

**A Brief Relation of Certain Special and Most Material Passages  
and Speeches in the Star Chamber Occasioned and Delivered  
June the 14th 1637 at the Censure of Those Three Worthy  
Gentlemen Dr Bastwicke, Mr Burton and Mr Prynne (1637)**

**Transcript**

British Library, Additional MS 21935, ff. 40r–65v

**40r**

[1637] [Heauie Times with the poore Children of God] But to speake of those men that I did know well Docter Litton. M[aste]r Burton Docter Bastwicke and Master prynne What had these men don that they must Suffer So much misery to the shedding of their blood with perpetuall imprisonment All was bvt for preaching and wrighting of the trvth of [th]e word of God. In which their was a terror to the prelets false prophets Idolatry and profainors of the Lords day: And now of Late in the yeare 1637 when these three men Svffered Master Bvrton, Doctor Bastwicke and Master prynne When any booke Came forth which was for God and against those wicked prelates they Layd them to their Charge And them that any of those bookes ware found with they were had vp vnto their vnlawfull Cortes, grate and heauie things Layd to their Charges, much trouble with imprisonment and much expences and fines to the vndoing of Some (I the wrighter speake by some wofull experience) and all for having Some bookes that taught vs how we should feare God and honour our King and not to medel with them that Change

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**45v**

[1635] [Examples of Gods feareful Iudgments] In the month of 1635 one Master William Noy the great Gamaliel of the Law, his Maiesties late Atorney generall as hee had a grate hand in Compiling & republishing the (late) Declaration for pastimes on the Lords day (thurst out by his and a grate prelates practise) So he eagerly persecuted Master Prynne a well deseruing Gentelman of his owne profession and Society (to whom he was formarly a friend in appearance but an invetereate enemie in truth) for his Histrie Mastix Compiled onely out of the words and sentences of other approued Authors of all sorts against [th]e vse and exercise of Stage plaies, Enterludes, Morisdances, Maygames May poles, Wakes, Lasciuious mixt Dancing, and other Ethnick past times. Condemned in all ages, Without any thought or su<sup>s</sup>pition of giuing the least offence, either to [th]e Kings most excellent Maiesty [th]e Qveene or state, as he averred in his Answer vpon Oath, And although this booke was written fore yeares, Licensed almost three printed fvly off a quarter of a yeere, and published six weekes before the Queenes Maiesties pastorall. against which it was falsely voiced to haue beene principally written, diligently pervsed and licensed alm<sup>o</sup>st by Master Thomas Bvckner then Archbishop of Canterbvry his Chaplain both before and after it Came from the presse entered in the Stationers Hall vnder the wardens hands, printed publikely in three avthorized printing houses . without the Least controll . and published by the said Licensers direction . who would haue nothing new printed in it, as appeared vpon oath at the hearing: and although Master Noy himselfe (to whome he presented one of the Bookes) vpon the first reading of it

Commended it . thanked him for it . Oft affirmed that he saw no hurt in it and at [th]e heering Confessed that the worst & most dangerous pharase & passage in it might haue a good & faire Construction, and Sc<sup>h</sup>ollers would allso take it in a good sence, yet he handeled the matter so (by suppressing [th]e Gentlemans exhibits and defence . wresting his words and meaning refusing to discover the particulars of [th]e booke on which he

would

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[1635] [Against the wicked enemies of his Church] would insist, though ordered So to doe by the Court, it being else impossible to instruct Counsell how to make a reply, and by tampering vnder hand with some of his Counsell by no meanes to make any iustification or defence to cleare his innocency though the party earnestly intreated and gaue them instructions to the Contrary) that the poore Gentleman at last receiued the heauiest Censure that this Latter age hath knowen all Circumstances Considered, being expelled the vniversity of Oxford and Lincolns Inne, thurst from his profession in which he neuer offended fined fiue thousand pound to the King, ordered to stand one two sevrall pilloris . and there to Lose both his eares, his bookes to be there burned before him, and to Suffer imprisonment during life besides: which Sentance thought by most that heard the Cause to be ment only *in terrorem*, without any intention at all of execution, being respited for aboue three months space, and in a manner remited by the Qveen<sup>e</sup>s most gracious meditation, was yet by this Attur<sup>n</sup>ies and a great prelates importunity, beyond all expectation few of the Lords so much as knowing of it, The Gentleman herevpon is set on [th]e pillory at westminster and there Lost an eare: Master Noy a ioyfull Spectator Laugh at his Sufferings and this his grat exploit he had brought to passe which diuers there present obserued and condemned in him: The Gentlema<sup>n</sup> Like an harmlesse Lambe tooke all with such patience, that he not so much as once opened his mouth to let fall one word of discontent: yet that iust God and Soueraigne Lord of heauen & earth who beholdeth mischiefe and spite to requite it with his own hand, and auengeth [th]e innocent blood of his Seruants . tooke this his mirth and malice so hainously That the same day (as some about him & of his owne society reported) He who thus shed his brothers and Compainions blood, by the iust hand of God fell a voyding and pissing out his owne, which so amazed him that he vsed all meanes he could to smother it from the world Charging his laundres an those about him not to speake of it: refusing to acquaint his physicians with it, herevpon he growes very palid and ill, the physicians wonder at it, he complains to them onely of [th]e grauell and Stone in his Kidnies, till at Last he grew so ill with

this

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[1635] [Examples of Gods fearefull Iudgments] this devine stroke that he was forced to disclose his grife to them yeet so as they must faithfully promise to disclose it to no ~~{gap+ illegible}~~ man for feare people should say. it were a iust a iudgment of God on him for Shedding Mr. prynnes blood, Bvt God would not haue this Secret Long Concealed, his Laundres men, & some Gentlemen of his Society discover and talke of it, he much vexed in mind in stead of repenting of what he had done, and seeking to right the party wronged for his irreparable dammaged, Like a Hart or beast once mortally wounded proceeds on his former fury: Seekes to bring the poore distressed Gentleman into fresh troubles and a further Censure brings him Oretenus into the Starchamber, reviles him with all maner of vnciuell

words, moues to haue him Close prisoner among the rogues in Newgate, Sels his Chamber as forfeited to the house by his expulsion, seiseth his bookes and when as [th]e Covrt would not grant his vnreasonable malicious motion aboue fiue weekes after in the Long vacation, when most of the Lords were gone and his Maiesty in his progresse, drawes vp an order of his owne making in Starchamber for the Gentlemans Close imprisonment (the Last order he euer made) Caused the register to enter it and sends it to the Tower to be execvted the same day he went to Tvnbridge waters: with out the Lords or Courts priuity, The day following, drinking of those watters he was in miserable torture in so much [tha]t most despairing of his life and some reported he was dead. And hearing there that his disease of voyding blood was then publikely knowen and talked of in London, he was vexed at it that he fell ovt with his physicians and Saruants, rayling on them like a franticke man as if they had betrayed him and disclosed his secrets, yea it so freted and gnawed his heart & Conscience that it made his very heart & intrailles to perish and about a fortnight after brought him to his ende. Being opened after his death there was not a drop of blood found in his body, for he had voided al out before his false malicious hard heart with inward fretting & vexing was So Consumed and shrinked vp that it was like a old rotten leather purse or meere Scurfe. the physians neuer seing the like before

his

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[1635.] [Against the wicked enemies of his Church] his flesh and kidnies were w as blacke as an hat his intrials (except his Lungs onely) all pvtered and his Carkas as a miserable spectacle, bvt no stone that Could trouble him was found about him: His funerall according to his desire was so priuate that there were hardly Gentlemen enough to Carry him to his graue but that some Came in by accident, His Clients the players for whom he had done knights seruice to requite his kindnes the next Terme following make him the subiect of a merry Comedy stilled a proiector Lately dead . wherein they bring him in his Lawyers robes vpon the Stage, and openly dissecting him find a hundred proclamations in his head . a bundel of old motheaten records in his maw, halfe a barrell of new white sope in his belly . which made him to scoure so much . and yet say they he is still very black & foule within. And as if this voiding of all his owne blood & publike disgrace on the Stage were not Sufficient to expiate the wronged Gentlemans blood & infamy himselfe in his last will lays a brand on his owne son and heire. bequeathing all his goods. and Lands not therein giuen to others to Edward his eldest Son to be Scattered and spent enough to make a dutifull Childe turne vnthrift and a signe of a dispayring man Which son of his vpon his own Challenge and rashnesse hath since bene slaine in a duell in France by Captaine Byron who escaped scotfree and had his pardon: Thus hath God punished blood with blood, thus hath he dealt with one of the Chiefe ocasioners of this Declaration, & burner of that booke, which Larnedly manifested the vnlawfulness of the Seuerall Sorts & pastimes Countenanced in it especially on the Lords day own sacred day out of old and new wrighters of all sorts and specified diuers Iudgments of God vpon the authors, actors and spectatores of them, not vnworthy Consideration in these times of plagues & Iudgments O Consider this & all other the foregoing exampls [th]e impious prelates that so far forget the Lord as still to silence. excommunicate and persecvte godly Ministers for not reading this Declaration (though there be no Canon, Statute, Law or precept extant [tha]t requires it) to the ruine not so much of them. as their poore innocent peoples Soules you who

oppre yee that in these dolefull daies of days of plague and pestilence Svresse neglect all publike fasting preaching and praying Which now if euer should be cried vp and practised

