On the Suppression of Jesuits (11 August 1613, although this version dated 1628)

Sir Robert Cotton

Transcript

British Library, Additional MS 11600, ff. 22v–35r

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S[i]r Robert Cottons speech 1628./ Against recusants in defence of the oath of allegiance or execuc[i]ons of consideration of repressing of the increase of Papists./

I am not ignorant that this latter age hath brought forth a sworme of busy heades which measure the misteryes of states by the rule of theire selfe conceyted wisdome but if they would consider that the com[m]on wealth gouerned by graue co^{u}nsello[u]rs is like to a shipp directed by a skillfull pilott to whom the necessityes of occasions and ground of reason which steereth the helme to this or that poynt of the compass are better knowne then to those that stand a loofe of they would perhapps be more sparing if not more warye in theire resolutions./

For my owne perticular I must confesse that I am

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naturally to much inclyned to his opinion who once sayd *qui bene latuit bene uixit* and freshly calling to minde the saying of Funtius to his freind at the howre of his untimely death./

Disce mei exemplo mandato munere fungi et fuge s^{e}upestem.

I could easily forbeare to make my hand wrighting the record of my opinion neuerthelesse I protest to maintayne rather deliberale then by way of conclusiue assertion therefore w[i]thout wasting of pretious tyme any longer with needlesse prolog I will breifely sett downe the question in the termes following ~~{*gap: illegible*}~~ /

Whether it be more expedient to suppresse popish practises against the due allegiances to his Ma[jes]tie by the strict execution of the lawes touching Iesuitts and seminary preists or to retayne them to close prisons during life if noe reformation followe./

The doubt propounded consisting of 2 branches necessarily required to be distinctly handled that by comparing euery parte the conueniency in the question may becleared w[i]th more facility./

[*Left margin:*1 Mercy forerunning the repentance of a malefactor of a Princes p[er]son./]
In fauour of the first diuision there are not a few who grounding themselues on an auncient prouerbe a deade man bites not. afirme that such are daingerous to be pr[e]serued aliue who being guilty condemned & full of feare are likely for purchase of life & liberty to engage their vtmost indesperation aduentures against there king & cuntry./

[*Left margin:*2 A hard hand suddenly remitted is seldome by rude people interpreted in [th]e best sence.] No lesse is it to be feared that while the sword of Iustice is remisse in cutting of haynous offences against the dignity of the crowne the misled papall multitude in the interim may enter into a iealous suspence whether that forbearance proceede from the feare

of exasperating theire desperat humors or that it is more become questionable whether the execution of theire preists be simply for matters of state or pretended quarrell of religion./

[*Left margin:*3 There is noe hope of reformation where there is noe confession of the fault./] And whereas in a remedilus in conueniency it is lawfull to vse extremityes of the lawes against some few that may be reformed what hope can there be that clemency may tame there hearts who interpret his Ma[jes]ties grace in transporting there preists out of the realme to be a meere shift to ridd prisons of those whom conscience could not condemne of any capitall cryme./

[*Left margin:*4 While iustice sleepes the tyme serue to sowe new {*gap:* } & rayse factions./] Neither are theire uanting whisperings to be neglected by which they seeke to confirme the fearfull soules of theire party & to inueagle the ignorant doubtfull or discontented p[er]sons for if the glorious extolling of theire powerfull freinds & the exspectance of a goulden day be suffered to winn creditt w[i]th the meaner sort the relapse cannot be small or the meanes easy to reforme the error w[i]thout a generall combustion of the state./

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[*Left margin:*:5: Fearefull sperits by sufferaunce growe insolent & cruell./] Let exsperience speake something in this behalfe which hath euidently disceried w[i]thin the currant of a few yeares that the forbearance of seuerity hath multiplied theire rowle in such manner that it remaynes as a Corasiue to thousands of his Ma[jes]t[y']s well affected subiects./

[*Left margin:*:6: Vnion in a pr[e]pared conspiracie pr[e]uaileth more then number./] To what purpose serues it to minister the names of the Protestants or uaunt them to be tenn for one of the Roman facc[i]on as if base figures of numeration could pr[e]uaile againt an vnited p[ar]tey resolued and aduised aforehand how to turne theire faces with assurance vnto all daingers while in the meane tyme the protestants nestling in vaine security suffer the weedes to grow up that threaten his bare and mercilesse ruine./

[*Left margin:*:7: It is hard to p[er]swade those who by reason of theire dependancy on the Pope, are scarse Ma[s]ters of theire owne sowles./] Some tymes the oath of supremacy cheaked theire pr[e]sumptions imaginac[i]ons and yet could not that infernall smoake be wholly smothered nor the locusts yssuing thereout cleansed from the face of this lande. Now that the temporall power of the kinge conteyned in the oath of allegeance is by the papall sea and many of the orders thereof impudently a vowed to be vnlawfull shall the branches of such doctrine be suffered to liu yea to liue and to be releiued of vs for whose destrucc[i]on they groane daylye./

[*Left margin:*:8:th Malis bene facere tantandem estac bonis malefacere./] To be a right popish preist in true English sence is to beare the Character of a disloyall Renegado of his naturall disobedience towards his soueraigne whom if by conueniency he shall let slip or chastice with a light hand what im[m]unity may not trayto[u]r delinquents in lesser degrees expecte or challgence after a sort inequity of Justice./

[*Left margin:*:9:th Fellowshipp in misery easeth greefe: and by clamor of the multitude iustice is many tymes condempned./] If there were noe receavo[u]rs there would be no theeues likewise if there were noe harbourers of the Iesuits it is to be pr[e]sumed yt they would not troble this Isle w[i]th there pr[e]sence therefore must rigoure be exstended against the

receauo[u]r that the Iesuit may be kept w[i]thout doores: were it then indifferent Iustice to hang vp the accessaryes & let the principall goe free, namely to suffer the preist to drawe his breath at length while the intertayner of him vnder his roofe submitts his body to the executioners hande w[i]thout doubte, if it be fitt to forbeare the cheife, it wilbe necessary to receaue the second offendo[u]r into protection. Whereupon a mischeife must ensue of continuall exspence & scandalus restrainte of soe great a number./

[*Left margin:*:10:th It is not good to sett a price one that w[hi]ch being sould will bring repentance to the seller./] Reputation is one of the principall Arteries of the com[m]onwealth w[hi]ch maxime is soe well knowne to the secritaryes of the papacye that by priuate forgeries & publique impressions of calumniac[i]ons they endeauor to wound vs in that uitall parte howsoeuer therefore

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some few of that stampe beinge better tempered then theire fellowes in defence of this pr[e]sent gouernem[en]t have not spared to affirme that Tyranny is vniustly ascribed therevnto for so much as freedom of conscience after a sorte may be redeemed for money, notw[i]thstanding there want not many Pamphlets of theire side who approbri^{o}usly cast in o[u]r teeths the conuerting of the penaltie inflicted on recusant[es] and refusers of the oath of allegiance from the king[es] to a perticuler purse, surely we cannot pr[e]sume that the libellers may be diswaded from spitting out theire venum maliciously against vs, when they shall see theire preist[es] mewed vp w[i]thout [*Left margin:* Warines is to be vsed with those qui nec tota[m] seruitute[m] pati possunt nec totam libertatem.] further processe of lawe. for either they attribute this calme dealing to the iustice of theire cause, the strength of theire partie or patience or that tract of tymes hath discovered o[u]r lawes importing overmuch sharpenes in good pollicie to be thought fitter for abrogation by non vsance then repealed by a publique decree./

[*Left margin:*11th Most men write good turnes in sand, and bad in marble./] Moreover it is fore thought by som[m]e that if theis seminaries be onely restreyned; that they may proue hereafter like a snake kept in the bosome of such as Bonner, Guardiner, and others of the same liverye showed themselues to be after libertie obteyned in Queene Maryes dayes. and if the loss of theire ghostlye Fathers agreive them, it is probable that they will take armes sooner and with more Courage to free the living then to sett vp a Trophe to the dead./

