies, they authorise it for an unwritten verity, like as they daily doe many. Yea, much more wickednesse may they doe, being his spirituall instruments. I beseech you, good madame, ponder seriously, therefore, what I say, and you shall find I do not falsly accuse them in any thing.

The truth is, they are Gods rebels and enemies, both by the law of God and the land, to God and the king, and, like the giants of old, warre against the clouds; and to all this they are infinitely ungratefull to both, as afterwards you shall illustriously see. And if to say so be a scandall, I will live and die in it.

They, indeed, have made certaine lawes against such as speake more voluntarily and liberally of the wickedness, ignoblenesse, and impiety of men in great and eminent place, for the severe punishing of them, for their honest endeavours; which they call *scandulum magnatum;* in the number of which heroes the prelates would be accounted and reckoned; especially when they have once crouded themselves into the kings service. And they, forsooth, must be recorded amongst the nobiles, and called *magnates ecclesie;* and the verity of the matter is, they are *magnæ nates ecclesiæ*, the monstrosity of the church, both for pride, ingratitude, and ungodlinesse: And if for saying so I must be punished, I will most willingly undergoe it, and yet, notwithstanding, live and die in this opinion, and full perswasion that they are the worst members in church and state; and I am able by sufficient argument to make it good, where I may have a faire hearing. And it highly concernes the king and state to looke timely into their proceedings; for while they pretend service and obsequy to him, they greatly dishonour his Cesarean majesty, and miserably afflict and macecrate his poore subjects, and most wrongfully punish them for doing their duty towards God and him; all which I can abundantly likewise demonstrate.

And mee thinks heroicall and noble princes, those Gods upon earth, should a little take it into their royall consideration, that their subjects, though many of them indigent and meane men, whose fathers have spilt and lost their bloud to free them their crownes and dignities, not onely from the Egyptian darkness of popery and error, but also from the papal tyranny and servill bondage of the beast, that captivity of Babylon, deserve some small liberty of conscience to be given unto them in the service of their God, whose onely will they desire in his worship to follow, and not

to serve him after mens precepts, which is to worship him in vaine: I say, mee thinks, as they are *patris patriæ*, and nursing fathers of the church, they should, out of their princely indulgence, gratify the children of those parents, by the deaths and sacrificing of whose selves they injoy such singular immunity from pontifician servitude, under the which many puessant monarchs yet groane, not knowing how to shake off the yoake; and graciously give unto them some freedome, for their fathers sake, and their owne loyalty, and deliver them from the unsupportable tiranny of the prelats, who exercise greater power and domination over their poore subjects and good Christians now, (as the very jesuits themselves do acknowledge,) death onely excepted, then ever the pope did, or is, at this day, where the damnable inquisition most severely rageth: and this also I am able evidently to maintaine and demonstrate. All which I am most assured our renouned king knoweth nothing of; for they continually suggest into his royall eares sinister relations against his faithfullest people, that would die a thousand deaths for the honour of his dignity. By all which you see in part, good madame, the subjects vassallage under the prelats, and their cruelty and wickednesse.

Now, I beseech you, looke upon the pride and ingratitude of these men. What is it that this world can yeild unto mortall creatures, that they possesse not? Great and mighty are their priveledges, and yet they are neither thankfull to God nor the king for the same, nor content, but would have more. They have the keys of heaven, to shut out whom they will; they have the keys of hell, to thrust in whom they please; they have the keyes also of our purses, to pick them at their pleasure; and this is purgatory. I pray looke to your purses there in the country. They have the keys likewise of all the prisons in the kingdome, to infetter any at their beck. And are not these soveraigne and imperyall prerogatives and priveledges? Yet this is but a part of their dignity.

All the judges, all the sheriffs, all the mayors, all the bailiffs, all the justices of the peace and quorum, all the constables, and all other officers, are their lacqueis, to run and goe, though it be with the neglect of the king's peculiar service, upon any of their triviall and unnecessary errands and occasions; to aide their pursuivants, or, upon their speciall commands, to the molestation and vexation of the kings best subjects and most officious: All these, I say, are their footmen; and to speake as it is, the noblemen and peeres of the kingdome, they are their gentlemen, to wait when they command an orient cloud of them together, to attend them on horse-belly.

Nay, they have power to call any of the kings leige people from the extremest part of Wales, or out of the remotest corners of the kingdome, upon the vainest information, to their court of high commission, and to make them dance attendance, through the heat of summer, and cold of winter, to the undoing of them and their poore familyes, as hourely experience teacheth us. Yea, the very colliers are subject unto them; for the last winter there was a whole drove of them put into our pownd, the Gatehouse; men of such robustious natures, that at their entring into the jayle, did so shake it, that I being in my chamber, and feeling it so tremble and quaver under mee, hearing withall such a noyse, I had thought that some earthquake had beene abroad, and that the prison doores were broken open, as it happened when Paull and Sylas were in limbo; and beginning then to thinke of my liberty, and glad to enjoy it, and going downe, and meeting that black guard upon the stayres, I had thought they had been the sons of Pluto, not knowing what to conceive of the busines; but demanding a reason of our cohabitation, and what the matter was, they told mee that the lords grace of Canterbury had sent them to prison, for setting their coale-barges at Westminster staires; which they had ever done before, without any molestation, from generation to generation, till now; and onely because his holynesse lands there when he goeth to preach in the Star-Chamber. (They were first

punisht, and forbid it hereafter.) In which pulpit he is wonderfully busy and diligent; and in his sermons so zealous he is, that he preacheth off his auditors eares many times, so that they can never heare more with them. He had got one Mephibosheth there not long since, and was tampering about his eares, and would faine have been snapping at them; but poore Mephibosheth, as God would have it, came off; but, as the prelats said, very lamely: Though he could not bite him, yet he would not let him goe without a jeere, howsoever. Well-fare Annas and Caiephas yet; they would not have their hands in bloud. He hath a long time beene nibbling at my eares; I marvell what he will say or do to them now, for this worke. The best is, madame, I am so hardened in goodnesse, as I feare neither post nor pillory; conceiving alwaies that I hold my eares by a better tenur than he holds his nose, being a loyaller subject to my prince then he hath grace to be, and better able to do him service then he hath ability to judge of. But if hee should, by his might and power, and the iniquity of the times, advance mee to that deske, I doubt not, by the grace of God, I shall make there the funerall sermons for all the prelats in England.[1] I hope I shall have the honour of that good worke, and, withall, shall bring such things to light, as all Europe and the whole church of God shall be the better for it to the worlds end, and the memory of them gratefull to all posterity. Remember, I pray you, madam, what I say.

Calves, you know, in old time, were good sacrifices, and well accepted of, and I doubt not but they may yet be well pleasing. Now I am an Essex calfe, and the prelats have made me one, and pent me up in a coop a-fatting. If they shall in fine, and after all this, sacrifice me upon the altar of the pillory, I will so bleat out their episcopal knaveries, as the odour and sweet smelling savour of that oblation, I hope, shall make such a propitiation for the good of this land and kingdome, as the king himselfe, and all loyall subjects, shall fare the better for it.

But, in the meane time, see what priviledges, might, strength, and overswaying dominion the prelates enjoy, heaven and earth being at their service; and, withall, take notice of their disobedience to God, who expressly says, "The princes of the

[1] Bastwick proved a true prophet. His ears were cut out close to his head, and with circumstances of great cruelty. Yet he was so little daunted with the execution of the sentence, that, even from the pillory, he bid defiance to his persecutors in the following speech:—"There are many that are this day spectators of our standing here as delinquents, though not delinquents, we thank God for it. I am not conscious to myself wherein I have committed the least trespass, (to take this outward shame,) either against my God or my king. And I do the rather speak it, that you, that are now beholders, may take notice how far innocency will preserve you in such a day as this; for we come here in the strength of our God, who hath mightily supported us, and filled our hearts with greater comfort than our shame or contempt can be. The first occasion of my trouble was by the prelates, for writing a book against the pope; and the pope of Canterbury said I wrote against him, and therefore questioned me: but if the presses were as open to us as formerly they have been, we should shatter his kingdom about his ears. But be ye not deterred by their power, neither be affrighted at our sufferings: Let none determine to turn from the ways of the Lord, but go on, fight courageously against Gog and Magog. I know there be many here who have set many days apart for our behalf: let the prelates take notice of it: and they have sent up strong prayer to heaven for us. We feel the strength and benefit of them, at this time: I would have you take notice of it, we have felt the strength and benefit of it all along this cause. In a word, so far I am from base fear, or caring for any thing that they can do or cast upon me, that had I as much blood as would swell the Thames, I would shed it every drop in this cause; therefore, be not any of you discouraged; be not daunted at their power, ever labouring to preserve innocency, and keep peace within; go on in the strength of God, and he will never fail you in such a day as this. As I said before, so I say again, had I as many lives as I have hairs on my head, or drops of blood in my veins, I would give them all up for this cause. This plot for sending us to those remote places was first consulted and agitated by the jesuits, as I can make it plainly appear. O see what times we are fallen into, that the lords must sit to act the jesuits plots! For our own parts, we owe no malice to the persons of any of the prelates, but would lay our necks under their feet, to do them good as they are men; but against the usurpation of their power, as they are bishops, we do profess enemies till dooms-day."—*Brief Relation of certain Passages in the Star-Chamber, at the Censure of those three worthy Gentlemen, Dr Bastwick, Mr Burton, and Mr Prynne*, 1638, *apud Harleian Miscellany*, IV, 18.

Gentiles bare rule over them, but it shall not be so with you." And I pray, most worthy lady, do not overlooke their ingratitude to the king their master, that although by his princelynesse and royall munificence they have such power and authority, as by which they are formidable to the subjects of all his dominions; such dignity and splendor, as it dazleth the eyes of all the beholders; and such as his majestie hath given to no other of his most noblest cosins and allies, yet they cry out in open courts, and the crowdedst assemblies in the realme; the poore and despised church and clergy is in disgrace, having no power: it can but fine and imprison, and that is all the poore church can doe. Alas, for them, it seeme they would faine be at their old occupation againe, a butchering of us at Smithfield; and that is the thing, indeed, which their fierce and bloud-thirsty ambition aspires to: For why, otherwise, should they make such complaints in publike, and use such expressions? Without doubt, if they had once obtayned their desire in that, they would then make as greate havock of the church of God, as ever bloody Bonner or Gardinier did.

But God be blessed for our gracious king, the Lord long preserve him, and, if it be his blessed will, put it in his royall heart to looke into the tyranny of those Pharaohs, and upon the sore afflictions and oppressions of his poore subjects, (as God once did to his inheritance,) that now groane and suffer under their cruell task-masters; and that as they have with their hot and inflamed furnaces scorched us, and in the rivers of troubles overwhelmed us; so that at last he would drowne them all in the sea of his indignation and high displeasure, that wee may all have a song of praise in our mouths, to the Lamb that sits upon the throne, and to the king his servant, whose scepter and dignity the Lord perpetuate and establish to the dayes of ever.

But now to goe on, I pray, good madam, againe consider their magnificent and stately palaces and buildings; their great revenues, their retinue, the delecacy, variety, and deliciousness of their fare; the pompe and state they wallow in, by the mere goodness of the king, surpassing the emenency of the greatest of the most antient nobility; and take notice of the sumptuosity of their service at their meales, their dishes being ushered in with no lesse reverence then the king, their lord and master; their sewer and servants going before, and crying out, "Gentlemen, be uncovered; my lords meate is coming up;" so that all are forced to stand bare to his platters; and no more state can there be in a kings house. Yea, nobody, without penalty, may pisse within the compasse of their yards and courts; and if any chance to do, he is constrayned either to pay for it, or else he is hailed and drawne into the porters lodge as a prisoner, and tormented with those knaves as a delinquent; and this dayly experience can witnesse.[1] So that in the court itselfe, and kings family,

[1] It is odd enough, that a Scottish libell charges the learned Adamson, bishop of St Andrew's, with neglecting the very etiquette which the English prelates are here censured for enforcing.

Into the palice as they past,
Which call it is the fair Whitehall,
the palice wall
and wald nought spair,
Which is a thing inhibit thair.
Ane porter sone did him persave,
And to the bischop his blissing gave,
Betwixt the schoulders a royall route,
Turning him wodderschins aboute.—
Out of the palice he was sped,
Then to the wall again gois he,
To part of honestie.
The portars publictlie reprovit him,
And doubtless they had thair mischevit him,
Were not the gentle men excuset him,
And thame forbade to stryke a stranger.

Legend of the Bischop of St Androis, apud Dalyell's Poems of the 16th Century, II, 331.

there is no such grandeur and state, nor in none of the kings houses, and yet they cry out the poore despised church and clergy.

To say nothing of the bishop of London, that was put into his office with such supreme dignity and incomparable majestie, as he seemed a greate king, or mighty emperour, to be inaugurated and installed in some superlative monarchy, rather then a priest; having all the nobility and the glory of the kingdome waiting upon him; all which proceeded from the overflowing bounty and debonerity of a most excellent and clement prince, and from his meere favour and gracious donation. But see the prelate of Canterbury, in his ordinary garbe, riding from Croydon to Bagshot, with forty or fiftie gentlemen, well mounted, attending upon him; two or three coaches, with foure and six horses apece in them, all empty, waiting on him; two or three dainty steeds of pleasure, most rich in trappings and furniture, likewise led by him; and wherever hee comes, his gentlemen ushers and his servants crying out, "Roome, roome for my lords grace. Gentlemen, be uncovered my lords grace is comming." And all this is true, if *vox populi* and fame may be credited, which is a good plea in their court. Now, what, I pray, could be done more to the kings majestie, or queene, or the prince of Wales, or to the royall blood?

Behold him, I beseech you againe, not onely in his journeys, but in his hourely passing from Lambeth to the court, and looke upon his attendance and traine, and the reverence the kings houshold and all men give unto him; and listen to the crying out of his waiters to the people, for the making of him way, and to be uncovered, and you would think it were the king himselfe, if you saw not the priest.

Againe, if you should meet him comming daily from the Star-Chamber, and see what pompe, grandeur, and magnificence he goeth in; the whole multitude standing bare wherever he passeth; having also a great number of gentlemen and other servants waiting on him, all uncovered; some of them carrying up his tayle, for the better breaking and venting of his wind, and easing of his holy body, (for it is full of holes;) others going before him, and calling to the folke before them to put off their hats, and to give place, crying, "Roome, roome my lords grace is comming;" tumbling downe and thrusting aside the little children a-playing there; flinging and tossing the poore coster-mongers and souce-wives fruit and puddings, baskets and all, into the Thames, (though they hindered not their passage,) to shew the greatness of his state, and the promptitude of their service, to the utter undoing and perishing of those all-ready indigent creatures;—I say, you would thinke, seeing and hearing all this, and also the speed and hast they make, that it were some mighty, proud Nimrod, or some furious Jehu, running and marching for a kingdome, rather then a meeke, humble, and grave priest. Which spectacle, though in itselfe mercilesse, yet one can scarce keepe from laughter, to see the drollery of it, and considering the whole passages of the businesse, with the variety of the actions; hearing on the one side the noyse of the gentlemen, crying, Roome, and cursing all that meet them, and that but seeme to hinder their passage; and, on the other side, seeing the wayling, mourning, and lamentation the women make, crying out, Save my puddings, save my codlings, for the Lord's sake; the poore tripes and apples, in the meane tyme, swimming like frogs about the Thames, making way for his grace to goe home againe; on the other side, hearing the diversity of all mens discourse, concerning the pride, arrogancy, barbarousnes, and cruelty of the prelats—it would, I say, move laughter to men, though disposed otherwise to seriosity. Most certaine it is, his most excellent majesty goeth not in greater state, neither doth he suffer such insolency to bee done to his poore subjects, wherever he becometh. And this, I say, is the ordinary deportment of the prelate.

But how magnificent and glorious will this man be, thinke you, good madam, when he goeth in state and in great power to Cambridge and Oxford, in his metropoliti-

call rogation and perambulation, and with a rod in his hand in the schooles, to whip those naughty scholars that will not learne well their lesson of conformity, and those lewd and wicked boyes that will not be reverend at devised servise, nor will not cringe to the altar, nor turne their faces to the east, nor worship the communion table, nor cap and crouch at the naming of the letters and sillables of Jesus, and doe all other ecclesiasticall and tumultuous drudgeryes. I am perswaded there will be mighty state, and crying out, Roome for my lords grace; gentlemen and scholars, be uncovered; put off your hats and caps, and be hanged; my lords grace is coming; my lords grace sees yee.

Looke on them againe in their mansions, and behold the great adoration that they have given them of all men: See them also in their courts; view the statelinesse, severity, pride of their carriage, and superciliosity. You shall find no such reverence and veneration given to any of the nobiles, nor to other of the kings majesties most honourable courts; neither shall you see any of the noble families in the kingdome carry themselves with halfe that loftinesse to the meanest of the kings subjects, that they use to the nobilitie itselfe; neither do they expect it: Yea, the king, in his owne person, neither looks for, nor hath greater observance, obedience, and state, then the prelates have, wheresoever they become; and yet they cry out, the poore despised church and clergy. Looke on them, I beseech you, in their ordinary visitations, and one would deeme that some mighty prince were comming into the country, seeing the greate preparations that are made for them, and beholding all the corporations, every where expecting them, and going out with all their bravery and artillery to meet them, and to bring them, and wait upon them into their cities and townes; making speeches unto them; presenting them with great gifts; entertayning them with mighty feasts and bankets, and making petitions to them with all submission and humble lowliness, as to kings themselves: Againe, when he shall see the whole gentry coming to worship them; sending large and munificent presents, and all manner of rarities unto them; offering their service to them, and the best entertaynment the country can afford; shewing them allso all pleasures of hawking, hunting, fishing, fowling, and fooling, and what not: Againe, when he shall see their pursuivants going before them, like the kings marshalls, when his majestie goes in state to parliament, making way for the prelate; knocking the poore country courtiers hornes about their heads, and driving of them backe with cudgels, and crying, You lackeys there, you pesant, give roome to the church and clergy: Sirs, I say, you common people, you lay men, stand backe there; give roome for my lord: Bang-whore, stand backe: I say you women there, a plague of God on you, what make you here among the clergy? what, come yee to take orders, or be shriven? get you home to spin, and learne obedience to the church, and you shall not need to follow them. Make way againe, I say, every body for my lord bishop; be uncovered all, and shew your reverence to the church and clergy. I pray, madam, hath the king any more reverence wherever he comes, from his subjects, than these have from the people? And all this they doe to the prelates for the honour and loyalty they beare unto their king, who they know esteemes them; and yet they cry out upon all occasions, the poore and despised church and clergy, and that in their open courts. O! what rebellion is this against God, who hath said to his ministers, "Learne of mee: I am humble and meeke." What ingratitude to the king? what needlesse discontentation is this? What would these men trow you have, when heaven and earth contents them not, nor the glory of the same?

But now, good madam, casting your eye off from the great masters and grand commanders, looke, I beseech you, upon their captaines inferior, their curats, the prelats, mayors, and vicegerents through the kingdome; those priests, I meane, that they send among us, and such as come before they are welcome. But when I speake of

that vermin, I would not be mis-understood; for I do not meane in all this discourse to impeach the reputation of any honest, laborious ministers and pastors, that carefully and diligently feed their flocks with the sincere milke of the word committed to their charge; but onely such who are enemies of the crosse of Christ; whose end is destruction; whose God is there belly, and whose glory is their shame; who mind earthly things. Such I meane, who glory and boast in the titles of Anti-Christs soldiers, rather then in the servants of Christ: Priests, forsooth, they will be called, and so let them be. Such a progeny there is sprung of them, in these last times, as they have not onely adulterated almost all the purity of doctrine, discipline, and manners, but they are growne so exorbitantly impious in most parishes, as there is no living by them; for they being countenanced by their great masters, and backt by them, they care not what insolency they commit against the kings subjects; and the more honest and conscionable their parishioners are, so much the more they are made objects for their unnecessary molestations; and for the better effecting of their malitious purposes, they will take the least occasion to pick a quarrel with them; and for the more countenancing and gracing of them in what they doe, they will commonly make the best men in their parish their church vassalls, and will impudently say unto them, if they seeme unwilling to take such offices upon them: What, are you too good to serve the church? I cannot but tell you of one remarkable affront, lately put upon two of the kings servants in the towne of Colchester, the fame of which is now notorious, and almost through the kingdome. There was a prophane priest in that towne, who, to my knowledge, never was able to make a peece of true Latin; being one composed of ignorance, impudency, treachery, and dissoluteness; and for his preaching, for which amongst his pot companions he was esteemed, I can say thus much, that I never heard him make a sermon, all the time that I dwelt in the towne, that was worth the hearing, but found it printed to his hand. This fellow being lately to chose his churchwardens and sidemen, so arrogant he was, notwithstanding his unworthinesse, that none of all his parish were thought fit in his eyes to wait upon his tayle, but the mayor of the towne, the kings vicegerent, or lieutenant, and who immediately representeth his sacred person; and a justice of peace, whose office it is to see good order and the commonwealth preserved, and the kings pleasure executed; both which had no small adoe to keepe themselves for that time from being his servingmen:—An affront and contumely that is fit the king and state should be made acquainted with. And not long after, upon some other idle pretence, the justice was mounted into the high commission, to teach him obedience, and to make men of inferior order take heed how they displease their priests, and detract their obedience, and refuse to be their officers; which is servitude and bondage greate enough, besides the dishonours and disgrace of it; for they are but the priests and prelats roock-catchers, and so tearmed by them among themselves. And when they jeare in corners at good men, for all those that are elevated into the sublime commission are called by their officers rooks, and in the beginning of the tearmes scorning at poore men, now, say they, we shall have the rooks come fluttering in, when they are forced and constrayned to dance after their pipe. Had I been a little longer among them, I should have knowne all their filthy language. I going one day to Motershite, the house of office for that court that defiles us, and stinches the whole kingdome, and waiting there for to goe to confession, he being my confessor, and then in a drinking schoole a-quaffing, one of the pursuvants coming in, My noble boyes, sayth he, I have got a neast of rooks for our supper. It may be they had found some poore Christians at some holy meeting, or private humiliation, or Christian conference or prayer; and such men as study by all means to serve God, and to build up themselves in their most holy faith, are by them varlets called rooks. He having then made this relation unto them, they replying, said, But are they fat? and he averring it, with an

oath, that they were plump, then said they, We will pluck them well; whereupon, giving up their names, there were articles immediately exhibited against them, and there they were tossed and tumbled about at pleasure. Now the church-wardens through the kingdome are the prelates rook-catchers; and this ignominious office would that learned priest have put upon the kings deputies. It is a trap and a snare to all men; for when the priests have a quarrel against any in their parishes, and study revenge, if he be failing in any point of conformity, if he will not kneell, or stand, or cap, or duck, at such times as they would have him, then the priests goe to the church-wardens, and they are sworne to present, and bring him up to them, and bid them take notice of it, that he is refractory to church government, and bid them doe their office; which is put in execution as they would have it.

And sometimes the priest himselfe will put up twenty at once in the high commission, and have them prosecuted *ex-officio*, and overthrow them, in spite of their faces: For if they can prove but the least of an hundred articles, be it the neglect of the meanest ceremony, and that but once, though it were ten yeares agoe, they are adjudged to pay the costs of sute; they are likewise fined, and well reviled to the bargain: And if it fall out so, that there can nothing apparently be proved against them, they will say there was a fame, and there was *materia litigandi*, and the court is bound to doe their duty; and being prosecuted *ex-officio*, there never are any costs. Is not this fine doings? Now see the devill. If the procters and doctors of the court see the parishioners be rich and plump, as the grols said, then, for the keeping them still in the court, for the more squeesing of them, (for so they would have done by mee,) they perswade them to put in crosse articles against the priest; making them beleeve that they shall overthrow him, and get ample satisfaction from him. Now the poore men are mightily mistaken, for the more knave their priest is, the greater favour he allwayes finds there; and that which in an other would be an hainous offence, is made nothing in him, and easely wiped away. After then they have put up their articles, the court hath what it would. Then comes the priests advocate, and moves the court, that he may know his prosecutors; which, though it were denyed rigidly to the poore parishioners, yet it is granted to the priests very easily, and thought very rationall: Whereupon they are forced to enter into bounds of foure or five hundred pounds, to prosecute him; and after three or four yeares, perhaps, of tedious sute, the matter comming to a hearing, let the things be proved never so evidently against him, his advocate will plead,—they are a pack of puritans, and his enemyes, and such as hate him for his conformity; and that, all things considered, the proofe of the allegations with which they charge him is not sufficient. Withall, he will allege many reasons to shew that there is no just cause why the honorable court should beleeve any things against him, in regard that there is a cloud of witnesses to prove his constancy and universality of conformity; and that he is *filius ecclesie*, an enemy of straglers and secteryes, and the puritannicall faction, for which he is hated by the conventiculists; and if any thing otherwise then well should be decreed against him, it would animate the faction on the one side, and discourage conformable men on the other side to stand for the honour of the church: And further, he adds, that he is so far from conceiving his clyent to be a delinquent, as he thinks he hath deserved very well from the church, and that these his prosecutors ought rather severely to be punished, for putting up such triviall and impertinent things against a man so eminent as he is, and all for the ecclypsing of his fame and reputation, to make his minystry unprofitable to all men, which is a damnable sin; and therefore humbly entreating the court to consider what the losse of a good name is, and which cannot be redeemed with too much money; and therefore that the court would order that the long and extreme vexation of his clyent may be duly weighed, and that sufficient costs may be given him. These things, and many more, beeing spoke in the behalfe of the priest, the

court being willing to gratify their creature, begins very fiercely, in their sentence, to thunder against the poore men the prosecutors, and to threaten them with the Star-Chamber, for a conspiracy and combination against an elder; and after many bitter invectives against those they call puritans, they applauding their priest for his conformity, and encouraging him to an animosity in the persecuting schismaticks, and commending him likewise for a stout clarke, they adjudge his prosecutors to pay all the charges of the court, and to give him good round costs; and so they send the knave priest home in triumph, and drive the poore rooks away as naked and callow as if they had newly crept out of the shell, to the scorne and ludibry of all soule-murdering hirelings.

