THE ISLE OF MAN;

OR,

LEGAL PROCEEDINGS IN MANSHIRE AGAINST SIN.

Wherein, by way of continued allegory, the chief Malefactors are detected.

AND THEIR ARRAIGNMENT AND JUDICIAL TRIAL. WITH THE SPIRITUAL USE THEREOF.

BY THE REV. RICHARD BERNARD, 1568-1641 Late Rector of Baicombe, Somerset.

A New Edition, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR.

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PART SECOND.

That there ought to be a time of trial, and a just condemning of sin in ourselves; set out by an Assizes [court session].

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A BRIEF ACCOUNT Of the AUTHOR.

Mr. Bernard was many years Rector of Batcombe, in Somersetshire. He was a learned divine, and a zealous pastor. Of his learning there is ample proof in his numerous writings, which also discover great precision of thought, and much strength and energy of mind: and the same uncommon ardour which breathes throughout his writings, was, during a long and laborious ministry, manifested with extensive effects, in his immediate and extra-parochial engagements. The Non conformist's Memorial says, he succeeded Dr. Blisse, who came to that parish soon after the reformation. I have sought after some memoirs of him, but have not been gratified. He was not of Oxford, for Wood only mentions him incidentally, with reference to a tract of his, entitled, "A Guide to Grand Jury-men," in Cases of Witchcraft. A subject which has now ceased to assume so much importance as in the early part of the seventeenth century, but had then, however, a conspicuous part in the writings of both lawyers and divines. Royal pens claimed not higher honors than to be distinguished in the discussion of it.

Many useful pieces were written by Mr. Bernard; his principal work was his "Thesaurus Biblicus seu promptuarium sacrum." This work not only proves the author to have been a judicious and learned divine, but has the distinguished honour of being the first Dictionary of the Bible. The "Thesaurus" has been spoken of as having been of service to the Church of God, and for which many have been thankful. It afterwards went through a second edition. He was born in 1567, and died before the "Thesaurus Biblicus" was published. In 1642, he published the "Bible's Abstract and Epitome," and may therefore be presumed to have finished his long, laborious and useful life, about the year 1643. Drs. Watkins and Grainger say 1641, Mr. Conant, a respectable Non-conformist, but who afterwards conformed, (which was likewise the case with our author) gives the following excellent character of Mr. Bernard, in an address to the reader, prefixed to the above work.

"I had for sundry years last past, some intimate acquaintance with him; during which time, as (by the testimony of many godly learned) long before, he hath constantly been very laborious in the public exercise of his ministry; the fruit whereof was sealed by the conversion of many souls unto God. His labours in the ministry where, not only bestowed in his own congregation, but in several market towns next adjacent; were weekly lectures were for many years continued, by the free and voluntary co-assistance of pious, godly, and orthodox divines, until they were, by the last bishop of that diocese, to the great prejudice of many souls, imperiously suppressed. In that his ministerial work he was as a leader and pattern unto many, exemplifying in his sermons that method for preaching, which many years since in his; "Faithful Shepherd" he hath prescribed, or at least proposed in writing. Divers painful and profitable labourers in the Lord's vineyard had their first initiation and direction from and under him; unto whom also many others had recourse, and from whom they borrowed no small light and encouragement. His people, by his constant pains in catechising, (wherein he had an excellent facility) as well as in *preaching*, were more than ordinary proficients in the knowledge of the things of God; and the youth of his congregation very ready in giving understandingly an account of their faith, whereof himself would often speak with much rejoicing. And that the knowledge of his people was not merely speculative, appeared by the many liberal contributions, which for pious and charitable uses were made by them; wherein I suppose, ratâ proportione, they were not inferior to any congregation in that whole country wherein he lived. His preaching and catechising were accompanied with zeal, frequency, and fervency in prayer, wherein he was very ready and powerful, and whereby all his other labours became the more successful. With all these, his ordinary and more private conversation held good correspondence, he being bold, expert, and candid in admonishing or reproving, as occasion was presented; tender also and cordial in comforting the afflicted or wounded spirit; and, in a word, he shewed [showed] much integrity in all his actions. He was in his *private studies*; according to that strong constitution wherewith God had blessed him, indefatigable; the benefit whereof the church of God enjoyeth, in those many treatises written and printed by him; as most men, versed in theological studies, will give testimony."