[*Left margin:*12th Fugitiues that craue succor vse to lye Much fauor of theire cause and power. Relation de Botero. It is a signe when a faction dare nu[m]ber theire side that there is an opinion conceiued of sufficient strength to attempt some innouation./] Howsoever the Iesuits band is knowne in theire native soyle to be defectiue in many respect[es] which makes them vnderlings to the Protestant[es], as in authoritye, armes, and the protection of the lawes which is all in all neverthelesse they insinuate themselues to forraigne Princes favoring theire partie with promises of strong assistance at home if they may be welbacked abroad, to which purpose they devided the inhabitant[es] of this realme into fowre sectes, whereof ranking theire troopes in the first place (as due to the pr[e]tended Catholiques) they assumed a full

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[*Left margin:* In a com[m]on wealth there ought to bee but one head, for w[hi]ch cause a Prince must bee vigilant when diuers fac[i]ons arise yt by favouring one and neglecting of other in stead of a head of all hee becom[m]e onely a memb[e]r of one p[ar]tye./.] fourth p[ar]te to theire p[ro]perties: and of that p[ar]te againe they made subdivision into two porc[i]ons namely of those that openly renounced the established Church of Engl[and] others whose c[er]ten number could not bee asigned because they frequented o[u]r service of sacram[en]t[es] reservinge theire heart[es] to the Lord God, the Pope The 2.d p[ar]te they allotte to the Protestant[es] whoe retayne yet as they saye some reliques of theire Church, The 3d rancke and largest was lefte vnto the Puritans whom they hate deadly in respect they will hold noe indiffer[en]t quarter w[i]th papistry. The 4th and last maniple they assigne to the Politic[i]ans, *Huomini* (say they) *Senza Dio et senza anima*, men w[i]thout feare of God, or regard of theire soules, whoe busieinge themselues only in matters of state retayne noe sence of religion: noe doubt if the Autho[u]rs of this petic[i]on haue cast theire accounte [*Left margin:* Discontented mynd[es] in begi[nn]ings of tumult[es] will agree though th'end[es] be divers/.] arighte wee must confesse that the later broode is to bee ascribed p[ro]p[er]lie vnto them, for if the vndermyninge of the Parliam[en]t houses they scandelizinge the king in print (whoe is God[es] an[n]oynted) the refusall of na[tur]all [*Left margin:* A multitude is neu[er] vnited but in some few head[es] w[hi]ch being taken away converteth theire furye ag[ains]t [th]e first movers of the sedition./.] obedience bee mark[es] of those that neither stand in feare of God nor conscience well maie the papist[es] boast that they are assured of theire first number, and may p[re]sume likewise of the laste freindshippe when occac[i]on shalbee offered./.

For [th]e pr[e]venting of w[hi]ch Combinac[i]on it is [*Left margin:* Certe[i]n Germans in H. 2d[es] tyme calling themselues Publicans were marked w[i]th a hott Iron in the forhead and whipped being thrust out in the wynter w[i]th a p[ro]hibic[i]on [tha]t none should receaue them into theire houses they died of hunger & cold/.] a sure waie to cutt of the head[es] that should tye the knott or att least brand them w[i]th a marke in [th]e forheadd beefore they bee dismissed or after the opinion of other to make them vnwelcome to the Femynyne sexe which now w[i]th great fervency embrace them./.

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Theise are for the most p[ar]te Argum[en]t[es] vented in ordinary discourse by many who suppose a preist[es] breath to bee contagious in o[u]r english aire: Others there are who maintayne the 2d p[ar]rte of the question w[i]th reasons not vnworthy of observac[i]ons:

[*Left margin:* Rooted sup[er]stic[i]on violently handled groweth more warie but not lesse obstinate./.] Death is [th]e ende of temporall woes but it maie in noe waies bee accounted the graue of memorie therefore howsoever it is in the power of the Iustice to suppresse the p[er]son of a man, (the opinion for w[hi]ch hee suffered conceived trulye or vntrulie in [th]e heart[es] of a multitude) is not subiecte to th'edge of any sword how keene soever I confesse [tha]t [th]e teeth are soone blunted that byte onlie [*Left margin:* Yf Conspirators haue once sympathy of mynd the Conspiracy is never wholye suppr[e]ssed soe long as one of them remayneth./.] out of malice of a sing[u]ler faction, but when poison is diffused through the veynes of a Com[m]on wealth w[i]th intermixture of bloodd, good, and badd, sepac[i]on is to bee made rather by patient evacuation then by pr[e]sent incisicion. The greatest biter of State is Envye ioyned w[i]th thirst of revenge, w[hi]ch seldome declares it selfe in plaine

Cullours vntill a iealousie conceved of p[er]sonall dang[e]rs breath out into desp[er]ate resoluc[i]ons, Hence comes it to passe that when one malecontented member is greived the rest of the boddie is sensible thereof, Neither can a Preist or Iesuite bee cutt of w[i]thout a g[ene]rall murmure of theire secretaries w[hi]ch beinge confident in the number secretly arme for opposic[i]on or confirmed w[i]thout theire martirs Blood (as they are

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as they are p[er]swaded resolue by patience and sufferance to glorifie there cause and merritt heauen doe not wee dailie see that itt is easier to confronte a pryvate en[n]emy then a society or a corporac[i]on, and that the hatred of a state, is more mortall then the spleene [*Left margin:* opinion setled in a multitude is lyke hidras heads w[hi]ch must bee cured by searing but not by letting blood] of [a] Monarchie, Therefore except itt bee demonstrated that the whole Roman Citty w[hi]ch concists not of one broade but of a succession of p[er]sons may bee cut of att the first stroake as an entire head, I see noe cause to see owr state secured by sitting on the skirts of som[m]e fewe Semminaries leavinge in the [*Left margin:* Clemency is a devine instinct & worketh sup[er]naturall efforts] meane tyme a multitud of snarlors abroade whoe allreadie shewe there teeth and only want oportunitie to byte fiersly I not deny that where wee feare wee com[m]only hate provided allwaies that noe merritt hath interceded a reconcilliac[i]on, for there is greate difference betweene hatred conceaved against him that will take away the lyfe and him that may iustly doe itt, And yett in Clemency forbeares to putt itt in effect for the latter breedeth reverend awe wheras the form[er] subiecteth to servile feare, allwaies uccompanied w[i]th desyer of innovations, And although itt hath beene affirmed of the Churche of Roeme *quod [Left margin: Gartij Axiomatu Politica] pontificium genus semper crudele* nevertheless owt of charrety lett vs hope that all Devills are not soe blacke ~~are~~ as they are painted. som[m]e or p[er]happs many of them there are whome conscience or in defalt thereof puer shame of the worlde will constraine to confess that his Ma[jes]tie most gratiously distinguisheth the Theory of Popery from the actyve p[ar]te thereof as beinge naturally inclined *Paruis peccatis veniam mangis seueritatem comodare nec poena [Left margin: Tacitus in vita Agricolæ] semper sed sepias penitentia contentus esse*//

Mistakinge of punishm[en]t legally inflicted comonly proceedes from fonde pitty or the interest wee haue in the same cause booth w[hi]ch begett blinde partiallity Admitt then th[a]t the Papall syde

effectinge

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[*Left margin:* when Traitors in Euills will not chase the least It is an argument that they are desperat and breath nothinge but extremities of mischeife/] effecting merritt by compassion maybee neerely touched w[i]th the ~~{*gap: illegible*}~~ restraint of theire Semminaries, It cannot bee denied I hope except they had the harts of Tygers that in humanitie they will preferr theire ease of durannce before the rygor of death And albeitt that Parsons Bellarmine and the Pope himselfe constraine there spirituall children to thrust there fingers into the fyer by refusinge the oath of alleageannce notw[i]thstandinge wee haue many testimonies in iudiciall Courts and printed bookes that the greater p[ar]te of them are of that Theban hunters mynde who would rather haue seene his dogges cruell actes then to haue felt them to his owne costs;

Garnett himselfe allsoe in one of his secrett letters lamented that after [*Left margin:* It was a precept of Macheuills to putt on the Masque of religion w[hi]ch nowe is become a popish afforisme/] his death hee should not bee inrowlled amongst the Martirs because that noe matter of Religion was obiected against him yett itt plainly [*Left margin:* soe itt pleased in Parsons to Cauill of whome itt may bee spoken *malus malum esse vult et siu similem*] appeared in his demeanure that hee should gladly suruiue the possebillitie of that glorie, yf any such had had remained neither is itt to bee presumed that beinge in prison hee would eu[er] haue conceiued that wee durst not touche his reverence or that the lawe was remisse w[hi]ch had iustly condemned him and leste his lyfe to the kinges mercy. It is the distannce of place and not of persons that interrpreted the sendinge ou[er] seas the Preists to bee agreater argum[en]t of theire Innocencie then of his ma[jes]t[es] forbearannce, for had Father Parsons himselfe beene *coram nobis* his songe would ħ rather haue beene of mercy then of iustice./.