And

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[1638] [Examples of Gods fearfull Iudgments] And in stead thereof giue yourselues ouer to dancing feasting playing Sabbath breaking to draw downe more wrath & plagues vpon vs you who oppresse and maliciously persecute Godly men for Crossing you in your delights of Sin lest you now perish as these haue done & so much the rather because you haue all these presidents to admonish you

One of the actores whereof and he who first shewed M[aste]r Prynns booke to [th]e King within few months after Came to be his fellow prisoners in the Tower for a reall Comentary on his misapplied text

The Iudge who vpon his reference suppressed these exhibites Contrary to Law & promise to [th]e Gentleman, was himselfe not long after vnexpectedly thrust out of his place before he knew of it

The great Lord [tha]t began this Censure Lost his Lady in Childbid Some three days after who much grieved at this sentence & blamed him for it, Which Lord riding the Last Christ tide into the Country to keepe his Christmas on the Lords day, his Coach & honor in the plaine Street at Branford, were both ouerturned & Laid in [th]e dirt. himselfe sore bruised and there vpon forced to keepe his Chamber a good space there being some doubt of his recouery for a time psal x 14

In [th]e yeare 1638 one Master Olden dwelling in the parish of Rickmansworth in Harfordsheere, hee metting one Master Anderson a godly minister, he Salutes him in a Scoffing maner . and desiers him to goe see his Brother (which was a Minster & would be glad to see him) and teles him withall he must obserue three things first he must Lay aside his presinesse for his brother was no puritun Secondly he must Lay aside his vnconformity. for his Brother is a Conformable man . thirdly he must Lay a side his {Larning} for his brother was no Scoller, immediatly after this Master Olden Comes to London and he went to bead as well as euer he did in his life but he died then Suddenly the Scriptures for his brother was for the Fathers

This M[aste]r Olden was a most bitter enemie to all Gods Children For he did say when he did Come to be Churchwarde he would make the puritons to Come vp the midel ally on their knees to the Railes

vnto

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[1637] [Against the wicked enemies of his Church] vnto the Rayles then afterward <sup>when</sup> he Came to be Churchwarden hee Caused the Rayles to be set vp, and then the people were forsed to Come vp to [th]e Rayles Some refusinge were persecuted One Georg Eue goeing out of the parish because of the Superstious things Hee informing against him at the Court put him to put much trou trouble And he sayd he would informe Docter Lambe of him & others, and that he would in few days haue a Crucifex in the Chancel at the time of the Speking of

Some of these words Hee and another (as I am tolde) went to drinke & haueing drunke sixteen quarts of wine and thus goeing to London before he Could Come into the Court against them that he had threatened hee died Suddenly in a most fearefull manner, being very mu much Swelled like one [tha]t had bine poysened that the docters and Cirgions Cold not tell what was the Cause

In the yeare 1637 those three worthy Saruants of God, Docter Bastwick M[aste]r Burton & M[aste]r prynne Suffered persecution as on the 14 of Iune in the Starrchamber haueing most heauie Censuer and afterwards executed vpon them being set one the pillery and their eares Cvt off close to their head to [th]e sheeding of much of their Blood And then banished & sent out of the Land from their wiues & Children to three s seuerall places as Namely the Castles of Carnaruan, Cornwall & Lancaster And of their patient and Comfort they had in their bitterest of their Sufferings their persecutors Could inflict vpon them I did then at that time of their Sufferings wright it downe after an other that did heare them at their Svfferings, And now if you turne ouer fiue Leaues you may see how I haue written it out more at Large for that <sup>the</sup> generation to Come may see what wofull & miserable times wee liued in- that in the light of the Gospel their should be Svch persecutors of the professors of the Gospel. Surely if wee did but consider bvt

the

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[1639] [Examples of Gods fearefull Iudgments] the Censure (and the Execution thereof as I dare say all Circvmstances Layd together, Cannot be paralled in any age of man throughout the Christian world, which though it be not drawn vp in so elegant a straine as it was deliuered & deserued, nor all the Heauenly words that were vttered by those three worthies of the Lord both in [th]e presence of the Lord, themselues at their Censure, and also at the place of Execvtion, yet I earnestly beseech you in the Bowels of Iesus Christ that you doe not in the Least manner vnder value the glory and dignity either of the persons or the Cause; bvt rather Lay the blame vpon the rudnes & meane Capacity of [th]e Composer. who is an vnfaired well wisher to them both

Tvrne ouer fore Leaues & you may their see itt.

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1637 Of Wicked Iustices A Briefe Relation of Certaine Speciall and most materiall passages and Speeches in the Starre Chamber, Occasioned and deliuered in Iune the XIII 1637 at the Censure of those three Worthy Gentlemen Doctor Bastwicke Master Bvrton and Master Prynne as it hath bine truely and faithfully gathered from their owne mouths by one present at the Sayd Censure

Betweene eight & nine a Clocke in the morning, (the 14 of Iune) The Lords being Sett in their places in [th]e Said Court of Starre Chamber and Casting their eyes vpon the prisoners then at the Barr. S[i]r Iohn Finche (Chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas) began to speake after this maner I had thought Mr Prynne had no eares, but me thinkes hee hath eares, which Caused many of the Lords to take stricter viw of him and for their better satisfaction the Vsher of the Court was Commanded to turne Vp his haire and shew his eares, vpon [th]e sight

whereof the Lords were displeased they had beene formerly no more Cvt off and Cast out some disgracefull words of him

To which Mr Prynne replied, My Lords there is neuer a one of your Honours, but would be Sorry to haue your eares as mine

The Lord Keeper replied againe, In good faith hee is somewhat Sawcy I hope Sayd Mr Prynne your Honours will not be offended: I pray God giue you eares to heare

The buisnes of the day sayd the Lord Keeper is to proceed on the Prisoners at the Barr

Mr Prynne then humbly desiered the Court to giue him Leauē to make a motion or two which being graunted. he mooues First that their Honours Would be pleased to accept of a Crosse Bill against the Prelates, Signed with their owne hands being that which Stands with the iustice of the Court, which he humbly Craued and So tendred it

Lord Keeper, As for your Crosse Bill, it is not the busines of the day Heareafter if the Court shall see iust Cause, and that it Sauours not of libelling we may accept of it, for my part I haue not seene it bvt haue heard somewhat of it

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[*Left margin: Prin*] I hope your Honours will not refuse it, being it is on his Maiesties behalfe, wee are his Maiesties Subiects, and therefore require the Iustice of the Court

[*Left margin: Ke*] Lord Keeper But this is not the busines of the day

[*Left margin: Prin*] Why then, My Lords I haue a second motion, which I humbly pray your Honours to grant, which is, That your Lordships will be pleased to dismiss the Prelates, heare now sitting from haueing any voyce in the Censure of this Cause: as being no wayes agreeable with equity or reason, that they who are Aduersaries. should be our Iudges, Terefore we humbly Craue they may be expunged out of the Court

[*Left margin: Kep*] In good faith its a sweet motion is it not Herein you are become Libellous, And if you should thus Libell all the Lords and Reverent Iudges, as you doe the most Reverent Prelats by this your Plea you would haue none to passe sentence vpon you for your libelling because they are parties

[*Left margin: Prin*] Vnder Correction (My Lord) this doth not hold, your Honour neede not putt for a Certainty, which is vncertainty, Wee haue nothing to say to any of your Honours, but onely to the Prelates