Such advantage, to speake the truth, wicked priests have at this day against honest men, as they will bring up any of them, of what ranke soever they be, if they can but prove he hath gone to a sermon in an other parish, though he had none in his owne, or lodged a silenced minister, or neglected the least ceremony, and make them the scorne of their court, and fine them also well for it. And if any of the kings officers, either mayors, or bayliffs, or constable, or all together, chance to clap a drunken priest by the heeles, according to the law, or punish him for his malversation and misdemeanor; as soone as ever they are out of office, they are brought up by a messenger, and there severely censured, after a tedious sute, for doing the kings service: And all these things dayly experience teacheth us. From all which I do conclude, that of all creatures, bishops, priests, and deacons are the worst, most dangerous, and most to be prayed against; for they are not onely evill in themselves, but they corrupt all others, like a contagion: So that if men have but once licked a prelates trencher, they are like rats, that though they eat not the poyson that lyes upon the tile, yet if they but once lick the tile where the bane lay, they immediately dwindle away, and purify the whole common-wealth of rats, and are never good againe: Even so, if any men once in favour, have but lickt a prelates trencher, though they never feed of his bountie and farnes, they crumble and moulder away, and fall from all goodness, and are never after truly serviceable, either for church or state: And it is an infallible note of a reprobate to all goodnes, to have lickt a prelats trencher.

And thus, good madame, I have made you acquainted with the visions of my heart, and my meditations in this solitude of mine, and shewed you which are the best creatures, which the worst. I hope that by this your devotions will now also be set a worke, and your zeale doubled, (especially seeing the evidence of my demonstration,) for the ruining of Babel, and all manner of confusion. If your ladyship shall but thinke it worthy your view, I shall have as much as I desire, and shall ever remayne,

Your poore Orator,

JOHN BASTWICK,

In *Limbo Patrum.*

To the Courteous Reader, Health and Happines accumulated, &c.

Sweetheart,

I being a doctor, and now in cathedra, in *Limbo Patrum*, thought it fit, not onely privately to instruct and teach the simple, but publickly also to make knowne to those that are studious th way by which they may come to know the true nature and use of the creatures, and their owne dutie toward the soveraigne creator. And because examples prevaile much in all discipline, I have set before thee mine owne; which is

chiefly to indoctrinate thee in thy serious contemplations, and by prayer to mount into the empyrean paradise, where there is the affluence and treasury of all divine knowledge, by which thou mayst be guided in thy whole Christian warfare, rightly to march, and orderly to fight and warre against all thy spirituall enimyes. And that thou mightest the better get up into that blessed mansion, I have sent thee the ladder of my devotions; by meanes of which, as Moses from the top of Pisgah discovered the land of Canaan, and the beauty and goodnesse of the same; so, in like manner, from thence, if thou crawlest but to the top of it, thou shalt see into the seas and gulfes of all episcopal deformity and prelatical wickednes and ungratitude; and shalt with as great facility descerne those leviathans that devoure the soules, bodyes, and goods of all those that by the tempest of the world are driven into their ocians, as thou mayst see trouts playing in the lake at Geneva, standing on the banke of Lemanus. Insomuch, as I doubt not but it will be a great help to stirre up in thee a Christian hatred, not onely of the great beast that came out of the sea, and all the abominations and monstrous impietyes that come ratified *sub sigillo piscatoris;* but also a pious zeale and fervent indignation against all the damnable inventions and barterings of all those fishmongers, that have bought and sold Christs best fishes* through towne and country, these many generations, like red herrings, sprats, and poore johns, and made them the mundungus and garbidge both of sea and land, and the off-scouring of all things, which the Lord of life, notwithstanding, bought with no lesse price then with his owne most blessed and precious bloud. And as it will breed in thee a holy indignation against all their wicked crueltyes and attempts, so likewise I doubt not but it will move thee with a concatenated unanimity to joyne with all those that wish the peace of Jerusalem and desolation of Babilon in our dayly letany; praying, from plague, pestilence, and famine; from bishops, priests, and deacons, good Lord deliver us. Fare the well.

From my Schoole in *Limbo Patrum,*

JOHN BASTWICK.

To Meester Aquila Wyks, Keeper of the Gate-house.

My good Angell,

I have sent you here inclosed a little of my limbo rhetorick, in which, by the law of equity, I vindicate my liberty. I have also endeavoured in the same to perswade you that your feare of my flying is needles; and while I labour to doe that, I do evidently likewise prove and demonstrate, that those whom you terme reverend fathers, and the apostles successors, deserve no such magnificent titles. I earnestly now entreat you, that, upon my honest word, you would give mee liberty to goe see my distressed consort, whose condition is, (all things considered,) more deplorable then you can imagine, and would move the hearts of any men to pity and compassion, but the prelats, who never were guilty nor capable of such noble and heroicall vertues.

* The strangely-familiar allusions of the fanatics to Scripture history was one of the most remarkable features in their oratory. The following odd example occurred while Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne were undergoing their sentence:—"The halbertmen standing round about, one of them had an old rusty halbert, the iron whereof was tacked to the staff with an old crooked nail, which one observing, and saying, What an old rusty halbert is that? Mr Burton said, This seems to be one of the halberts which accompanied Judas when he went to betray and apprehend his master."—*A Brief Relation, ut supra,* p. 24.

I must confesse, had I not been a man of intolerable patience, I could never have endured with half that alacrity the contumelyes, injuryes, and affronts I have suffered from bishops, priests, and deacons, those little toes of Antichrist. The honour of this, and of all other good, I ascribe evermore to the divine benediction, which I will perpetually implore, as for the continuation of his blessed assistance to mee, and to all that love the truth, and the appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ; so that at last he would drive out these buyers and sellers out of his holy temple; and that we may, with one conjoynt harmony, uncessantly, in our daily letany, pray, from plague, pestilence, and famine; from bishops, priests, and deacons, good Lord deliver us.

But now, *ad rem*, I paternally desire that the consideration of my poore family may something move you to give mee a little liberty. You know what it is to be a father, and to have children depending upon you; and you cannot bee without some bowells of compassion. For the priests, they goe to their venery *ex officio mero*, *in forma pauperis*, for the most part, *caute tamen si non caste*; and as they doe all other wickedness *ex officio*, so this costs them nothing; nay, they gaine; for some time they get a blow with a French coule straffe by it, and the purging of the raines. They are like cuckowes, that thrust their eggs into other birds neasts, never looking after either the hatching or the keeping of their young. But our pleasure costs us something, and we goe honestly to it, and we have the honour of lawfull posterity by it also; and therefore we must be carefull fathers, to seeke for the preservation, as well as the procreation of our of-spring: We must be loving progenitors; and although they doe, *ex officio*, abandon and renounce both honesty and storge at once, yet we may not, having learned better things. Let, therefore, the love you beare to the weaker sex, and impotent and innocent babes, move you to so much pity, as to give a little releasment to my bonds, by which I may provide for my poore indigent children and family. For my owne particular, life and death is all one to me, neither is there any condition in this world can make me happy or miserable; for my glory and rejoycing, and the hope of my blessednes is not here; the futurity of which doth no way mitigate my comfort and consolation. But now I thinke on it, if you see Father William of Canterbury, his holinesse, and William London Magnificus, rector of the treasury, my wife entreateth you to make them both acquainted with her miserable condition, and how great she is with child, and ready to lie downe; and in what desolation, desert, and wildernesse of trouble she is now in, not knowing how to get out of it, by reason that they have driven away all our friends and acquaintance, so that we cannot enjoy from them the common lawes of humanity, of ordinary entertainment and ayde: Which I impute not to any evill or unnaturalnesse in them, (I know well their urbanity,) but onely to the feare that is in them of the power of the beast; so that she is now constrayned (which greives me exceedingly) to become an humble petitioner unto them: (for my part, take notice of it: it is none of my motion; for I will be beholding unto them for nothing, but for my misery, poverty, and lice, in limbo:) I say, therefore, she desires that they would, in this desertion of all our familiars and allies, be godfathers to her child. And if you can obtaine this favour at their hands, in her behalfe, that as they, *ex officio*, ruined her poore husband, so they would likewise, *ex officio mero*, do this good, as to gratify her in yeelding to, and granting her supplication, (by which she shall prettily well be provided for of godfathers,) I am most confident I shall procure the whore of Babilon, their old mistress, to be godmother, with whom they have so long committed fornication; and then we will have such a christning, as hath not been in Europe this many a blessed day. I intend speedily to write unto the secularity of that ancient city, and dedicate my Method of Physick to it, and I doubt not with my Roman oratory making them acquainted withall, that I am a catholick apostolicke Roman, (as I am indeed,) and

that I lie now in bonds, for the inveterate doctrine of that church, but they will without any reluctation grant my request.

Now, after my prayers for my selfe and for my neighbours, I come to prophecy. If you do not at this time, in condolation to my misery, shew your selfe propitious, in yeelding to my petitions, and give mee the liberty I desire, I will never sollicit you more in this behalfe. But know thus much: I will soe thunder-thump your pautry politans, as if King Charles will but joyne with mee in his favour, I will make them come tumbling downe like Phaeton, or lightning from heaven, and crawle upon their bellies, as the serpent that seduced Eve, and lick the dust, and the very memory of them stinke to the worlds duration, before I have done with them. And for the prior of Canterbury there, William the Dragon, and your abby-lubber of Yorke, that oracle of the north, who you stile with the title of grace, I will so flang them, as I shall make it evident they never knew what it was; for if they had any grace, they would never have been persecutors of those that were most really and trulyest gracious. If I receive not this desired curtesy from you speedily, then I shall gather, that you and I shall ever be marryed together; and if we be once solemnely joyned, I will conclude hereafter, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sicknes and in health, till death us depart.

Your poor Wife, in *Limbo Patrum*,

December the 8th, 1636. JOHN BASTWICK.

To Meester Wilks, Keeper of the Gate-house.

LANDLORD, all health and happiness attend you, &c. Howsoever, I have made no complaynts against you for ill usage, yet you are not ignorant there is, and hath been just cause. To omit domesticall affronts, and them many, which, by your place, you ought to have freed mee from, I cannot but complayne of that straight durance you keepe mee in, especially in these sad and dangerous times, and considering my wifes condition, who is now great with childe, and ready to lye downe, not knowing where to get a place to put her head in, except I were with her; no man daring to entertayne her; the whole world standing wondring, and affrayd of the beast.

Whatsoever you may pretend for yourself, for keeping such a strict hand over mee, yet I do not thinke it was the intention of the prelats, in putting mee into your custody, that to the spoyling of my goods, the ruine of my wife and children, the dissipation of my estate, the losse of my liberty and practice, (the onely hope and support of my now tottering family,) and the giving me over to Satan;—I say, I do not thinke, to all this misery, they would have cruelly exercised over mee which I do now suffer in a high degree. For what is cruelty, if this be not? To keepe a poore man close prisoner a yeare and a halfe, after they hav first robbed him of all he hath, to the starving of him and his; and that onely for writing a booke in defence of that religion that is established by publick authority, and for the honour of the king, and the glory of his majesty, against papall usurpation, provoked thereunto by an adversary of both; and to which duty he was bound, both by the law of God and the king, and by his speciall oath; and to let jesuits and priests, the sworne enimyes of both, enjoy all immunityes and privileges, to goe and come at pleasure, from yeare to yeare, and that for the seducing of the kings subjects.

I may not, for the reliefe of my poore wife and children, every way distressed, have the liberty of my practice, for feare, for sooth, of seducing the people, and that tatling women might come unto me; for that was the babble of Saint Worrell, in his learned

speech against me at my censure; and so fiery he was in that declamation as if he had newly come out of some drinking schoole; of which learning I thinke he is farre more guilty than divinity. But jesuits and priests, traytors to the state, and enimyes to the true religion, may have their liberty, to goe and come when they will, and count their prison their castle, and call it so, and use it for a shelter, to hide themselves from authority, when they have been roaring, and quaffing, and disorderly demeaned themselves at unseasonable times. And if this be not height of cruelty, that honest men, and the kings good subjects, shall thus be punished, and rebells to God and the king (as all jesuits and priests are) shall be kindly entertayned, I know not what cruelty is.

But I will now complayne no more. That which I desire is not freedome from bonds; for I would have the prelats know, they shall not bee so rid of mee; for I intend, before they and I part, to sue them in the Court of Equity, for costs and charges, and for my unjust imprisonment and cruell censure; where I will plead my cause my self, and discover their wickednes so at that barre, as it was never layd open in this world; and if I can have no justice there, because I must goe in *forma pauperis*, and they are mighty, I will write a booke of all their unrighteous dealings, and put it to the view of the whole world; for I am resolved to print all proceedings, one after another, that they may appeare to all men.

So that you see I desire not an absolute freedome from my bonds, but onely that I may have a little liberty to goe among the sick people that are now visited with the plague, that I may, with the hazard of my life, see if I can doe some good, which is all my ambition; and so much the rather I desire it, because I had rather fall into the hands of God then men, and it is my calling; in the which I shall be glad also if I could get some bread, to put into my poore childrens mouthes, all ready to perish for want of food. Or if this may not be granted, I intreat but this favour of you:—that I may for a fortnight goe into the countrey, to my disconsolate wife, and provide a place where she may be brought to bed; for as yet she is destitute. That which I demanded is so reasonable, as I thinke nobody can except against it. If you please to gratify mee in either of my requests, it will make mee forget all former unkindnesses, and proclame you, ever hereafter, my good angell, that keepes me in all my wayes. And if you shall give mee but that liberty to see my Joe, then I shall desire you to add this kindnes also:—That as the jesuits and priests, and all manner of popelins, can be credited to goe and come when they will, promising onely in the word of a priest or catholick to returne; so that I, promising in the word of a Christian, may be trusted likewise, without any more adoe: For mee thinks it should be a great disparagement to our holy profession, that Antichrists servants should be more credited then the servants of Christ. What I shall promise in the word of a Christian, you may be confident I will stand to, for I am resolved never to leave the field by flying, but to joyne battle, and fight against the great dragon, Father Antichrist, and against Gog and Magog, as long as I can stand on my legs: For had I as many lives as I have haires of my head, I would be prodigall of them all in this cause; and had I as much bloud in my veins as would swell the Thames, I would spill it every drop in the quarrell I am now imbarked in, with the honour of God and my king; and therefore you can have no just ground to suspect my flying, if, by your permission, I went into the countrey for a fortnight.

Besides, flying would presage in mee either delinquency or feare, or both; as if I were guilty of crimes of stellionate or malversation. Now, were there no hell nor devill, I would live and dye an honest man; neither am I conscious to myself of ever having done any thing that deserves flying, or convention before any court of judicature in the world; and therefore for mee to fly, to make myselfe a delinquent, when I am none, is so contrary to my complexion, as I abhorre the thought of it.

If Father William of Canterbury think that I am afraid of him, he is metropolitically mistaken; for I neither feare him nor love him, neither is there any affection or passion in me so contemptible, that I deeme him, or any prelate in England, worthy to be an object of it: For I know they are enemies of God and the king, and of all goodness. I feare not the face of man, neither do I tremble at the foule fiends of Acharon; wherefore, then, should there be any suspicion of my flying?

Can the prelats tell me of any thing worse then hell or death? If they cannot, it is not dreadfull to mee, for the devill hath no power over mee, and Death is my loving friend and kind neighbour. I am a physitian, and have been bred in the tents of mortality, and have had Death by the hand every day: He is *solamen miserarum.* Neither have the prelats no more power over mee then the devill had over Job: they can but torment my corps: Wherefore, then, should any feare my flying?

The arch prelat might prevent all such needles fears without any close imprisonment, if he followed Saint Paules rule, who commanded bishops to be gentle towards all men; apt to teach, patient, and in meeknes instructing those that oppose themselves; and that they by sound doctrine, should be able to exhort and convince gainsayers, and to be given to hospitality, (and not by and by to put men in prison, and ruine them that differ from them in opinion.) Now the prelat hath an ample house, fit for entertainment, and a great revenue to support his grandeur; and I have made shipwracke of all that ever I had in his troublesome and tumultuous seas, and been prodigiously pillaged by the pirats of the same; so that very little now remaines for the reliefe of me, my wife, and many small children. Now, if he please, I and my family will goe and dwell with him, and by this meanes he shall exercise his hospitality and his gifts of exhortation, and convincing of meekness and forbearing; and all men shall be put in security from ever suspecting my flying, when I shall be alwaies in his view, and attracted by so much humanity. Withall, I shall save a great deale of expenses by it, and live plentyfully, whereas now I onely breath; and, which is most of all, by this meanes the prophecy of Isaiah will be fulfilled:—The wolfe and the lambe shall dwell together. Bellermine sayes, this prophecy is not yet accomplyshed. I pray, the next time you see his reverend highnes of Croydon, aske him if he will doe any good in his old dayes, for I never heard of any he did in his young: Aske him, I pray, if his holinesse will accomplish any prophecyes, or obey apostolicall canons; and if he be so minded, I beseech you let me heare of it, it will be very joyfull newes to mee after a great deale of sorrow; and then you shall, at one and the same time, be freed also both of trouble and feare, which I thinke will be some comfort unto you.

But to be short, and to speake freely, the bishops, and you, and all men are mistaken in mee; for I am so far from flying, as it is not an army of prelats shall drive mee out of the kingdome. As for that question, *de paritate presbyteri et episcope,* which is the onely cause of my bonds, and which so much displeaseth them, and by which alone I overthrow all papal usurpation, writing in defence of the kings prerogative-royall, and his supremacy against a pontifician; as for that question, I say, I will dispute with all the prelats in England, *divisim et conjunctim,* for life and liberty, for soule and body, in any place where they may not be parties, (witnesse jury and judge in their owne cause,) or with any man living, in any theatre of learning in the worlds monarchies, upon the same termes; and I doubt not, by the grace of God, but to be able to confound them all by the breath of truth and vigour of reason; which truth I will never bauke, neither for hope of the favour, nor feare of the anger of any man mortall. Yea, such is the prerogative and majesty of verity, as it is terrible ever, and truculent to its very enemyes; and so far I am from fearing them, as I doubt not but to be as formidable to them all, as ever Drake was to the Spaniards: For I am resolved to seale the truth with my bloud, and to sacrifice my

selfe for the honour of God, my prince, and for the gospell; of all which the prelats are enemyes; which, if I be not able to mayntaine and make good, before king and councill, let me not onely be exposed to their merciles fury, but set upon the scaffold of infamy to eternall memory, and perish for my temerity.

It is said of Antichrist, who, in the twelfth of the Revelation, is called the Dragon, that with his tayle he swept downe the third part of the stars from heaven; that is to say, he put out and extinguished all the glorious and burning lights that shined in the church, in life and doctrine, and that illuminated men in the wayes to heaven. Now the prelates are the tayle of the beast; and is not this, I pray you, true in our horizon? Are not all the good, painfull, and laborious preachers silenced by them? And are not all our shining lights smothered by their power and authority?

Christ commands the faithfull that they should pray to the lord of the harvest that he would send labourers into his harvest, for it was great, and the labourers few. When they, in obedience unto Christs command, and in sight and feeling of their owne indigency and want, have earnestly, with prayers, teares, and fasting, besought the Lord, and he hath sent many labourers into his harvest, I pray, do not your reverend fathers (that tayle of the beast) by and by thrust them out againe, and sweep them into some prison or jayle, or obscure corner of the world, where they can never labour more in that greate harvest. Let them answer mee without fraud and collusion, and that is as much as in them lyes, whether this be not true or no. I am resolved therefore to put a few nettles under Anti-Christs tayle, and to make him friske a little before I fly.

After I have done that and my Method of Physick, for the cure of the whore of Babilon, which I am now about, (for the prelats having taken away my practice, and not suffering me any longer to cure men, I was willing to try if I could heale beasts, and, among other, that scarlet harlot, and all those that commit fornication with her, that brutish crew,) and that worke being finished, I will then so anatomise the prelats theory, as the whole macrocosme shall see the depth of Satan in the ventricles of their hearts: And I will make it appeare that there is as little need of their government in King Charles his dominions, as was of Sampsons foxes, with firebrands in their tayles, in the Philistines corne. And after I have put an end to that volume, I will then write the practicall part of the prelats; I meane their lives and morals, and the acts and monuments of their wicked courts. And if two or three drops of my latiall rhetorick, which I let fall onely upon the beast, did so much displease them, what will they say or doe, thinke you, when I open the cataracts of all my Greek and Roman oratory upon them? I doubt not but by the torrent of that to carry their wickednes to the extremest parts of the earth, and out of the confines of the Christian world; that the very pagans and barbarians may blush at their impiety and cruelty; and that they may be spewed out, as aliens and strangers, from the commonwealth of all learning and goodnes, among all such as call upon the name of God in sincerity. They pretend, indeed, and would faine have the world believe that they are the successors of Christ and his apostles; and, as you yourselfe think, they verily are. But, I pray, compare Christ and his apostles, and the prelats and priests of our age together. Christ was humble and meeke; they are proud and arrogant. No sooner was Malchus his eare cut off, but Christ put it on againe; and they cut off mens eares. Christ went about preaching and teaching, healing, and doing good, where ever he became.[x] They neither preach, nor teach, nor cure, neither will they suffer

[x] The following account of the severity of this punishment, and of the constancy with which it was endured, may interest the reader. The sufferer was Burton, who was associated with Prynne and Bastwick.—"In conclusion, some told him of the approach of the executioner, and prayed God to strengthen him. He said, I trust he will. Why should I fear to follow my master, Christ? who said, I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheek to the nippers that plucked off my hair: I hid not my face from shame and spitting, for the

others to doe either, by their good wills, or that which is good any where. But if I should run through all disparityes, I might make a mighty volume. I beseech you now, compare them and the apostles together a little, and, for example, let us look upon Paul and Barrabas at Lystra: you shall see them so full of piety, pity, compassion, goodness, and humanity, that the inhabitants and men of Lystra concluded that gods were come downe among them in humane shape. But if wee looke upon the lives, actions, and manners of the priests and prelats of our age, and see their pride, faste, impudency, inmanity, prophanesse, unmercifullnes, ungodlinesse, &c., one would thinke that hell were broke loose, and that the devills, in surplices, in hoods, in copes, in rochets, and in foure-square cow-turds upon their heads, were come among us, and had beshit us all. Pho, how they stinke. For they open the very schooles to ungodlinesse and unrighteousnes, impiety, and all manner of licentiousnes; not onely teaching men to be wicked, and rejoycing in it, but constrayning them thereto.

And in times of greatest calamites, when fasting and humyliation and mourning is called for, and when ministers ought most of all to cry alowd, and to lift up their voyces like a trumpet, and to stirre up and awaken the people to humble themselves under the mighty hand of God, in that his plagues and judgments are gone out among us, and his hand of displeasure lifted up readyer deeply to wound; then doe they take this occasion to put downe both teaching and preaching.

And as the hypocrites in Christ's tyme, under the pretence of long prayers, devoured widowes houses, so the prelats, under the shew of advancing their common prayers and devised service, they murder and devour preaching, and hinder the publishing of the gospell, by which men should be instructed rightly to pray, and orderly to live, and learn their duty towards God and men.

Neither doe they onely suppresse preaching, but they make it a crime, and matter of punishment and vexation, for Christians to discourse about points of religion, and confer and talke together of Holy Scripture and their most sacred faith and profession;

Lord God will help me; therefore shall I not be confounded; therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed.