[*Left margin:* gross and bratish errors are soner reformed the easier escapes for so much as the one cannot be defended w[i]thout inpudencie whereas the other admiteth som[e] cullor of excuse and pittie./] It is truly said that wee are all instructed better by exsamples then precepts. Therefor yf the lawes printed and Indictm[en]t[es] cannot controwle the Callumniatione of those that will willingly mistake treason for religion by the execution of twoe or three of that blackbittridge nomber I dowbt not but that the question may bee readely decyded *namq[ue] immedicabile vulnus ense residendum est ne parss sincera tratiatur:*

[*Left margin:* To bestowe benefitts to the bad maketh them worss and vilifieth the reward of the vertuous./] To dally w[i]th Pragmaticall Papists especially w[i]th those that by theire exsample and Councell p[re]vente his ma[jes]ties subiect[es], I hould itt a pointe of meere iniustice for what comfort may the good expect when the badd are by connivancye freed to speake and imboldenned to put there dislyall thought[es] in execution for explaining therefore of my meaninge It is necessarie to haue a regard to the nature of the kings liege people that are to bee reformed by exsample of Iustice and others forraigners whoe will wee nill wee muste bee censurers of o[u]r actions./

It hath beene

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It hath been truly obserued that [th]e nations of Europe w[hi]ch are most remote from Rome are more superstitiously inclined to [th]e dreggs of that place then the neerer neighbours of Italy, whether [th]e humor proceede from [th]e complexion of the Northerne bodies w[hi]ch is naturally more attentiue of old customes then hotter regions, or [tha]t the vices of [th]e Citty seated on seauen hills are by crafty Ministers of [tha]t Sea concealed from [th]e vulgar sort.

I list not now to discusse, but most certaine it is that the people of this Island exceeds [th]e Romans in zeale of their profession; in so much that in Rome itselfe I haue heard [th]e English fugitiues taxed by [th]e name of Pichiapetti [*Left margin:*Knockbrests hypocrites] Inglesi: Now [as] our Countrimen take surer holdfast of Papall tradic[i]ons then others so are they naturally better fortifyed w[i]th a courage to endure death for the maintenance of that cause. For this climate is of that temperature out of w[hi]ch Vegetius holdeth it fittest to choose a valiant soldier, where the heart findeth itselfe prouided of plenty of blood to sustaine [*Left margin:* Valour is often ouercome by weaknesse, but being too much oppressed it turnes to vnbridled fury.] suddaine defects it is not so soone apprehensiue of death or dangers, as where [th]e storehouse of bloud is small, euery hazard makes pale cheekes, & trembling

handes. *Angli* (say ancient writers *bello intrepidi, nec mortis sensu deterrentur*: and thereupon Botero [th]e Italian beareth witnesse in his Relac[i]ons [tha]t many strangers therefore comming out of forraigne parts, among the rarities of England desired to see if report had not been too lauish in affirming that our condemned persons yeeld their bodies to death with cheerefulnes. And were it not that by daily experience we can call ourselues to witnesse of this [*Left margin:* The best lawes are made out of those good Customes whereunto the people is naturally inclined. Fortescue *de legibus Anglia*.] truth, I could produce the Reuerend Iudge Fortescue who in commendac[i]on of our English Lawes made ~~well~~ sutable (as he well obserueth) to [th]e inbred condic[i]ons of the Inhabitants of this soyle, avoweth that the English people in triall for criminall causes are not compelled by tortures to confesse the truth as in other Nations [*Left margin:* Vse to see men dye with resoluc[i]on takes away the feare of death, for which purpose the Romans used the fight of Gladiators.] it is used forasmuch as the quality of the English is knowne to be lesse fearefull of death then of torments, for w[hi]ch cause, if the torments of [th]e Ciuill Lawe were offered

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to an innocent person in England he would rather yeild himself guilty and suffer death then endure the horrors of ~~{*gap: illegible*}~~ lingring paines, *Insulani plerumq[ue] fures*, (saith one) & so true it is that this Country is stained w[i]th that imputac[i]on notwithstanding that many are putt to death to the end that others by their fall might learne in time to beware: If then it doth appeare that terror preuailes not to keep men from offenses w[hi]ch are condemned [*Left margin:* The hereticks calld Publicans when they were whipped they tooke their punishment gladly, their Capt. Gerrard being before them a signing, Blessed are you when men doe hate you.] by Lawe & conscience, what assurance can there be to secure those who are constantly satisfied in their mindes that their sufferings are either expressely or by implicac[i]on for matter of Religion and : to Englishmen *Quibus nihil interest humine, sublimine putrescant,* tis a matter of small consequence; *Gallis, Italis aut [Left margin: Andromache cogere sivis vitam imitare. Senac. Trag] Hispanis istam imitari,* To a settled resoluc[i]on it bootes not to shew the dreadfull vizard of death; menaces to prolong a wearisome life preuaile much more in such cases. [*Left margin:* Wordly desires may be quenced w[i]th godly meditat[i]ons, but heauenly hopes cannot be abated by earthly punishments.] Rightly did Clement the 8th consider that by burning two Englishmen in Rome for supposed heresie, he rather impaired his cause then bettered it, Insomuch that many present at the resolute death of Mr March, who brought to dust in Campo di Santa Flore spared not to proclaime him a martyr, carryed away of his ashes for a relick, and wished their soules in the same place w[i]th his: which newes brought to the Popes eare caused him (as it was printed in Rome) solemnly to protest that none of the English nation should publickly from that time forward be consumed w[i]th fire.

On the other side if we reade the volumes written in praise of their Priests constancy, their Martyrologie or Kalender of martyrs, & pathway of Saluation as it were chalked out unto [th]e Papists by sacrificeing their liues for [th]e Pope, we shall find that by takeing away of one we haue confirmed and inui ~~{*gap: illegible*}~~ ted many, whereof I could giue particular instances, if I thought any scruple were made in that point.

[*Left margin:* It is a point of wisdome to maintaine [th]e truth w[i]th as little disputac[i] as may be least a good cause be marred w[i]th il handling.] As for forraigne parts w[hi]ch hold w[i]th Papall Supremacy it is cleare that they wilbee seuere & partiall Iudges in this Cause for albeit here in England it is well knowne to bell true

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& loyall subiects that for matter of Roman doctrine no mans life is directly called into question, but their disobedience in reason of State is the onely motiue of their persecution. Neuerthelesse where a great Canton of Christendome is rooted [*Left margin:* Truth seldome preuaileth with the partiality of the people, w[hi]ch being ignorant is carryed away w[i]th [th]e outward semblance of things./] in a contrary opinion, and things in this world are for the most esteemed by the outward appearance, this Land cannot escape malicious scandalls, neither shall there be want of ~~{*gap: illegible*}~~ Colledges to supply their factions W[i]th Seminaries, Therefore againe & againe I say if the State of the [*Left margin:* It is hard to make a Rule so generall against which difference of circumstance may not except.] question were so sett, That it were possible by a generall execuc[i]on of [th]e Papists and their adherents to end [th]e Controuersy I could in some sort w[i]th better will subscribe thereunto, but seing I finde but little hope in that Course I hold it safer to be ambitious of [th]e victory w[hi]ch is purchased w[i]th a lesse losse of bloud, and to proceed as Tully teacheth his Orator, who when he cannot wholy ouerthrow his aduersary yet ought he to doe it in some Sort, and withall to confirme his owne partie in the best manner that may be.

He that forbeareth to sowe his ground in expectac[i]on of a good winde or a fauorable moone commonly hath a poore cropp, and a leane purse, so shall it fare w[i]th this State if priuate [*Left margin:* He that is calumniated by many is in danger first to be suspected of his freind and shortly to be condemned if the slaunder continue.] whisperings of discontented persons, that neuer learned to speak well be too nicely regarded, yet ought they nor slightly sett at nought, least our credits grow light euen in the ballance of our dearest freinds.