[*Left margin: Kep*] Well proceed to the busines of the day, Read [th]e information which was read, being very larg, and these fiue Bookes annexed therevnto a Booke of Docter Bastwickes written in Latin, The second a little Booke, intitled Newes from Ipswich, The third intituled A Divine Tragedy, recording Gods fearefull iudgments on Sabbath breakers The forth Mr Burtons Booke intitled An Apology of an Appeale to the Kings most Excellent Maiesty with two Sermons for God & the King preached on the fift of Nouember last. The fift and last Docter Bastwickes Letany

The Kings Counsell (being fiue) tooke each of them a seuerall Booke and discanted there at the Barre vpon them according to their pleasure

Master Attorney began first with Docter Bastwickes Latin Bookes picking out here & there particular Conclusions [tha]t best serued for his owne endes (as did [th]e other Counsell out of

[th]e fower other Bookes) to [th]e great abuse of the Authors, as themselues their immediatly Complained,

intreating

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intreating them to read the foregoeing grounds vpon which the sayd con clusions depended: without which they Could not vnderstand [th]e true meaning of them

Next vnto [th]e Attorney, Seriant Whitfeild falls vpon Reuerent Mr Bvrtons Book{ }, who vented much bitternes against the vnreprouable Booke (as all [tha]t read it with an honest heart may clearly perceiue) Swearing In good faith My Lords there is neuer a page in this Booke, but deserues a heauier and a deeper Censure then this Court Can lay vpon him

Next followeth A.B., who in like manner discanted vpon the Newes from Ipswich, Charging it tto be full of pernitious lyes, and especially vindicat ing the honor of Mathew Wren, Bishop of Norwich, as being a learned, Pious and Reverent Father of the Church

In the fourth place followes Mr Littlton the Kings Solicitor, who acts his part vpon the Diuine Tragedy, To which part of it, Concerning Gods iudgments on Sabbath breakers, he had little to say, but onely putt it off with a scoffe, Saying that they sate in the Seate of God who iudged those accidents which fell out vpon persons Svddenly strooken . to be the iudgment of God for Sabbath breaking, or words to the like effect: But enlarged himselfe vpon [tha]t passage which reflected vpon that late learned professor of the law, and his Maiesties faithfull Saruant Mr William Noy, his Maiesties late Attorney, who (as he said) was most sham fully abused by a Slaunder layd vpon him, which was, That it should be reported, that Gods iudgment fell vpon him for so eagerly prosecvting [tha]t inncent person Mr Prynne which iudgment was this. That he laughing at Mr Prynne while he was Svffering vpon the pillory, was strocke with an yssue of blood in his priuy part, which by all the art of man Could neuer be stopped vnto the day of his death, which was soone after, Bvt the trvth of this (My Lord) you shall finde to be as probable as [th]e rest For we haue here three <sup>or 4</sup> Gentlemen to Come in. to certifi vpon Oath that hee had that yssue long before, and there vpon made a shew as if he would Call for them in before the Lords to witnesse the trvth thereof (with these words Make roome for [th]e Gentlemen to Come in there) but no{t} one witnesse was seene to appeare, which was a pretty delusion and worth all your obsaruations that read it And so concluded (as [th]e res{t} that this Booke also deserued a heauy and deepe Censure

Lastly

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Lastly followes Mr Habert, Whose descant was vpon Doc Bastwickes Letanie, picking out one or two passages therein, and so drawing thence his Conclusion, that iointly with the rest, it deserued a heavy Censure

The Kings Counsell haueing all spoken what they Could, the Lord Keeper Sayd to the Prisoners at the Barre: You here Gentlemen wherewith you are Charged, and now least you should say you Cannot haue liberty to speake for your Selues, the Court giues you leaue to Speake what you Can, with these Conditions, First that you speake within the bonds of modesty. Secondly, that your Speeches be not Libellous

They all three (Prisoners) answered, they hoped so to order their speech as to be free from any immodest<sup>or</sup> Libellous Speaking

[*Left margin:Kep*] Then speake a Gods name, and shew Cause why the Court should not proceed in Censure (as taking the Cause pro confesso) against you

[*Left margin:Pryn*] My honorable good Lord, Svch a day of the month there Came a Subpena from your Honours, to enter my appearance in this Court, which being entered, I tooke forth a Coppy of [th]e Information which being taken, I was to draw my Answer, which I endeavored to doe, bvt being shutt vp Close prisoner, I was deserted of all meanes by which I should haue done it, for I was no sooner serued with [th]e Svbpna, but I was shortly after shutt vp Close Prisoner with a Suspension of pen, inke & paper, which Close imprisonment ddid eate vp such a deale of my time that I was hindred the bringing in of my Answer, You did assigne me Counsell, tis true, but they neglected to Come to me, and I Could not Come to them, being vnder lock and key Then vpon motion in Court ye gaue me Liberty to goe to them, bvt then presently after that motion (I Know not for what Cause nor vpon whose Command) I was shutt vp againe. And then I Could not Compell my Counsell to Come to me, and my time was short, and I had neither pen nor inke nor Sarvant to doe any thing for mee. for my Sarvant was then also kept Close Prisoner, vnder a Pvrseuants hands this was to put impossibilities vpon me, Then vpon a Second motion for pen and inke (which was granted me) I drew vp Some Instrvctions and in a fortnites time sent forty Sheetes to my Counsell

Svddenly

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Suddainly after I drew vp forty<sup>sheetes</sup> more and sent to them, My Lord I did nothing but by my the aduise of my Counsell, by whom I was ruled in the drawing vp of all my Answers, and paid him twice for drawing it, and some of my Counsell would haue set their handes to it Here is my Answer. I tender it vpon my oath, which your Lordships Cannot deny with [th]e Iustis of the Court

[*Left margin:L*] Keeper: Wee can giue you a President, that this Court hath proceeded and taken a Cause pro Confesso for not putting in an Answer in sixe days you haue had a great deale of fauoure Shewed in affording you longer time, and therefore the Court is free from all Calumny or aspersion, for reiecting your Answer not signed with [th]e Counsell's hands

[*Left margin:Mr*] Prynne Bvt one word or two my lords. I desier your Honours to heare me, I put a Case in Law that is often pleaded before your Lordships. One man is bound to bring in two witnesses, if both or one of them fayle, [tha]t hee Caannot bring them in, doth the Law (my lords) make it the mans act You assigned me two Counsellors, One of them fayled, I Cannot Compell him here he is now before you, Let him speake, if I haue not vsed all my inden uoures to haue had him signed it (which my other Counsell would not haue done, if this would haue Set his hand to it with him) & to haue put it in long<sup>since</sup>

Counsell: My lord there was so long time spent ere I Could doe any thing after I was assigned his Counsell, [tha]t it was impossible his Answer Could bee drawn vp in So short a time as was allotted for after long expectatio<sup>n</sup> Seeing he Came not to me. I went to him, where I found him Close Prisoner So that I Could not haue accesse to him, Wherevpon I motioned to the Lieft tenant of the Tower to haue free liberty of Speech with him Concerning his



Answer, which being granted mee, I found him very willing & desirous to haue it drawen vp, Wherevpon I did moue the Court for pen and inke and paper which was granted me, the which he no sooner had gotten: bvt he set himselfe to draw vp instructions, and in a short tyme . Sent mee forty sheetes, and soone after I receiued forty Sheetes more, but I found the Answers So longe and of Such a nature, that I durst not set my hand to it. for feare of giuing your Honours distast

[*Left margin:*Mr] Prynne My Lords. I did nothing but according to the direction of my Counsell, onely I Speake mine owne words, My Answer was drawe<sup>n</sup> vp by his Consent, it was his owne act. and he did approoue of it

and

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and if he will be so basse a Coward to doe that in priuate which he dares not acknowledge in publicke, I will not let such a sinne lye on my Conscience, Let it rest with him: Here is my Answer, which though it be not signed with their hands, yet here I tender it vpon my oath, which you cannot in Ustice deny

[*Left margin:*Kep] But Mr Prynne the Court desiers no such long Answer: Are you guilty. or not guilty

[*Left margin:*Prin] My Lords good Lord, I am to answere in a defensiuie way: Is here any one, that can witnes against me, Let him Come in, The Law of God standeth thus, That a man is not to be Condemned. but vn der the mouth of two or three witnesses: Here is no witnes Comes in against me my Lord, neither is there in all the Information one Claues that doth particularly fall on mee, but onely in [th]e gene rall, there is no Booke layd to my Charge, And shall I be Condemned for a particular act? When no accusation of any particvlar act can be brought against mee, This were mosy vniust and wicked Here I tender my Answer to the Information vpon my oath My Lord you did impose impossibilities vpon me, I Could doe no more then I was able