"When the executioner had cut off one ear, which he had cut deep and close to the head, in an extraordinary cruel manner, yet this champion of Christ never once moved or stirred for it, though he had cut the vein so as the blood ran streaming down upon the scaffold; which divers persons standing about the pillory seeing, dipped their handkerchiefs in, as a thing most precious; the people giving a mournful shout, and crying for the surgeon, whom the crowd and other impediments for a time kept off, so that he could not come to stop the blood. This patient all the while held up his hands, and said, Be content: it is well, blessed be God. The other ear being cut no less deep, he then was freed from the pillory, and came down; where the surgeon waiting for him, presently applied a remedy for stopping the blood, after a large effusion thereof; yet, for all this, he fainted not in the least manner, though, through expence of much blood, he waxed pale. And one offering him a little wormwood water, he said, It needs not; yet, through importunity, he only tasted of it, and no more, saying, His master Christ was not so well used, for they gave him gall and vinegar, but you give me strong water to refresh me, blessed be God. His head being bound up, two friends led him away to an house provided for him in King's street; where being set down, and bid to speak little, yet he said, after a pause, This is too hot to hold long. Now, lest they in the room, and his wife, should mistake, and think he spoke of himself, concerning his pain, he said, I speak not this of myself; for that which I have suffered is nothing to that my Saviour suffered for me, who had his hands and feet nailed to the cross. And lying still a while, he took Mr Prynne's sufferings much to heart, and asked the people how he did; for, said he, His sufferings have been great. He asked also how Dr Bastwick did, with much compassion and grief, that he, being the first that was executed, could not see how they two fared after him. His wife being brought to him, behaved herself very graciously towards him, saying, Welcome, sweetheart; welcome home. He was often heard to repeat these words, The Lord keep us, that we do not dishonour him in any thing. Amen."—*A Brief Relation, ut supra*, p. 24.

This severe punishment was the subject of bitter raillery among the profane cavaliers. Vicars, in his "God in the Mount," tells us of a profane matron who irreverently named her three cats after the three precious saints, Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick; and, moreover, cropped their ears to increase the resemblance. But she escaped not the punishment due to her profanity, for one of her grand-daughters was delivered of a monstrous and deformed infant.

and for them, privately among themselves, by reasoning and arguing, to find out the meaning of the word of God, which Christ notwithstanding commands, and the Holy Ghost commends every where, and which is, and hath been, to Christians a great and excellent means of instruction and information, and of no small comfort. This, also, so holy, so divine a duty, so usefull and profitable an exercitation, is by the prelats counted an hainous offence, and in their courts punished, and branded by the name of puritanisme, and profanation of the Scriptures.

And which is yet more, all private Christian meetings for the invocation of the name of God, and for the mutual edification of each other in their most holy faith, and for the humbling of their souls before God, under his heavy displeasure, for their owne sinnes, and for the abominations of the times; by which they might divert judgments, and procure blessings to the church and land, and mutually benefit and profit one another; these likewise are by the prelats adjudged criminall, and severely punished by them through the whole kingdome, under the name of schismaticall meetings and conventicles; when, notwithstanding, the Lord himself highly commendeth and commandeth these endeavours, and promiseth a speciall blessing unto them. Yea, the apostles themselves are presedents to Christians of them; who testify that, from house to house, night and day, they did not cease to admonish Christians, and to preach unto them; and commanded the ministers of the word to follow their example in so doing; and this in the most profound peace of the church, when they had the free liberty of their publick meetings: And yet then, I say, the apostles did honour with their presence, and applause these private assemblings of themselves together for holy purposes; and earnestly, in all their epistles, exhorted all the saints of God to those holy dutyes; and excited them in all places, and every where, to lift up pure hands and hearts; and counted it a great sinne to forsake the assemblies of the saints. And Christ Jesus, the Lord of life, hath also graciously promised, that wheresoever two or three are gathered together in his name, there he will bee with them; and for that purpose hee consecrated all places before, in the fourth of John, to make them fit for all holy Christian employments.

These pious exercises, howsoever thus renowned by the apostles, are by the prelats condemned amongst abominable things, and worthy of extreme punishment; and are matter every where of presentment and great severity and trouble to poore Christians. I pray, therefore, once again, let me intreat you to behold how little they resemble the apostles. The apostles in all things endeavoured to conform themselves to the image of Christ, and to his blessed will, and to have an uniformity with him in life and sufferings. The prelats they labour all they can to be like Antichrist, and seek a conformity with him in life and pleasures, and in persecuting and afflicting the dearest servants of God. Are these successors then of Christ and his apostles, thinke you? I trow not.

When Dick Short, my antagonist, with much daring of mee, had extorted an answer to his cavills from mee, and I expecting a replication, according to promise; his answer, to my expectation, and the prelats proceedings against mee in that business, will evidently evince whose successors they are. Heare, therefore, briefly, that one pranke of the prelats, and Dick Shorts answer. That Babilonian, having been first will informed that the prelats, by their pursuivants, had taken away all my books as sone as they arrived, and hoysted me up into the high-commission court for them, and ymprisoned also the youth, one Semner by name, a sucking sophister and student, that carryed some of them to Cambridge, to the professors of divinity there, and to some of the chief heads of houses, and taken away the books from them all, with my letters I sent with them, as if they had all been novices, or the books knives in the hands of little children, to the infinite disgrace of the university, and the immortall dishonour to the professors of theology, and the other great masters, that could suffer such contumelyes from one that knowes not so much as the bark of divine learning;

especially when it was their place to have confuted my booke, if it had been erroneous; and for which purpose only I sent to the academy, earnestly entreating, that if I had gone from the truth in any thing, they would make mee acquainted with it, and I would not only amend it, but be thankfull unto them for the same: I say, when Dick Short had heard of all this, and that the young man was, by a messenger, brought up as a malefactor, and convented for such an one before them at Lambeth, and put to a great deale of distraction, and large expences and round costs, thoughhe knew nothing of the contents of the booke; and after all that, forced to a base and unworthy submission, as if he had done some facinorous and vile act in carrying a booke to Cambridge, writ against the pope, that vicar of hell; (a golden age of prelates, in the mean time, that make it malifite and criminall to write against Antichrist,—these must needs be the successors of the apostles!) after then, I say, the full information of all the passages, he, changing his resolution of replying, sent me word he would now save that labour; for, sayth he, the pillars of your church mayntyne my cause against you; which, I must confesse, was a thing not to be tolerated, and no way beseeming them that would be thought Christ's successors.

And had not the prelates lived under a gracious prince, they would have been hanged for such doings: Nay, had not the age in which they breath been degenerating from their ancient prowesse, and been cowardly and base, unworthy so renowned a king, they ought, of their love and loyalty to their prince, and for the honour of his dignity, to have knocked the hornes of those ungratefull beasts about their heads. that durst thus imprudently push downe regality and kingly dominion, to advance the papacy and prelatical usurpation in their open courts; while, notwithstanding, they cry, Haile, master, to the king, and would be thought most full of obsequy and obedience; and all those they brand with the name of puritans, the greatest enimyes of kingly authority; which is one of their notorious lyes; when there are not more loyall subjects under the heavens then they are to their kings and governors.

Such insolency was never knowne before, that obscure fellows, not borne to three halfpence a-yeare of inheritance, and merely advanced by the free donation of gracious princes to places of eminency and splendor in their dominions and kingdomes, should now dignify themselves above their masters, or at least be checkmate with them; for they said they were princes, and had their thrones, and that by divine authority, and were before Christian kings: Such insolency, I say, and rash impudency and swelling pride was never knowne before in our borders: And that papists shall triumph over the truth, and defend the popes supremacy, and mayntayne the synagogue of Rome to be a true church, and that in books set forth by publick authority, to the making of the king and all his subjects schismaticks and hereticks; and shall magnify and elevate the pontifician tyranny against the dignityes of the kings of heaven and earth; and that the prelats should protect and mayntaine them, and punish others for their honest endeavours against them, as they have done by mee,—this, I affirme, is an unsupportable arrogancy in them, and able to provoke the heavens themselves to fight against us, and to take revenge of their apparent contumacy, that goes yet unpunished.

I cannot deny but Dick Short's petulency and boldnesse exceedingly moved mee; and whereas he sent me word, that the pillars of our church supported him; I replyed, that they were the catterpillars of the church; and so they are, for they devoure the church of God, and eat up his people like bread. And howsoever they glory in the name of church, and stile themselves with that dignity, excluding all others from that title, by the name of laicks, yet I boldly averre, they are so far from being the church, as they are not so much as the rubbish of that glorious fabricke; for they persecute, destroy, and ruine the true church of Christ, and afflict and weary his memberscontinually; and for that end have their sworn servants through the kingdome, to give them information against both minister and people that are of a more godly and strict life, and that desire, in

the purity of his ordinances, to serve the Lord. I pray looke through all parishes, and you shall see, as I sayd, they have their servants in them, and such as they encourage by rewards to informe against them that feare the Almighty, and set their faces towards the heavenly Jerusalem.

The sextin and the church-wardens and sidemen, they are the prelats servants and slaves, principally and *ex officio*; and they first look to the minister, whether he bee a diligent observer of all the fopperyes of conformity, and all additional jackenapes trickes, and popish abominations, and profayne fooleryes, the bishops, by their canons and articles, impose upon him; and if he be fayling in the least, though it be without offence to any, or contempt, but out of mere conscience; let him be never so holy, so learned, so diligent in his cure; nay, let him do never so much good, both by his example and ministry, he is *ipso facto* throwne into a thousand perplexities, and tossed from one court to another, till they have quite exhausted him, and then they turne him out from house and home, and send him a-begging. Nay, which is yet to be taken notice of, if he be a diligent preacher, and a vigilent watchman, it is enough to ensnare him; and if they have no just quarrell, they will faine articles against him, and *ex officio* prosecute him; and, by virtue of their office, they will pillage and rob his study first, as they did by me, and take away all his papers and writings, to see if they can get any advantage against him out of them; and then, upon one triviall occasion or other, or if he will not cut his own throat by his answer, they forthwith suspend him, saying he is refractory to authority, and that he hath not answered fully enough; and after, upon refusal of further answer, (which is the best declining of eminent misery and danger,) they eject him out of his living and honest employments, pretending it was because of his contempt, when there was none. Againe, on the other side, if he joyne issue, and the suite be brought to an hearing, the man depending upon the goodness of his cause, and knowing the integrity of his own heart; then comes forth Doctor Satan, the accuser of the brethern, otherwise called the king's advocate; who appearing before the renowned metropolitans, that poule and shave all Christ's sheep, and the other reverend sheepshavers, he exceedingly, with many invectives and contumelyes, aggravates all the fained articles against him whom he never knew nor saw before; and many times most affectionately urgeth, for want of soldier grounds, the multiplicity of the articles; when, notwithstanding, they have made them all themselves, and in such a numerosity, that they might catch him in one or other of them; and it is easy with them to make a two or three hundred of them: it is their trade to be traducers, that cursed occupation. But this, I acknowledge, is principally done, both by the advocate and judges, when they can prove nothing against him; and then, indeed, the advocate flyes to the dressar, and desires that right horrible board to take into more serious consideration, that howsoever there be no apparent proof of any of the articles against him, yet the number and multitude of the articles do sufficiently argue he is a sublime puritan; and therefore it would be very dangerous to the church for such a one to have any publick place in the ministry; upon which supposition he humbly entreats them to exercise the authority of the keyes, and to thurst out so dangerous and unprofitable a member. After, then, the prevaricator hath done his part of speech, he leaveth the definitive sentence to these grave, ancient, and musty seniors; who, after they have well mumbled him with the stumps of their old taunts, revilings, reproaches, and with language no way beseeming gravity, nor Christ's successors; after, I say, they have wearied him as a poore lamb among a company of wolves, then imposing upon one shoulder a great bag of round costs, and upon the other a good fine, to pay them all well; then, in mere conscience, they thurst him out of the synagogue, and make him goe seeke his living in some other country. And of these passages we have dayly experience; and by such wicked inventions as these they have rooted out and undone almost all the faithful, pious, and diligent ministers in the kingdome, and such as made conscience of their actions, and that did care-

fully instruct the people in the wayes of God, both publickly and privately, and stirred up others, by life and doctrine, so to doe: And to all this their wickedness, they raile against them to kings and nobles.

And in those good pastors and ministers places they have installed, foysted in, and put priests *secundum ordinem diaboli*; for the most part such a generation of vipers, of proud, ungratefull, idle, wicked, and illiterate asses; and such profane scorners of all piety and goodness, and so beastly lascivious and lecherous, as no pretty wench can keepe her honesty for them; and men of such conversation, for the generality of them, as they are not fit for civill society; and fellows so treacherous and perfideous, as no man can be secure in their company; and, to speak the truth, spyes in the familyes of all the nobility and gentry where they read prayers, to give intelligence against them; withall, so brauling and contentious, as upon every petty occasion they sue their parishioners in one court or other; especially if they be honest men, they then trounce them in their spiritual courts to death, and this to drill them up in the law. As for the gospell and preaching, they never knew what it was, nor never loved it, as by their lives and manners is evidently manifest; for they will doe any thing, and be of any religion, for living and gaine: They look not what God commands or forbids, for they are pretily ignorant of that, but what the bishops and the times require and injoyne. And such as these would the prelats have every where, which are fittest for their devillish purposes.

If God sayes, Six dayes thou shalt labour and doe all that thou hast to doe, but the seventh is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God, in it thou shalt doe no manner of work, &c.; if the prelates say to the contrary, and affirme that that commandment is now abrogated, and although it were not, yet only the laborious works of their ordinary calling are forbidden, and not recreations and corporall exercises of pleasure; and therefore command and bid their priests to publish this to the people, that they may know their liberty for the profanation of the Lord's day, and the shamefull breaking of this divine precept; those master Sir Johns will incontinently doe it. Yea, if it were to teach them to break all God's commandments at once, and to cast away and abandon all piety and goodness, they are fit for this purpose. If it bring gaine, they will doe any thing, be it never so wicked, for it is their calling. If God sayes, Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven image, or the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath; thou shalt not bow down to it nor worship it, &c.; if the prelates say, notwithstanding, I will have you make you an altar, and worship and fall down to it, or at least to worship the communion-table, or a piece of bread, and make the people doe so too; they then are for these imployments likewise. If Saint Paul and the other apostles give Timothy and Titus, and all other ministers, a strict charge to preach the word, in season and out of season, and injoyne them, as they love the Lord Jesus Christ, and will answer it at his glorious appearing, that they diligently feed their flocks, &c; if the prelats say to the contrary, and bid away with these preachments; there is too much of them already; they will most devoutly and dexterously obey it, and never preach at all; or if at any time they breake silence, it were better they held their peace; so full of ignorance, vanity, and superstition their discourses are stuffed withall, as it brings a nausiousness to the hearers; and all this you know to be true. I pray, what think you now of your great masters? Tell mee, in good sooth, do you think your prelats are the church of God, and those holy fathers you thought they were?

After they have got a Jeroboamit priest and a sextin for their purpose, their next study is to accomodate themselves with such church-wardens and sidemen as, joyning with them, may lie in perpetual wait for the ruine of the people and the church of God. And indeed they are so many spyes in every congregation through the king-

dome and land, to give information, not onely of what themselves know, but of what they heare (for that is given them also in charge) of their parishioners proceedings in matters of religion; and they are all sworne and bound to tell truely and faithfully, upon their own perills, and as they will avoid perjury and the censure of their courts, whatsoever they know, and have heard or learned; and for this purpose they have courts of inquisition through their dioces, where all the church-wardens are summoned, convented, and examined upon the articles they were sworne to; amongst the which there is inquiry made, whether the people do diligently and reverently observe all the orders and ceremonyes the church injoynes; which is impossible for men to doe; for the church is now as full of ceremonyes as a dog is full of fleas: At the entrance, in the midle, at the going out, everywhere one meets with ceremonyes; so that coming into their churches, one would thinke himselfe rather in the schoole of Numa Pompilius, or in the college of the old Roman priests, then conversant in the church of Christ and the house of God.

To speake the truth, such a multitude of trumperyes and grollish ceremonyes are brought in by the prelats, as all the substance of religion is thrust out; I mean true godlinesse, piety, and charity, all which they have excluded and overthrowne with their baggatelle inventions. The church-wardens therefore must first informe about their beggerly rudiments; and for that they have a strict charge given them to take notice about capping, ducking, standing, and kneeling, and whether the parishioners be diligent at divised service; (a plaguy deale of porridge!) and whether or no they doe not goe to hear sermons out of their owne parishes when they have none at home; or whether or no they doe not know, or have not heard, that they conferre among themselves at their table-meetings, or at any other privat assembly, about points of religion, and about the Holy Scripture; and whether or no they do not know, or have not heard, that any of their parish meet together where they have extemporary prayer, repetition of sermons, or expositions and interpretation of Scripture, and conferences familiar among themselves about religion: If they doe, then they are bound to informe against them, and to present them; so that sometimes forty at once, or more, are mounted and sublimated into the high-commission court, and there mercilesly tormented.

These, and an hundred such like articles, are dayly every where published by the prelats; and they have their sworne servants to see the execution of them, to the ruine, not onely of the king's subjects, but of all religion and Christian conversation and brotherly society: So that there are snares set to catch the good people with throughout, every parish being full of spies; in so much that no honest man knowes how to speake, or how to converse, nor how to live piously; for this is now a snare, as it was to Daniel; whose enemyes know not how to intrap him but in the matters of his God, about his worship and religion. And with the same weapons do the prelats now fight against the true Daniels and dearest servants of God in our age, and against the church of God; and all this you know to be true. And will you yet say that they are the church of God, and the apostles successors?

But, I pray, see a little more the horrible cruelty and arrogancy of the prelats in the execution of their pontifician offices. They will have all the church-wardens sworne to them in a far stricter and more obligatory manner then subjects are sworne to their kings and rulers, as you may see in the oath that is fixed before the articles of Saint Ren, now pope of Norwice; as honest a gent as ever went over a house; of which I may say as the poore woman simply spake, coming to London, and meeting three or foure cart-loads of soules going from Newgate to Tyberne, the cure of all their diseases, *A goodly faire company*; God blesse them, sayth shee: So I may say there is a faire company of them. You cannot but necessarily imagine it was some man of God that made those articles, but I will assure you it was a man of the god of this world,

that infatuats the minds of most men, and so blinds their eyes, that they cannot see so clearly into the wickednes and satanicall projectes of the prelats, which, if they could well be looked into and deserned, would make them monstrous and abominated of all men, as they deserve; for, besides their arrogancy and cruelty, see their audacious and frontlesse wickednes, in forcing men to such an oath, and to the execution of such articles, which in themselves are nefarious, impious, and damnable; for in becomming their sworne servants, upon such conditions, they make themselves the enemyes of Christ and of all goodnes, and the calumniators of the righteous, which is the devills office; and they make those things sinnes and offences which God counts virtues, and which he commends and strictly commands; which is, that the people should heare diligently the word of God, in season and out of season, and desire the syncere milke of it, to grow thereby, and that it should dwell in them plentifully; and withall, that they should exhort one another with psalmes, and hymnes, and spiritual songs, &c.; and they should in all places lift up pure hands and hearts, and assemble themselves together; and that they should edify and instruct one another while it is called to-day; and that they should not be servants of men. All those duties, and many more, doth God command and commend unto his servants and children; all which the prelats condemne and forbid, and the performance of any which holy dutyes are presented by their sworne bond-men the church-wardens, and in their courts punished, to the perdition and undoing of thousands in a yeare through the kingdome, as is well knowne to all men.

And to this wicked and diabolicall office do they constraine men in every parish, and make them their subjects whether they will or no, so that most through ignorance, and many out of feare and cowardise, are made the servants and attendants of the devill and Antichrist. So damnable an office this is, as if men were well informed of it, they would a thousand times rather suffer death then undertake it. To speake the truth, it is the office of Satan and Judas, that archbishop and primate of traytors, to be betrayers of innocent blood, and accusers of the brethren, the deare servants of the Lord, and to call that evill which is good, and that good which is evill, both which are an abomination to the Lord. Yet all this the church-wardens are sworne to; and therefore they are in a miserable and damnable condition as many as put themselves into these employments under the prelats, and are made their scullions.

And howsoever, notwithstanding it is so base and unworthy an office, and so prejudicial to a mans owne soule, and so dangerous to the church of God, and advantageous to Antichrists kingdome, when he shall find all his servants, if he chance to come once againe, yet I have never knowne but one that hath, with the losse of all, refused this oath; for the prelats ruine all that will not obey them, though, while they require it, it is an infinite wrong to the kings subjects, and against the lawes, and their libertyes and privileges.

One, neverthelesse, I have known, Master John Warton by name, a citizen in Bow Parish, in London, a true servant of the Lord, and a loyall subject to his prince, and a lover of the saints, who suffered the spoyling of his goods, and the losse of all that ever he had many times, and hath been tumbled into I know not how many jayles, and all for refusing the marke of the beast, and this wicked office; and hath been under the prelats persecution these thirty years. And although he be above fourescore and one yeare old, yet do they still prosecute him cruelly; and the last bitter winter they put him in prison, and had like to have slayne and murdered him with the cold. Yet nothing greived that good old father but that he had no stronger body to undergoe his trouble, and to fight in his Christian warfare against the beast. I can not but mention this worthy, who deserves to be recorded among all the primary confessors, as being a true martyr in desire, and who stands yet to the battle, and flinches not, but

fights in the face of all those sucking dragons, with such constancy and courage, for the honour of God and his prince, and the good of his country, as he may be a president of valour to the worlds end, to all them that love the Lord Jesus, and desire that he should rule in their hearts, lives, and in his church. A valiant and veteran soldier he is, and I love him and honour him for it.

But once more, what doe you thinke of these cathedrall fathers, that thus torment and vex the children of God, old, young, of all sorts and sexes, and make havock of the church of God? Will you yet say they are the apostles successors, and thinke they are the church of God? I conclude the quite contrary, and that from the demonstrative reasons you have seene before. And for further elucidation and proofe of this matter, it will not be amisse to set downe something that now comes to my mind, which I have often heard in times past, from some old acquaintance of mine, and the prelats favourits, Tom Newcomin by name, clarke, rector of Sir Romwals, in Colchester, and chaplin in ordinary to the clubbers; and Jack Danet, fogger, attorney-generall of the same society and corporation of biberons and tiplers, both eminent men. These two worthyes especially, and their companions, gave mee singular information of the prelats proceedings in the dayes of my first acquaintance with them, by which I gathered they were none of Christs successors nor the apostles followers; for they being such men as seemed then cordially to bewayle the adversityes, wretchednes, and evils of the times and age we lived in, were wont most confidently to affirme, that the prelats were the cause of all the miseryes, desolations, and fatall calamities in church and state; the onely instruments to incense the king and nobles against all the best Christians, and his faithfullest subjects; devising foule things, and fathering the same upon them, though most innocent, and all out of an inveterate hatred they had of all goodnes, and the power and life of godlinesse.

For the most of them, as they then averred, were either papists or arminians, or worse, but all confederates in this, to suppresse holynesse of life, being a thing so contrary to their impietie, pompe, and arrogancy, as they could not possibly stand together: For they sayd that their houses and palaces were the siminaryes and plantaryes of pride and luxury; their courts the schooles and nurseries of atheisme and prophanesse; their seas and shelves the ruine and shipwrecke of the saints; their gaoles and prisons the butchery and shambles of all those that with ardent affection sought reformation in the church, and wished well unto Sion, and would not be slaves unto them in all their innovations and popish inventions, with their deluding motions. Neither could there any good be looked for in this iron age of bishops, (as they tearmed it,) that hammered downe all piety and sanctity, under the name of puritanisme, and cobled up superstition and will-worship, under the title of Gods service, and prophanesse, under the sirname of lawfull recreations, to the dishonour of God and the king. These, and many things more, that are not to be named, (as I am ready to depose,) have I heard these their owne prophets belch out against them, speaking then as they thought and verily believed; and who in those houres would not feare to call them the tinkers and coblers of Babel, and say, that for the re-edifying of that ruined tower, the prelats cared not if they brought confusion upon the whole church of God. And will you affirme then, that these are Christ and his apostles successors, or the church of God?

But because they are of unsound manners, and by their practices of late made infamous, you perhaps will say, such mens witnes is of no validity. It is true, indeed, their testimony is not worth a louce; neither are those shabs, for any merit in themselves, (and to speak candidly of them,) worthy to give guts unto a beare. But yet the prelats actions and proceedings are apparent to the view of all men, and by their works they are knowne: And it is a common saying, Like master, like man. Let us looke upon their servants and officers therefore, and the experience of all men will

make much for the confirmation of this discourse, that the bishops are not the apostles successors. What I have learned upon my owne experience I shall briefly tell you, and in that I protest, before heaven and earth, (in the word of a soldier,) as I looke for the immortality of the better life, I will say nothing but the truth, (without hatred to any mans person,) both of what I know and beleeve. For the proceedings of their courts in generall, they are diabolical and impious, full of extortions, oppressions, and cruelty, exhausting and ruining all that come into them; so that all that have been in them can make volumes of their tiranny, neither can you be ignorant of their wickednesse there.

For their officers of all sorts, which are their serving creatures, to speake a little of them, I never saw a more prophane rabbell in any place wherever I have been, as if they had all with purpose and resolution of mind, and with an unanimous consent, conspired and made a league with hell, and set themselves to fight and wage warre against the heavens. Swearing, ribbaldry, scurrylity, baudry, corrupt speeches, and filthy communication, (such as chaste eares cannot heare,) impious blasphemy, and scorning of all piety and godlinesse, with rayling against the wayes of God, with deridings and mockings of all them that feare the Lord, and all manner of lying, dissimulation, perjury, and false accusations, and breathing out threats and persecutions against the generation of the just, are the ordinary, dayly, and hourely dialects and idiome of the prelats progeny and offspring.