The Papisticall libells informe against vs, as if wee were desirous to grow fatt w[i]th suckeing of their blood. The very walls of their seminarie Colledge at Rome on whom he daubed w[i]th their lyeing fancie, & in euery corner the cornerkeepers leaue some badge of their malicious spleene against vs cryeing out of cruelty & persecuc[i]on; But if the penalty of death be changed into a simple indurance of prison, what moate can they find in our eyes to pull out, and w[i]th what Rhetorick can they defend their obstinate malapertnesse, w[i]th whc repayeing vs ill for good, deserues to haue coales of indignac[i]on powred upon their heads. *Visne muliebre consilium*? said Liuia to Augustus, Let seuerity [*Left margin:* That Counsell takes best effect w[hi]ch is fitted to [th]e natures of the times and persons.] sleepe a while & what alterac[i]on Clemency may procure his Enemies much stopped, & the fury of their malice abated; Some there are perhaps that will terme this Clemency an Innouac[i]on, & vouch the Precedent of [tha]t Citty

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permitted none to propound new Lawes, who had not a Coard about their necks ready for vengeance if it were found unprofitable.

But lett such Stoicks know that there is a great difference betweene the penning of a new Lawe and aduice giuen for [th]e manner of executing of it; neither by their leaues are all [*Left margin:* Those changes of state are safely made w[hi]ch w[i]th reserueing most part of the auncient forme betters it, and reduces the defects into order.] Innouac[i]ons to be reiected: for Diuine Plato teacheth us that in all Commonwealths upon iust grounds there ougt to be some changes, & that Statesmen therein must behaue themselues like skillfull Musicians, *qui artem Musices non mutant sed Musices modum*. That an ill weed groweth fast by example of [th]e new Catholicks encrease is clearely couinced, but he that will ascribe this generac[i]on simply to his Ma[jes]ties heroicall vertue of Clemency argueth out of [th]e Fallacy w[hi]ch is called [*Left margin:* The Church is most zealous when persecuc[i]on is fresh in minde; when those times are forgotten we grow to loath that w[hi]ch we enioy freely.] Ignorac[i]o Elenchi. Was not the zeale of many cooled towards [th]e last end of Queen Elizabeth's raigne? hath not the impertinent heate of some of our owne side bereft vs of part of our strength, & [th]e Papacy w[i]th tract of time gotten a hard skinne on their consciences. *Pauo met primo mox sere attollit in altum*. But if we will w[i]th a better insight behold how this great quantity of spawne is multiplyed we must especially ascribe [th]e Cause thereof to [th]e Priests who by their deaths prepare & assure more to their sect, then by their liues they could euer perswade. It were inciuility to distrust a freind or one [tha]t carrieth the shew of an honest man if he will franckly giue his word or confirme it w[i]th a sacred oath: But when a Protestac[i]on is reade upon the last gaspe of life, it is of great effect and possesseth those that cannot gainesay it upon their owne knowledge.

The number of these Priests w[hi]ch nowadayes come to make a Tragicall confession, is not great; yet as w[i]th one seale many Patents are sealed, so w[i]th [th]e losse of few liues numbers of wauering spirits may be gained. *Sanguis martyru[m] senen Ecclesia;* & though these Preists haueing a disaduantagious [*Left margin:* In this case [th]e qeustion is not so much of [th]e truth of it, as who shall be Iudgeste & what Censure will be giuen.] cause are but in very deed counterfett shadowes of martyrs to a true vnderstanding, yet will they be reputed for such by those that lay their soules in pawne upon their doctrine, w[i]th whom if wee list to contend by multitude of voyces, we shall be cryed downe w[i]thout all peraduenture: for the gate of their Church is wide & many are they that enter thereinto.

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By diuers meanes it is possible to come to one & [th]e same end; seing then that [th]e summe of our wellwishings is all one, namely [tha]t Popish Priests may haue no power to doe harme, it is not impertiennt to try diuers pathes w[hi]ch may tend to [th]e perfecting of our desires. Politicians distinguish [*Left margin:* In [th]e first yeare of Queene Elizabeth it was easier to subdue Popery then now, for then they feared to irritate [tha]t State not knoweing how farre seuerity might extend, now knoweing [th]e worst they are resolued Agere & Pati.] *Inter Rempublicam constitutam & Remp. constituenda[m]* according to [th]e seuerall Natures whereof Statists are to dispose of their Counsells & ordinances; were they Romists & Romalists new hatched out of [th]e shell, the former course of seuerity might soone bury their opinions w[i]th their persons but since [th]e disease is inueterated, variety of medicines in iudicially to be applyed.

The Romans did not punish all crimes of one & [th]e selfe same nature by extremity of death, for some they conde[m]ned to perpetuall prison, and others they banisht into an Island or some remote Countrey, euen in the very case of Religion they were very tender to dipp their

finger in bloud for when Cato was Consull, it seemed good to [th]e Senate to suppresse w[i]th violence [th]e disordered Ceremony of [th]e Bacchanalls brought by a strange Preist into [th]e City: he w[i]thstood that sentence, alleadging that there was nothing so apt to deceiue men as Religion w[hi]ch alwayes pretends the shew of Diuinity: and for that Cause it behooued to be very wary in chastising [*Left margin:* Vulgus est merosum animal quod facilius duci quam cogi potest.] the Professors thereof, least any indignac[i]on should enter into [th]e peoples minds that somewhat was derogated fro[m][th]e Ma[jes]tie of God: Others more freely haue not spared to place Religion, I meane that Religion w[hi]ch is ignorantly zealous, among [th]e kinds of frenzie, w[hi]ch is not to be cured otherwise then by time giuen to diuert or qualify [th]e fury of [th]e conceit: *Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum*.

Howsoeuer in valueing the power of a City or strength of Arguments, quality & worth is to be preferred before nu[m]ber. [*Left margin:* Many partizans incourage [th]e faint hearted, & where an Enemy cannot preuaile against number, his thoughts are not how to offend, but how to make a safe retraite.] Neuerthelesse where [th]e vttermost of our force is not knowne, it importes much to haue it conceiued that [th]e multitude stands for vs, for doubts & suspicions cast in our enemies way euermore makes things seeme greater & more difficult then they are indeed; we haue by Gods mercy the sword of Iustice drawne on our behalfe, w[hi]ch vpon short warning is able to disunite the secret underminers of our quietnes; we haue a King zealous for the house of our Lord; who needeth not feare [*Left margin:* More Priests may be shutt vp in a yeare then they can make in many.] lesse successe in shutting up of Priests, then our late Queene had in restraining them to Wisbich Castle, where least their

factious spirits

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factious spirits should grow rusty they conuerted their canker to frett vpon themselues, and vomitting out their gall in quodlibets shewed that their disease was chiefly predominant in the spleene: what Tempests they haue raised in their Colledge at Rome, their owne bookes, & many can witnesse, The storme thereof was such that Sixtus Quintus complained seriously of [th]e vexac[i]on w[hi]ch he receaued oftener from [th]e English schollers, then all [th]e vassalls of his Triple Crowne, And truly is [th]e Magistrate noted of negligence or ouermuch security that layeth waite to catch [th]e Foxes, & [th]e little foxes [tha]t spoile [th]e vineyard, though afterwards without further punishment he reserues them to [th]e day wherein God will take account of their stewardships. For if Aristotles City had been defined to be a society of men assembled to liue well, be [th]e same w[hi]ch in our Lawe hath [*Left margin:* Peace is alwaies to be wished prouided [tha]t vnder color thereof there be not a mischief entertained worse then warre itselfe.] a reference to [th]e maintaineing of [th]e people in peace, so long as wee taste of [th]e sweet of [th]e peaceable gouernment, wee cannot say but that we liue well, & that [th]e City consisting of men & not of walls, is happily ioyned.

An oath is a weake bond to conteine him that will for pretended Conscience sake hold no faith w[i]th hereticks, or by absoluc[i]on fro[m] a Priest, thinkes himself at liberty to fly from any promise or protestac[i]on whatsoeuer.