[*Left margin:*Lor] Keeper Well hold your peace, your Answer Comes to late S<sup>P</sup>eake you Docter Bastwicke

[*Left margin:*Bast] My Honorable Lords, me thinkes you Looke like an Assembly of Gods and sit in the place of God, Yee are Called the Sonnes of God And since I haue Conpared you to Gods, giue me Leaue a little to parallel the one with the other, to see whither the Comparison between God and you doth hold in this noble and righteous Cause This was the Carriage of Almighty God in the Cause of Sodome Before he would pronounce sentence, or execute iudgment: he would first Come downe and see whither the Crime was altogether accord ing to the cry that was Come vp, And with whom doth the Lord Consult, when he Came downe, With his Saruant Abraham. and he giues the reason, for I know (Saith he) that Abraham will Command his Children and houshold after him that they shall keepe the way of the Lord to doe iustice and Iudgment

My

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My good Lords, thus stands the Case betweene your Honours and vs this day There is a great Cry Come vp into your eares against vs. from [th]e Kings Attorny Why now be you pleased to descend and see if the Crime be according to [th]e Cry and Consult (with God) (not the Prelates being the aduersary part, and (as it is apparant to all the world) doe proudly set themselves against the wayes of God, and from whom none Can expect Iustice or Iudgment) bvt with ~~rig~~ righteous men, that will be impartiall on either side: before you proceede to Censure, Which Censure you Cannot passe on vs without great iniustice before you heare our Answers read: Here is my Answer, which I here ten-der vpon my oath My good Lords giue vs Leave to speake in our owne de fence we are not Conscious to our selues of any thing wee haue done [tha]t de serues a Censure this day in this Honourable Court, but that wee haue ever laboured to maintaine the Honour, Dignity, and prerogatiue Royall of our Soueraigne Lord the King Let the Lord the King liue for euer. Had I a thousand liues, I should thinke them all too little to spend for [th]e maintenanc<sup>e</sup> of his Maiestie Royall Prerogatiue My good Lords Can you proceed to Cen sure before you know my Cause, I dare vndertake, that Scarce any one of your Lordships haue read my Bookes, And Can you then Censure me for wha<sup>t</sup> what you know not and before I haue made my defence. O my Noble Lords is this a righteous Iudgment, This were against the Law of God and man. to Condemne a maan before you know his Crime, The Gouverner before whom St Paul was Carried (who was a very Heathen) would first heare his Cavse before he would passe any Censure vpon him, And doth it besee me so Noble and Christian Assembly to Condemne me before my Answer be perused and my Cause knowen. Men. Brethren and Fathers, into what age are we fallen, I desire your Honours to lay aside your Censure for this day, and inquier into my Cause, heare my Answer read, Which if refuse to doe, I here professe, I will Cloath it in Roman Bvffe. and send it abroad vnto the view of aall the world, to Cleare mine innocen cy. and see your great iniustice in this Cause

[Left margin:L] Keper But this is not the buisness of the day, Why brought you not in your Answer in due time

[Left margin:D] Bastwicke My Lord, a long time since I tendred it to your Honours I failed not in any one particlar. And if my Counsell be So base and Cowardly, that they dare not signe for feare of the Prelates (as

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I Can make it appeare) therefore haue I no Answer. My Lord here is my Answer, which though my Counsell out of a basse Spirit. dare not set their hands vnto yet I tender it vpon my oath

[Left margin:Kep] But Mr Docter you should haue beene briefe, you tendred in too large an Answer, which (as I hard) is as libellous as your Bookes

[Left margin:Bast] No my Lord, it is not libellous though large. I haue none to answer for me but my selfe, and being left to my selfe, I must plead my Conscience in answer to euery Circumstance of the Information

[Left margin:Kep] What say you Mr Docter. are you guilty, or not guilty Answer aye or no, you needed not to haue troubled your selfe So much about So large an Answer

[Left margin:Bast] I know none of your Honours haue read my Booke And can you with the Iustice of the Court, Condemne me before you know what is written in my Booke

[*Left margin:*Kep] What say you to that was read to you euen now

[*Left margin:*Bast] My Lord He that read it did So murther the sence of it [tha]t had I not knowen, what I had written I could not tell what to haue made of it

[*Left margin:*Kep] What Say you to the other Sentence read to you

[*Left margin:*Lo[rd]] Dorsett, Did not you send [tha]t Booke, as now it is to a Noble mans house, together with a letter directed to him

[*Left margin:*Bast,] Yea. my Lord, I did so, but withall you may see in my Epistle set before the booke, I did at first disclayme what was not mine. I sent my Booke ouer by a Dutch Merchant, who it was [tha]t wrote the addition I doe not know. but my Epistle set to my Booke, made manifest what was mine, and what was not, and I Cannot iustly Svffer for what was none of mine

[*Left margin:*Lor[d]] Arvndell My Lord, you heare by his owne speech, [th]e Cause is taken pro Confeso

[*Left margin:*Kep] Yea, you say true my Lord

[*Left margin:*Bast] My noble Lord of Arvndell, I know you are a noble Prince in Israel and a grat Prince Peere of this Realme, There are some honourable Lords in this Court that haue bin forced out as Combatantes in a single

dvell: it

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it is betweene the Prelates & vs at this time as betweene two [tha]t haue ap pointed the feild, The one being a Coward goes to the Magistrate. and by ver tue of his Authority disarms the other of his weapones, and giues him a Bvll rvsh, and then Challenges him to fight, If this be not base Cowardice I know not what belongs to a Souldier, This is the Case betweene the Prelates and Vs they take away our weapons (our Answers) by vertue of your Author ity, by which we should defend our Selues, and yet they bidd vs fight My Lord, doth not this sauour of a base Cowardly Spirit, I know my Lord, there is a Degree gonne forth (for my Sentence was passed long ~~Lord~~ Since) to Cvt of our eares

[*Left margin:*L] Keeper Who shall know our Censure, before the Court passe it, Doe you prophesy of your Selues

[*Left margin:*D] Bastwicke My Lord, I am able to prooue it, and that from the mouth of the Prelates owne Saruants, that in August last it was decreed, that D Bastwicke should Loose his eares, O my Noble Lords, Is this righteous iudgme<sup>nt</sup> I may say as the Apostle once sayd, What Whipp a Roman beene<sup>beene</sup> a Souldier able to Lead an Army into the feild, to fight valiantly for [th]e hon<sup>our</sup> of their Prince. Now I am a Physitian, able to Cure Nobles . Kings, Princes and Emperors, And to Cvrtolize a Romans eares, Like a Cvrrer, O my honourable Lords, is it not to base an act for so noble an assembly, and for So righteous and honorable a Cause. The Cause my Lords is great. it Concernes the glory of God, the honour of our King, Whose Prerogatiue we labour to maintaine and to set vp in a high maner in which your honours liberties are engaged, And doth not such a Cause deserue your ~~to~~ Lordships Consideration, before you proceed to Censure, Your Honours may be pleased to Consider that in the ~~yo~~ Last Cause heard and Censured in this Court, betwene S[i]r James Bagge &

the Lord Moone, wherein your Lordships tooke a grate deale of Paines, with a grate deale of patience, to heare [th]e Bills on both sides, with all the Answers and Depositions laargely layd open before you, which Cause when you had fully heard, some of your Honours now sitting in the Court, sayd, You Could not in Conscience proceede to Censure till you had taken some time to <sup>re</sup>Collect your selues If in a cause of [tha]t natur You Could spend So much time and afterwards recollect your Selues be before you would Passe Censure: How much more should it mooue Your Honours to take some time in a Cause wherein the glory of God,

The

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The prerogatiue of his Maiestie, Your Honours dignity, and [th]e Svbiects liberty is so Largely ingaged, My Lords, it may fall out to be any of your Lordships Cases to stand as Delinquents at this Barre, as wee now doe: It is not vnknownen to your Honours, the next Cause that is to succeed ours, is touching a person that sometimes hath beene in gratest power in this Court, And if the mutations and reuol utions of persons & times be such, then I doe most humbly bessech your Honours to looke on vs, as it may befall your selues Bvt if all this will not prevaile with your Honours, to prevse my Bookes and heare my Answer. read. which here I tender vpon the words and oath of a Souldier a Gentleman. a Scholler & a Physitian: I will Cloath them (as I sayd before) in Roman Buffe and disperse them throughout the Christian world. that the futer generations may see the Innocency of this Cause, and your Honours vniust proceedings in it, all which I will doe though it Cost me my life