And for their conversations, they are exorbitantly luxurious, temulent, inordinately proud, and excessively ingerdigious and exacting; and of such debauchednes of lives and manners, and so brutish and unnaturall, as the very sinnes of Sodome and the old world are revived againe amongst them. Ebriety, venery, fullnes of bread, and idlenes, are the least sins of that convocation, and accounted among them but peccadiglios, yea, a theame and matter of ludibry. Greater cruelty, extortion, rapine, robbery, and bribery, (to say nothing of devillary, atheisme, and popery,) I know no where, nor more daring oppressions, (those crying and clamorous sins,) then in the dayly practices of that conclave and commons.

So that a good Christian thinks himself in the suburbs of hell all the time he is constrayned by unnecessary and malicious vexation to be among them, insomuch that many honest men are compelled to fly the countrey; and others care not upon what termes it be, so that they may get out from their society, that their righteous soules may be no longer vexed with the uncleane conversation of those filthy locusts that came out of the bottomles pit; for, from the pope to the pursuivant and paritor, they are all a malignant and corrupt linage and brood of crokers; and this is orthodox English. I could never have beleeved what I saw and heard there, and I want words to set it forth; and indeed it grieves me I must make those things a subject now of my discourse, that at other times I would scorne to make an object of my cogitations; and that I must at this instant contaminate my soule with thinking of that which, had I words and utterance to expresse, is not to be named among Christians.

I shall ever be of this opinion and persuasion, that there is never a one of the prelats courts, but the wickednes of that alone, and their vassals in it, is able to bring a continuall and perpetuall plague upon the kings three dominions. What may we then thinke of all their conventicles together, where all manner of wickednes, impietie, and uncleannes are vendible? So that if men will open their purses wide, *ad pios usus*, to buy their wives petticoats, remission of sinnes and absoluton, with a free immunity from all danger, is with great facility granted unto them. O the long-suffering and patience of our great God! It is his rich mercy we are not consumed, when there is no punishment inflicted against the violators of his most just, holy, righteous, and weightiest lawes; and when there is no severity thought great enough for those that in the least thing transgresse their apish and impious traditions, and vainest and idlest ceremonies. And shall we thinke and say, notwithstanding all this, that these are

Christs successors? Fy, fy upon such crying hypocrisy, and temerarious adulation! Without doubt, till all these abominations and scandalls be taken away, and rooted out by authority, we may not long promise unto ourselves continuation of heavenly benedictions; for God will come, and not tarry, with an ample reward of punishment, when men with an high hand and out-stretched arme provoke his divine highness, as the prelats dayly doe.

And thus you see, good landlord, how ample a letter and large I have writ unto you, that I might in part convince you that the prelats are neither Christs nor his apostles successors, which you confidently beleeve, and endeavour to maintayne: And withall, that I might put you out of all feare (by the which you have hitherto been withheld from granting mee the least liberty) that I am in no flying mood.

And to draw now to a conclusion, take notice of what I say for ever. So far I am from flying, or fearing, as I resolve to make warre against the beast, and every limbe of Anti-Christ, all the dayes of my life. (Neither did I ever thinke that man fit to doe either God, or his king, or his countrey service, that is a son of feare.) If I die in that battle, so much the sooner I shall be sent in a chariot of triumph to heaven; and when I come there, I will, with those that are under the altar, cry, How long, Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our bloud upon them that dwell upon the earth. And I shall with joy then and alacrity appeare before that great tribunall, when such judges as put mee into your keeping shall wish the mountaynes and the rocks to fall upon them, and the hills to cover them from the sight and presence of the Lamb that sits upon the throne, for their impious dealing. In the meane time, leaving the prelats to the repayring of Fooles steeple,[1] and the dilapidating of the church of God and the kings good subjects, with my earnest entreatyes that you would gratify mee in either of my requests, I remayne your most infettered, in *Limbo Patrum*,

JOHN BASTWICK.

I add this as a corollary, that there is no man truly fearing God, and honouring the king, and that wisheth well to church and state, being well informed of the truth, can be an enemy to any honest man, that are now branded with the name of puritans, or a friend to bishops. For as many prelats in England, so many vipers in bowels of church and state; all which I speake not from any disguised passion, such as rashness and vanity furnish men withall, but from the judgement of deliberation, and which I will maintaine with my blood and life: Onely, in the discussing of these things, I shall ever appeale from the prelats dressar to the tribunall of Cæsar; for they are all delinquents, in a high degree of contumacy, both against God and the king. At which time I doubt not, by the grace of God, but so to advance the arke of truth, as all those Dagons, the prelats, that the world now worship, shall never be able to stand before it: For I will come against them in the name and in the power of the king eternall, immortall, the mighty potentate, the Lord of Hosts.

The Obligation of John Bastwick, Doctor of Phisick, to Meester Aquila Wycks, Keeper of the Gate-house, his good Angel, made the 28th of September, 1636.

In nomine Domini incipit omne malum episcopale.

Be it knowne, therefore, unto all men, by these presents, that I, John Bastwick, doctor of physick, in *Limbo Patrum*, do bind myselfe in this obligation, to Mr Aquila Wiks, that if he neither delivers mee out of this Egypt and house of bondage, where now I am, by the tenth day of October next, nor will not let mee goe to sacrifice

[1] Subscriptions were exacted from the citizens for repairing St Paul's.

unto my beloved joe, that from that time forth I will, with a pen of iron, correspondent to the iron age of prelats, so plague the metropolicallity of Yorke and Canterbury, and the hyperocality of all the other prelats, as I will never leave them, till I have sent them to the place where the two *fulmina belli* Alexander the Great cryes mustard and greene sauce, and where Julius Cæsar playes Plutoes rat-catcher. And if I be found at any time fayling in this endeavour, to pay unto the sayd Meester Aquila Wicks as much money as the tayle of the beast is worth. In witness whereof I have set my hand, the day and yeare above-written, being now resident in my diocese, in *Limbo Patrum*.

JOHN BASTWICK.

This, with the corollary, I have added to my Letany, as additionall articles; the one to shew the summe of what I undertake to do, the other to demonstrate the reason of the calling I have to flang the grols, which many doubt of; and all this I have done to take away all hesitation hereafter from all men, when they shall see I am bound to it by a speciall obligation under mine owne hand.

Heare is the end of the First Part of the Letany of Doctor Bastwick:
there are Seaven Parts more of it to come out.

The Fore-runner of Revenge, being a Petition to the Kings most Excellent Majesty: Wherein is expressed divers Actions of the late Earle of Buckingham; especially concerning the Death of King James and the Marquess Hamelton, supposed by Poyson. Also may be observed the Inconveniencies befalling a State, where the noble Disposition of the Prince is misled by a Favourite.

George Eglisham was one of the physicians who attended King James I. in his last illness, and having dropped some expressions throwing blame upon the Duke of Buckingham, as having administered medicines which hastened the death of his royal patient, he was forced to fly to Brussels, where he lived many years. It is remarkable, that in the following virulent accusation of the Duke of Buckingham, he quotes no particulars, refers to no living witnesses, nor is pleased even to state distinctly what was to rest on his own testimony. A list of persons designed for slaughter, picked up in the street, and associating with kings and nobles of the first rank, no less a person than Dr Eglisham himself, is far too absurd a foundation for the superstructure he would rear upon it. Yet thus far is certain, that Buckingham, by tampering with the king's health, and administering empirical medicines, compounded by his mother, or the quacks whom she employed, was guilty of great imprudence, and subjected himself to the suspicions of the public, ever ready to assign some extraordinary and violent cause for the death of princes. In the articles of impeachment brought against the duke, in 1626, this charge was not forgotten, although it is so stated, as rather to infer an irregular interference with the king's treatment, than a direct accusation of poison. The charge, and answer by the duke, are thus given by Rushworth:—

"Whereas the sworn physicians of our late sovereign lord King James, of blessed memory, attending on his majesty in the month of March, in the two and twentieth year of his most glorious reign, in the times of his sickness, being an ague, did, in due and necessary care of, and for the recovery of his health, and preservation of his person, upon, and after several mature consultations, had and holden at several times of the same month, resolve and give directions, That

nothing should be applied or given to his highness, by way of physick or diet, during this said sickness, but by and upon their general advice and consents; and after good deliberation thereof first had, more especially by their like care, and upon like consultations, did justly resolve, and publicly give warning, to and for all the gentlemen, and other servants and officers of his said late majesty's bed-chamber, That no meat or drink whatsoever should be given unto him within two or three hours next before the usual time of, and for the coming of his fit in the said ague, nor during the continuance thereof, nor afterwards, until his cold fit were past. The said duke of Buckingham, being a sworn servant of his late majesty, of, and in his majesty's said bed-chamber, contrary to his duty, and the tender respect he ought to have had of his majesty's most sacred person, and after the consultations, resolutions, directions, and warnings aforesaid, did, nevertheless, without any sufficient warrant in that behalf, unduly cause and procure certain plaisters, and a certain drink or potion to be provided for the use of his said majesty, without the direction or privity of his said late majesty's physicians, not prepared by any of his majesty's sworn apothecaries or chyrurgeons, but compounded of several ingredients to them unknown. Notwithstanding the same plaisters, or some plaister like thereunto, having been formerly administered unto his said majesty, did produce such ill effects, as that some of the said sworn physicians did altogether disallow thereof, and utterly refused to meddle any further with his said late majesty, until these plaisters were removed, as being hurtful and prejudicial to the health of his majesty, yet, nevertheless, the same plaister, as also a drink or potion, was provided by him the said duke; which he, the said duke, by colour of some insufficient and slight pretences, did, upon Monday the one and twentieth day of March, in the two and twentieth year aforesaid, when his majesty, by the judgment of his said physicians, was in the declination of his disease, cause and procure the said plaisters to be applied to the breast and wrist of his said late majesty: And then also, at and in his majesty's fit of the said ague, the said Monday, and at several times within two hours before the coming of the said fit, and before his majesty's then cold fit was passed, did deliver, and cause to be delivered, several quantities of the said drink or potion to his said late majesty; who thereupon, at the same times, within the seasons in that behalf prohibited by his majesty's physicians, as aforesaid, did, by the means and procurement of the said duke, drink and take divers quantities of the said drink or potion.

"After which said plaisters and drink or potion, applied and given unto, and taken and received by his said majesty, as aforesaid, great distempers and divers ill symptoms appeared upon his said majesty; insomuch that the said physicians finding his majesty the next morning much worse in the state of his health, and holding a consultation thereabout, did, by joint consent, send unto the said duke, praying him not to adventure to minister to his majesty any more physick, without their allowance and approbation. And his said majesty himself, finding himself much diseased and affected with pain and sickness after his then fit, when, by the course of his disease, he expected intermission and ease, did attribute the cause of such his trouble unto the said plaister and drink, which the said duke had so given, and caused to be administered unto him. Which said adventurous act, by a person obliged in duty and thankfulness, done to the person of so great a king, after so ill success of the like formerly administered, contrary to such directions aforesaid, and accompanied with so unhappy event, to the great grief and discomfort of all his majesty's subjects in general, is an offence and misdemeanour of so high a nature, as may justly be called, and is, by the said commons, deemed to be an act of transcendent presumption, and of dangerous consequence."—RUSHWORTH's *Historical Collections*, I. 350.

The Duke's Reply:—"To this charge, which is set forth in such an expression of words as might argue an extraordinary guiltiness in the duke, who, by such infinite bounds of duty and thankfulness, was obliged to be tender of the life and health of his most dread and dear sovereign and master, he maketh this clear and true answer: That he did neither apply nor procure the plaister or posset-drink, in the charge termed to be a potion, unto his late majesty; nor was present when the same was first taken or applied: But the truth is this, That his majesty being sick of an ague, took notice of the duke's recovery of an ague not long before, and asking him how he had recovered, and what he found did him most good? the duke gave him a particular answer thereto, and that one, who was the earl of Warwick's physician, had ministred a plaister and posset-drink to him; and the chief thing which did him good was a vomit, which he wished the king had taken in the beginning of his sickness. The king was very desirous to have that plaister and posset-drink sent for, but the duke delayed it; whereupon the king impatiently asked, Whether it were sent for or not? And finding by the duke's

speeches he had not sent for it, his late majesty sent for John Baker, the duke's servant, and with his own mouth commanded him to go for it; whereupon the duke besought his majesty not to make use of it but by the advice of his own physicians, nor until it shall be tried of James Palmer, of his bed-chamber, who was then sick of an ague, and upon two children of the town; which the king said he would do: And in this resolution the duke left his majesty, and went to London; and in the mean time, in his absence, the plaister and posset-drink was brought, and applied by his majesty's own command. At the duke's return his majesty was in taking of the posset-drink; and the king then commanded the duke to give it him, which he did in the presence of some of the king's physicians, they then no ways seeming to dislike it; the same drink being first tasted of by some of them, and diverse others in the king's bed-chamber. And he thinketh this was the second time the king took it. Afterwards, when the king grew somewhat worse than before, the duke heard a rumour, as if his physick had done the king hurt, and that the duke had ministred that physick to him without advice. The duke acquainted the king therewith, to whom the king, with much discontent, answered thus: 'They are worse than devils that say it.' So far from the truth it was, which now, notwithstanding, (as it seemeth,) is taken up by some, and with much confidence affirmed. And here the duke humbly prayeth all your lordships, not only to consider the truth of this answer, but also to commiserate the sad thought which this article had revived in him."—*Ibid.* p. 389.

To the most potent Monarch Charles, King of Great Britaine.

The humble Petition of George Eglisham, Doctor of Physicke, lately one of King James his Physicians for his Majesties Person above the space of ten Yeares.

Sir,

No better motive there is for a safe government, then the safe meditation of death, (equalling kings with beggars,) and the exact justice of God requiring of them that the good, suffering misery in this life, should receive joy in the other; and the wicked flourishing securely in this, might be punished in the other. That which pleaseth lasteth but a moment; which tormenteth is everlasting. Many things wee see unrewarded or unpunished in this inferior world, which, in the universall weight of God's justice, must bee counterpoised elsewhere; but wilfull and secret murther hath seldome been observed to escape undiscovered or unpunished, even in this life: Such a particular and notable revenge perpetually followeth it to the end, that they who are either atheists or matchiavelists may not trust too much to their wits in doing so horrible injustice. Would to God your majesty would well consider what I have often said to my master, King James,—the greatest policie is honesty; and howsoever any man seeme to himselfe wise in compassing his desires by trickes, yet in the end he will prove a foole; for falsehood ever deceiveth her owne master at length, as the divell (author of all falsehood) alwayes doth, leaving his adherents dessolate when they have the greatest need of his help. No falshood without injustice, no injustice without falshood, albeit it were in the person of a king.

There is no judge in the world more tied to do justice then a king, whose coronation tieth him unto it by solemne oath, which, if he violate, he is false and perjured.

It is justice that maketh kings, justice that maintains kings, and injustice that brings kings and kingdomes to destruction, to fall into misery, to die like asses in ditches, or a more beastly death, eternall infamy after death, as all histories from time to time do clearly manifest.

What need hath mankind of kings but for justice? Men are not borne for them, but they for men. What greater, what more royall occasion in the world could bee offered to your majesty to shew your impartiall disposition in matters of justice, at the

first entry of your reigne, then this which I offer in my just complaint against Buckingham, by whom your majesty suffereth yourself so far to be led, that your best subjects are in doubt whether he is your king, or you his. If your majesty know and consider how he hath tyrannized over his lord and master King James, (the worldly creator of his fortunes,) how insolent, how ingrate an oppressor, what a murtherer and traitor he hath proved himselfe towards him, how treacherous to his upholding friends, the marquess of Hamelton[1] and others, your majesty may think (giving way to the lawes demanded against him) to yeeld a most glorious field for your majesty to walk in, and display the banner of your royal virtues.

Your majesty may perhaps demand what interest I have therein? what have I to doe therewith, that I should stir, all others being quiet? Sir, the quietnes or stirring of others expecteth only a beginning from me, whom they know so much obliged to stirre, as none can bee more, both in respect of knowledge of passages, and in regard of humane obligation, and of my independency from the accused, or any other that his power or credit can reach unto. Many know not what I know therein, others are little or nothing beholding to the dead; others albeit know it as well as I, and are obliged as deep as I, yet dare not complain so safely as I, being out of their reach who are inseparable from him by his inchantments, and all to obscure myselfe untill the power of just revenge upon him be obtained from God.

What I know sufficient against him, I have set down in my petition against him to the parliament; to which if your majesty dismisse him, sequestred from your majesty chiefly in an accusation of treason, you shall doe what is just, and deliver yourselfe and your kingdome from the captivity in which he holdeth them and your majesty oppressed. How easily I may eclipse myselfe from his power to doe me harme, unless he hath legions of infernall spirits at his command to pursue me, your majesty may well know, I being *ultra mare* to these dominions where he ruleth and rageth.

How far I am obliged to complain more than others, I will in few words express that neither your majesty nor any man may thinke otherwise but that I have most just reason not to be silent in a wrong so intolerable. The interest of blood which I have to any of them of whose death I complain, either by the house of Balgony, Lunday, or Silverton-Hill, albeit it is easie to be made manifest and sufficient to move me, yet it is not the sole motive of my breach of silence; but the interest of received courtesie, and the heap of infallible tokens of true affection, is more then sufficient to stirr me thereto, unlesse I would prove the most ingrate in the world, and senseles of the greatest injuries that can be done unto myselfe; for who killed King James and Marquess Hamelton? In that part of the injury which is done unto me therein, he hath done as much as robbed me of my life, and all my fortunes and friends.

With such constant and loving impressions of me as are neither to be recovered nor duly valued; for his majesty, from the third year of my age, did practise honorable tokens of singular favour towards me; daily augmented them in word, in writ, in deed; accompanied them with gifts, patents, offices, recommendations, both in privat and publicke; at home and abroad graced so far, that I could scarce aske any thing, but I could have obtained it.

How much honor he hath done unto me, there needs no witnes unto your majesty, who is sufficient for many. No less is my lord marquess Hameltons friendship established by mutual obligation of most acceptable offices continued by our ancestors these three generations, ingraven in the tender minds and yeares of the marquess and

[1] James, marquis of Hamilton, a person in great esteem, both with James I. and his subjects of both kingdoms, died at London in the year 1625, in the flower of manhood. He had so great influence over the king's affections, that, as we learn from Clarendon, he rivalled Buckingham himself in his favour; and it is probable that the jealousy of these two great men was the only foundation for Dr Eglisham's scandalous accusation.

me in the presence of our soveraigne king James. For when the marquese his father, who, with the right hand on his head, and the left on mine, did offer us (young in years so joyned) to kiss his majesties hand, recommending me to his majesties favour, said, I take God to witnes, that this young man's father was the best friend that ever I had, or shall have in this world. Whereupon the young Lord resolved to put trust in mee, and I fully to addict myselfe to him, to deserve of him as much commendations as my father did of his father.

This royall celebration of our friends rooted itselfe so deep in my minde, that to myselfe I purposed this remembrance, giving it to my young Lord, and to my familiar friends, and set it upon the bookes of my study, *Semper Hameltonium*, &c.

Alwayes the king and Hamelton
Within thy breast conserve,
Whatever be thy actions,
Let princes two deserve.

Neither was it in vain, for both our loves increased with our age, the marques promising to engage his life and whole estate for mee, if need were, and so share his fortunes with me; and not only promising, but also performing whenever there was occasion; yea, for my sake offering to hazard his life in combat, whose minde in wishing me well, whose tongue in honouring of mee, and whose hands and means in defending me (both absent and present, unto the last period of his life) hath ever assisted me.

I should be more tedious then were fit, if I should rehearse every particular favour so manifestly knowne to the whole court, and to the friends of us both; who then can justly blame me demanding justice, as well for the slaughter of the marquesse of Hamelton, as of my most gracious soveraigne king James, seeking I know whom to accuse? My profession of physicke, nor my education to letters, cannot serve to hinder me from undertaking the hardest enterprise that ever any Roman undertooke, so farre as the law of conscience will give way.

Why should I stay at the decay
Of Hameltons the hope?
Why should I see my foe so free,
Unto this joy give scope?
Rather I pray a dolefull day
Set me in cruell fate:
Then thy death strange without revenge,
Or him in safe estate.
This soule to heaven, and to the dead I vow,
No fraudfull minde, nor trembling hand I have:
If pen it shun, the sword revenge shall follow.
Soule, pen, and sword, what thing but just doe crave.

What affection I bore to the living, the same shall accompany the dead; for when one (whose truth and sincerity was well knowne unto me) told me, that it was better that the chiefest of my friends, the marquesse of Hamelton, to be quiet at home in Scotland, then eminent in court of England; to whom, by the opinion of the wiser sort, his being at court will cost him no lesse then his life; with that I, stretching forth mine arme, (apprehending some plots laid against him,) answered, If no man dare to revenge his death, I vow to God this hand of mine shall revenge it; scarcely any other cause to bee found, then the bond of our close friendship, why in the

scrowle of noble mens names who were to be killed, I should be set downe next to the marques of Hamelton, and under these words, viz. "The marquesse and doctor Eglisham to embalme him;" to wit, to the end that no discoverer or revenger should be left: this roll of names, I know not by what destiny, was found neere to Westminster, about the time of the duke of Richmond his death, and brought to the lord marquesse by his cozen, the daughter of the Lord Oldbarre, one of the privy councell of Scotland, did cause no terrour in me, untill I did see the marquesse poysoned, and remembered that the rest therein noted were dead, and myselfe next pointed at only surviving; why stay I any more, the cause requireth no more the pen, but the sword.[1]

I doe not write so boldly, because I am amongst the duke's enemies, but I have retired my selfe to his enemies, because I was resolved to write and doe earnestly against him, as may very well appeare: for since the marquesse of Hameltons death, the most noble marquesse de Fiatta, embassador for the most christian king of France, and also Buckingham his mother sent on every side to seek me, inviting me to them; but I did forsake them, knowing certainly the falshood of Buckingham would suffer the embassador rather to receive an affront, then to be unsatisfied of his blood-thirsty desire of my blood, to silence mee with death, (for, according to the proverb, "The dead cannot bite,") if he could have found me: for my lord duke of Lenox, who was often crossed by Buckingham, with his brother, and the earle of Southampton, now dead, was one of the roll found of those that were to be murthered, well assured me, that where Buckingham once misliked, no apologie, no submission, no reconciliation could keep him from doing mischiefe.

Neither do I write this in this fashion so freely for any entertainment here present, which I have not, nor for any future, which I have no ground to look for; seeing Buckingham hath so much misled your majesty that he hath caused, not only here, but also in all nations, all Britain natives to be disgraced and mistrusted, your majesties most royall word, which should be inviolable, your hand and seal, which should be infringeable, to be most shamefully violated, and your selfe to be most ingrate for your kind usage in Spain, which Buckingham maketh to bee requited with injuries in a most base manner; under protestation of friendship, a bloody war being kindled on both sides, whereby he hath buried with king James the glorious name of peace-making king; who had done much more justly and advisedly if hee had procured peace unto Christendome, whereby small hope I have of obtaining justice on my most just complaint, unto which my deare affection unto my deare friends murthered, and extream detestation of Buckingham his violent proceedings hath brought me. Your majesty may finde most just causes to accuse him in my petition to the parliament, which shall serve for a touch-stone to your majesty, and a whetstone to me and many other Scotchmen; and which, if it be neglected, will make your majesty to incur a censure amongst all vertuous men in the world, that your majesty will be loth to heare of, and I am astonished to express at this time,

A serpent lurketh in the grasse.

No other way there is to be found to save your honour, but to give way to justice against that traytor Buckingham, by whom manifest danger approacheth to your majesty, no otherwise then death approached to king James.[2]

[1] Scarce any thing in this tract renders its truth more suspicious than the very disproportionate importance assumed by Dr Eglisham himself.

[2] Sir Anthony Welldon gives the following circumstantial account of the death of James I. which is, however, impugned by his adversary, the author of *Aulicus Coquinariæ*.

"He now goes to his last hunting journey, I meane the last of the yeare, (as well as of his life,) which he

If your majesty will therefore take any course therein, the examination upon oath of all those that were about the king and the marquess of Hamelton in their sicknesse, or at their deaths, or after their deaths, before indifferent judges, (no depend-

ever ended in Lent; and was seized on by an ordinary and moderate tertian ague, which at that season, according to the proverb, was physick for a king; but it proved not so to him: and, poore king, what was but physick to any other, was made mortall to him! Yet not the ague, as himselfe confessed to a servant of his now living, who cryed, 'Courage, sir, this is but a small fit, the next will be none at all;" at which he most earnestly looked, and said, 'Ah! it is not the ague afflicteth me, but the black plaister and powder given me, and laid to my stomack:' and in truth the plaister so tormented him, that he was glad to have it pulled off, and with it the skin also; nor was it faire dealing, if he had faire play, (which himself suspected, often saying to Montgomery, whom he trusted above all men in his sicknesse, 'For God's sake, looke I have faire play!') to bring in an emprick, to apply any medicines, whilst those physicians appointed to attend him were at dinner; nor could any but Buckingham answer it with lesse then his life at that present, as he had the next parliament, had it not been dissolved upon the very questioning him for the king's death, and all those that prosecuted him utterly disgraced and banished the court.