Therefore when I remember that Watson [th]e Priest notwithstanding his Inuectiues against [th]e Iesuites gained liberty to forge his Traiterous inuentions, & had others of his society of [th]e complott, I iudged it safer to make refuses of them then to suffer such to dally w[i]th vs by bookes, & some Idle intelligences cast abroad, onely as a mist to bleare our eyes: But how

shall we find [th]e meanes to apprehend those disguised Romanists that borrow the shapes of Captaines, Marchants, Gentlemen, Citizens, & all sorts of people, & by Equiuocac[i]on may deny themselues to be themselues? In answer to this question I will first shew [th]e reason why they are not pursued & taken, and hereafter make an answer how they may be bolted out of their hatches. The nature of man howsoeuer in hot bloud it be thirsty of reuenge, in [*Left margin:* One man in another beholdeth himself, & thereby groweth compassionate & sensible of [tha]t which may fall to himselfe.] a cooler temper it, hath a kind of Nausea, as I may call it or loathing of takeing away mens liues euen of [th]e nocent. Insomuch as in all Assises and Sessions, an Offendor can hardly be condemned whom [th]e foolish pitty of many will not after a sort excuse with layeing some Imputac[i]on on [th]e Iudge, part on [th]e Iury, & much on [th]e Accuser, & such is their blind affection, that [th]e prisoner who perhaps was neuer commended for handsome will be esteemed of them for one of [th]e properest men of [th]e Company, from hence it comes that [th]e name of Sergeant or a Purseuant is odious, & [th]e Executioner although he be [th]e hand of Iustice, is esteemed no better then an Enemy of mankinde & one [tha]t lost honesty and humanity in his cradle.

Reuerend

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Reuerend Mr Fox was wont to say that spies & accusers were necessary members in a Commonwealth, & deserued to be cherished, but for his part he would not be any of [tha]t number, nor wish his freinds to affect such imployments: & albeit that [th]e Law permitts & commands euery man to apprehend a fellon [*Left margin:* What men doe vnwillingly is neuer done effectually.] do we not commonly see ~~{*gap: illegible*}~~ very many content to stand by & looke on whilest others performe that office, likewise it is euident that such as are tender of their reputac[i]on, be very scrupulous to to arrest a man for even actions of debts, they will be more vnwilling instruments of draweing their bodies to [th]e wrack or the gallowes, especially when there is any colour of Religion to be pretended on their defence. The diuersity of mens faces is greate, but [th]e difference of their minds in this case is more variable, wherein [th]e meanest haue thought as free as the highest. Besides this there are too many of the blind Com[m]unalty altogether Popish though not reconciled Papists who in their foolish Ignorance will say it is pitty any should dye for their conscience, though indeed they make honorable amends for their treason: verily I doe not know what misgiueing of [th]e mind it is that maketh men forecast [th]e possibility of alterac[i]on in matters of Religion, & for that respect, they are exceeding backward in discouering & layeing hands on Seminaries, yea & are timorous in enacting sharpe Lawes against them, as those that silently say among themselues, *Sors hodierna mihi, cras erit illa tibi*. Some also suruiue who ~~know~~ remember that in Queen Maries time the Protestants alleadged a Text, That the tares should not be plucked vp before [th]e haruest; nay should I speake a buggs word there is no small number that doubtfull is whether it be a gratefull worke to crosse Popery, or that it may [*Left margin:* Vertue neither priased nor rewarded waxeth cold.] be done safely, without a foule aspersion of Puritanisme, or a shrewed turne for their labours at some time or other.

By w[hi]ch vnhappy ambiguity it comes to passe that, AnimaliaAmphibia, [th]e Priests I mean, that prey on [th]e soules & bodyes of either sexe, vnatached reuell where they list, though they be no more seene then a man dancing in a nett: how much fitter were it for vs couragiously to inuite them to our partie by preaching or confuting them by writeing: & vnto [th]e State wherein we stand, wisely to apply [th]e exhortac[i]on of [th]e Assyrian King to his

souldiers, you are fooles (quoth he) if there be any hope in your hearts to redresse sorrow by flight, rather indeauour to make them fly that are [th]e causers of your griefe, assuring your selues that more perish in flight then in battaile, euen as many seeking to meete [th]e Papists half way discomfort our owne partie.

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It followes now according to [th]e methode prescribed before that an ouerture be made, how to gett [th]e Iesuits, & their shadowes [th]e Priests into possession. It hath been heretofore recited that [th]e vnwelcome name of bloodsucker, a busy body, or a Puritan haue been shrewd scarcrowes vnto many honest mindes, by abrogating therefore of those or such like imputac[i]ons many will be stirred vp to vndertake [th]e Apprehending of [th]e aduersaries vnto [th]e truth, especially when for their paines & time imployed they shall haue & deserue [th]e Titles of good Patriots, dutifull subiects & zealous Christians. How ready is euery Com[m]on person to carry a Malefactor rather to [th]e Goale then execuc[i]on, and doubtlesse they wilbe no lesse forward to attach a Priest when they are assured [th]e worst of his punishments shalbe a [*Left margin:* Wise men doe forecast how to doe most w[i]th least noise.] simple restrainte within [th]e walls of some old castle. A certaine kinde of people there is with whom mony playes a more forceable orators part then any persuasion of the dutifull seruice w[hi]ch they owe to their Com[m]onwealth, these men will not be negligent to giue inteligence & also to procure it faithfully prouided that reward may helpe to line their threadbare purse, & exempt them for need to sell Libertie vnto Seminaries, & where assured hope of gaine is propounded for discouery, what master or housekeeper will trust his seruant w[i]th keeping of his Priest, or sleep quietly while he is ingaged to [th]e danger of a mercinary. I remember that in Italy it was often told me that [th]e bountifull hand of S[i]r Francis Walsingham made his Intelligencers so actiue [tha]t a Seminary could hardly stirre out of [th]e gates of Rome without his priuity, w[hi]ch successe my mediac[i]on of gold may as readily be obtained from Siuill, ~~W~~ Valadolid, Doway, Lorraine, Paris, & other places, & by forewarning giuen of their approach they may be waited for at [th]e portes, & from thence soone conueyed to a safe lodging; But whence shall [th]e streame flow that must feede this bounty? it is a doubt easily satisfied if some thousands of pounds out of [th]e Recusants penalties be reserued in stock & committed by his Ma[jes]tie into [th]e disposic[i]on of some zealous distributers who will not be afraid to [*Left margin:* Particular officer must be appointed, what is com[m]anded to all is commonly performed by none.] conclude *Perdat fiscus ut capiat Christus*; neither need we seeke any further succour to repaire decayed castles, & therein to defray e the charge of [th]e Priests w[i]th a sure guard to keep them in, then [th]e foresaid forfeitures [tha]t by [th]e Iustice of [th]e Lawe may be collected, [*Left margin:* the seruice done for the Kings proper vse hath his warrant & countenance, but when a priuate man hath [th]e {*gap: guttering*} aine, neither reward nor bearing out can be expected, {*gap: guttering*} by consequence Recusants ree.] w[hi]ch course if euer it come happily to be entertained, & that Recusants cease to be an ignominous prey to [th]e subiect, [th]e proceeding for Religion shall be least blamed, & perhaps altogether vniustly accused by any gracelesse Gretzerus or Cacodæmon Iohannes tincting their penns in gall & vineger, for besides occasion of calumniac[i]on giuen by suits of that nature, it is euident that many Recusants

that would be

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that would be indited for [th]e King, & [th]e effecting of [th]e proiect aforesaid, shall escape without punishment & be borne out against [th]e power of a priuate persons begging to no other purpose then hath heretofore been vsed, & albeit [th]e penalty be rated at 20ll a month yet it was neuer [th]e Lawmakers intent that such as were not able to pay so great a summe should goe scottfree, but [tha]t according to [th]e proportion of their abilities they should doe penance of their purses for their disobedience; wheeas none (if [th]e voice of the people w[hi]ch is said to be [th]e voice of God) but is slipt ouer as if they owed no soules to God nor duty to their Soueraigne. A poore man (saith one) is to be pittyed if he offend through necessity, but if he doe amisse voluntarily, he is more seuerely to be chastised, for asmuch as wanting freinds & meanes to beare him out, it sheweth that his fault proceedeth fro[m] presumption.