Mr. Bernard will be allowed to have shewn [shown], connected with brilliancy of wit, and soundness of judgment, a deep acquaintance with the human heart and character. His design, clearly and luminously executed, is as he affirms, "to discover to us our miserable and wretched estate through corruption of nature; and how a man may come to a holy reflection, and so happily recover himself out of his natural wretched estate." This object is worthy an exertion of the noblest powers of man, having once occasioned the most eminent display of the perfections of Deity. It remains for the God of all grace to acknowledge the worthiness of the design, and the ability with which it is executed, by sanctioning the work with his blessing; which is the sincere wish of the writer.

"It has often been lamented by wise and good men, that whilst such a number of useless and pernicious writings are daily issuing from the press, so many valuable authors of the seventeenth century should continue to remain in obscurity. No one appears to have been more sensible of this, than the late excellent Rev. James Hervey, by whom several scarce and useful books were rescued from the pit of oblivion."

An eminent writer observes, with regard to the following little piece: "Sometime after the commencement of the seventeenth century, a singularly ingenious piece of Spiritual Allegory was published under the following title, 'The Isle of Man, or the legal Proceedings in Manshire against Sin.' The author was the Rev. Mr. Bernard, Rector of Batcombe, Somerset. This performance seems to have had a great run; it was printed at London, A. D. 1632. The above work in all probability, suggested to Mr. John Bunyan, the first idea of his 'Pilgrim's Progress,' and of his 'Holy War.'"

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL Sir THOMAS THYNNE, Knt.

And to his religious Lady, THE Lady CATHERINE THYNNE.

All saving Graces in the blessed way unto eternal Comforts are unfeignedly wished.

Right Worshipful,

Since your departure, and now return to *Longleat*, (where the poor feel your mercies in set times of relief, and daily alms, and your tenants, and common neighbouring inhabitants, good entertainment at the general time of great house keeping,) it was my hap to travel into and throughout the whole *Isle of Man*. Now it is usual with all travellers to discourse of their journeying, and to relate their observations. And therefore let none object and say unto me that of *Persius, Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter*: For I found good in my pains-taking; and *bonum is communicativum & sui diffusivum, and so quo communius, eo Melius*. In my very entrance, and afterwards every where I found written that old ancient precept, *Nosce teipsum*. This lesson I began to take out with diligent observation. And it brought to my The scope of mind the Apostle's charge, *Quisque exploret seipsum*, which I laboured to put in practice, and so sought myself in myself; for I remembered that saying long since learned, *Orbis quisque sibi, nec te quæsive is extra*. Thus my travel became very profitable to me; and the variety of sights withal procured delight, and turned my pains into pleasure.

In my travelling, I came to the County Town or chiefest Seat there, called *Soul*; where I rested for some time, because it fell out to be the Assize [court session] week for all that Island; where I especially marked how in all things they proceeded against Malefactors according to the laws of *England*: In this only lieth the difference; there is never but one Judge, whereas we have ever two appointed in every circuit, as we have now in this Western, very honourable and religious Judges, *quos honoris causa non possum non nominare*. Sir *John Walter*, Lord Chief Baron, and Sir *John Denham*, another worthy Baron of the Exchequer, lovers of virtue and justice.

And indeed, such ought Judges to be, as was and is this Judge in *Man*. He is a Judge of Jethro's choice, and *verax*, & *Dei timens, osor turpis lucri*. He is divinely given, prudent, impartial, and. very quick (upon good information) in dispatch of causes. He was worthily attended, as he ought ever to be, with a worthy Sheriff, with justices of Peace, Knights and Esquires, Gentlemen of singular note and fame in that country. This I heard of them, and it appeared by their practice that they all stand for the maintenance of the laws, they see their Sovereign well served, justice duly observed, and judgment executed accordingly.

They never side with any, for they hate faction: Pride and Envy, two restless make-bates, who for notorious misdemeanor, I saw bound to their good behaviour. So as now there is a *Cesar*-like spirit, *patitur superiorem*, and a *Pompey suum parem*. They run all one course, and as true Israelites, *quasi vir units*, for public good. Therefore do the people live in peace, the land prospereth, justice flourisheth, virtue is exalted, vice suppressed, and the enemies at home and abroad made to fear.