[Left margin:Kep] Mr Docter I thought you would be angry

[Left margin:Bast] No my Lord, you <sup>are</sup> mistaken: I am not angry nor Passionate all [tha]t I doe presse is, that you would be pleased to pervse my Answer

[Left margin:Kep] Well hold your peace, Mr Burton What say you

[Left margin:Mr] Burton My good Lords Your Honours (it should seeme) doe determine to Censure vs, and take our Cause proconfesso, although wee haue laboured to giue your Honours Satisfaction in all things My Lords what you haue to say against my Bookes I Confesse I did wright it, yet did I not any thing out of intent of Commotion or Sedition. I deliuered nothing, but what my Text ledd me too, being Chosen to suite wwith [th]e day namely the fifth of Nouember the words were these &c

[Left margin:Kep] Mr Bvrton I pray standing not naming Texts of Scripture now: we doe not send for you to preach, but to answer to those things [tha]t are objected a gainst you

[Left margin:Bvr] My Lord I haue drawen vp my Answer to my great paynes & charges which Answer was signed with my Counsells hands, and receiued into [th]e Court, according to the Rvle & order thereof, And I did not thinke to haue been Called this day to a Censure, bvt haue had a legall pro ceeding by way of Bill and Answer

[Left margin:Kep] Your Answer was imperinent

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[Left margin:Mr] Bvrton My Answer (after it was entered into the Court) was referr<sup>d</sup> to the Iudges, but by what meanes I doe not know, Whither it be inpertine<sup>nt</sup> and what Cause your

Lordships had to Cast it out, I Know not But afterwar<sup>ds</sup> it was approoued of, and receiued, it was Cast out as an impertinent Answers

[*Left margin:*[symbol]] Lord Finch The Iudges did you a good turne to make it impertinent. for it was as Libellous as your Booke, So that your Answer deserued a Censure a lone

[*Left margin:*L] Keeper What say you Mr Bvrton, are you guilty or not

[*Left margin:*Mr] Bvrton My Lord I desier you not onely to peruse my Booke, here and there bvt euery passage of it

[*Left margin:*L] Keeper Mr Bvrton, time is short, are you guilty, or not guilty What say you to that which was read. Doth it become a Minister to deliuer himselfe in such a rayling and Scandalous way

[*Left margin:*Mr] Bvrton In my iudgment, and as I can prooue it, it was neither rayling nor Scandalos I conceiue [tha]t a Minister hath a larger liberty then alwayes to goe in a milde straine, I being the pastor of my people whom I had in ~~Char~~ Charge and was to instruct, I was supposed it was my duety to informe them of those Innouations that are Crept into the Church, as likewise of the danger and ill Consequence of them, As for my Answer, Yee blotted out what you would, and then the rest which made best for your <sup>owne</sup> endes. You would haue to stand, And now for me to tender onely what will serue for your owne turnes, and renounce the rest, were to desert my Cause, which before I will doe, or desert my Conscience, I will rather desert my body and deliuer it vp to your Lordships to doe with it what you will

[*Left margin:*L] Keeper This is a place, Where you should Craue mercy and fauour Mr Bvrton and not stand vpon such termes as you doe

Mr Bvrton: There wherein I haue offended through humane frailty I Craue of God and man pardon, And I pray God, that in your sentence you may So Censure vs, that you may not sinne against the Lord

Then the prisoners desiring to speake a little more for themslues were Commanded to silence And so the Lords proceeded to Censure

The

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The Lord Cottingtons Censure

I Condemne these three men to Loose their eares in the Pallace Yard at Westminster, To be fined fiue thousand Pounds a man to his Maiestie: And to Perpetuall imprison ment in three remote Places of the Kingdome, namely the Castles of Carnarvan, Conwall and Lancaster

The Lord Fince added to this Censure

Master Prynne to be Stigmatized in the Cheekes With two Letters (S & L) for a Seditious Libeller To which all the Lords agreed And so the Lord keeper Concluded the Censure

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The Execvtion of the Lords Censure in Starre Chamber vpon Docter Bastwicke Mr Prynne, & Mr Bvrton. in the Pallace yard at Westminster The theirty day of Iune Last 1637 at the

Spectation where of the number of people was So grate (the place being very larg) that it Caused admiration in all that beheld them, Who Came with tender affections to be hold those three renowned So<sup>v</sup>ldiers & saruants of Iesus Christ, who Came with most vndaunted and magnanimous Courage therevnto, hauing their way strawed with sweet hearbes from the house out of which they Came to the pillory, With all the honour that Could be done vnto them

Dr Bastwicke and Mr Burton first meeting , that did Close one in [th]e other<sup>s</sup> armes three times Which With as much expressions of Love as might be. re ioycing that they mett at such a place vpon such an occasion, and [tha]t God had So highly honoured them. as to Call them forth to Suffer for his glorious Trvth Then immediately after Came Mr Prynne, the D[octo]r and he saluting each other, as Mr Burton and he did before, The D[octo]r, then went vp first on the Scaffold, and his Wife immediately following Came vp to him, and like a Louing Spouse saluted each eare with a Kisse, and then his mouth, Whose tender Loue, boldnes & Chearefulnes, So wrought vpon the peoples affections that they gaue a maruillous great Showte for ioy to behold it Her hus band desired her not to be in the Least manner dismayd at his Sufferings And so for a while they parted, She vsing these words Farewell my deerest, be of good Comfort, I am nothing dismayd, And then the D[octo]r g<sup>e</sup> begane to Speake these words

There are many that are this day Spectators of our Standing. here. as Delinquents, though not Delinquents, we blesse God for it I am not Conscious to my Selfe wherein I haue Committed the Least trespasse (to take this out ward Shame) either against my God or my King. And I doe the rather speake it, that you that are now beholders may take notice how farre Innocency will preserue you in such a day as this is, for wee Come here in the strength of our God, Who hath mightily Svpported vs, and filled vs our hearts with gratter (ioy and) Comfort then our Shame or Contempt Can be The first occasion of my trouble was by [th]e Prelates for writing a Booke against the Pope and [th]e pop

And

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And the Pope of Canterbury sayd I wrote against him and therfore questioned mee: Bvt if the Presses were as open to vs, as formerly thay haue beene, we would Shatter his Kingdome about his eares Bvt be ye not deterted by their power, neither be affrighted at our Sufferings, Let none determine to turne from [th]e ways of the Lord but goe on, fight Couragiously against Gog and Magog. I know there be many here who haue set many dayes apart for our behalfe (Let the Prelates take notice of it) and they haue sent vp strong prayrs to heauen for vs Wee feele the strength & benefit of your prayrs all alonge this Cause, In a word, So farre I am from base feare or Caring for any thing they Can doe, or Cast vpon mee, that had I as much blood as would swell [th]e Theames, I would sheed it euery droppe in this Cause, Therefore be not any of you discouraged, be not davunted at their power, euer labo<sup>v</sup>ring to preserue Innocency, and keepe peace within, goe on in the strength of your God, and he will neuer fayle you in such a day as this, As I sayd before, So I say againe. Had I as many liues as I haue haires on my head, Or droppes of blood in my veynes I would giue them vp all for this Cause, This Plot of Sending vs to those remote places, was first Consulted & agitated by the Iesuites as I Can make it plainely appeare, O see what times wee are fallen into that the Lords must sit to act the Iesuites plots, For our owne parts wee owe no malice to the persons of any

of the Prelates, but would lay our neckes vnder their feete to doe them good as they are men but against the vsurpation of their power, as they are Bishops wee doe professe our selues enemies till doomes day

Mr Prynne shaking the D[octo]r by the hand, desired him [tha]t hee might speake a worde or two, With all my heart sayd [th]e Docter