Let vs now suppose that all [th]e whole Regiment of Iesuits & Priests were lodged in safe custody, may we then persuade our selues that Popery will vanish like a dumbe shew, I am clearely resolued that though it receiue a great Ecclipse, notwithstanding without other helpes, [th]e Kingdome of Antichrist will onely lye hidden as a wood that seemes withered in the winter, & is ~~onely~~ ready to sprout out w[i]th [th]e spring: Temporall Armes are remedies seruing for a time, but [th]e spirituall sword [*Left margin:* Medicines that worke in [th]e spiritts of men are of great force, & cure more surely then outward plaisters.] is permanent in operac[i]on, & by an inuisible blow workes more then mortall man can Imagine: The word of God carryeth the two edged weapon in his mouth w[hi]ch is to be vsed by faithfull Ministers of [th]e Church, whom pure zeale without respect towards promoc[i]on or persons ought to encourage. Of Iudges [th]e Scripture saith *Estote fortes*; & daily we see that sitting in their Iudiciall seates God inspireth them w[i]th greater courage then when as priuate persons they are to giue their opinions. No lesse is [th]e power of [th]e Holy Ghost in his seruants [tha]t out [*Left margin:* .... Speech is [th]e Interpreter of [th]e minde, therefore who so vseth in diuine matters to speake reseruedly, & in adouble sence he would be suspected to haue a double heart, & vnfitt to teach them that trust him.] of [th]e Pulpitt are to deliuer his Embassage: Let them therefore not be dismayed to speake out plainely, & tell [th]e truth without running a middle course betweene heate & cold, vnprofitably descanting vpon [th]e Scripture w[i]th an old Postill, or for want of better matter, waste [th]e poore time shutt vp in an houre glasse w[i]th skirmishing against [th]e worthy pillars of our owne Profession. Rumor, w[hi]ch is euer ready to take hold of euill hath raised a secrett thought (as I hope) a causelesse suspicion that there should be some combinac[i]on vnder hand by changing the state of questions, to putt vs in our old dayes to learne a new Catechisme, & when they haue brought vs out of conceit w[i]th [th]e Reuerend Interpreters of [th]e Word, to vse vs

then as

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then as [th]e Wolues (menc[i]oned in Demosthenes Apology) handled [th]e shepheards when they had deliuered up their doggs. Most sacred was that speech of our Soueraigne concerning Vorstius, He that will speake of Canaan let him speake [th]e language of Canaan, how can wee drawe others to our Church, if we cannot agree where or how to lay our foundac[i]on, or how may we cause the Leprous disease of dissension w[hi]ch [th]e Papists w[hi]ch are best assured to them selues & not doubtfull of their saluation, are not ashamed to ascribe vnto many of vs, I would not haue Ministers indiscreet like doggs to [*Left margin:* A good Pastor is [th]e Physician of [th]e soule, & ought to apply his doctrine according to [th]e tendernes

or hardnesse of [th]e conscience, for want of w[hi]ch discretion some mens zeale hath done hurt.] barke against all whether they know or know them not, I like better [th]e opinion of Aristotle who aduised those [tha]t stand in guard of a place to be curst onely to such as are about to endamage [th]e Citty. If Purseuants & others [tha]t are euill officers would learne to keep this Rule, they might goe about their businesse w[i]th much creditt. The imagined feare of inuiting [th]e Romish faction by force to deliuer their Ghostly fathers out of prison moues mee not a whitt, for I cannot beleeue that they esteeme them at so deare a price that they would runne [th]e hazard by freeing them out of hold to putt themselues in their places. Some will say A man of strawe is a head good enough for a discontented multitude; That [th]e Papists are very cholerick it appeares euidently by their writeings, yet it hath pleased God to send those curst Cowes short hornes; That when they should not finde a man of sufficiency to [*Left margin:* false miracles & lying newes are [th]e food of superstition w[hi]ch by credulity deludeth ignorant people.] serue their turne, they are faine to doe homage to Garnetts strawe, forgettfull as they are that such stubbl cannot endure [th]e triall of fire. But vnto vs that ought to be doers aswell as professors of [th]e Ghospell, let this remaine as a memoriall, The ordaind' Religion is the mother of good order, & good order is [th]e Cause of prosperous fortune & happy successe in all counsells & Enterprises, wherefore in what State soeuer there wanteth good order, it is an euident Argument that Religion goes backward. [*Left margin:* X]

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[*Left margin:* X] [*Left margin:* God w[hi]ch is [th]e Great Lawmaker by his Lawe preuents sinnes, to [th]e end that punishment be inflicted on it Iustly, as to auoyd Idolatrie he forbiddeth making of Images. He [tha]t cannot liue chaste let him marry] I haue euer held it for a kind of Iniustice to omitt [th]e execuc[i]on of meane Lawes made to preuent the effects of idlenesse, and then to apply many extremities of the sword, when the powling habitt gotten by [tha]t vice comes to light, no lesse is [th]e course vncharitable (w[i]th pardon for the presumption be it spoken) when we spare them that haue no Religion at all, & censure those that can giue account of somewhat tending to that purpose.

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He that is in his misery must be borne w[i]th if he speake miserably, & when [th]e Child from his mothers breast hath suckt' nothing but Popery, a man had need to be angry with discretion if he heare him speake in [th]e voice of a Papist. God calleth some by miracles, but [th]e ordinary meanes is [th]e word, If that meanes in any place of this Land be wanting of what Religion is it likeliest [th]e people wilbe? I suppose that few men will gainesay my assertion [tha]t outward sence will direct them to Popery, w[hi]ch is fuller of Pageants then of Scripture doctrine:

& what is

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And what is [th]e Cause that after so many yeares preaching of [th]e Ghospell that [th]e Com[m]on people still retaine a sent of [th]e Roman perfume? The cause is for that [th]e formall obedience of comming to Church hath bin more expected, then the Instruction of priuate families: Publick Catechizeing is of greate vse, but [th]e first Elements thereof are to be learned [*Left margin:* A man is knowne to know how much he remembreth, & no more, & we remember best what we learned in our youth, therefore if we will be wise when we are old we must be taught when we are yong.] at home, & those w[hi]ch we learne from our

Parents stick most surely in our mindes: What was [th]e cause why [th]e Spartans continued their gouernment so many reuoluc[i]ons of times without mutac[i]on histories record, for learning [th]e Country Customes from their Infancy, they could not be induced to alter them, & in this our Natiue Country we perceiue that [th]e Com[m]on Lawes w[hi]ch relye vpon ancient Customes are better obserued then late Statutes of what worth soeuer they be. So fares it w[i]th [th]e poore people w[hi]ch being once seasonsed w[i]th [*Left margin:* Out of oeconomicall gouernement [th]e diuersity of states grow, & such as [th]e Princes house is such is [th]e state of [th]e Com[m]ons for [th]e most part: by w[hi]ch reason a Prince may by a suruey of his owne house haue an aime how the Com[m]onwealth is affected.] [th]e old dreggs of Papisme will hardly be drawne from it till [th]e learning of [th]e true faith be growne to a Custome, I will prescribe no order nor officers to effect this, but I suppose [th]e ancient laudable course by [th]e B[isho]pps confirmac[i]on will not be sufficient to fullfill so great a taske. The Ministers must & ought to be [th]e Principall & immediate hands to giue assistance to so gracious a worke: & in case any be defectiue in their duty, The Reuerend B[isho]pps may take notice thereof in their visitac[i]ons.