The whole discourse of this excellent order, and careful proceedings there by me observed, from my first entrance unto the end, I am bold here to present unto your Worships, whom I have now found diligent readers of holy Scripture, addicted to private prayer, besides set form for the whole family, to be entertainers of the Preachers of God's Word, giving freely to such benefices [rectors, bishops or vicars] as they may hap to be void, not being seduced by men's offering large sums to procure Advowsons [nominee for appointment to a vacant ecclesiastical benefice] aforehand, as too many patrons be in these days. Now the Lord God Almighty hearten you on, unto these things more and more, and unto every other good grace, that may lively demonstrate to the world the power of saving knowledge in the use of God's abundant earthly blessings, so largely bestowed upon you; with which earnest prayer unto God for you, and for a blessing upon these my endeavours to further the same, I humbly take leave.

Your Worships' In all Christian Services, At command, RICHARD BERNARD. Batcombe, May 21.

THE AUTHOR'S EARNEST REQUESTS.

First, to the Worthy Reader, whosoever, to whom let me but say, that much of this Discourse and allegorical Narration, that in it, *sunt bona, sunt quaedam mediocria, sunt mala nulla*; yet if any thing may seem distasteful, let thy mind be to take it well, as Caesars was, to interpret well the seeming offensive carriage of one Accius the Poet towards him, and thou wilt not be displeased. Thy good mind will prevent the taking of an offence where none is intended to be given. In the discovery, attacking, arraigning, and condemning of Sin, I tax the Vice, and not any man's person; so as I may say with one,

"Hunc servare modum nostri novere libelli Parcere personis, dicere de vitiis,"

Thou hast here towards the end of this discourse the Trial and Judgment upon four notorious Malefactors. Two of them the very prime authors of all the open rebellion, or secret conspiracies, which at any time ever were in that Island. The other two were the principal abettors, and the chiefest supporters of them. Their names, their natures, and their mischievous practices, thou mayest find at large in the narration. The state of poor Prisoners is well known, and how their soul's safety is neglected; and yet our Saviour gave such a testimony to a penitent thief, as he never gave to any mortal man else; for, he told him that he should be that day with him in Paradise.

How blessed a work would it be to have maintenance raised for a learned, godly and grave Divine, that might attend to instruct them daily; twelve-pence a quarter, of one parish with another in our county, would encourage some compassionate holy man thereunto: and what is this? Not a mite out of every man's purse to save souls. If, with this instruction, there should be means to set them also on work, they might get somewhat for food, for raiment. They might so prevent the miserable fruits of sloth: their minds would be employed, their bodies preserved in health, and not pine away, and be consumed with vermin. Yea, enforced labour there, would terrify loose vagrants, and lazy wanderers, and the idle rout from turning thieves, more than either imprisonment or death hitherto hath done. And besides, such as should escape, would by this heavenly means of instruction, and bodily labour, become through God's mercies, more profitable members in the common-weal [public welfare] afterwards; whereas now they become twice more the children of *Belial*, than they were before.

O let me be bold earnestly to beseech you, and in all humility to crave your merciful and tender bowels of compassion towards them.

And first of you, Right Honourable Lords the Judges, who sit as gods among men, to give judgment upon this so wretched, and so miserable a generation of mankind, that if they die, they may be more ready with all patience and submission of spirit, to receive their just reward, and your doom of death upon them; or if they be acquitted and so live, they may learn afterwards to live the life of good Christians, and so make a good use of their deliverance. And would not this rejoice your hearts, to forward such a work when your Lordships do know that the blessed angels do rejoice at the conversion of sinners?

Next of you, worthy Master Sheriff, under whose wisdom, religious affection, tender mercies, and powerful abilities, the prison, and the prisoners be for the time present. Shall not this work set forward by you, be unto you an everlasting remembrance?

Then of all you Right Worshipful the worthy Justices of our country, by whose authority these offenders are sent unto prison. O that it might not displease you, to hear me calling on you by name, who, I hope, are well-minded to such a blessed and charitable work.