"Buckingham comming into the king's chamber, even when he was at the point of death, and an honest servant of the king's crying, 'Ah, my lord, you have undone us, all his poore servants, although you are so well provided you need not care.' At which Buckingham kickt at him, who caught his foot, and made his head come first to the ground; where Buckingham presently rising, run to the dying king's bedside, and cryed, 'Justice, sir, I am abused by your servant, and wrongfully accused:' at which the poore king (become by that time speechlesse) mournfully fixed his eyes on him, as who would have said, 'Not wrongfully.'

"It were worth the knowledge what his confession was, or what other expressions he made of himselfe, or any other; but that was only known to the dead archbishop Abbot, and the bishop Williams, then also lord keeper: and it was thought Williams had blabbed something, which incensed the king's anger and Buckingham's hatred so much against him, that the losse of his place could not be expiatory sufficient, but his utter ruine must be determined, and that not upon any knowne crime, but upon circumstances and examinations, to pick out faults comitted in his whole lifetime: but his greatest crime for the present (no question) was *lapsus linguæ*; but *quod defertur non aufertur*; for although he escaped by the calme of that parliament, yet is he more ruined by this parliament and his owne folly; and truly we may observe the just judgement of God on him, for flying from the parliament his protector, to give wicked counsell to the king his former prosecutor."—*Court of King James*, 1657, p. 160, *et seq.*

The author of *Aulicus Coquinariæ* gives us the following commentary on Welldon's text:—

"And thus, our author having hunted the king hitherto, blowes his death at parting; which, he says, 'began with a fever; but ended by a poysoned plaister applied by Buckingham. For which being questioned, the very next parliament, it was hastily dissolved for his sake, only to save his life.'

"In the entrance of the spring, the king was seized with a tertian ague, which to another constitution might not prove pestilentiall.

"But all men then knew his impatience in any pain, and alwayes utter enmity to any physick: So that nothing was administred to give him ease in his fits.

"Which at length grew violent; and in those maladies every one is apt to offer advice with such prescriptions as have been healthful unto others; and in truth, those as various as the disease is common.

"So it was remembred (by a noble, virtuous, and untaint lady for honour and honesty, yet living) of a present ease, by a plaister, approved upon severall persons, which, because the ingredients were harmless and ordinary, it was forthwith compounded, and ready for application; not without serious resolution, to present it to the physicians consent.

"But the king fallen into slumber about noon, the physicians took opportunity to retire, having watched all night till that time.

"When in the interim of their absence the king wakes, and falls from a change of the fit to timelier effect than heretofore it usually happened; which to allay, this plaister was offered and put to his stomach.

"But it wrought no mitigation, and therefore it was removed by the doctors; who being come, were much offended that any one durst assume this boldness without their consents.

"But by examination, they were assured of the composition, and a peece thereof eaten downe by the countess that made it; and the plaister itself then in being for further tryall of any suspicion of poyson. Which, if not satisfactory, it must and ought to lodge upon their score. Sir Mathew Lister, doctor Chambers, and others, who were afterwards examined herein, with very great satisfaction, to clear that calumny, and are yet living to evince each ones suspicion.

"It was indeed remembred the next parliament following; and whereof the duke was accused, as a boldness unpardonable; but in the charge (which, as I remember, Littleton managed at a conference in the Painted Chamber,) it was not urged as poysonous, but only criminous."—*Aulicus Coquinariæ*, p. 192, *et seq.*

ants on Buckingham,) will serve for sufficient proofe of Buckingham his guiltinesse. In the mean time, untill I see what will be the issue of my complaint, without any more speech, I rest,

Your majesties daily suppliant,

GEORGE EGLISHAM.

MERCURIUS BRITANNICUS.

JUDICIALIS CENSURA; Vel, CURIALIS CURIA. } Febris Judicialis. Sententia Navalis.

Tragi-Comoedia Lutetiæ, summo cum applausu publice acta.

Editio Secunda; accuratissimè revisa, castigata, et Præludi perquàm faceto decorata.

Mensem terribili mandatur Typis,
Quo Stygii Judices appulere ripis.

This ingenious piece represents the trial of the various judges who gave Charles I. the fatal advice to levy ship-money. From various passages, it would seem that the author, whoever he might be, was a man of moderate temper, who, while he disapproved of the king's encroachments on the liberty of the subject, was not inclined to favour the innovations in religion proposed by the Puritans.

SCENA,—*Smyrna.*

PERSONÆ.

1. *Euthymius.* } Duo familiares amici.
2. *Theocritus.* }
3. *Heraclitus.* } Duo Philosophi.
4. *Democritus.* }
5. *Ægon.* } Coloni rurales.
6. *Althæa.* }
7. *Coriolani* flebile spectrum, amputato capite designatum.
8. *Claudius.*
9. *Cratippus.*
10. *Corticeus.*
11. *Vigetti* defuncti debile spectrum.
12. *Trivius.*
13. *Curvus Acilius.*
14. *Ioachini* defuncti formidabile spectrum.
15. *Hortensii* defuncti amiabile spectrum.
16. *Antrvii* defuncti amicabile spectrum.

17. *Damocles.*
18. *Gliciscus Horologus.* } Pænales Judices.
19. *Chrysomitris.*
20. *Brundusius.*
21. *Primachus.*
22. *Cambrensis.* } Arbitres Consistorii.
23. *Manilius.*
24. *Perdiccas.*
25. *Euchrysius,* Clericus Curiæ.
26. *Roderigo,* Janitor.
27. *Arietus.* } Smyrnenses Cives.
28. *Priscilla.*

Chorus plebeius.
Chorus consularis.

AD LECTOREM.

Si alias alii sub hoc titulo Editiones publicis typis mandaverint; mihi credite, de Sepe subolent; ista Editio unicè genuina et germana; omnis alia sordida est et surreptitia.

PRÆLUDIUM.

Intrat Satyrus Palinurum sequens.

Sat. Heus Palinure, perpusille, theatricule, paucis te volo!

Pal. Perpaucis Satyre; ne me detineas: Moras ægrè patiar; imposita est enim nobis provincia narrandi prologum.

Sat. Prologum, mi parvule! Quid puero cum prologo? Festina lentè; esto maturè cautus. Legas, modò intelligas hunc libellum, quem prope Regalem Banchum trans-Thamisium hoc die sparsum invenimus, priusquam prologum te agas.

Palinurus chartam legit.

Judices qui emunt locos, *Astrea furens.*
Malos imitantur Coquos;
Digitos si minùs lambant,
Circuitus quando ambiunt:
Principi si non affari
Concupiscunt terræ, mari:
Conscientiis vel gravi
Putant, eò ire Navi:
Scripta timeant Quietis,
Calleat artes nisi Sinon,
Rector nunquam fiet Sion.

Pal. Quò ista ad nostrum navigium?

Sat. Quà maximè ad navigii vestri naufragium. Alia â vobis agenda esset Scæna, si justa pœnas lueret judicis sententia.

Pal. Ista nos parum tangunt; universus mundus exercet histrionem: quidni histrio purpuratum judicem?

Sat. Flagellaberis verò si surgant.

Pal. Magis vereor ne flagellentur ipsi quando resurgent.——Sed ne mihi ulterius moram facias; ultimum tubæ ediderunt sonitum, et auditores expectant prologum.

Sat. Prospice, profice, perfice. Nos interea hoc peristylio laureolis perpulchrè obsito, librè dispatiando, horulam impendere statuimus. "Gratior enim nobis apparuit ambulachri arena, quàm theatri area; theatrum ambulachri, quàm simulachrum theatri: Theatri ambulachrum, quàm ambulachri theatrum."

PROLOGUS.

Salvete omnes lepidi judicum testes;
Purpurati testes, aures arrigite,
Quot lites judicum constant sub judice;
Hic unum cernitis exulem finibus,
Hic alium variis agitatum fluctibus;
Atra sub virga alium trementem,
Gregorii nodo[1] alium pendentem.
Cardine verso volvuntur omnia,
Huc nostra spectat lacrymosa scæna.
Sin patriæ patres contueri probos
Gaudeat, consules proferemus pios,
Integræ mentis, astrææ stemmatis,
Inclytæ stirpis, speciosi ordinis.
Hi sunt qui leges publicas statuunt,
Bonos qui nutriunt, malos qui puniunt.
Isti sunt nostræ Ephori Smyrnæ,
Terræ si filii, vindices famæ.
Sedete! Iocis miscentur lacrymæ,
Lacrymis joci, salibus facetiæ,
Ingenii nobilis castæ delitiæ.
Hæmonii claræ portus divitiæ.
Sedete! placidus sit vobis nuncius,
Iste Mercurius noster Britannicus.

Actus Primus.

Euthymius.
Theocritus.

Euthym. Quò tàm præpropero pede cursum dirigis, mi Theocrite?

Theo. An nescis quid in eo optimo morum ac literarum gymnasio, instructissimo ac integerrimo eo primatum, procerum, communium, et infimatum consistorio, hoc die agitur.

[1] The name of the Jack Ketch of the day was Gregory.

Euthym. Privata negotia nos publicis plané alienos fecerunt; narra obsecro.

Theoc. Scito, mi Euthymie, quod hodie de judice sub judice lis est. Conscripti illi patres, quorum purpuram semel coluimus, febri laborant judiciali, pro eorum sententia, in gravamen subditi, gratiam Augusti, perperám prolatâ.

Euthym. Eheu! In quo statu consiti sumus; quando judices coram judicibus rationem reddituri sunt de eorum actionibus in terris!

Theoc. Crede mi Euthymie, reddituri sunt rationem, nec evasuri laqueum, ni candidatis eis ac cordatis consistorii Ephoris apprimè satisfaciunt; de facili satisfacere poterint: Eos enim lacrymarum ac litium languentis hujus insulæ plerique dicunt originem fuisse.

Euthym. Citò pereant laqueo, si injuriam attulerint judiciali loco; multò melius est, quòd pereat unus quàm unitas, luxurians palmes, quàm fœcunda vitis. Quædam est crudelis indulgentia cujus mollitie, imò mole, omnis ægrotans laborat respublica. Hoc ego ipse semper asserui, nec minus expertum habuit florens nostra insula, malis parcere, est nocere bonis. Quinam autem isti?

Intrant Heraclitus et Democritus.

Theoc. Si eorum dispositiones enucleatò tibi narrarem, varios gestus ab uno affectu orientes ostenderem. Duo sunt philosophi irridentes et illacrymantes rebus in orbe gestis. Ille Heraclitus compatientis scenam agit; satur est lacrymis, homines errantes non citius suspicit, quàm eorum erroribus ingemiscit; humanum enim est humanis rebus ingemiscere. Iste autem Democritus mundum subsannat, mundum sequentium deridet stultitiam; hoc eulogium in superliminare domus suæ inscribens:

Miserum me video, et rideo:
Infelicem te video, nec invideo.

Multi autem exteriùs gaudent, qui interiùs gemunt; ab ore rident et plaudunt, qui in corde dolent et plangunt. Ista de eorum colloquiis mutuò habitis illicò calleas.

Herac. O mi Democrite, quid rides?

Democ. Quia tu fles; quid enim in hoc spatioso orbis theatro minimâ lacrymulâ dignum invenias? ubi serva facti sunt domini, domini servi; domini capite amputato servus exurgit: et in sellam domini ascendit. Conjuges virorum exequias deflet, lacrymas fingunt, in eorum sepulchra desilire offerunt; priusquam tamen unus vermiculus subintravit amiculum ferale quo involvuntur aut funebres illi flores aruerunt quibus instruuntur: novos adire thoros, nuptiales accendere tædas apprimè didicerunt. Hah, hah, hah.

Herac. Ista oculis meis lacrymas eliciunt: quæ plura mi Democrite?

Democ. Quæ plura interrogas? Diogenis tibi compara lucernam, et ludibrii spectacula undique invenies. Ista in conspectu principis admodum clarus, fruitur deliciis, eburneis distenditur lectulis, honoribus, uti oneribus, premitur, non quærit quod minus acquirat, nihil ab eo petitur, quo non potiatur, omnes conditionem ejus spectantes, admirantur, et felicissimum quò terra se extendere poterit, profitentur: unica interim nubecula omnes hosce ementitos radiolos uno die, minutissimo imò horulæ minuto dispulit. Princeps secessit, magni hujus herois somnians gloria recessit: et iste Atlas, qui tantas moles, montes honorum dicerem, Herculeis suis portavit humeris, cum ignominia discessit; hah, hah, hah. Iste tamen heros non citius periit, irrevocabile sustinendo fatum, quàm ab iis superstitem esse optatur, à quibus quamdiu vixit et floruit, acerbissimis inimicitiis afficiebatur. Viventem quem oderunt, morientem deflerunt, et piis lacrymis redivivum optarunt: sed heroidum capita citius adimenda sunt quàm redimenda. In hoc tempore multò tutius insipientem fuisse quàm sapientem; sapientis enim cerebum securi fit pabulum, insipientis securum. Visne plura?

Herac. Perge, mi Democrite, istæ non gratiores tibi sunt facetiæ, quàm nobis nostræ erunt lachrymæ.

Democ. Plora ineptule, plora et quò ineptiùs plores, vide, quomodo parentes plerumque parciùs vivunt, quò filios prodigos citius reddant. Imo quomodo naturæ debitorem se facit parens, quò licentiùs luxuriet proles. Progredere, progredere in hanc florentissimam civitatem, circumspice, fenestras apertiores contuearis, et cerussatas facies prospicientes, fuco ad focum invitantes, omnia vænalia Novæ Troiæ invenies: perlepidas damulas, basiolo crumenæ vincula solventes: exit parens, intret pellex; hah, hah, hah. Alios reperies officia dimittentes, ni amitterent. Alios, proprios relinquentes nidos, ni unà cum pullis perirent. Alios opibus rapinæ affluentes, miserè exhaustos. Alios alienis plumis ornatos, etiam suis exutos. Hic calones et caupones à sportâ aut sutrinâ exurgentes, ac si regii essent professores, pulsantes pulpita, nova depromentes dogmata audies, et doctissimi à plebeis tententur theologi. Cerdones sacerdotes fiunt; in cœmiteriis sepeleri horrent, in publicis verò iis, quò defuncti licet, viatore instruant, si errent. Ne manus lavare possim, quin smecticam eam Brunfieldii effigiem in pelvi suspicio. Nec in cellariam descendere valeo, quin Abelli statuam vividam comperio. Imo ne corrigiam solvere potero, quin coriaceam eam pattentam in memoriam revoco, et rideo. Homines enim nunc se veré inversas arbores ostendunt, convexos proferendo surculos, inanes fructus. Et quò in uno contexam omnia, stultorum plena sunt omnia; omnia Democriti oculis ridicula.

Herac. Infimæ est conditionis de aliorum lætari incommodis.

Democ. Rectissimè; hinc est quod me totum in cachinnum verto, quia omnia proprio laborant incommodo.

Herac. Talia interim in sua redeunt incommoda.

Democ. Et æquissimè, mi Heraclite; quis enim, si compos mentis fuerit, terrestrem domum non deseret, quò ad cælestem dominum redeat? Ista autem dementes, Elysios campos in terris constituunt; futura parvi pendent, quò præsentia possideant. Diruunt, ædificant, vestes tineis, structuras ventis præparant. Hamum honoris non citiùs pendentem aspiciunt, quàm avidè arripiunt: quo faucibus hærente, meritò pereunt. Nec juvenilibus ista unicè efferbuerunt annis; licet enim, ut ille testatur siculus, juveni senescere sit prodigium, seni juvenescere ridiculum: Incanescentes tamen hujus insulæ senes, sepulchro appropinquantes, et eorum canitie si non sapientiam, certè authoritatem et reverentiam exhibentes, maximis delibutos esse vitiis conspiceres, ita ut de iis verissime dici potest: æquè insenescunt in crine ac crimine.

Herac. Mira canis.

Democ. Sed vera canimus de canis hisce canibus. Crines citius quàm mores mutabit lupus. Nec primos colores facilè amittet lana; nec infusos prius sapores testa.

Herac. Maxima autem spes tenet Heraclitum, quod nullos reperies senes in totâ hac insulâ tam miserè, perditè imo delirantes, terrenis opibus Elysios amitterent campos.

Democ. Perge, et profice, mi lacrymabilis Heraclite, in dementiâ tuâ. Nonne multi sunt, obsecro Bourboniæ illius opinionis, qui multo citius partem in Paradiso quam in Parisio dimitterent? Hoc ipso die ista testantur Judices, venerandi isti et conscripti patres, qui sub calculo judicii summo vitæ discrimine hodiè positi sunt.

Herac. Eheu! Judices.

Democ. Imò Judices. Eò igitur conveniamus ambo: Quamplurima enim ibi audiemus, tuis affiniora lacrymis, nostris accommodatiora gaudiis

Herac. Perlibentèr eò pergam; ubi si Judicium in Absynthium mutatum audivero, absynthiatos eos patres salsugineis deflevero rivulis, imo totum me in Niobem mutavero.

Democ. Age, ineptule, age. Hah, hah, hah. Totus orbis, universa febris; quot incolæ, tot monopolæ. Hah, hah, hah. [*Exeunt.*

Theoc. Sequamur, mi Euthymie;—locus est et pluribus umbris.

Euthym. Valde vereor, mi Theocrite, ista non concessa erit libertas eis qui alieni sunt domus consortio; membra hujus celebrioris consistorii non sumus, ergo minus admittendi.

Theoc. Parum te hoc moveat; nemo est qui gravi et composito aspectu, placido vultu, venusto habitu pollet, quin admittetur. Quinam vero isti?

Intrat Rurales, Ægon et Althæa.

Euthym. Rustici sunt, ut mihi apparent; simpliciori eorum colloquio arrectiorem præbeamus aurem in eorum enim palliis nil Palladis suspicio. Circa varias præsentis status vicissitudines varia agent, eaque perlepidè, et eò lepidè magis quò incultè.

Ægon. Nova, plurima nova tibi impartiri possum, mi Althæa.

Althæ. Quænam ille, mi amicule?

Ægon. Narrabo tibi secretum, mi Melleola. Trienniale parliamentum habebimus omni anno.

Althæ. Quid istud *trienniale?* An spectat ad pascendas greges? colligendos hœdos? pascuales tuendas limites? depellendas gregibus lues? narra, quæso.

Ægon. O mi corculum, sufficiat nobis, quod *trienniale* hoc beneficium habebimus; quantum ad me attinet, verè fateor me penitus ignorare, an illud trienniale mas sit an fœmina. Novi autem quod de eo rumore in rure sparso, totam noctem in publicas pyras extruendo, sociales Cyathos propinando transivimus.

Althæ. Apage! Illud vocabulum me gravitèr urit, conjux iste meus, aliquando academicus, nunc armentarius, promisit se omni triennio benevolentiam suam mihi solviturum. Et placidè gratias egi, interim nescivi, quomodo illud tertio unicè anno solvendum esset.

Ægon. Senio confectus est, quid de eo expectes? Age verò, et appropinquemus consistorii portam, hoc enim die multa, eaque magna circa nostros agenda sunt judices.

Althæ. An passuri sunt suspendium?

Ægon. Nescio certe; maximum verò iis imminet periculum; fibulas, ut aiunt, posteriora faciunt.

Althæ. Quò illuc properemus? Talia colonis parum competunt negotia: nec eis nostra quadrant ingenia.

Ægon. Eamus tamen; si nil audimus, quiddam fingamus; quo rura petentes audientium auriculis majorem stuporem adferamus. [*Exeunt Rurales.*

Theoc. Nec minor nos audiendi petat sitis; quando omnes eò confluunt, ne texamus moram; adjungamus verò nos ipsos eorum consortiis. Communi malo, communi auscultandum est fastidio.

Euthym. Progredere, penso huic proposito facilè acquievimus. [*Exeunt.*

Actus Secundus.

Reserato ostio, abducto sipario, Euchrisius Clericus Curiæ Codices profert; Judices nominatim accersit; Indictamenta legit; quibus perlectis, Primachus, Cambrensis, *et* Manilius *variis vicibus, varias quæstiones iis proponunt; quibus vicissim respondent Judices.*

Intrat Coriolani Spectrum, abscisso capite designatum.

O semper astet vestris Astræa sedibus,
Obtestatur Ille qui semel floruit,
Et hisce palmam cœpit comitiis,
Ast præmaturo funere periit!

Justitiam singulis impertite Candide,
Suffragiis gravibus miscendo lenia;
Parcendo judices meliores isti,
Quàm quos punire semper urget ira.
" Non solùm Oleo sanantur vulnera,
" Vulnere crudo fundantur Balsama."

Vivat Rex, vigeat consulum gloria,
Vincat Britannia; Coriolani vota.

Quem nec exæstuans irâ communium,
Atra nec virga, securis, theatrum,
Fera nec mortis facies exanimem
Fecerunt, cernite funere vividum;
Felicem magis, morte quo miserum,
Heroum superum cœtu conspicuum.

" Valete omnia quæ spectant terram,
" Mors mihi lucrum, meta sepulchrum." [*Exit.*

Consul. Chor. Dira sunt ista nostris ostenta sedibus.
At piis culta monitis, quæ unâ tenenda voce, tuenda voto.
Unâ gerenda manu, regenda motu.
—Ista sed umbris reditura suis,
Pergite officiales.

Eucris. Heus Roderigo, proferantur captivi.

Roder. Quinam sunt primò proferendi?

Primach. Proferantur ordinatim, uti argumenta eorum tradiderunt; ordinis ignorantia perturbat formam justitiæ. Primùm igitur à primis ordiamur: à junioribus ad seniores progrediamur judices: sicut singultim errarunt, singuli in suorum accersiantur defensionem. Multò attentiores et æquiores invenient judices, quàm se in navalem eam agendo causam ostenderunt.

Cler. Janitor, deducatur Claudius ad pergulam. Leva manum Claudie; indictatus es nomine Claudii, quod tu in termino Hilarii, 1637, contra Reipub. pacem, Subditi

libertatem, Conscientiæ testimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè et nepharié sententiam dedisti de navali pecunia Domino Regi solvendâ, nullâque eò impellente necessitate, principi debendâ; penes quem fuit de necessitate suâ solum judicare. Dic Claudie, reus es an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Claud. Me in officio claudicasse agnosco; parum verò temporis me ibi remansisse norunt omnes: ut rarior igitur fuit culpa in parciùs errando, tenuior sit pœna in patiendo.

Cambrens. Hoc verò in defensionem causæ tuæ parum proficit, si diutiùs enim affuisses, præfuisses imò purpuratis eis subselliis, verisimile est, quod numerosior fuisses in vitiis; una vestrûm fuit culpa, una vos Charontis spectat cymba.

Democ. Quam lepidè claudicat iste Claudius in officio? Heus Charon, emercare servos; ardua tibi imposita est provincia, quotidianum tibi est pensum;—in te turba ruunt turbida judicum. Hah, hah, hah.

Cler. Secede Claudie. Heus Roderigo, ad pergulam accersiatur Cratippus; leva manum Cratippe, indictatus es nomine Cratippi, quod tu in termino Hilarii 1637, contra Reipub. pacem, Subditi libertatem, Conscientiæ testimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè et nepharié sententiam dedisti de navali pecunia dom. regi solvendâ, nullâque eò impellente necessitate, principi debendâ; penes quem fuit de necessitate sua solum judicare. Dic, Cratippe, reus es an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Democ. Bovem in ore, vel craterem in gurgite habet ne verbum proferre valet.

Manil. O Cratippe, ne diuturnioris silentii finem facias; tace, desine, erubesce. Nec te quicquam magis decuit, quàm tacuisse; pia vero erubescentia insueta est prævaricantibus pœna. Te obscœnis lucris semper fuisse deditum audivimus, pereas igitur laqueo, ut inhiasti lucro: corpus extenuans, quo lucrum extendas. Nulla te latuit occasio lucrandi, nulla te igitur pateat ratio pœnas evitandi. Quem enim in hoc confluvio, in hoc instructissimo circo habes, qui in defensionem tuam exurgat, aut in aliquo te justitiæ alumnum asserat?

Aut unus, aut nemo. Habuisti unum, sed tibi dissimilem, Hortensium nempè, tui consortem, iisdem subselliis pié assistentem, sed conditioni tuæ dissortem; illius enim opinio in hoc navali negotio, Curvo Acilio optimè quadravit. Non scripta quietis, nec fulmina profugi illius Chrysomitris respexerunt isti. Famæ odorem titulis honorem præposuerunt; quam famæ gloriam qui negligit, erudelis est. Ille igitur Hortensius licet mortem oppetiit, talem apud posteros memoriam reliquit, ut monumenta ex marmore, ære, ebore condita multò citius sunt peritura, quàm ejus inter Britannos peritura est memoria.

Cratip. Non inficior me reum esse; vestro tamen candore leniatur censura. Sin minùs, sicut una nostrûm fuit sententia, una ad Anticyras vehat cymba. Latius extenderem vela, sed à plura loquendo me præpedivit angina.

Democ. Nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem. Majores nostri domum pusillam rempublicam esse judicarunt: Isti vero totam rempublicam in propriam domum, imò domus scriniolum contraxerunt.

Herac. O deplorata miseri hominis miseria!

Democ. Ne lacrymulam promerentur ista; libentèr eos insanire jubeo. Ecce enim quàm merita Cratippo irroganda est pœna! sicut vænalem linguam habuit, loquendi facultatem tantoperè amisit, ut perægrè veniam delinquenti postulet, hah, hah, hah.