The Cause (Sayd Mr Prynne) of my standing here, is for not bringing in my Answer, for which my Cause is taken pro confesso against mee What endeauours I vsed for the bringing in thereof that God and my owne Conscience, and my Counsell Knowes, Whose Cowardise stands vpon Record to all ages, For rather then I will haue my cause a leading Cause to deprive [th]e Svbiects of that liberty which I Seeke to maintaine I rather expose my person to a leading Example

to

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to beare this punishment. And I beseech you all to take notice of their proceedings in this Cause When I was serued with a Svbpoea into this Court I was shut vp Close Prisoner, that I could haue no accesse to Counsell nor admit ted pen, inke or paper to draw vp my Answer by my Instructions, for which I feed them twice (though to no purpose) Yet when all was done. my Answer would not be accepted into the Court, though I tendred it vpon my Oath: I appeale to all the world if this be a legall or iust proceeding: Our accasation is in point of Libell (but supposedly) against the Prelates, To cleare this now I will giue you a littel Light What the Law is in Point of libell (of which profes Sion I haue sometimes beene, and still professe my Selfe to haue some knowledg in) You shall finde in the Case of libell, two statutes, The one in the Second of Queen Mary, The other in the Seuenth of Queen Elizabeth That in [th]e Second of Qveen Mary, the extremity & h<sup>e</sup>igh of it runs thus, That if a Libeller doth goe so farr and so high as to libell against King or Qveen by denomination, the hig<sup>h</sup> & extremity of the Law is, that they lay no greater fine on him then an hundred Pounds, with a monts imprisonment. & no Corporall punishment except he doe refuse to pay his fine, and then to inflict some punishment in liewe of [tha]t fine at the months ende Neither was this Censure to be passed on him except it were fully prooued by two witnesses, who were to produce a Certifi Cate of their good demeanor for the Credit of their report, Or eles Confessed by the Libeller, You shall find in [tha]t Statute 7 Eliza[beth] Some further adition to the former of 2 Marie, and that onely in point of fine and punishment and it must still reach as high as [th]e parson of King & Qveene, Here this Statude doth set a fine of two hundred pounds the other but one. This sets three months imprisonment the former but one. So that therein onely they differ, Bvt in this they both agree. Namely. at the end of his imprisonment to pay his fine, and so to goe free without any further questioning{--}: Bvt if he refuse to pay his fine, then the Court is to inflict some Punishment on him Correspondent to his fine, Now see the disparity between those times of theirs and ours, A Libeller in Queen Maries das was fined but an hundred pounds, in Queene Elizabeths time two hundred In Queene Maries days but a months imprisonment, in Queene Elizabeth three months. & So grate a fine, if they libelled against King or Qveene, Formerly the gratest fine was but two hundred Pounds though against Kinge or Qven Now fiue thousand pounds, though but against the prelates and that

but

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but Supposedly, which Cannot be prooued: Formerly but three moneths imprisonment, Now perpetuall imprisonment: Then vpon paying [th]e fine, no Corporall punishment was to be inflicted: But now infamous Punishment with the Losse of blood and all other Circumstances [tha]t may aggrauate it See now what times we are fallen into, when [tha]t libelling (if it were So) against Prelates onely. Shall fall higher, then if it touched Kings or Princes

That which I haue to speake of next is this: The Prelates find themselues exceedingly agriued and vexed against what wee haue written concerning the vsurpation of their Calling where indeede wee declare their Calling not to be Iure Diuino, I make no doubt but there are some Intelligencers or Abbettors within the hearing whom I would haue well to know & take notice of what I now say: I here in this place make this offer to them, That if I may be admitted a faire dispute, On fayre termes, for my Cause that I will maintaine and doe here make the Challenge against all the Prelates in [th]e Kings Dominions, and against all the Prelates in Christendome (Let them take in the Pope, and all to helpe them) that their Calling is not Iure Diuino, I will speake it againe, I make the Challeng against all the Prelates in the Kings Dominions and all Christendome to maintaine that their Calling is not Iurie Diuino, If I make it not good Let me{} be hanged vp at the Hall Gate, Wherevpon [th]e people gaue a grate Shoute The next thing I haue to speake of. is this is The Prelates find themselues exceedingly agriued & vext against what I haue written in point of Law, Concerning their writs & proces That the sending forth of writs & proces in their owne name is against all Law and Iustice, and doth entrench on his Maiesties prerogatiue Royall and the Subiects liberties, And here now I make a second Challeng a gainst all the Lawyers in the Kingdome in the way of fayre Disput[es] That I will maintaine, the Prelates sending forth of writs & proces in their owne names, to be against all law and Iustice and Intrencheth on his Maiesties Preorogatiue Royall and the Subiects liberty. Least it should be forgotten, I speake it againe. I here Challeng all the whole Society of the Law vpon a fayre dispute to maintaine, That the sending forth of writs & proces in the Prelates owne names to be against Law and Iustice and intrencheth on the Kings Prerogatiue Royall and the

Svbiects

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Subiects Liberty. If I be not able to make it good, Let me be put to the tormentingest death they can devise

Wee Prayse the Lord, we feare none but God and the King: Had we respect<sup>ed</sup> our Liberties. we had not Stood here at this time, it was for the generall good and liberties of you all that wee haue now thus farre engaged our owne Liberties in this Cause For did you Know, how deeply they haue en trenched on your Liberties in point of Popery, If you know bvt into what times you are Cast, it would make you Looke about you And if you did. but see what changes and revolutions of persons, causes and Actions haue beene made by one maan, you would more narrowly looke into your preuiledges, and see how farre your liberty did lawfully extend & so maintoon <sup>it</sup>

This is the Second time that I haue been brought to this place, who hath beene the Author of it, I thinke you all well know, For the first time, if I Could haue had Leaue giuen me. I Could easily haue Cleared my selfe of [tha]t which was then Layd to my Charge, As also



<sup>if</sup> ~~I could haue had Leave giuen me~~ As also I cCould haue done now if I might haue been permitted to speake That Booke for which I Suffered formerly, especially for some particular words therein written, which I quoted out of Gods word and auncient Fathe<sup>rs</sup> for which notwithstanding they Passed Censure on mee That same Booke was twice licensed by publike Authority, and the same words I then svffer<sup>ed</sup> for, they are againe mad vse of and applied in the same sence by Heylin in his Booke lately printed and dedicated to the King and no exceptions taken against them but are very well taken

Aye Sayd Dr Bastwick and there is a nother Booke of his licensed wherein he rayles against vs there at his pleasure, and against all the Martyers that Suffered in Qveene Maries dayes, Callin them Schismaticall Heretickes: & there is a nother Booke of Pocklingtons licensed, they be as full of lyes as dogges be full of fleaes: Bvt were the Presses as open to vs. as they are to them we would pay them and their great Master that vpholds them and Charge them with notorious Blasphemy

Sayd Master Prynne, You all at this present see, there be no degrees of men exempted: Here is a Reuerend devine for the Soule, a Physitian for the Body, and Lawyer for the Estate I had thought they would haue Let ~~him~~ alone their owne Society and not haue medled with any of them And the next (for ought I know) may be a Bishop: You see they spair

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none of what Society or Calling soeuer; none are exempted [tha]t Crosse their owne endes, Gentlemen, Look to your Selues: If all [th]e Martyrs that Svffered in Qveen Maries days are accounted and Called Schismaticall Heretickes and factious Fellowes, What shall we looke for Yet so they are Called in a Booke lately Come forth vnder Authority And svch Factious fellowes are wee, for discouering a plott of Popery Alas poore England, what will become of thee, if thou Looke not the Sooner into thine owne Preuiledges, and maintainest not thine owne Preuiledges Lawfull Liberty Christian people I bessech you all. Stand firme, and be zealous for the Cause of God, and his true Religion to the shedding of your dearest blood, otherwise you will bring your Selues. & all your posterities into perpetuall bondage and Slauery

Now the Executioner being Come, to seare him and cvt off his eares Mr Prynne Speake these words to him: Come friend, Come bvrne me Cvt mee, I feare it not, I haue Learned to feare the fire of Hell and not what man can doe vnto mee Come Seare mee Seare mee I shall beare in my body the markes of [th]e Lord Iesus, Which [th]e bloody Execvtioner performed with extraordinary Cruelty. heating his Iron twice to burne one Cheeke And cvt one of his eares so close that he cut off a peice of his Cheeke At which exquisit torture hee neuer mooued wwith his body, Or So much as Changed his Coun tenance, but still lookt vp as well as he Could towards heauen. with a smiling Countenance, euen to the astonishment of all [th]e beholders And vttering (assoon as the Executioner had done) this heavenly Sentence, the more I am beate downe, the more am I Lift vp And returning from the execution in a boate made (as I heare) these two verses by the way on the Two Characters branded on his Cheekes

S.L Lavd DS. SCARS Trivmphant I returne, my Face  
descries LAVDS scorching SCARS, Gods gratefull sacrifice

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Mr Bvrtons heavenly and most Comfortable Speech. Which hee made at the time of his Suffering, both before and while hee stood in the Pillary, Which was set something distant from the other double Pillary, wherein Dr Bastwicke and Mr Prynne Stood