Ye deservedly honoured Knights, Sir George Speak, Sir John Stowel, Sir Francis Popham, Sir Henry Barkly, Sir John Windham, Sir John Horner, Sir Edward Rodney, and Sir Robert George; and may I not here also name the worthily esteemed of their country, though not at this present in Commission with you, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Charles Barkly, and Sir Edward Barkly? all to be graciously pleased to commiserate their lamentable case, and to help forward this work of piety and pity towards prisoners?

O ye other worthies of your country, no less generously affected, John Powlet, Robert Hopton, Edward Rogers, George Lutterel, John May, Francis Barber, Robert Cutfe, Thomas Bretton, John Goales, William Francis, Rice Davys, Thomas Windham, John Harrington, John Harbin, William Capel, and Anthony Stocker, Esquires: let the bowels of compassion compass you about, that you may effect this so good a deed, and be honoured for ever, in bringing to pass so rare a charity.

The work surely would bless you al. Alas! the prison now is a very picture of Hell; and (more is the pity) as the case now stands, is no less than a preparative thereto, for want of daily instruction. It would be by a faithful ministry, and bodily employment of them, a house of correction, with instruction, and so happily the way of life. Then might charity quicken up justice to send offenders, obstinately persisting in evil, and abusing their liberty, unto prison, in good hope of their reformation. The loss of their corporal liberty, might through God's mercy, then gain them spiritual freedom: health by labour would be preserved, and their souls by wholesome instruction saved.

The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, persuade your well-disposed hearts to such an unbegun work, among so many deeds very famous in this renowned nation. The Spirit of the Lord God of Heaven and Earth rest upon you to cause you to effect this, and in time to effect the same, by stirring up the country, and by your own mercies in your life-times, you giving, and at your death bequeathing something thereunto. Even so be it, and the Lord God Almighty be with you all herein. Amen.

My suit is to every Keeper of a Prison, if they be no kin to Master *Newman* the Gaoler [jailer] in this Discourse, that yet they would take acquaintance of him, and become better known to him. That their prisoners may by their virtues and religious care be better disposed.

My request to poor Prisoners is, to redeem their time ill spent, to call to God for mercy and pardon; and to move them hereunto, let them in serious meditation put themselves in mind of these things.

- 1. That their liberty abused, God hath by the hand of authority taken from them, as unworthy to live freely in a Commonwealth.
 - 2. That as they neglected and despised spiritual means of salvation, they are now deprived thereof.
 - 3. That as before they delighted only with wicked company, now are they shut up one with another together.
 - 4. That their rags are ensigns to them of their ragged condition.
 - 5. That their filth and vermin telleth them of their filthy conversation, and their many sins and corruptions.
- 6. That their want of food is a punishment for such of them, as have abused God's blessings to gluttony, drunkenness, and the fruits thereof, wantonness, and filthy uncleanness.
- 7. That their prison is as it were a picture of Hell, to mind them of their end, whither they are going, if they do not amend.
 - 8. That their expecting of the Assizes [court session], is an instruction to look for Jesus, the Judge of all the World.
- 9. That their chains, fetters, and bolts teach them to consider the nature of their sins, which hold them bound to answer at the bar of God's Justice.
- 10. That their desire of life by a psalm of mercy, should move them to desire eternal life, through the mercies of God in Jesus Christ, who will be gracious to every true, believing penitent; which, graces, poor Prisoners, God send you; and fear only to die eternally.

Before I end, I have a suit to all that profess the Law, that if in this Allegory, fetched from such terms as be better known to them than to myself, I do mistake, they would be pleased to pass over that, and make use with me of the

spiritual sense, which is the drift of my labour herein. And so at length I take leave, with my prayer to God for the peace of <i>Jerusalem</i> , and for a prosperous success to all that love the Israel of God, with our country's glory and safety. Amen.

APOLOGY.

These things are the substance of all this Book, couched within the allegorical narrations; which is no dreaming dotage, no fantastic toy, no ridiculous conception, no old wife's tale told. Some have a humour to delight in finding faults; some are so envious that they cannot look upon any thing which is another's, but they must needs disgrace it: perhaps some kicking jade in reading is galled, and therefore doth wince. Some are so rigidly grave, that, forsooth, it is amiss to read that wherein they may have occasion offered any way to laugh or smile; when they may remember that even *Abraham*, the grey-headed, old aged and grave father, once laughed; as they themselves will also, whosoever they be, when the humour takes them.