Cler. Accersiatur Corticeus ad pergulam. Leva manum Corticee, indictatus es nomine Corticei, quod tu in termino Hillarii, anno Dom. 1637, contra Reipub. pacem, Subditi libertatem, Conscientiæ testimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè et nepharié sententiam dedisti de navali pecunia dom. regi solvendâ, nullâque eò impellente necessitate, principi debendâ, penes quem fuit de necessitate suâ solum judicare. Dic Corticee, reus es an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Cortic. Non reus.

Cler. Deprehensus es reus, liberet deus.

Cambr. Quam plurima tecum sunt agenda? Satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ verò parum habes. Nemo paratior fuit in leges dicendo, ducendo imò et instar cerei nasi, ad omnem modulum componendo. Quó autem ista natalis festivitas? Genii et ingenii fatalis felicitas? Initianti sine cortice natare, difficile; cœpisti evolare cum Upupa, pubescente adhuc pennâ, testulâ capiti pendente. In Circuitu, præcipuè in Ducatu Lancastriæ, (eo tempore optimo illo ac integerrimo viro, Dom. Farrington vicecomitatus curam gerente) tyrannidem exercuisti; ubiq; te ostendisti fastuosum, eóq; omnibus magis exosum fecisti. Cætera enim peccata in malis operibus insidiantur ut fiant: superbia vero bonis operibus insidiatur ut pereant.

Mille virtutibus affluens propter arrogantiam felicitatem amisit. Cætera vitia deum fugiunt, sola superbia deo se opponit. Imó quâ audaciâ, insolentiâ imo, te explosæ hujus sententiæ navalis assertorem ostentâsti, ac si ingeniorum tibi unicè concessum esset monopolium? Quò quisque igitur pertinacior fuit in vitiis, eò gravioribus censendus est suppliciis.

Si schisma pœnam, hæresis mereatur gehennam.

Cortic. Attestor superos, me et victurum et moriturum in eâ opinione, si tanti tam cordati et conspicui verè consistorii authoritati nixus non acquiescerem; tot enim codicillos, analecta, statuta, annales perlegimus, ut si narrandi detur locus, vel argumentandi concedatur aditus, ista opinio nostra optimis munienda esset fulcris.

Camb. Cede locum; locum enim in laqueum commutaturi sumus.

Democ. Mecastor! Quò profuit facundia, cum vita laqueo sit finienda?

Cler. Heus janitor, ubinam Vigetius?

Rod. Ne quenquam eo designatum nomine habemus.

Prim. Talem tamen habuimus, qui Corticei fratris sui opinioni facilè acquiescens, in nullo unquam ei adhæserit nisi in navalem hanc proferendo sententiam. Se ægrotantem semper finxit, si aliquando argumenta proferret. Quando autem in arenam descenderet (argumentis in plateâ feliciter perditis) nemo unquam majore brevitate offenderit. Et in hoc unicè sapientem se gessit, quod moriendo sententiam prævenit. [*Vigetii defuncti spectrum debili gestu trepidans apparet et disparet.*] De eo igitur verè dicendum est, quod semel vernavit, ab antiquâ domo processit, in quo uno laudabilis fuit, quód patrimonium retinere magis quam augere quæsivit.

Democ. Multi moriendo quàm vivendo sapientiores se probant. Hah, hah, hah.

Cler.—In pace secedat ad umbras. Deducatur Trivius ad pergulam. Leva manum Trivie. Indictatus es nomine Trivii, quod tu in termino paschæ, anno Dom. 1638, contra Reipub. pacem, Subditi libertatem, Conscientiæ testimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè et nephariè sententiam dedisti de navali pecunia dom. regi solvendâ; nullâque eó impellente necessitate principi debendâ; penes quem fuit de necessitate suâ solum judicare. Dic Trivie, reus es an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Manil. Quid obmutescis? an premeris?

Democ. Quamplurimas opulentas compressit viduas, quid ni prematur? Hah, hah, hah.

Triv. In defensionem mei parum in promptu habeo.

Manil. Nec unquam habiturus; tace et audi. Hic ipse est, quo nemo ditior, nemo legibus imperitior; profertur tandem in publicum, quò se nomini suo faciat synonymam: licet enim cum larvis parciùs est luctandum, hanc tamen colubrem effigiare, hoc prodigium hominum vivis coloribus delineare statuimus, eâque brevitate, quò minus fastidii audientibus adferamus.

Democ. Astemus, et pictum hoc Gorgonis caput contueamur.

Manil. Iste Trivius, trivialis veré Trivius, satur viduis, viduus gratiis: habens plus

fidei in arca, quàm sagaciæ in aula; strenuo et sinuoso magis corpore, quàm ingenuo et ingenioso pectore, se prosperum ac felicem procum faciens ab aliorum thoris majorem medullam elicuit, quàm à pauperculâ eâ professionis suæ praxi unquam acceperit. Multum loquitur, parum sapit, et in voce cerebrum ponens; oceanum verborum ne guttulâ rationis conditum proferet.

Triv. Ad capillum me descripsisti, optime Manilie; inscium me prorsus legis fateor, meque (ut cæci solent) fratrum meorum opinionibus nitentem et eorum judiciis succumbentem, facilè acquievisse. Ad hoc igitur clamat ignorantia mea, et ei parcite; miseremini mei, cujus ipse miserebitur deus innocentis scilicet.

Manil. Promptiorem mihi responsionem, quàm tu aliquid in tui defensionem excudisti Trivie; ignorantia excusat à tanto non a toto. Optimum tibi propositum habuisti exemplum, Antrivium nempe; nunc defunctum, et in pace dormientem, qui testante calamo, sublanguens, adhuc in grabato, tali acquiescere noluit opinioni. Tu autem æra non solum in imagine, sed in ærugine colens, portiunculam substantiæ paci conscientiæ præposuisti. Sicut igitur mulxisti viduas te tuis mulgeat Fiscus regius.

Democ. Apage! mulgendus est hircus. Inscitiæ suæ pœnas luet iste Ignoramus. Quæ multi congesserunt anni, una dies ademerit; tot conjugum fortunas Fiscus hausit regius. Hah, hah, hah.

Herac. Nunquam prosperè succedunt res humanæ, ubi negliguntur divinæ.

Cler. Secedat Trivius, arctiore detineatur vinculo ne evadat; et clausam retine manum Roderigo, ni surreptitiâ merce libertatem acquirat.

Prim. Quantum ad te spectat, vir spectatissime, Curve Acilie, constantia et integritas tua te patrem patriæ, sidus curiæ, generosum germen justitiæ, radio solis descripserunt; perennemq; apud posteros memoriam, nullius temporis exitu, nullâ sequentis ævi oblivione exarandam reliquit. Edentem enim livorem, facilê vicisti, et in hac confectâ, peractâ imò ætate tua, in penetralibus viventium erexisti statuam. Cui nullum superesse poterit gratius eulogium, quàm Memoriæ Curvi Acilii Sacrum.

Democ. O quantum distulit Trivius ab isto Acilio? Iste ut leges apprimè scivit, ritè dispensavit; ille verò nec dispensavit nec scivit.

Herac. In hac supinâ et torpente ætate, sicut gramen in puteolis, vitia ex eorum inertiâ succrescere solent; unde expertum habuimus, omne malum incurabilius esse in sene quam in juvene.

Democ. Si æquiore tamen indagine horas emeterentur suas, quantò senes sunt morti viciniores, tantò debent esse puriores. Nunc verò talis est corruptela morum, ut hominum nunquam magis terram colunt, quàm cum exituri; nunquam minus cœlum spectant, quàm cum eò, si bene vixissent, perrecturi. Tene latera, ni ex nimio solvantur risu. Senescunt juvenes, juvenescent senes, Hah, hah, hah.

Cler. Exeratur Joachinus.

Rod. Exivit de proprio carcere, priusquam nostræ traditus fuit custodiæ.

Camb. Defunctus est. [*Joachini defuncti spectrum formidabili motu fluctuans, apparet et disparet.*] Et morti multa debuit, licet enim Delphicum se Juridicum commonstravit; in argumenta sua callidè vafrè et implicitè texendo: et Tytidem se plenè gessit; qui huic et illuc fluctuans, an Achilli, vel Hectori sese adjungeret, levitèr hæsit, editâ attestans voce, "Quem fugiam scio, quem sequar nescio." Eò tamen severiore mulctandus erat pœnâ quò ad palpandam veritatem major illius fuit solertia.

Democ. Sed eum de manibus vestris eripuerunt manes, et præmaturam mortem opportunè moriendo sustulit.

Cler. Proferatur Hortensius.

Rod. Iste nunquam custodiæ nostræ traditus fuit.

Manil. Verum dicis, Roderigo. tam integer vitæ suæ custos fuit, ut liberum se vivens et moriens gessit; perpetuis igitur elegiis viri tam probi, et sinceri memoria deflenda est. [*Hortensii defuncti spectrum amiabili vultu rutilans, apparet et disparet.*]

Honesti enim Judicis, et Alumni pauperis nomen emeritò adeptus est. In quo magis gloriandum fuit titulo, quàm totius orbis imperio.

Invidiam virtute vicit, et honorem funere nactus.

Herac. Quàm piis arbitriis bonorum signanda sunt sepulchra!

Democ. Hinc ea originem traxerunt adagia; Nemo malus qui non stultus; Nemo malus felix; Nemo sapiens peregrinatur; stultus solus exulat.

Herac. Verè ille, mi Democrite, peregrinatur, qui sese non fruitur.

Manil. Secedat, et exemplum præbeat.

Cler. Evocetur Antrivius.
Rod. Diutiùs evocatus fuit.
Cler. Ubinam apparuit?
Rod. Eò quò appulit. E manibus et manicis nostris longisper fuit emancipatus.

} *Antrivii defuncti spectrum amicabili aspectu ambiens, apparet et disparet.*

Prim. Quo jure? quo privilegio?

Rod. A mandato cujusdam Herois, morosi admodum et imperiosi; in portam enim carceris postquam paulisper præstolatus esset, se intraturum, vel ostium compagibus inversurum jurabit: tam torvo et terribili erat aspectu, ut metu perculsus ei viam dedi; ut verò captivum tradidi, illicò à crine eum surripiens, disparuit.

Cam. Inevitabili fato nullus est reluctari. Vir autem ille si ad ista usque supervixisset tempora, tàm approbatæ fuisset in hac disceptatione opinionis, ut immunis evasisset, et confectæ ætati suæ tàm felicitèr transactæ colophonem attulisset. Dormiat in pace, ut effloruit in luce; et eò pulchriùs effloruit in luce, quò minùs efferbuit in lite.

Democ. De mortuis nil nisi bonum; sin corpore minus ægrotasset, in mente forsitan minus convaluisset.

Herac. Verè dicis, mi Democrite; ægritudo enim corpus vulnerat, sed mentem sanat.

Democ. Quàm insani interim sunt isti, qui vegeto præstantes corpore, insaniunt mente?

Cler. Janitor, deducatur Damocles ad pergulam. Leva manum Damocles, indictatus es nomine Damoclis, quod tu in termino trinitatis, 1638, contra Reipub. pacem, Subditi libertatem, Conscientiæ testimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè et nephariè sententiam dedisti de navali pecunia, dom. regi solvendâ, nullâque eò impellente necessitate, principi debendâ, penes quem fuit de necessitate suâ solum judicare. Dic Damocles, reus es an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Dam. Neque me prorsus reum, nec innocentem fateor. Argumenta mea si quis adamussim perlegerit, me opinioni fratrum meorum maximè dissentientem reperiet. Non apertè enim talem principi deberi censum asserui; quò igitur moderatior nostra fuit sententia, eò magis lenienda est vestra censura. Nostra quibusdam circumstantiis præcincta, imo præstricta erant argumenta; vestrum sit igitur (spectatissimi viri) ætati nostræ indulgere, rude diutius donatæ, nunc senio et curis miserè confectæ.

Prim. O Damocles, non ita evadas; nec tamen sine piis lacrymis deplorata tua spectanda est conditio: In rebus enim forensibus, optimam adeptus es famam. Bovem in ore nunquam habuisti; clientuli causam, modò integram et probitatis fulcris innixam, strenuè et studiosè egisti. Imò, (ut nobis relatum fuerit) nil domi habes nisi rerum inopiam, foris æs alienum. Hinc egestatem tuam ipsius æquitatem apertiùs narrâsse asseruimus. Ista forsitan molliant et minuant, nequaquam adimant.

Herac. O paupercule judex, nonne tua pauperies te immunem restituet?

Democ. Tace ineptule; iste insipiens præ omnibus gravissimas promeritus est pœnas, quando per tot annos, imò annorum series nobiscum floruit, primis subselliis incessit,

tot lucrandi occasiones, uti pendulas escas, habuit, tamen instar cocì malè conditi, ne digitos paululùm elambere potuit. Hah, hah, hah.

Camb. Accuratâ satis indagine hanc Lernæam canalem exploravimus; nunc ad alias progrediendum est sedes; nec rariores nos in eis specubus inventuros esse colubres magnoperè vereor. Quo Augæos verò hosce Stabulos melius purgatos relinquamus, et nullus vel impudentiæ vel ignorantiæ detur locus; quantum ad Gliciscum, Glirem potius dicerem; instar Ciphræ locum tenentem, parum verò pectoris retinentem, minùs Astræam callentem; horologus vester quia fuit, O prætextati judices, eum in horologii custodem destinamus: Parum habet pectoris, lenior eò in suppliciis.

Democ. Quam arrectâ Midæ auriculâ ista audit.

Cler. Dominationi vestræ complacuit, quod ad alias Ephori classes descendamus?

Prim. Quò minùs? una pœna implicat, quos unus amor in crimine ligat.

Cler. Heus custos atræ virgæ, efferatur Chrysomitris.

Cust. Excessit, erupit, evasit.

Manil. Ubinam gentium?

Cust. In aliam evolavit regionem. Nidum reliquit, ni in eo caperetur priusquam excederet; et ab eo tempore in quo hinc discessit, inter Gallos (ut aiunt) cantare cœpit.

Manil. O quæ dementia cepit! O quàm vividè indigitat illa Chrysomitrem sententia, Malum consilium consiliario pessimum!

Cust. Relicto consulari ordine, militiam exercere dicitur, et nuperrimè proditum est, se ex injuriâ sibi illatâ fortissimi pugilis officium præstitisse; inimicum enim inermem reliquit, seque non minùs fortem militem quàm facundum rhetorem narravit.

Camb. Quàm plurimas, easq; pereximias dotes illi contulit natura; quæ si condimentum acceperant ab humilitate et gratia, clarissimum verè fecissent. Superbienti autem nullum onus honore periculosius. Tam facilè mutant mores ut se etiam propinquis et familiaribus ignotos faciunt. Isti tumores mundi tam insuetâ rabie eorum perstimularunt mentes, ut infelicissima suorum conditio sese suis et aliis invisos reddit. Optimè igitur magistratus magistratu acquiritur; nec ulli digniùs impertiendus est, quàm ei à quo minimè vel tepidè requiritur. Optimè hoc monuit, qui dixit, Renuenti detur, annuenti denegetur. Diu autem iste Chrysomitris in exterâ regione niduletur, priusquam revocetur, satis domi talium salutatorum habemus; talis ominis aves tenerè nimis lactavimus. E nostris exeant oris, et tardè redeant, ne matrem à cujus uberibus pendebant, perimant. Quo autem in uno arctius contexamus omnia; nemo se unquam magis ingratum Chrysomitre gessit. Principi enim, cui nemo devinctior, ea imputavit quæ ipse fecit. Quando fortis et constans animus mille citius perferret mortes, imò lepido aspectu (instar Heroici illius Spiritus nuperrimè occumbentis) mortis inexorabilis minas retorqueret, quàm principi de se tàm benè merenti vel levissimam maculam aspergeret. Sed discedat ille cum eloquentiâ suâ; quo nullus unquam Judex injustior, nullus Custos iniquior nec inopior; nullus Solicitarius impurior nec importunior. Intereà nos ipsi, ne sub eorum calculo recenseamur, qui mercurium in lingua non pectore gerunt; non tam accurate quàm, candidè non accordatè; non tam politè, quàm rectè et ritè de re omni nobis propositâ disseramus.

Democ. O misera felicitas! splendida servitus! famam, fortunam, vocem, vultum, nidum et nationem ictu oculi perdidit.

Herac. O niveæ honorum pilæ, minimo intempestivæ mentis æstu resolvendæ! Quinam autem ille qui tam turgido et elato more prodit?

Democ. Ipse est, quo nemo in republicâ meliorem adeptus est opinionem, priusquam magistratum obtinuit; adepto verò, nemo infeliciùs amisit. Sic—rebus mores cessere secundus. "Bonus causidicus, judex pessimus."

Cler. Accersi Brundusium ad pergulam. Leva manum Brundusie. Indictatus es nomine Brundusii, quod tu in termino Trinitatis, 1638, contra Reipub. pacem, Subditi

libertatem, Conscientiæ testimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè et nephariè sententiam dedisti de navali pecunia domino regi solvendâ, nullâque eò impellente necessitate, principi debendâ; penes quem fuit de necessitate suâ solum judicare. Dic Brundusie, reus es an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Prim. Domine Prolocutor, parce paulisper, iste enim Brundusius acriore more tractandus est. Hoc confidenter asseram, quod nemo à republicâ pejus promeritus fuerit; cum se justitiæ antistitem omnes reputarunt, se juratissimum illius inimicum ostenderit, in talem famæ nævum, conscientiæ labem aspergendo. Vidit, et apertis oculis cecidit; æquum novit, et iniquum egit; meritò igitur periit. Si enim, ut Trivius ille, legum ignarus fuisset, in defensionem suam aliquid proferri poterit; contra expertissimam verò scientiæ suæ normam sententiam dare, ô piaculum!

Brund. Ingenuè fateor; nec minus ingenuum candorem vestrum obtestor, me leniore eo ac molliore susurro Chrysomitris, partim blandientis, partim comminantis, Navalem, novalem, imò meam tradidisse sententiam. Dixit enim Chrysomitris (quo nemo, ut optimè nostis, in artificium benevolentiæ colligendo, nec in persuadendo feliciorem artem unquam habuit) me tali sententiæ in gratiam principis vel acquieturum, vel honorem meum amissurum; imó scriptum quietis ad summam mei ignominiam perpessurum.

Prim. O deliria senilis avaritiæ! vestrumne fuit scripta quietis quieti mentis præponere? an oportuit vos, quò propinquiores estis sepulchris, eò terrestribus procliviores esse desideriis? pedem habere sepulchro appropinquantem, et mentem habere mundo inhiantem? O si pensaretis quàm parum naturæ sufficeret; et de eo parvo, quàm minimum senectuti vestræ competerit; multò levior de terrestribus cura multò altior de cœlestibus solicitudo vobis incumberit!

Vos enim qui in studio legis tantoperè claruistis, maximis omnium pœnis afficiendi estis: Speculum habentes justitiæ tam purum, tam integrum, Curvum nimirum Acilium, virum ætate confectâ sed mente vividâ, conscientiâ inviolatâ. Eumque habuistis in exemplum; sed (curva licet vestra fuerint vestigia) curvum sequi renuentes, justitiam rectam in obliquam convertistis. Nostis, apprimè nostis, et in eo gravius vobis impendet judicium, aureola ea Periandri monita memoratu dignissima: Nihil pecuniarum gratia agendum, judicio favor officit. Perit enim omne judicium, cum res transit in affectum. Nimius amor et nimium odium, omne pervertunt judicium.

Nec Joachinus ille nuperrimè defunctus, leviores emeritus est pœnas, naturæ verò debitum solvendo, parcæ se eis perpetuum fecerunt debitorem. Implicitus enim licet et nodosus in argumentis fuit, Gregoriano tamen nodo iste Oedipus cum ænigmate suo, si minùs obstiterant fata, sese implicuisset.

Democ. Seni impostorem agere, quid obscœnius? Hah, hah, hah.

Herac. Et hoc plerunque evenit, cum senes in terris posuerunt Elysium.

Prim. Secedamus paululum, selecti fratres, quo maturiore adhibito consilio, sententiam in cujusq; noxam accommodatius reddamus.

Consistorii Secedunt Arbitres.

Intrat Arietus et Priscilla, &c. Smyrnenses cives.

Herac. Quò ista mulierum turba confluunt?

Democ. Ex earum habitu facilè conjicias. Civiles sunt conjuges delicatulæ anates, quæ huc properant, quò fatalem hanc Judicum censuram audiant.

Herac. Eheu! an teneræ earum aures ista sine lacrymis audire poterint?

Democ. Credis omnes Heracliti mollitie esse compositos? toto cœlo erras. Isti mulierculæ fortioris sunt spiritus. Oculis enim siccis, saltem fictè humidis conjugibus suis peregrè navigantibus longum vale valent dicere; imò sepulturæ traditos subtristi

ore, hilari verò corde contueri, et priusquam funebres extinguentur faces, alienos in mentibus fovere ignes.

Herac. Miror verò quod magis hoc ipso die quam aliis huc convenerunt.

Democ. Ignoras causam? audi et acquiesce; aliis erant dies disceptandi, isti verò judicium denunciandi; et nosti fœminas executionem magis quàm judicium semper amâsse.

Herac. Parum ab iis expectandum est judicibus.

Priscilla. Intrabo certè, si enim Capreolus ille Aulicus in curiâ sedeat, certè scio, quod mihi faciliorem aperiet introitum, ut egomet ei sæpissimè dedi facillimum.

Arietus. Pish, pish, mi muscula, mi melleola, mi rosamella, quid tibi cum curia?

Prisc. Et quid nobiscum curia? Tace Ariete, tace Cornelie, actum est de amicitiâ, si mihi Statio non paretur in curiâ.

Ariet. Medius fidius, nulla tibi cum Aulico fiat Statio in proprio loco.

Prisc. Fuit verò et fuerit mi Penule, si mihi displiceas.

Ariet. Absit, longè absit, mi Lauricula, quod talis generi meo aspergatur macula; talis fronti imprimatur nota.

Prisc. Quidni? An te primum eo initiatum ordine autumes?

Ariet. Nullimodò; libenter tamen nollem gerere nocturnum meum pileum juxta novum civicum morem cum patulis auriculis; nec cervica corneis ramentis suffertum somniare.

Prisc. Parum te ista moveant; prævidenda citius sunt fata quàm prævenienda. Si talia tibi destinentur insignia, ne relucteris; contra stimulum enim calcitrare, insipientis est.

Ariet. O indomita juvencæ libertas! Nonne ego sum Arietaria stirpe editus; de totius civitatis antiquissimâ Corneliana familiâ ortus?

Prisc. Quid inde? nulla tam venerabilis familia, quæ tali fato minùs subdita. Quo tandem istæ prosunt nugæ?

—Heus, Titille, Titille.

Ariet. Quid tibi cum Titillo, pruriente eo Aulico?

Prisc. Ut facilior mihi aperiatur aditus.

Ariet. Perægrè tibi concedetur. In hisce publicis comitiis nullus relinquetur locus fœminis.

Prisc. Quid ni fœminis? acsi nos minus capaces essemus! Invenient, imò probant, nos satis esse capaces. Ascendam certè quò, attentiùs audiam, apertiùs videam.

Ariet. Quid audias? quid videas? quô, mi Cunicula, te tua rapit cupiditas?

Prisc. Videre Judices magnoperé cupio; dicunt enim (et fama an mendax sit scire vellem) eos in mentum ne plus habuisse barbæ, quam simiam caudæ.

Ariet. Satis subtiles sine pilis apparebunt. Istud autem tonsoris officium subeunt, quo in subselliis terribiles magis aspectus induant.

Prisc. Imberbes isto juvenes molli lanugine pubescentes suboleo; imberbes et imbelles verò senes, quorum pili stimulantes sunt setæ, parum sapio——quinam illi?

Ariet. Judices ipsi quos videre tantopere concupisti.

Prisc. Eheu! Quàm frigidi essent sponsi? perpetuum habent stiricidium in barbis.

Ariet. Tace, mi Lepuscula; quando huc veneris, et in gradus ascenderis, audi quid fiet de iis.

Prisc. Tradantur suspendio, parum me uret; valdè suspicor eos vix esse masculini generis. Irritum sunt genus, perfidum pecus, inimici generationis; facilè pereant cum suis judiciis.

Ariet. Coerce linguam, mi Anatula, ni observeris.

Prisc. Obstructas habent aures, cœcutientes oculos, nec me audiant, nec videant.

[*Exeunt.*

Actus Tertius.

Abducto siphario sericeo, intrant Arbitres Consulares, Consistorii præsidentes; Pænales Judices; Euchrisius Clericus Curiæ, Roderigo Janitor, &c.

Cler. Heus Roderigo! proferantur captivi.

Democ. Quàm universa febre languent corpora! Hah, hah, hah.