The night before his Svfferings about eaight a Clocke when he first had certaine notice therof, vpon occasion of his wiues goeing to aske the Warden{ } whither her husband should Svffer the next day, immediately he felt his Spirits to be raised to a farre higher pitch of resolution and Courage to vndergoe his Svfferings, that he might not flagg nor faint Least any dishonour might Come to his Maiestie or the Cause, And [th]e Lord heard him For all the next day in his Svffering (both before & after) his Spirit were carried aloft as it were vpon Eagles Wings (as himself Sayd) farr aboue all apprehension of Shame or paine

The next morning (being the day of his Svfferings) he was brought to Westminster, and with much Cheerefulnes being brought into the Pallace Yeard vnto a Chamber that Looked into the Yard Where he viwed three Pillaries there set vp, Me thinkes (Sayd he) I see Mount Caluery where the three Crosses (one for Christ and the other for the two theiues) were Pitched And if Christ were numbered among theiues, Shall a Christian for Christ Cause thinke much to be numbred among Rogues. Such as wee are Condemned to be: Svrely if I be a Rogue, I am Christs Rogue. & no mans And a littel after, Looking out at the Casment towards the Pillary. he sayd I see no differance betweene Lookeing out of this Square Window & yonder round hole (Pointing towards the Pillery) hee sayd, It is no matter of dif ference to an honest man, And a littel after that, Looking somewhat wisely vpon his wife to see how shee did take it, She seemed to him to be Something sadd to whom he thus Spake, Wife why art thou so Sadd: To whom shee made answer Sweet heart I am not Sadd: No sayd hee: See thou be not. for I wwould not haue thee to dishonour the day, by Shedding one teare, or fetching one Sigh, for behold there for thy Comfort my tryumphant Chariot on the which I must ride for the honour of my Lord and Master. And neuer was my Wedding day so Wellcome and ioyfull a day as this day is, and So much the more

because

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because I haue Svch a noble Captaine & Leader, who hath gonne before mee with such vndauntednes of Spirit that he saith of himselfe. I gave my backe to the Smitters, my Cheekes to the nippers, I hidd not my face from Shame & spitting, for the Lord God will helpe mee. therefore shall I not be Confounded, therefore haue haue I set my face like a flint & I know I shall not be ashamed: At length being Carried toward the Pillery hee mett Dr Bastwicke at the foot of the Pillary. where they louingly Sa luted & embraced each other and parting a littel from him he re turned and most affectionately embraced him the Second time: being heartily Sorry hee mised Mr Prynne, who was not yet come before he was gonne vp to his Pillary which stood alone next the Starre Chamber and about halfe a Stones Cast from the other double Pellarie wherein the other stood, So as all their faces Looked Southward, the bright Svnne

all the while for the space of two howers shining vpon them: Being ready to be put into the Pillary, standing vpon the Scaffold, hee spied Mr Prynne new Come to the Pillary, and Dr Bastwick in the Pillary, who then hasted of his band and Called for a Handkercher, saying. What shall I be last, or shall I be ashamed of a Pillary for Christ, who was not ashamed of a Crosse for mee, Then being Put into the Pillary, hee Sayd Good People. I am brought

heither to be a Spectacle to the world. to Angeles, and men And howsoeuer I stand here to vndergoe [th]e punishment of a Rogue, yet except to be a faithfull Saruant to Christ and a loyall Svbiect to the King be the Property of a Rogue I am no Rogve Bvt yet if to be Christs faithfull Servant, and the Kings Loyall Svbiect deserue the Punishment of a Rogue, I glory in it, and blesse my God my Conscience is Cleare and is østained with the guilt of any such Crime, as I haue beene Charged with, though otherwise I Confesse my Selfe to be a man Svbiect to many frailties and hvmane infirmities, Indeed that Booke is intiteld, An Apology of an Appeale with sundry Epsitels, and two Sermons for God & the King Charged against me in the information, I haue and doe acknowledg (the misprinting excepted) to be mine and will by Gods grace neuer disclaime it

whilest

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Whilest I haue brearh within mee, After a while hee haueing a Nosegay in his hand a Bee Came & pitched on the Nosegay, and began to svck the flower<sup>s</sup> very savourly, which hee beholding and well obseruing. Sayd. Doe yee not see this poore Bee, She hath found out this very place to Svck Sweetnes from these flowers, And Cannot I Svck Sweetnes in this very place from Christ The Bee svcking all this while, and so tooke her flight, By and By he tooke Oc casion from the shining of the Sunne, to say, you see how the Svnne shines vp on vs, but that shines aswell vpon the euill as the good, vpon the iust & vniust bvt the Sonne of righteousnes (Jesus Christ, who hath healing vnder his winges) Shines vpon the Soules and Conscienes of euery true beleeuer onely, and no Cloud can hid him from vs, to make him ashamed of vs, no not of our most Shamfull Svfferings for his Sake And why should wee be ashamed to Svffer for his sake who hath svffered for vs, All our Svfferings be bvt fleabittings to [tha]t hee endured, he endured the Crosse, and despised the shame and is set on the right hand of God: Hee is a most excellent patterne for vs to looke vpon, [tha]t treading his steppes and Svffering with him, wee may be glorified with him And what can wee Svffer wherein hee hath not gonne before vs, euen in [th]e same kind, Was he not degraded, when they scornfully put on him a Purple Robe a Reed into his hand a thorny Crowne vpon his head Saluting him with Hayle King of the Iewes, and so disrobed him againe, Was he not depriued, when they Smot the Shepherd, and the Sheepe were scattered, Was not violence offered to his sacred person, when he was buffited & Scourged, his hands and his feete perced, his head pricked with thornes, his side goared with a Speare, and Was not the Crosse more shamfull, yea and more painfull then a Pillary, Was hee not stript of all he had, when he was left starke naked vpon [th]e Crosse, the Souldiers deviding his garments, and Casting lots vpon his vesture And was he not Confind to perpetuall Close imprisonment in mans imaginatio<sup>n</sup> When his body was laid in a Tombe, and the Tombe sealed, Least he should breake prison, or his Disciples steale him away And yet did he not rise againe and thereby brought deliuerance and victory to vs all, So as we are more then Conquerors through him that Loued vs; Here then we haue an excellent patterne indeed: And all this he vttered (and whatsoeuer else he Spake with marvailous alacity

One

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One sayd vnto Mr Bvrton, Christ will not be ashamed of you at [th]e Last day Hee replied, Hee Knew whom hee had belieued, and that Christ was able to keepe that he had Committed

to him against that day, One asked him how he did. Hee sayd, neuer better I blesse God, Who hath accounted mee worthy thus to Svffer, The Keeper Keepeing off the People from pressing neere the Pillary, hee sayd. Let them Come. & spare not, that they may Learne to Suffer. This same Keeper being weary, and sitting him down asked Mr Bvrton. if he were well. and bad him be of good Comfort. To whom he replied Are you well. If you be well, I am much more. and full of Comfort, I blesse God. Some asked him, if the Pillary were not vneasy for his neck and Shoulders, Hee answered. How can Christs yoake be vneasy. This is Christs yoake and hee beares the heauier ende of it and I the Lighter, and if mine were too heauy hee would beare [tha]t too O good people, Christ is a good and sweet Master, and worthy [th]e Svffer ing for: And if the world did but know his goodnesse and had tasted of his Sweetnes, all would come and be his Sarvants. and did they bvt know what a blessed thing it were to beare the yoake, O who would not beare it The Keeper going about to ease the Pillary by putting a ston or a bricke betweene Mr Bvrton sayd, Trouble not your Selfe. I am at very good ease and feele no wearinesse at all. And espying a young man at the foote of the Pillary, and perceiuing him to Looke pale on him, He sayd Sonn, Sonne, what is the matter you loole so pale. I haue as much Comfort as My heart Can hold, and if I had need of more I should haue it, One asked him a while after, if he would drinke some Aquavite To whom he replied, that he needed it not for I haue said he (Laying his hand vpon his breast) the true water of life, Which Like a well doth spring vp to eternall Life: Pawsing a while hee sayd with a most Cheerefull & graue Countenance. I was neuer in such a pulpit before, but Littel doe yee know (Speaking to them that stood about him) What fruits God is able to Produce from this dry tree, They Looking stedfastly vpon him: he sayd Marke my words and remember them well, I Say Littele doe you Know, What fruits God is able to produce from this dry tree