Perhaps it will be thought a hard taske to contraine [th]e people to learne [th]e A B C of their Christian belefe, but how hard soeuer it be, I hold it no inciuility to prepare people of all ages for [th]e Kingdome of heauen. By [th]e order [*Left margin:* By [th]e Law there were tithing men who gaue account for Lo: housholdes, some such officers might doe good in this case, for I hold the breaking of [th]e Sabbeth to be [th]e ruine of our Religion.] contained in [th]e booke of Common prayers, on Sundayes & holidayes, half an houre before Euensong the Curate of the Parish ought to examine children sent vnto him in some points of [th]e Catechisme; & all Fathers, mothers, masters & Dames should cause their children, seruants & prentices to resort vnto [th]e Church at [th]e time appointed there obediently to heare & be ordered by [th]e Curate vntill such time that they haue learn't all that in [th]e same booke is co[m]manded, & when [th]e Bishop shall appoint [th]e Children to be brought before him for their Confirmac[i]on, [th]e Curate of euery Parish shall send or bring in writeing th names of those children of his parish w[hi]ch can answer to [th]e questions of the Catechisme, & there ought none to be admitted to [th]e holy Com[m]union vntill such time as he can say his Catechisme & be confirmed. Many times I haue stood amaz'd to behold

[th]e magnificence

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to behold [th]e Magnificence of our Ancestors buildings, w[hi]ch their successors at this day are not able to keep up: but when I cast my eyes vpon [th]e excellent foundac[i]on layd' by [th]e graue fathers of [th]e Church, & perceiue their children ~~to~~ neglect to build thereupon w[hi]ch is ixceeding maruell, I rest almost beside myself: for neuer was better ground plott layd' w[hi]ch hath byn seconded w[i]th lesse successe. It was not [th]e hanging vp of [th]e [*Left margin:* He [tha]t knowes not [th]e cause of an euill cannot helpe it but by chance w[hi]ch is a dangerous guide of [th]e state.] Bull of Pius Quintus on [th]e B[isho]pp of London's doores, or the forbearing to hang vp Priests that hath cause this Apostasy, but [th]e idlenesse & insufficiency of many Teachers conspiring w[i]th [th]e peoples cold zeale that hath byn [th]e contriuer of this vnhappy webb. Vntill [th]e 11th yeare of Queene Elizabeth's raigne a Recusants name was scarcely knowne, [th]e reason was that [th]e zeale begotten in [th]e time of [th]e Mariane persecution was yet fresh in memory, & [th]e late persecutors

were so amazed at [th]e suddaine alterac[i]on of Religion that they could not choose but say, *Digitus Dei hic est*.

In those dayes there was a reconciliac[i]on between [th]e Clergie & [th]e Layity, & a strife arose whether of them should shew themselues most affectionate to [th]e Gospell, Ministers hanted [*Left margin:* Where good are afraid to call a vice by its proper name it is a signe [tha]t [th]e vice is common, & [th]e great Persons whom it is not safe to anger, are infected therew[i]th.] [th]e houses of [th]e worthiest men, where now Iesuits build their Tabernacles, & poore Country Churches were frequented w[i]th [th]e best of [th]e shire. The word of God was precious, prayeing & preaching went hand in hand together, vntill Archbishop Grindalls disgrace, & Hatfeilds hard conceite of preaching brought [th]e floweinge of these good graces to still water. The name of Papist smelt ranke euen in their owne nostrills & for pure shame to be accounted such they resorted daily both to our Churches & exercises: But when they saw their [*Left margin: De Schismat. Ang. & de Inuisibili Monarch. Eccli[siastic]æ*] great Coriphaeus Sanders had pinned [th]e name of Puritans vpon the sleeues of [th]e Protestants that encountred them w[i]th most courage & perceiuing that [th]e word was pleasing to some of our owne side they tooke heart, of grace, to sett little by [th]e seruice of God & [*Left margin:* Some thinke [tha]t if thse mens zeale had by order byn putt to imploy itself otherwise, &, a taske sett them to doe some good & memorable thing in [th]e Church they might haue byn reformed or made harmelesse by diuersion.] duty to their Soueraigne, Therewith start vp amongst vs some that might haue byn recommended for their zeale, if it had byn tempered w[i]th discretion, who forerunning [th]e authoritie of [th]e Magistrate tooke vpon them in sundry places, & publikly to censure whatsoeuer agreed not w[i]th their priuate conceits: with [*Left margin:* S[i]r Nic. Bacon.] such crosse humors vented in Pulpitts, & pamphletts most mn grew to be frozen in zeale, & in such sort benummed that who ~~{*gap: illegible*}~~ soeuer (as [th]e worthy Lord Keeper Bacon obserued in those dayes) pretended a little sparke of earnestnes, he seemed no lesse then redd fire hott in comparison of [th]e other.

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And as some things fare [th]e worse for an ill neighbours sake [*Left margin:* Headstrong passions are not easily subdued yet must they not be suffered to grow to a faction. *Discretio per legem discernere quid sit res* must lay [th]e burthen in [th]e right place.] dwelling besides them, so did it betide [th]e Protestants who seeking to curbe [th]e Papists, or reproue an idle drone were incontinently branded w[i]th [th]e ignominious name of Precisians, all w[hi]ch winde brought plenty of water to [th]e Popes mill, & there will most men grinde where they see appearance to be well serued.

If without great inconueniency [th]e Children of Papists could [*Left margin:* Without reformac[i]on in this point Popery will still increase, but, as all vertuous enterprises are difficult, so is this [th]e most intricate.] be brought vp out of their company it were a happy turne, but I finde it to be full of difficulty. There is prouision made to avoyde Popish Schoolemasters, but there is no word against Popish Schoolemistresses that infect the silly Infants while they carry them in their armes w[hi]ch moueth me to suppose [tha]t [th]e former proposic[i]on to examine how children & seruants are brought vp, & truly to certify [th]e list of the Communicants, & recusants will be [th]e readiest meanes to let his Ma[jes]tie know [th]e yearely increase or decrease of [th]e Church in euery Diocese, & whosoeuer shall send his children or [*Left margin:* A wise householder will cast by his reckonings what losse or profitt he hath made in a yeare.] his Ma[jes]ties subiects to be placed in Monasteries

or seminary Colledges, or Popishly to be brought vp in forraine parts, I thinke that for punishment both [th]e one & the other worthily ~~{*gap: illegible*} be~~ might be disfranchised of priuiledges due to naturall Englishmen so farre forth as any good by [th]e Lawes may descend to them, but not to be exempted from [th]e penalties thereof, or [th]e Regall Iurisdiction of the Crowne. I know well [tha]t contradiction is odious & makes a man seeme ambitious to be thought more vnderstanding then others, in w[hi]ch case [th]e Spaniard vseth onely to call presumptious whom he would call fooles if ciuility would beare it: but in my defence I hope it shall suffice to reuiue my former protestac[i]on that I discourse by way of proposic[i]on rather then arrogance of defining of any thing: [*Left margin:* The Lawe w[hi]ch tooke immediate notice of an offence gaue a quick redresse, & corrected [th]e poore as well as [th]e riche.] w[i]th pardon therefore may I be permitted to say That the first easy Lawe of xii d inflicted on him that could not giue a reasonable excuse for his absence fro[m] Church on Sondayes was one of [th]e best Ordinances that hitherto hath byn [*Left margin:* The sharp Lawes[tha]t stands pon a long processe after a manner seemes to dispense w[i]th [th]e vice] enacted: but while we sought to make new Lawes & Statuts sauoring of more seuerity we neglected [th]e old & were loth to execute [th]e newe; for it is a certaine Rule that whosouer in Policy will giue Liberty & yet seeme to suppresse a crime, let him procure sharp Lawes to be proclaimed w[hi]ch are necessary onely for sometimes, & rare occasions to be putt in execuc[i]on, but not to be an ordinary worke for euery day of [th]e weeke: daily vse likewise teacheth vs that it is lesse grieuous to punish

by an old Lawe

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by an old Lawe then by any new. Forasmuch as truth itselfe seldome getts creditt without proofe, & it is hard to free people fro[m] suspicion that new Lawes are not rather inuented against [th]e particular persons & purses of men then against their corrupt manners; by force of w[hi]ch reason I am induced to conceiued that [th]e old vse of [*Left margin:* The allegiance to God ought to {preceed}[th]e temporall obedience for if [th]e first may be obtained [th]e second will follow of itself.] [th]e Church contained in good nurture & Ecclesiasticall Censure will much more preuaile to muzzle pouerty then any fresh deuices whatsoeuer; neither doe I thinke it blame worthy to affirme that our cause hath taken harme by relying more on the temporall then on [th]e Spirituall armes, for a while wee trusted [tha]t capitall punishment would strike [th]e stroke, we haue neglected [th]e meanes w[hi]ch would for [th]e most part haue discharged the needs of such seuerity The oath of Allegiance is not offered generally to seruants & meane people, who if they had taken the oath of absoluc[i]on of a Priest might recoyle from it, or change their opinion at leisure without any other ready meanes to discouer their legerdemaine, That oath I feare will not often be pressed, & to them that shift from place to place how can it be tendered. The principall Papists couer themselues now in [th]e coude of [th]e multitude, but if we can discouer [th]e affecc[i]on of [th]e multitude, they easily will be vnmaskt', & being singled out, [th]ey rest ashamed of their nakedness, ~~bee~~ w[hi]ch vnder correction of better Iudgements may be effected. If euery new commer to Inhabitt in a Towne, & seruants newly entertained in a weeke or forteeen dayes be caused to repaire to [th]e Minister, there in presence of [th]e Churchwardens & other honest men to subscribe vnto such briefe & substantiall Articles concerning faith & Allegeance as shalbe ~~thought~~ according to Gods word & Iustice ordeined to distinguish [th]e sheep from [th]e goates. In foraigne Countries euery host is bound to bring his guest before an officer