Mani. Astate judices, astate; deploratissimæ conditionis judices. Reos vos esse criminis cujus indictati estis non negâstis; nec in defensionem causæ vestræ tâm excordis et deperditæ, aliquid attentionis nostræ dignum proferre potuistis. Nostis, sat nostis, quod judex in nullo eorum sit judicandus, quod in alio judicare est paratus. In quo, inquam, quàm miserè errastis? Illius enim criminis judices fuistis et censores, cujus vos ipsi extitistis authores. Judici mercedem capere, fuit capitale. Sin tanta et tam gravis denuncianda fuerit sententia unius ob noxam, eamq; ad unicum spectantem subditum; quale eis supplicium irrogandum est, qui totius florentis insulæ subditis inulerunt injuriam; principi subditum, subdito principem suspitiosum faciendo; novas contra conscientiæ clariora testimonia, opiniones promulgando; Halcyoneos dies pacifici regis, et morigeri status insolitis nymbis perturbando; imò omnia pro viribus vestris in flammam et cinerem vertendo? Si tale incendium (ut incendiarios vos verè gessistis) non promereatur suspendium, quid æquius emereatur plane nescio. Lex primùm instituebatur ut sit salus publica, à vobis verò fit reipub. pestis teterrima.

Midæ. Scænam vos omnes apprimé egistis. Fidei commissarii in gratiam principis et pupuli facti estis; quam nec minis, amicis, prece nec precio estis violaturi: illecti verò spe præmii, vel panico pavore perculsi, justitiam nudam reliquistis, et conscientias n vos testantes, miserè neglexistis. Sic victi pretio, vel metu fracti, interiore cæcutientes lumine, Midæ vos ministros verè probando.

Omnes. Miseremini, miseremini, spectatissimi viri.

Democ. Euge! Versiculum, quem toties isti aliis indiderunt judices, ipsi coacti sunt nunc deprecari. Miscreatur vestrum Deus.

Manil. Eâdem mensurâ quâ aliis mensi estis, remetietur et vobis.

Herac. Eheu! Ne minima hisce miseris relicta est specula, si compar eis pensetur mensura.

Manil. Arrigite aures et attendite; inter succisivas horas vos sæpissimè relegisse facile credo, quomodo Germani, feliciore Drusi auspicio, victi magis quàm domiti; eoque defuncto, viribus innixi suis, Vari Quinctilii libidinem ac superbiam haud secus quàm sævitiam odisse cœperunt: et quàm facilè victores evaserunt. Quod brevi transacto certamine, sese ut barbarierant, efferos et crudeles victores gesserunt. Nec in ea grassante sævitiâ se ulli conditioni magis implacabiles ostenderunt, quam consularis dignitatis viris, quia eorum facundiâ, vænali, ut putarunt, linguâ deprompta, Roma nos primum eos aggressuros, et lacrymabilis belli incommodis subdituros cogitarunt. Varus perditas res eodem quo Cannensem Paulus, et fato est, et animo sequutus; nihil illa cæde per paludes, perque sylvas cruentius, nihil insultatione barbarorum intolerabilius, præcipuè verò in causarum patronos: aliis oculos, aliis manus amputabant: unius os sutum, recisa prius linguâ, quam in manu tenens Barbarus, tandem, inquit, vipera sibilare desiste. Recoluisse etiam, vobis non incommodum erit, eum Manium Acilium, inexplebilem illam munerum voraginem, et inter Romanos præcipuum Legatum; quem Mithridates summo cum contemptu in Asinum insidere jussit, donec usque

ad Pergamum venisset, ubi elixum aurum in os ejus immitti præcepit; eò implicitè Romanos censendo acceptioni munerum nimis deditos, linguis inimicitiis nimis facundis. Alex. Severus hostis assentatorum maximus, Aulicum suum Turinum demandavit in publico foro sudi configendum, et fumo suffocandum, voce præconis acclamante,

Fumo pereat, qui fumum vendidit.

Præstat enim (Antisthenis verbis uti) ἐς κόρακας quà ἐς κόλακας incidere; coracibus prædam facere cadaverum, quàm adulatoribus viventium. Insigne igitur prudentiæ specimen esset, vobiscum agere, qui talem Reipub. intulistis pestem, et ementitiis judiciis publicam imminuistis pacem; sicut ille Philippus rex Macedonum, cum duobus subditis suis, iisque pessimæ conditionis, aliquando egit. Alterum enim Macedoniâ fugere, alterum persequi jussit, quo facto, patria noxiis istis parasitis patriæ fuit liberata. Utrique datur exitus, nulli reditus.

Brund. Est viri boni dicere, cum perdidisse potuerit, pepercisse, quàm cum parcere potuerit, perdidisse.

Manil. Malis qui parcit, bonis nocet. Attendite, quæ vobis denuncianda est sententia. Sicut leges aranearum telis fecistis simillimas, et florentem hanc rempub. nymbis et procellis distortæ vestræ opinionis, uti naviculum agitâstis; nullus in hisce finibus vobis admittitur locus. Pergite igitur, pergite (talis enim est vestra definita sententia) ad fortunatas eas insulas, Arenas appellatus, Hibernico tractu sitas. Ibi enim, si venenati estis, diu respirare non poteritis: Sin verò mores, uti crines, propositum vobis fuerit mutare; in iis insulis aerem habebitis æquissimè temperatum, et corporibus vestris tàm salubritèr dispositum, ut perægrè moriemini, ni tale vobis fastidium adferat mundus, aut vos mundo, ut multò minus gratum fuerit vivere, quàm mori. Imò tantum temporis ex temperie aeris vobis concessum fuerit, ut residuæ redimant horæ, quicquid anteacte dissipârunt. Irrevocabilis data est sententia, nulla à vobis nectenda est mora. Paratur navigium, rudente, clave, antennâ, anchorâ destitutum, (vestri regiminis fatale judicium) hoc charactere dignoscendum.

Censura Consulis, Cymba Charontis.

Judices. In senectute æquè ac hyeme navigare, grave est.
Prim. Nulla in consortiis pœna gravis.
Democ. Citò abite, serò redite. [*Exeunt Judices.*
Tollite nunc fasces, satis ulta supina senectus.
Sedes alma Themis suscipe, Cymba senes.

Actus Quartus.

Intrat Chorus Plebeius.

Cho. Pleb. Eloquere domine Pinner, pro totâ grege tuâ; enim conventiculi oraculum es nostri.

Democ. Hah, hah, hah. O grex egregia! egregiè asinaria! Ignavum pecus dicerem—nunc Lerna reclusit fauces. Exite genimina viperarum perfida. Hah, hah, hah.

Cho. Pleb. Eloquere, Domine Pinner, eloquere.

Pinner. Sciant omnes per præsentes, (viri et fratres charissimi) quod tria à nobis veritatis assertatoribus, cæcitati temporum compatientibus, zelo animarum ardentibus et reformationi religionis anhelantibus, præcipuè requiruntur.

Democ. Quam placidè nobis arridet phanaticus iste religionis relegator? Hah, hah, hah.

Pinner. Primò, ut nullus sit in ecclesia ordo; secundò, ut omnes ritus, ceremoniæ, vestes sacerdotales, musica instrumenta aboleantur in ecclesiâ; tertiò, ut nulla sit communis orationis formula.

Herac. O quàm miserè delirantes isti ecclesiam facerent acephalam!

Democ. Tace et audi, apage! quàm arrectis auribus ista rotunda capita Pinnerum oratorem suum audiunt, audiendo stupent?

Pinner. Sin verò prudentiæ vestræ æquius videbitur, quod ecclesia susciperet gradus majoris et minoris; hosce præpositos volumus esse laicos seniores; ad quam quidem dignitatem sortiendam, nullos æquiores, nec ex omni parte paratiores judicamus, quàm venerabiles fratres nostros, dom. calcearium, sportarium, fibularium; (cui licet Viridarius demi-castoreus ille, nuperrimè competitorem opposuit, in efficaciâ sermonis facilè vicit, victorq. evasit) homines reverà mediocritèr doctos, sed mirabiliter inspiratos. Ante omnia autem volumus, quod præcipiatis Francisco de Sacraquercu, apocryphum illud episcopi vocabulum dehinc cum asterisco distinguere, et inter verba obsoleta, in perpetuam rei memoriam, ponere. Quantum verò ad primum articulum querimoniæ nostræ attinet, sicut nullum planè ordinem in ecclesiâ esse volumus ita omnes (ut secundum petamus articulum) ritus et ceremonias perhorruimus; quia quicquid antiquum, minùs verum credimus. Vestes sacerdotales æquè in presbyterioi, ut Sindonias manicas in Episcopo improbavimus; pallum illud sacrum et superpelliceum, ut Babylonicæ pellicis supparum, subuculam muliebrem Ægyptiacis laciniis, lenociniis imò decoratum, delibutum dicerem. Scortantes isti sacerdotes qui in linteis hisce vestimentis nobis poderunt, uti spectra è cœmeteriis prodeuntia apparent. Quantum verò spectat ad musica instrumenta, ut Babylonica tympana semper æstimavimus; imò ne propria verè diligere possumus membra, quia appellantur organa.

Democ. Isti certè ad pistrinum potius quàm ad religionem reformandam censendi sunt.

Pinner. Quoad tertium querimoniæ articulum, nullum volumus communis orationis formulam, ne dominicam orationem; spiritus diffidentiam apertè innuit. Nec orantes igitur neque prædicantes paratos volumus habere pastores, ex tempore verò loquentes, quò magis in se probent efficaciam spiritus. Turneri symbolum, et glossam ejus de communione sanctorum valdè approbamur. Et ut in uno complectamur omnia; quæ antiqua, licet mille consiliis approbata, rejicimus.

Perd. Audite dementes, tritum sed facetum rhythmum quem in Brittannicâ insulâ semel audivimus. In eo idiomate vobis reddetur, in quo accepimus.

Tack tent to my saw my sonnes three,
Rob. Will. and Dave.
Keep wele your pater and your ave,
And if you mind your fathers reed,
Stand close to your auld crede.
But for my daughter Gillion,
I wad she were wele belted with a bridle
That leavs her warke to play the clarke,
And lets her whele stand idle.
For it saws not for she-ministers,
Farriers nor furriers,
To descant on the Bible.

Chorus Consul. Mittamus nugas! querimonias vestras, viri et fratres, multo majore attentione, quàm demeritæ sunt audivimus. Quantum ad episcopos refert, nudum et exsanguem titulum perægrè reliquimus; justices autem censuimus rescindi vitia quam officia. Desistite tandem à deliriis vestris; quicquid commode fiat, et ecclesiæ paci competat, ei maximè providendum est. Sin minùs trabes, saltim festucæ læsis occulis sunt removendæ. Non habent in se charitatem, qui non diligunt ecclesiæ unitatem. Ite domum, vos vestris intendite, nostrum sit communi inservire bono principi, populo, patriæ.

EPILOGUS.

Statutum est ab ædilibus, publicis ludis præpositis, quod proximo die (permittente Jove) Quintus Actus super Tiburem, Tiburnum dicerem, a nova societate Abellorum publice agetur.

Vive le Roi.

A true Relation of some Passages which passed at Madrid, in the Year 1623, *by Prince Charles, being then in Spain, prosecuting the Match with the Lady Infanta.*

As also severall Observations of eleven ominous Presages, some of them hapning in the same Year whilst the said Prince was in Spain, the rest of them hapned from that Time untill his Death. With a Discovery of some of the Wayes which the then Popish Bishops used to bring Poperie into this Nation.

By a Lover of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the Welfare of this Nation.

London: Printed 1655.

Times of civil trouble and dissension have been ever remarkable for the growth and increase of superstition, and no sooner do great and unexpected events take place, than many portents occur to the recollection of the people, as having been their natural fore-runners. The general belief in astrology, which prevailed during the earlier part of the seventeenth century, had its effect likewise upon the public mind; and both parties, during the civil wars, were so much aware of this, that each had their soothsayers, who promised them conquests and victory. Lord Fairfax, as we learn from Lily the astrologer, consulted that prescient person and his yoke-fellow, John Booker, on the event of the civil wars. The following string of ominous presages seems to have been published shortly after the king's execution, probably to reconcile the minds of the people to an event, which was so remarkably intimated to be the will of Heaven.

To the impartial Reader.

Reader,

I had no intent ever to have put in print these ominous presages, for they have been of an ancient standing in my head; the most part of them old things, being fit for nothing but to be forgotten, or at least laid aside. But a friend of mine knowing that I had observed them long agoe, (some of them being of thirty years standing or more,) desired me to give him a short brief of them, which I did; but when I had collected my memory, and saw the troubles that do dayly increase by some who delight to fish in troubled waters; and considering that there are many good people that are not yet setled in their hearts concerning these mutable times, but do still continue opposite to the government as now it is, and do not once think of, or it may be never heard of any of those sad presages which the lord sent to give warning to those that would take warning or notice of them, and did lay them to their hearts; I did also then consider with myself, that if they were published to the view of all the nation, that they may give good satisfaction to some, and might draw them from their self-opinions, which of a long time they have had of these most turbulent times; so that if they will but look up to God, they shall plainly see, that the hand of God is in all the actions that hath passed untill this day: and that no one tittle of the work that the Lord hath appointed to be done, but it shall be fully effected, though men strive never so much against it. Therefore I desire thee to consider well of what thou shalt find written in these few lines, (for they are truth,) and were acted by those which sought to bring in popery to this nation, in those days when they had the reines in their own hands. And certainly these predictions are true, and were purposely sent by God to some (though not to all) that they might take notice of them. I having long agoe spoke with some that did take notice of them as well as myself, and did look upon them as from the hand of God. And I do wish in my heart that all those into whose hands they shall come, to read them carefully, and imprint them in their hearts, and be well advised how they do practise or contrive any thing tending to the shedding of any more innocent bloud in this nation, for certainly they will be found out, and themselves will have as great a share in the destrúction which they do practise as any of those shall have which they shall practise against, either in their lives, limbs, estates, wives, children, and all that is dear unto them; nay, which is the greatest of all, their souls will have the greatest losse when they shall lose heaven, without the great mercy of God. I will conclude with the words of the psalmist, "O that men would fear the Lord, and praise his holy name, for his mercie endureth for ever!" For certainly he will (as heretofore he hath done) overthrow the horse and his rider if they do persist in their exorbitant wayes. And I will now say with Paul, as in any other case, "My hearts desire to God is, that men would serve the Lord with fear and trembling, and sit still, and see the Lords worke done in his own good time."

Reader,

I do desire thee to consider with thyself if thou hast heard of, or seen of any of these observations following; if yea, then whether thou didst make that use of them as was expected from God's hands thou shouldst have done; for certainly they were not done in a corner, but were sent from God as fore-runners of his wrath against the late king, and all those popishly-inclined prelates, and other his abetters, that did assist him in those practises and councels, for the bringing in of popery into this nation, as it did plainly appear by the silencing of so many godly and orthodox ministers, as then were put from their preaching and livings since his coming from Spain, at which time many

young divines, at receiving their orders for preaching, were forbidden to read certain mens works, as M. Perkins his works, Clark's sermons, and others, and were likewise limited what subject they should preach on, as the Lord's prayer, the belief, the ten commandments, and the like; and, the better to bring their practises to passe, they did cause all orthodox books that were out of print, and to be reprinted, (although the authors of them were dead many years before) to be brought to the bishops chaplains, to be reviewed by them, who were half, if not altogether, popish, or at least Arminians, and they to expunge, or put in any popish tenet which they thought fit to put in, although those men which wrote those books were men of as sound judgment as any of those that did corrupt or abuse their works, and it is very likely that if the bishops themselves were so much given to popery, they would entertain none to be their chaplains, but such as should be as themselves were, and by that means many good ministers works were corrupted, and themselves counted popish by all that should read their new revised works, which the authors were no ways guilty of. But you will say, that many of the bishops were free from popery. It is very true, some of them were so, but those that were nearest to the king in his councels were not, as Neal, Wren, Laud, and others were not; but mark, I pray you, thirty years before the angels of England did begin to fall, (which were the bishops, as Mr Brightman, a famous divine, did call them, and one whom the then bishops persecuted even to the forsaking of his native countrey,) he the said Brightman did prophesie the downfall of them to begin in the year 1639, which fell out very near the time, for in the year 1640, or very near it, they were expelled the parliament for their misdemeanours there, for many of them appeared then to be popish.

And after the wars began, bishop Wren's house being searched, there was found in it a new set of massing plate: it was as neat a set of plate as the pope hath any in his chappel. And Dr Peerce, the then bishop of Bath and Wells (as it was confidently spoken of, and likewise written) did send word to the then bishop of Canterbury (Laud,) and in his letter to him, did thank God that he had not left a lecture in all his diocesse, (a thing very fit to thank God for!) But I pray take notice that all these things were acted after the king came from Spain by the bishops; for the late king being in the year 1623 but prince, was sent into Spain by king James, accompanied with George duke of Buckingham, and sir Francis Cottington, where, after some treaty with the king of Spain concerning the Infanta, (whom he conceived should have been his wife,) the divines of Spain opposing the match, did put many rubs in the way, but the chiefest of them was the unlawfulnesse of matching the daughter of Spain with an heretick, and one that they could have no assurance of, that she should have the free exercise of her religion for herself and her retinue, without good caution given for the same, and no other caution would be accepted on but the two port towns of Plymouth and Dartmouth; neither did they conceive it fit to have any farther treaty on the premises, untill approbation thereof were first had and obtained from the pope's holinesse.

And to that end the prince writes his letter to his holinesse, wherein he gives him the style of Most Holy Father; and, after compliments used suitable to the dignity of his holinesse, he makes known unto him the cause of his so suddain coming into Spain, which (as he said) was to gain the lady Infanta to be his wife; and withall related to his holinesse what a dangerous consequence it would be to the catholicks of England, if the divines of Spain should make any further scruple in opposing the match; and he did also professe, upon the faith of a christian prince, that he would hazard his life and all his kingdomes for the propagating the Roman catholick religion, with other circumstances of the like nature.

His holinesse answered his highnesse letter with the like complements, laying before him the valour of his noble ancestors, who hazarded their lives and all their fortunes, and all that was dear unto them, in defending the catholick faith, and did not only

merit unto themselves eternall glory and happinesse in heaven, but gained unto themselves also, and to their posterity, everlasting fame and renown here upon earth, and then exciting him (as his ancestors had done) to go forward in promoting the catholick faith; and so with his holinesse his benediction he bequeathed his highnesse to the protection of the Almighty.

Yet the divines were not satisfied with his highnesse so large promises to his holiness, but still opposed the match with might and main; so that the prince was constrained to send another writing to the king of Spain, of one whole sheet of paper fully written, and sent it by the hands of the duke de Olavarce, intimating what a dishonour it would be both to his person and reputation, if he should not obtain the prize which he so much aimed at, and which he did esteem above all the treasures in the whole world, and that it would be a great hindrance to the catholicks of England from attaining that which now they might obtain, if he might not have her which his soul so much desired; but he hoped that those so celebrious divines would not put him to give such caution as was desired, and as they propounded, and could not be by him with honour granted, especially in regard his father had granted the catholicks of England the free exercise of their religion seven years before his coming into Spain, and withall exciting them to consider, that neither his father nor himself had broken their words in the least tittle of any of the capitulations that had past between them; and the divines in not taking the word nor oath of his father nor of himself, for the performance of what had been capitulated, would be a means to cause his father's vassals every day to raise new scruples and obstructions, so that the catholicks of England should not injoy that freedom of the exercise of their religion which now they have; and that if he might injoy her whom his soul so much desired, it would be a means that none of his father's vassals should dare to stir.

And he doth also promise, upon the faith of a christian prince, that nothing in the world should make him break his word in the least jot or tittle of any thing that should be capitulated on, but would hazard his life and all his kingdomes, and all that was dear unto him, for the promoting of the Roman catholick religion, for he would not be joyned to one in the affinity of marriage whose religion he should hate; which promise he did faithfully keep, to the ruin of himself and all his posterity.

But the first foundation of his ruin, and all their posterity, was laid by his father king James; for in the matter of sir Thomas Overbury his death, he did send for the judges, and gave them a strict charge to examine the matter thoroughly concerning the death of sir Thomas Overbury, and did imprecate God's curse upon them if they did not discover it to the full; and did upon his knees call for a curse from God, and desired that God would never prosper him nor any of his posterity if he did spare any guilty person that had a hand in that poisonous murther: And the judges having prosecuted the businesse so far, that they found Sommerset and his lady to be the chief actors in this murther, for they found that Sommerset did write a friendly letter to sir Thomas Overbury, that he would use all the ways and means to get his inlargement that possibly he could; and in that letter he sent him a paper of powder for him to take, as being the best thing that himself took in his sicknesse, (sir Thomas being then sick of poison sent him before;) but this powder which was sent in this letter was a poison of a lingring nature, whereof (with some other poison which Mrs Turner had sent him of the like nature) he died; and after it was found out, there was justice done upon many of the actors, whereof Weston was the first, then sir Jarvis Elway, the then lieutenant of the Tower, was the next that suffered, and after him Mrs Turner was also hanged, besides others; and when it was punctually proved that Sommerset and his lady were found to be the chief actors of this murther, and that he himself had sent the poison aforesaid, the king, contrary to the curse which he had formerly called from heaven upon himself and all his posterity, did pardon both him and her

after the lord Coke had past sentence of death upon them; and the lord Coke was ever after in disgrace with the king for passing this sentence against them, and for some other small matter which he crossed the king's humour in; and so this noble gentleman was poisoned for no other cause but for opposing Sommerset in the marriage of Essex his wife. But the Lord did shew a great example upon them both, but especially upon her, for she died a more loathsome death then any woman ever died, but for civilities sake I will forbear the particulars thereof.

But let us now leave this, and speak no more of this curse, but let us look up to heaven upon him that sees all the actions that are done on earth, and that is the contriver of all marriages on earth both great and small, and you shall see how he doth frustrate the designs of all those that have plotted the downfall of the gospell of Jesus Christ, by bringing them to utter confusion in all their enterprises; and I pray observe with me, how in the very interim of this treaty the Lord did look down from heaven upon them, and did send his thunders as messengers of his wrath to give them warning, that he would meet with them, and confound all their devises.

And, in the first place, be pleased to take notice, that on Thursday the 30th of June, 1623, whilst the prince was in Spain, it being but two days after the letter was written to the pope, for it was written the 28th day of June:

I. The Lord was pleased to send one great clap of thunder, which stroke away the flag and flag-staffe from the main top-mast-head of a ship then riding at Blackwall, and bound for Spain with provision of fresh victuals to fetch the prince home, as live muttons, capons, and other fowls fit for such a voyage, Spain being barren of such provisions (so that they could not be furnished there.) It was as fair a day as any hath been seen; it also split the main-top-mast, as one would have split an osier twig; it threw one part on one side of the ship, and the other part on the other side of the ship; it raised the main-mast down to the deck, but did no other hurt to the ship; it killed two men and one woman at Croydon, in the bishop of Canterbury's diocesse, in a field where they were making hay. But you may object this was but an accident, for thunders have done many such things, the bodies being scorched, and their clothes not so much as once to smell of the fire. It is very true such things have happened many times and in many places, but look a little further, and you shall see such other prodigious things that you will not say they were accidentall.

And now I beseech you, consider with me whether these following presages be accidentall or no.

II. And see what happened on the very next Thursday, being the 7th of our July: The letter to the pope being written the 8th of their July at Madrid in Spain, it pleased the Lord to send many great claps of thunder, with abundance of raine, and withall so great a pillar of fire from heaven out of the south, (which is the due course from Spain,) that it reached from the heavens to the earth, not as a flash of lightnings gone in the very sight, but a very firme pillar of fire, which I believe did amase any that did behold it. It was my hap to be in the parke neer Southwark when it fell right before me, and so deterred me that I prayed that the Lord was not angry with this nation, for seeking to match with one whose religion was not agreeable to the gospell of Jesus Christ. But one of those claps of thunder did strike away the crown and vane from the top of the Gatehouse of St James, whereon the clock stood; it melted a piece of the bell, (which house was then the prince's house at that time) and he constantly kept his court there; it also struck down a gardener and his wife in a garden near the Neathouse, near Westminster, and brake through several houses in the Bowling-alley, near Westminster aforesaid; the man before-mentioned was dead, but the woman revived, and was well again: the body of the man was scorched, but his clothes had no hurt. It split wainscots, chaires, tables, and stools in the houses aforesaid. It killed also another man at Croydon the same time. Surely these things

cannot be accidentall, when both these thunders did aim both at the head and crown, as we may say it did, for the flag is as the hat on the king's head, for all ships when they meet with any the king or states ships at sea they strike their topsails or the flag in obedience or homage to the admirall. There is no man that is not wilfully blind, but he may see that these two dayes thunders were not accidentall, but from the hand of God.

There is one thing more, which a heathen or an infidell will not say was accidentall, and that is this:

III. Old Thomas, earl of Arundell,[1] a great lover of statues, had sent for the king's statue in marble out of Italy. It being come, it was landed at a little garden-house in Greenwich, which the earl then had there. His lordship with others coming to view the statue, did very much commend the workmanship of it; but while they were discoursing of it, there fell three drops of bloud on the face of it, no man knowing how it should come there; the earl seeing the bloud, was very much moved at it; they used all the means they could use to get away the bloud, but could not: This questionlesse was not done by accident, but as the Egyptian sorcerers said to Pharaoh in the plague of the lice, "This is the finger of God."