I

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I Say, remember it well, for this day will neuer be forgotten, and through these holes (pointing to the Pillary) God Can bring light to his Church, The Keeper going about againe to mend the Pillary, hee sayd: Doe not trouble your selfe so much, Bvt indeed we are the troublers of the world, By and by after, Some of them offering him a Cvp of wine. He thanked them telling them. hee had the wine of Consolation within him, and the ioyes of Christ in Possession which the world could not take away from him, neither Could it giue them vnto him, Then he Looked towards the other Pillary, and making a signe with his hand, Cheerfully Called to Dr Bastwicke & Mr Prynne asking them how they did, who answered, very well, A woman sayd vnto him Sie, euery Christian is not worthy this honour, Which the Lord hath Cast vpon you this day. Alas (sayd he) who is worthy of the Least mercy. Bvt it is his gracious fauour and free gift, to account vs worthy in the behalfe of Christ to suffer any thing for his Sake Another woman sayd, There are many hundred which by Gods assistance would willingly Svffer for the Cause you Svffer for this day To whom he Sayd, Christs exalts all of vs that are ready to Svffer afflictions for his Name with meekenes and patience, But Christs military discipline in the vse of his Spirituall warfare in point of Svffering is quite forgotten and we haue in a manner Lost the power of Religion, in not denying our Selues and following Christ aswell in Svffering. as in doing After a while Mr Bvrton Calling to one of his frendes for an Handkercher, returned it againe. sayong it is hott, but Christs bore the burden in the heate of the day, Let vs always Labour to approue our selues to God in all things and vnto Christ, for therein stands our happines. Come of it what will in this world A Christian freind sayd

to Mr Bvrton The Lord strngthen you, To whome hee replied, I thanke you, and blesse his Name hee doth strengthen mee: For though I am a poore Sinfull wretch: Yet I blesse God for my innocent Conscienc<sup>e</sup> in any such Crime as is Layd against mee, and were not my Cause good and my Conscience sound, I Could not enioy So much vnspeakeable Comfort in this my Svffering as I doe I blesse my God Mistris Bvrton sends Commendation to him by a frend, Hee returned the Like to her Saying Commend my Loue to my Wife, and tell her. I am heartely Chearefull, and bid her remember what I Sayd to her in the morning namely That Shee

Should

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Should not blemish the glory of this day with one teare, or so mvch as one sigh She returned answer, that shee was glad to here him So Cheerefull: and [tha]t shee was more Cheerefull of this day, then of her Wedding day. This answer exceedingly reioyced his heart, Who therevpon blessed God for her: and sayd of her: Shee is but a young Souldier of Christs, but shee hath already endured many a sharpe brunt, but the Lord will strengthen her vnto the end, And hee hauing a payre of new gloues, shewed them to his freinds there about him saying, My Wife yesterday of her owne accord bought me these Wedding gloues. for this my Wedding day Many freindes spake Comfortably to Mr Bvrton, and hee againe spake as Comfortably to them, saying, I blesse my God that Called me forth to suffer this day, One sayd to him. S[i]r by this Sermon, (your Svffering God may Conuert many vnto him Hee answered God is able to doe it inded And then he Called againe to Dr Baswicke & Mr Prynne, asking them how they did, Who answered as before, Some speaking to him Concerning that Svffering of shedding his blood, Hee answwed What is my blood to Christs blood, Christs blood is a Purging blood. but mine is Corrupted & polluted with Sinne, One freind askeing another standing neere, Mr Bvrton if there should be any thing more done vnto him Mr Bvrton ouerhearing him answered, Why should there not be more done: For what God will haue done, must be accomplished, One desiering Mr Bvrton to be of good Cheere, ~~You would be~~ To whom hee replied If you knew my Cheere, You would be glade to be Partaker With mee for I am not alone, neither hath God Left me alone in all my Svfferings and Close imprisonment since first I was apprehended The Halbertmen standing round about, One of them had an old rvsty halbert the Iron whereof was tacked to the staffe with an old crooked nayle Which one obseruing, and saying, What an old rvsty halbert is that Mr Bvrton sayd This seemes to mee to be one of those Halberts Which accompanied Iudas when he went to betray and a apprehend his Master

The

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The people obseruing Mr Bvrtons Cheerefullnes and Courage in Svffering reioyced. and blessed God for the same: Mr Bvrton sayd againe. I am perswaded that Christ my Aduocate, is now Pleading my Cause at the Fathers right hand and will iudg my Cause (though none be here found to plead it) and will bring forth my righteousnes as the light at noone day, and Cleare my inno cency in due time: A freind asking Mr Bvrton, if he would haue beene without this particular Svffering To whom he sayd, No not for a world Moreouer hee sayd, that his Conscience in the discharge of his Ministeriall dvety and function, in admonishing his people to beware of the Creeping in of Popery & Superstition, exorting them to sticke

Close vnto God & the King in dueties of obedience, Was that first occasioned his Svfferings, and Sayd as for this truth I haue preached, I am ready to seale it with my blood for this is my Crowne both heere and hereafter, I am iealous of Gods honou<sup>r</sup> and the Lord keepe vs that we may doe nothing that may dishonour him either in doing or Svffering, God can bring light out of darknes, and glory out of Shame, And what shall I say more I am Like a Bottle which is so full of Liquor that it Cannot rvnn out freely, So I am so full of ioy. that I am not able to expresse it

In Conclusion, Some told him of the approach of the Execvtioner, and Prayed God to strengthen him, Hee sayd I trust he will. Why should I fear<sup>e</sup> to follow my Master Christ Who sayd. I gaue my backe to the smitters and my Cheekes to the nippers, that plucked off my haire, I hidd not my face from shame and spitting for the Lord God will help me therefore shall I not be Confounded, therefore haue I set my face Like a flint: and I Know I shall not be ashamed

When the Execvtioner had Cvt off one eare, Which he had Cvt deepe & Close to the head in an extraordinary Crvell manner, Yet this Champion of Christ neuer once moued or stirred for it, though hee had Cvt the Veyne, So as the blood runn streaming downe vpon the Scaffold, Which Persons standing about the Pillary Seeing, dipped their handkerchers in as a thing most precious, the People giueing a mournfull shoute. and

Crying

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Crying for the Chirurgion Whom the Crowd and other impediments for a time Kept backe, So that he Could not Come to stopp the blood This patient all the while held vp his hands, and sayd, Be content it is well, blessed be God, The other eare being Cvt no lesse deepe hee then was freed from the Pillary, and Came downe, Where the Chirurgion waiting for him, presently applyed 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 littel worme wood watter. hee said, it needs not, yet through importunity he onely tasted of it. & no more, saying his Master Christ was not so well vsed, for they gave him gall and vinigar, but you giue me strong watter to refresh me blessed be God, His head being bound vp two Frenches Ledd him away to an house prouided for him in Kings Street where being set downe, and bidd to speake little, Yet hee sayd after a pawse This is too hott to hold Long, Now Least they in the roome, or his Wife should mistake and thinke hee spake of himself Concerning his Paine, hee sayd, I spake not this of my Selfe. for that which I haue Svffered is nothing to that my Saviour Svffered for me. Who had his hands and feete nayled to the Crosse, And Lying still a while hee tooke Mr Prynnes Svfferings much to heart and asked [th]e people how hee did for (sayd he) his Svffering haue bine grate, He asked also how Dr Bastwicke did, with much Compassion and grieffe that hee being (the first [tha]t was execvted) Could not stay to see how they two fayred after him, His wife being brought to him behaved her selfe very graciously towards him, Saying Wellcome Sweet heart, Wellcome home, He was often heard to repeate these Words The Lord Keepe vs that wee doe not dishonour him in any thing

Amen

**Other manuscript witnesses**

- British Library, Additional MS 28011, ff. 38r–v
- British Library, Harley MS 6865, ff. 81x–179x
- British Library, Harley MS 1769, ff. 116x–117x
- Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 28, Box 2, Folder 22, item 33
- Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 824, ff. 104r–124v
- Bodleian Library, MS Clarendon 13, ff. 83r–89v
- Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.248, ff. 31r–43r, 51r–57v
- Longleat House, MS 112, ff. 240–252
- Northamptonshire Record Office, IL 3440, ff. 1–26
- St John's College, MS S.2, item 2, 25–62

### **Seventeenth-century print exemplars**

- *A Briefe relation of certain speciall and most materiall passages* (1637) [STC 1569]
- *A Briefe Relation of Certaine Speciall and Most Materiall Passages* (1638) [STC 1570, STC 1570.5]
- *A New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny* (1641) [Wing P4018]

### **Modern print exemplars**

- *The Harleian Miscellany* (1st ed.), vol. 4, pp. 12–25

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<https://mpese.ac.uk/t/BriefRelationCensureBurtonBastwickPrynne1637.html>