there to certify his name w[i]th [th]e occasion of his comming, & intended time of abode in those parts, & in case he stay longer he must againe renew his licence: so curious and so vigilant also are they to keep their Cities from infection that without a certificat witnessing their comming from wholesome places, they may not escape [th]e Lazaretto: No lesse ought we to be watchfull [*Left margin:* So long as houses & lodgings in London are lett to Papists [th]e Priests wilbe receiued & from thence shall [th]e Country be infected.] to preuent [th]e contagion of our soules then other nations of their bodies; euery thing is hard & scarcely pleasing in [th]e beginning, but in time some such course may be readily putt in execuc[i]on, w[hi]ch I propound rather as matter for better heads to worke vpon, then peremptorily to be insisted vpon [th]e same termes.

But least any charge me w[i]th temerity that when I desire to know [th]e multitudes inclinac[i]on by [th]e meanes aforesaid, I satisfy myself w[i]th their parrots language pronouncing it knowes not what, I thinke, it not impertinent to putt [th]em in minde that heretofore I haue

required instrucc[i]on

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required instrucc[i]on precedent & subsequent, & am euer of [th]e minde that thought this cannot be done all at once, yet it is necessary alwayes to be doeing best, knoweing that not to goe forward in Religion is [th]e ready way to goe backward.

It is not [th]e outward obedience of com[m]ing to Church [tha]t discouers [th]e inward thought of [th]e heart: it is [th]e confession of [th]e tongue [tha]t must vtter these secrets, & where [th]e Curates are insufficient, [*Left margin:* If we can preuent [th]e increase of Papists these [th]at now liue must either be reformed or ni time yeld to nature, & there shall a new age succeed of Christians by educac[i]on made Religious.] or parish greate I wish they had Catechists to assist them maintained by [th]e purses of [th]e Recusants w[hi]ch pension being collected for Gods cause, will free vs of scandall, though it grieue them to pay [th]e spirituall armie waged against their owne stratagems. Surely be giueing them way in petty matters they are growne to be very masterfull in their partie. Plato affirmeth [tha]t the popular state proceeded from [th]e licence w[hi]ch [th]e people tooke to make immoderate applauses in [th]e Theatres, when as by arrogating [tha]t immunitie without controlment in [th]e presence of their Gouernors & perceiuing the Nobility to Ioyne w[i]th them in [th]e same Passions, they thought their heads as worthy to gouerne, as any of those that were made out of [th]e self same mould: In like manner while we suffer ignorannce openly to maintaine such pettie glimpses of Popery as are thought to be scarce worthy to be looked at, & in small matters runn an indifferent course, w[hi]ch neither make sure friends nor feeble foes, vnawares they take [th]e bridle from vs, & eate out Religion as it were by an insensible gangrene.

Principijs obsta, sero' medicina parætur Cum mala per longas inualuere moras.

For by sufferance of breakeing smaller lawes people are imboldened to sett [th]e greater at nought; To comprehend all things in a Lawe w[hi]ch are necessary to [th]e Reformac[i]on, I neither hold it profitable nor expedient, yet it is discretion to prouide for the most important, [th]e smaller matters whereof [th]e Lawe speakes not are to be commended to [th]e discretion of parents, masters & other Reuerend persons who by example & aduise may prepare yonglings by educac[i]on & custome to obey [th]e Lawes, especially such as are in high places ought in this behalfe to be like Cæsars wife, *Non solum crimine sed etiam criminis*

suspicione vaiare, & w[i]th such circumspection to behaue themselues that [th]e world may conceiue in requiring obedience to God, & their Soueraigne that they hold [th]e multitude rather for companions [th]en slaues, If great men take another way they may seduce many by examples though by words they expresse not their conceald opinions, *Tace & loquere* said God to Moses, it is [th]e speach of [th]e heart w[hi]ch vtters more then [th]e letters or syllables, & in our Com[m]on Lawes it is held maintenance when a great Personage onely by his presence contenanceth a cause: neither lett vs secure our selues w[i]th this Argument, The Papists are pliable in small matters, Ergo they will yeild in greater, & because they tooke no armes in 88, therefore it is needlesse curiously to suspect them now; for who

knowes not

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knowes not that small baites are vsed to take [th]e greatest fish, *vt cum esca vna' & hamum deuoret:* warinesse is [th]e sinewes of wisdome, & nothing is more dangerous then to be secure in matters of state. Therefore for [th]e Lawes already made I wish that [th]e most effectuall of [*Left margin:* Few lawes well executed are better then many.] them w[hi]ch least concerne life may be executed, for better it were not to make them, then by neglect to sett them at liberty, seing that many offences there are w[hi]ch men would abstaine from, if they were forbidden, but when a strict commandment is auoyded without punishment, thereout springs an vnbridled licence to be hardly reformed by any rigor.

To conclude I say freely that he [tha]t endeth his dayes by a naturall death, he shalbe subiect to receiue many mens doomes for euery particular offence, but when for Religions sake a man triumpheth ouer [th]e sword, that one vertue razeth out [th]e memory of other errors, & placeth him that so doth, in paradise (if common opinion may be lawfully accouched) w[hi]ch glory haueing many followers & admirers, awaketh euer dull spirits to affect their footsteps, to sell their liues for [th]e maintenance of [th]e cause. I need not to enuy [th]e name of a martyrto [th]e Iesuites, for [th]e cause if it be rightly weighed will branch that title: But I desire to haue all these lineaments defaced w[hi]ch may compose [th]e Counterfett Image; In prosecuting of w[hi]ch purpose if I haue failed in any aduise, & by confused handling intricated [th]e question, I humbly request [tha]t wisemans verdict may mitigate the heauinesse of [th]e Censure. It is neither good to priase badd [*Left margin:* He counsells lest that preferes [th]e cause of God & [th]e Com[m]onwealth before any particular.] counsells because of their good successe, nor to condemne good Counsells if [th]e euent proue not fortunate, least many be animated to aduise rashly, & others disheartened to counsell grauely./ FINIS.

Illi mors grauis incubat Qui notus nims omnibus Ignotus moritur sibj. seneca Trag.

Other manuscript witnesses

- British Library, Additional MS 22591, ff. 338r–345v
- British Library, Additional MS 48101, ff. 215r–249v
- British Library, Egerton MS 3138, f. 2r
- British Library, Harley MS 1858, ff. 109r–149x
- British Library, Harley MS 35, ff. 428r–450r
- British Library, Harley MS 354, ff. 10r–31v
- British Library, Harley MS 859, ff. 39r–43v
- British Library, Lansdowne MS 213, ff. 19r–31v

- Beinecke Library, Osborn b22, ff. 57r–83v
- Beinecke Library, Osborn fb178, ff. 210r–229v
- Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 966, ff. 527–542
- Bodleian Library, MS Jones 28, ff56
- Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D 853, ff. 74r–109v
- Inner Temple Library, Petyt MS 538/27, ff. 1r–37x
- Nottingham University Library, Me L 5, ff. 1r–28v
- Queen's College, MS 121, ff. 137–151
- Woburn Abbey, MS 4E-60, ff. 17r–19v

Seventeenth-century print exemplars

- Robert Cotton, *Serious Considerations For Repressing of the Increase of Iesvites, Priests, and Papists Without Shedding Blood* ([London?], 1641) [Wing C6497]
- Robert Cotton, *Cottoni Posthuma* (London, 1651) [Wing C6500], pp. 109–157
- Robert Cotton, *Cottoni Posthuma* (London, 1672) [Wing C6486], pp. 109–157
- Robert Cotton, *Cottoni Posthuma* (London, 1679) [Wing C6487aA], pp. 109–157

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