Yet one thing more there is remaining, which I hope will give you full satisfaction that these presages were sent by God.

IV. For in the same year, 1623, while the prince was in Spain (for then he was but prince) promising to promote the Roman catholic religion, both to the pope and likewise to the king of Spain, there was a Buckinghamshire man, a taylor by trade, and, as he said, dwelt in Alisbury; he was near upon forty years of age, and a very sober man; he could not contain himself at his work in his house, but must of force in the same year while the prince was in Spain making those promises to propagate the Romish religion in England aforesaid, he did in all, or most part of all the eminent streets in London, in that very year curse the Romish religion, pronouncing woe to Rome, woe to the pope, woe to all papists, and God confound the pope and all papists, and all that did adhere to popery, by what name or title soever they were called, whether

[1] The celebrated collector of the Arundelian marbles.

Lily the astrologer gives us a curious anecdote concerning this nobleman.

"The king cared not much for the earl of Arundel, being he was of a severe and grave nature, could not endure court novelties or flatterers, was potent in allies, &c. But there was one thing or cause mainly above the rest, and that was, because the earl of Arundel being lord high steward and judge in Strafford's trial, gave his voice that he was guilty of treason, &c. The earl also had but a few years before given the king a touch of his own great heart, and the king's unthankfulness to him and his family. The case was thus: A priest pretends the king had a right in a rectory, the earl challenged for his, and had procured Canterbury for his friend and second. The matter had many debates, for Arundel was no fool, but stood stoutly for his right. Canterbury was as violent for the priest, and had procured the king to take cognizance, or hear the matter. The king, upon some slight evidence, maintained it was his, *viz.* belonged to the crown. The earl seeing the obstinateness of the king, and his siding with a petty priest against him and his proper right, out of the greatness of his heart, said, 'Sir, this rectory was an appendant to such or such a manor of mine, until my grandfather unfortunately lost both his life and seventeen lordships more, for the love he bore to your grandmother.' This was a smart speech, and home to purpose; it so astonished the king, that he replied, pretty mildly, 'My Lord, I would not have you to think that so poor a thing as this rectory, or thing in question, shall stand in competition betwixt my respect unto you and your family, which I know to be deserving,' &c. After that time the earl little liked the king's actions, and therefore took this opportune occasion of going away with the queen-mother; and when one said unto him, his majesty would miss him, 'It is an ill dog,' said the earl, 'that is not worth whistling; and though he is a king, he will find Arundel's affection unto him would not have been inconsiderable,' &c. Some few years since, the earl died at Padua, being the last man of the English nation that maintained the gravity and port of the ancient nobility; a great lover of antiquities and of the English nation. He brought over the new way of building with brick in the city, greatly to the safety of the city, and preservation of the wood of this nation. He was a great patron of decayed gentry; and being lord high marshal of England, carried too strict an hand against the yeomanry and commonalty, for which he was nothing beloved, but rather hated of them. However, the gentry and nobility owe much unto his memory." —LILLY's *Life of Charles I.* apud *The Lives of Ashmole and Lilly*, London, 1774, 8. p. 224.

dukes, marquesses, earls, lords, viscounts, or of what degree soever; he did constantly three or four days in the week, all or most part of the time the prince was in Spain, come to Whitehall-gate, King James being then at Whitehall for the most part; he did there make a prayer of three quarters of an hour long; it was as effectuall a prayer as any divine in England could make. In that prayer he prayed that the gospell of Jesus Christ might still continue and flourish in this nation; and after praying for the gospell, he again cried these woes as formerly; and when he had made his prayer at Whitehall-gate, with his hat under his arme all the time of his praying and journey (for so he called it his journey, as you shall see by and by,) he then betook himself to march through the city, praying this prayer, and crying these woes and cursings against popery as aforesaid. He began his journey at Whitehall-gate, and marched as far as there was any house in Whitechappell, East Smithfield, Shoreditch, Islington, St Giles in the Fields, the borough of Southwark, and many other walkes, and in this manner he past through all or the most part of all the streets in London; and although he made the most part of his prayers at Whitehall-gate, King James being then there, yet no man reproved him for it, or asked him why he did so, till one day sir Harry Spiller saw him crying these woes at the upper end of Holborn, did send him to the New Bridewell near Clerkenwell, where he remained three weeks, (and then being charged, as Peter and John were by the Jewish rabbins, that he should teach no more in that name, he was let go,) but he regarding not their threats, did cry these woes a long time after; at length he went to his house in Buckinghamshire, thinking to cry these woes no more, but went to fall to work at his trade; yet when he was at his work he had not the power to finish it, but threw it aside, and came up to London the second time to cry these woes, which he did a long time after.

I did once meet him near Bishopsgate-street as he was coming back from crying these woes, where a man of his acquaintance met him, and asked him if he would drink a cup of beer? he said he would; for, said he, I have done my journey; therefore it is evident he was sent of God to cry these woes against the papists, as the Lord sent that man to Jerusalem [1] many years before it was destroyed, and at last cried, Woe, woe to himself, and immediately was struck dead by a clap of thunder. It is much

[1] This story, which was probably the ground-work of the English prophet's frenzy, is thus told by Josephus. "But I come now to a story that passes all the rest. A matter of four years before the war, when the city was in a profound peace, and flowing in plenty, there was one Jesus, the son of Ananus, a plain country fellow, who coming to the feast of tabernacles (an annual feast to the honour of God,) broke out on a sudden into this exclamation, over and over, 'A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four quarters of the world; a voice to Jerusalem, and a voice to the temple; a voice to new-married men and women, and a voice to this whole nation!' This was his cry day and night, from place to place, through every street of the city. Some great men in the government took such an offence at so ill-boding a liberty, that they ordered the man to be taken up and severely whipt. He took the punishment without returning so much as one word, either by the by, or in his own defence, or to complain of hard measure; but still he went on and on with the same things over again, calling and denouncing as before. The magistrates began now to suspect (as they had reason for it) somewhat of a divine impulse in what he said, and that he spake by an extraordinary spirit. He was carried upon this to Albinus, the governor of Judea, who caused him to be lashed to the very bones, which he took without either tears or supplication; only in a mournful voice, as well as he could, he followed every stroke with a 'Wo, wo to Jerusalem!' Albinus, as his judge, fell then to asking him what he was, whence he came, where he was born, and what he meant by that way of proceeding? But he gave him no answer. This was his way all along, till Albinus was fain to discharge him at last as a madman. From that time to the beginning of the war, he was never known to visit or speake to any of the citizens, or to make use of any other then that dolefull form of words, 'Wo, wo to Jerusalem!' He never gave an ill word to those that daily scourged him, or a good one even to those that fed him. But his answer was to all people alike, an ominous presage. He was observed to be still more clamorous upon festivals then upon other days; and at this rate he went on for seven years and five months, and neither his voice nor his strength failing him, till the siege of Jerusalem verify'd his predictions. After this, he took the tour of the wall once again, crying out with a stronger voice then ordinary, 'Wo, wo this city, this temple, and this people!' Concluding at last with a 'Wo, wo be to myself!' And in this instant he was taken off with a stone from an engine in the middle of all his forebodings."—*Works of Josephus by Sir* Roger L'Estrange, Edin. 1750, vol. III. 1725.

about thirty-two years since this man did cry these woes in London, and who knows but the Lord may very speedily purge this nation of all those blasphemous opinions which do now swarme in it, and of all those that do seek to uphold popery, or any other false opinions which this nation is now over-run with; and I beseech you to consider, that this mans crying these woes just in the interim when the prince was in Spain acting against the gospell, it is necessary that we should take notice of it, and of other things of the like nature and to the same purpose; for after he was king, and had married the queen out of France, he did entertain Signior Con, the pope's nuncio, and one Price, superior of the Benedictine monks, a very great polititian and statesman he was, which two men were so great with Laud, then bishop of Canterbury, that they had free accesse to him and Windebank at all times; and they were so great with Laud (he being a jesuiticall monke) that he gave out that he should have the cure of the church in Covent-Garden.[1] This Signior Con and this Price had so much power with Laud and Windebank, that they did brave the pursevants which had commission for the apprehending priests and jesuits, and did threaten them to cause their commissions to be taken from them; and Windebank himself did revile the pursevants, calling them knaves, and threatning them, that if they did ever meddle with any more priests and jesuites, he would make them smart for it. I myself having seized a great number of popish books in English, bishop Laud would send for them to the Registers Office, for the High Commission Court, and the same night would deliver them to the owners of them, to be disperst through the nation; so that it is evident, that if the king were not popishly inclined, yet the chief bishops and the chief officers about him were absolutely popish. I could name many more that were in great places about the king that were papists, and known to be so by many that grieved to see it at that time. But let me speak a little more of this man; in all the time that he was crying these woes he was never seen to beg or receive any thing by way of relief of any man, yet he wanted nothing that ever I could hear of; he always wore one suit of cloth whole and sound, and there is no question but the Lord did keep him while he was doing his work. But if there be any that do distrust the truth hereof, there be many thousands this day living in London, that did both hear him and see him as well as myself while he was doing his work.

V. After this one of the crownes and vanes of the Tower was turned over the top of the spindle whereon it was placed, by a very small gale of winde; and so both crown and vane hung at the foot of the spindle three quarters of a year or more, at which time new ones were set up. The crown and vane did weigh one hundred weight at least, and was forelockt one to the top of the spindle with a forelock of iron: surely if a greater providence then this small gale of winde had not took it off the spindle, it might have remained there untill this time, but the Lord had ordered it so to be, that some (though not all) might look upon it as from the hand of God; for many thousands did see it, and did take notice of it as from the hand of God at that time.

VI. There is one thing more to be looked on as from the all-seeing eye of Heaven, which fell out very strangely concerning the late king. His hand and scepter broke off from his statue at the Exchange, and fell down to the ground, even at Change time, to the admiration of all beholders, the Change being then full of merchants and others at the same time, and the next day it was set up again. It was taken as a sad presage by all that beheld it: yet I believe there be many that will make no account of these remarkable passages, but will slight them as things not worthy to take notice of; but my simple thoughts do lead me to conceive, that the falling down of the hand and scepter did presage the taking of the government out of his hand, as is

[1] Concerning these intrigues of the papist nuncios, see vol. IV. p. 50.

seen this day; and I could wish that all those that do so slight the former passages, to consider better, and not to slight the next that follows, which is very remarkable.

VII. There was an ancient gentlewoman, which came from Bristoll, a widow, and had been the wife of one Mr Cary, a woollen draper on the back of Bristoll; this woman had seen many strange apparitions of the late king at severall times, as his crown all bloudy, himself in black, and his head off, with many other such visions: she could not be quiet untill she came to London to acquaint himself with those visions which she had seen of him; and after two years time spent in soliciting this nobleman and that nobleman, and others, to bring her to the king, at length the Earl of Dorset (after much importunity) brought her to the king, where she told his majesty all that she had seen of him; he gave her the hearing of it, but would give no credit to what she had said, but bid take her away, she was a merry woman; then, when she had told him all that she had seen of him, she returned to Bristoll again, thinking there to rest herself in peace. She had not been there many days but those visions appeared to her as at the first; whereupon she could not contain herself, but must of force come up to London the second time, to acquaint his majesty with what she had seen of him since her last being with him at Whitehall; but before she could get to London his majesty was gone to York; yet though she was in years and a weakly woman, and the journey long and tedious for such a one as herself to undertake, yet she must of necessity go after him to York, and was conveyed to York in a coach by means of a lady, which at the writing hereof is living near London, who can justify the same if any should scruple the truth hereof; and being come to York, she had admittance to his presence, where she once again related to him all that she had seen of him since her last being with him at Whitehall, with much praying and beseeching him to consider what she had seen and said of him; but he would not hearken to her, nor give credit to what she had said unto him, for certainly the Lord had hid these things from him, and would not let him understand them, because he would destroy him; for to that purpose the Lord did harden the heart of Pharaoh, that he should not believe the wonders which Moses the servant of the Lord wrought in his sight, to make his name known to all the world; for, saith the Lord, Exod. ix. 16, "For this cause have I appointed to shew my power in thee, and to declare my name in all the world." But the more plagues the Lord did send on Pharaoh the more his heart was hardned by them.

I could wish that all those into whose hands these sad presages shall come, that they would consider with themselves that there were more than an ordinary hand in causing this gentlewoman, being so antient as she was, to take upon her two so great journeys as these were; first from Bristoll to London, then to Bristoll again, then to London, and so to York, and all upon her own charge; surely there must be more then an ordinary hand in it which did guide this woman, she being so ancient as she was, and no kind of distemper at all in her, but in a very good temper both in mind and words, and in her behaviour very civil, as many people in London that did talke with her concerning these visions can witnesse.

VIII. I have been credibly informed that his highnesse the Lord Protector that now is, being in a gentleman's house at prayer, in a room wherein the king's picture did hang, near about the midst of prayer the picture fell down to the ground, which was a sad presage to the king, and now seems to be a clear testimony of God's purpose to reject him. But how hath the Lord Protector been preserved in so many great dangers as by God's providence he hath gone through in his own person since these troubles began; and that danger which he escaped in the coach[1] was not the least;

[1] He seems to mean his being overturned in an attempt to drive his own coach in Hyde Park, when the protector found that four young Friesland horses were not so easily managed as three great and warlike nations.

and questionlesse the Lord hath appointed him to be the man to govern the nation this time; who can deny God's permissive providence?

IX. His majesty being one day at Causam, near Redding, playing at chesse, he playing with the white men, the head of the white king fell off, which was as ominous a presage as any of the rest.

X. When the Lord Fairfax was at St Albans, and the generall counsell of the army, drawing the grand remonstrance, in order to require justice against the king, the sign of the King's Head, beneath the hill from the crosse, that part of the board between the head and shoulders was broken out of the sign, none knowing how it came to be so, so that the head and shoulders were separated from each other. It seemed then to be an ominous thing to what did shortly befall him in pursuance of that remonstrance then drawing up against him by the army: Wherefore I would wish that all those malignant spirits that are so bitter against the government, to consider that there is no power given unto men upon earth but by God; therefore let them sit still, and see the Lords work done in truth and righteousnesse, for surely the Lord will own him so far as he doth act for the Lord, and no underhand practise shall prevail against him, maugre all the devils in hell; they shall not touch him to do him harme, for the Lord will be his protector so long as he doth act for the Lord; but if he act not of, and for the Lord, then the Lord will bring all his actions to nought, and it will fall to the ground of itself, as once Gamaliel said to the Jewish rabbins, "Refrain from these men, and let them alone, for if this counsell or this work be of men it will come to nought; but if it be of God you cannot overthrow it, least haply ye be found fighters against God." Acts v. 38, 39. And as Mr Saltmash said once in a sermon before the Lord Fairfax, "So long as you serve the Lord, he will be with you; but if you fall from the Lord, the Lord will fall from you." Therefore, to those turbulent spirits I will use our Saviour Christs own words to Saul, going to Damascus to persecute the people of God, "It is hard for you to kick against prickles." And I do now wish that you which are such enemies against this government, to look up to God, and lay aside your own particular interest; and if there be any thing amisse in your hearts, cast it out, and leave all unto the Lord for himself to rectify, for your plots and devises will surely come to nought.

XI. There is one thing more yet as remarkable as the rest; when the king was at the high court of justice on his tryall, the head of his cane fell off,[1] he stooping to take it up himself, took it as an ominous presage unto himself; and so indeed he might have done all the former presages, the greatest part of them bending to the head; but, as I said before, the Lord did hide them from him. And with my heart I wish that those ominous presages, which the Lord did send as forerunners of his wrath against him in his so great fall and ruin, might deter all men, of what condition soever, to leave plotting and contriving any further tumults or seditions tending to the shedding of any more innocent bloud in this nation; but let them plot what they will against this government, they will surely be destroyed in all their practises, as is evidently seen in the two last plots; for when they thought themselves secure, and the child of the devill, as I may truly say, brought to the very birth, see then how the Lord did frustrate their actions, and with the least breath of his nostrils brake them to pieces, and that in a moment, as he did all the enemies of that famous Queen Elizabeth all her life, as well before her coming to the crown as after: First, by Bishop Bonner and his crew, by setting her sister Queen Mary to take away her life, and for no other cause but for professing the gospell of Jesus Christ, had not the Lord discovered it (in his due time) to King Philip in a warrant, which the bishops had shuffled in amongst other warrants to be signed by him, for her death, but the king reading the

[1] This Sir Philip Warwick supposes to have been managed, for the sake of stage effect, by Hugh Peters.

warrant, refused to sign it, and threw it aside: but before they could bring their purposes to passe Queen Mary died, and then their hopes were frustrate, for she was presently crowned queen, to the great terrour of all those that did plot her downfall, for her heart was upright unto the Lord, and the Lord kept her from all their plots and devises; for after she came to the crown, what plots and devises did they not practise to take her life away by pistols, poysonings, stabbings, and by many other hellish practises; how many lowing bulls of Bashan did the pope send against her, discharging her subjects of their allegiance unto her, animating her subjects to destroy her by any means whatsoever, as it was plainly seen in the treasons of those hellish conspirators, Lopus, Campion, Parry, Garnat, Banister, Summervild, Squire, and the rest of that popish rabble; and then by that never-to-be-forgotten deliverance of that invincible navy, as the Spaniards called that great armado in 88, when they made themselves sure of all this nation, and so to bring it to idolatry; for they brought with them whips of wire, gags, and many other instruments of cruelty to force this whole land to popery. But, blessed be God, the snare is broken, and we are escaped, except our sins, which are innumerable, do make us fall into the snare; for surely our sins are even ripe unto the harvest, and there wants nothing but the Lords putting in his sickle to reap us; for surely the Lords patience is very much in waiting for our repentance; therefore let us not defer it any longer, least the Lord cast us off if we repent not all the sooner; but, blessed and praised be the Lord for it, he brought that invincible armada to nought, for not one-third part of them ever came home to Spain again; and for all their malice against her, she died in a good old age, full of days, riches, and honour, for she left all her coffers full of riches and treasure, which she got from those that sought her life, by making wars against them; for the Lord did prosper all her undertakings which she took in hand, for her heart was upright unto the Lord all her days, (as the heart of Asa King of Judah was;) and the Lord did keep her in store to settle the gospell of Jesus Christ in this nation, and hath continued it here almost a hundred years, praised be his holy name for it, and grant, good Lord, that it may continue in this nation so long as the sun and moon endureth.

And now let me return unto the king in his project of bringing in of popery. He had the least cause of any in the world to have any alliance at all with papists, much lesse to link himself in the affinity of marriage with them; for look but back upon the powder-plot, and you shall see his father, himself, and all their posterity, with all the nobility, and all the chief gentry of the nation, designed to be blowne up in the aire, (the Lady Elizabeth his sister only excepted, for they had determined to marry her to some catholick gentleman, and so to have made her queen,) but God did laugh at them and brought them to nought, blessed and praised be his holy name for it.

But his father and himself very well knew that all the considerable papists in England did know of it, and were engaged in it, and did contribute to it; and for him to make a firm league with them, the enemies of Jesus Christ, was most abominable; but as the Lord said unto Ezekiel, "Son of man, turn thee, and thou shalt see greater abominations than these;" so he yet added more to all the rest in putting forth that hellish book of sports, (as his father had formerly done,) which book was put forth by the counsell and advise of the then popish bishops long after his coming from Spain, wherein he gives free liberty to the people to commit all licentiousnesse for propha ning the Lords-day, by dancing, revelling, gaming, and all that the devill could invent to the great dishonour of God and his Sabbaths; but it was contrived of set purpose to silence all conscientious ministers that did scruple the reading of it, (as many of them did,) and were put from their preaching for not reading the same, and also to draw the hearts of the rude multitude to himself, if there should be occasion offered to any that should oppose the rise of popery, which the multitude is apt to do, as the

multitude of Asia against Paul, but knew no cause for what they did, the whole city being in an uproar, but knew not for what; so this book was put forth to cause the rude multitude to rise in defence of the prophane liberty which was given them by authority, if there should be occasion. As I said before, it was one of the greatest master-pieces that ever the devill did put on foot in this nation, (to draw the people to himself) that ever was hatched in hell; far greater than the powder-plot, for that had destroyed but the bodies of a few, but this would have destroyed the souls of many thousands if it had continued longer. It was worse than Balaam's counsell for the Midianitish women to draw the children of Israel to commit folly and idolatry; but he had his reward, for he was slain shortly after by the Israelites, and so will all the enemies of Jesus Christ perish in all their wicked practises, if they desist not in the pursuance of them.

Here are pregnant examples enough to make men leave their wicked practises, if they will take notice of them; which God of his mercy give all those hearts to do that shall read these ominous presages, and the Lord give all men hearts to understand what it is to strive against God. And my hearts desire is, that the Lord would stir up the hearts of those that are in authority to put in execution that additional act for the better keeping of the Lord's-day, which is so much neglected, and the Sabbath abused in the fields and alehouses, where the people do muster at play as if it were the week-day; yea even in the time of divine prayer, to the great dishonour of God and disgrace to this city; and that it may be carefully lookt into and amended, he prayeth, who is a lover of the gospell of Jesus Christ, and the peace and welfare of this nation.

Divers remarkable Passages of the Ladies at Spring-Garden, in Parliament assembled.

" This piece, which contains an arch comment on the gallantries of these times, was first printed in quarto, in the year 1647, under the title of The Parliament of Ladies, or Divers Speeches, &c.; but very erroneously, and with many omissions, particularly the following passage in the title-page:—' Together with certain Votes of the unlawful Assembly at Kate's, in Covent Garden; both which are sent abroad to prevent Misinformation.' All which are here supplied out of a manuscript copy preserved in Lord Somers's Collection."

Thus far the former edition of Somers' Tracts. This lampoon has been somewhat extended in the present copy by assistance of a manuscript copy in possession of the editor. There are some verses subjoined to it, also alluding to the gallantries of the time, but they are too gross for publication.

Vespere Veneris Martis 26, 1647.

Ordered by the Ladies in parliament assembled, that these orders and votes be forthwith printed and published, to prevent all such misreports and scandals as either

malice, or want of wit, heightned with snuffs of ale or stummed claret, may cause, to the dishonour of the said votes in parliament.

BEATRICE KINGSMEL, Cler. Parliament.

THE rattle-headed ladies being assembled at Kate's, in Covent Garden, and having spent some time in chusing their speaker, (it having been objected against the Lady Duchess, that she had used beating up of quarters, and other sports, too frequently with Prince Rupert,) they at last resolved upon the Lady Isabella Thynne, hoping thereby, that the acts might have the greater influence upon the king's majesty.[1]

1st. That no roundhead should dare to come into any of their quarters.

2dly. That, on the contrary, none of the members, cavaliers, viz. do cohabit in any of the roundheads quarters, or pay any contributions to them, by way of benevolence, or loan, or otherwise.

3dly. That thanks be given to the Ladies Montague, Teynham, Craven, &c. for their courtesies and favours shewn by them to the distressed cavaliers beyond the seas.

4thly. Ordered hereupon, that the said ladies, together with the Lady Stanhope, have leave to sell, give away, or otherwise to dispose of their French commodities, without paying excise or custom.

5thly. That Mrs Phillips be forthwith sent into France from this house, to the Lord Montague, to acquaint him how his lady hath negociated with the members of both houses.

6thly. That Mrs Gamlines for the protestants, and Mrs Wyeborne for the papists, be appointed messengers to attend the house, and that they have the title given them of Messengers of the Chamber.

The said ladies, in parliament assembled, do farther declare,

That by their votes of this day, they do not in any way intend to exclude from their quarters that part of the house of peers which voted the bill for maintenance of the army out of doors, in that the said lords are understood to be well-affected, and not roundheads.—While these things were thus in agitation, in comes a serjeant from the house of ladies, at Mrs Chip's, in Spring Garden assembled, in the name of which, he pronounceth this an unlawful assembly, a junto, a mongrel parliament; commanding them to confine their votes and themselves to their own houses, there to continue during pleasure.[2]

[1] "First then, they took into consideration their own businesse, and voted, that, in consideration of their many enemies, it was fit to raise a troope, consisting of one hundred tryed and able men, which should be always ready (both in peace and warre) to obey their commands; but it was long in debate who should be commander of it in chiefe, having dependance upon none but the house; for my Lady Newport, the countess moved for the Lord George Digby, (though he were not the ablest man she had knowne by many,) yet (in regard of the favour he hath with the king) ought not to be slighted. But there was another lady which much opposed her, and was desirious that my Lord George Goring's experience might be considered; which, perhaps, the house had done, had not Mrs Kirke urged his debauchery, and put them in minde of Prince Maurice his deserts and abilities, though he did not seem a courtier; but then the Duchesse of Richmond assured them, that none was to be compared to Prince Rupert, against whom nothing could be urged, but that his labour was not alwaies crowned with the desired and wish't for success; but being cleared of the imputation by Mrs Legge, (who assured the house that that did not depend upon him but his companions in armes) he was generally thought the fittest man for the employment; and it was ordered that the Lady Aubigny, attended by the Lord Hawlye, should be sent into France to receive the command."—*MS.*

[2] "Hide Parke, St Jameses Parke, Spring Garden, Kate's, &c. in any wise notwithstanding."—*MS.*