If any dislike this little Book for want of matter, let him be pleased to consider these *one-and-forty particular instructions* before set down, with the natural and uses. moral philosophy comprehended therein; how also families may be well governed, and also religiously; how love may be preserved among neighbours, what evils are the disturbance thereof, and what be the base conditions of the stingy and pinching worldlings, contrary to such as be of a bountiful and liberal disposition.

Besides all these things, let them be pleased to attend to the scope of the Book, wherein two things are principally aimed at.

- 1. To discover to us our miserable and ourselves by retched estate through corruption of nature. For the laying open hereof there is a lively description of sin, with the power, nature, fruits, and effects thereof; how it first came, how entertained, bred and brought up, by whom, and where, with the several kinds of sin, and the differing conditions of sinful men, opposing virtuous courses, and under what colour they so do, to their own ruin at the length.
- 2. To shew [show] how a man may come to a holy reformation, and so happily recover himself out of his natural wretched estate. To work this, here is delivered, how a man is to search out sin: what necessary graces are required thereto, with the helps how to discover sin, and to know sins to be sin; what commonly be the lets and hindrances in the discovery and search of our sins; what to do, having found out our sins, and how to become humbled thereby, and how to sit down to judge of ourselves without all partiality. Moreover, here is manifest, what gifts and graces are requisite to an holy life. Lastly, how we may know sin to be subdued, and in whom it is truly overcome.

These things being the true scope and right use of this Book, and the matters therein contained, so behooveful and necessary to every true Christian, I hope no sober-minded man can, much less will, find fault with it.

If the manner, laying those things down in a continued allegory, be the offence to some, I do suppose they know, that *Nathan* did teach *David* by an allegory: *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel* taught the *Jews* so too, and that our Saviour spake many parables to his hearers.

If any think it had been fit for a younger wit, than for one grown old and grey-headed, surely *Nathan, Isaiah*, and *Ezekiel* were not young; neither did those forms of speaking derogate any thing from their holy aged gravities. And, it may be, thus to allegorize upon such a subject matter from all these passages in politic government, required some more experience than some perhaps conceit, though the thing done to their hand may seem now most easy.

But the fault, if a fault, peradventure, is not simply imputed for making an allegory; but in following it so largely, and for surfeiting [consume too much] (as it were interlude-wise) some things for the weightiness of the matter therein contained, not seeming grave enough, as the parables of Christ, and his Prophets were. For sin and sinful courses of men should be so deciphered, as the readers might rather be moved to lament than occasioned to laugh.

First, for the largeness, it is no more than the necessity of the intended discourse requires, as the scope beforementioned may sufficiently witness. The parables of our Saviour in *St. Luke* and of *Ezekiel* were large, and they were prosecuted according to the nature of those things from whence they were taken, to lay open fully thereby what they intended, and this is but so, and no more.

I confess, the matter of this allegorical discourse to be such (as may appear by the manifold lessons before laid down, being the summary contents of the book) as ought to work in every Christian reader, sorrow of heart in the deep

consideration of his miseries, till he be recovered out of his wretched estate: and withal, to cause a diligent endeavour in sober sadness to better his condition of living Christian-like before God; neither of which is prevented by the manner of handling. If all would do, as some have done, first to read it after the letter, and then attend piously to the spiritual sense, they would attain to that, which in so penning it I aimed at. I knew the natures of men in the world. I persuaded myself that the allegory would draw many to read, which might be as a bait to catch them, perhaps, at unawares, and to move them to fall into a meditation at the length, of the spiritual use thereof: which I well hoped that others more religiously bent, would at the first discern and make benefit of.

If two or three passages carry not that gravity in shew [show] as some, perhaps, could wish they did; let these consider therein in those places the enforced nature of the allegory. Then how that elsewhere in all the rest of the Book the carriage of the matter is very far from the nature of so odious and so base a comparison, if it be in the hand of a piously-affected and well-minded reader. Lastly, that even those few passages are sharp reproofs; and are no more an occasion to guilty parties, with the conceit thereof to make themselves merry, than that great Prophet *Elijah's* mocking (in a matter none more weighty) was to the priests of *Baal*, whom yet, perhaps, some of the wiser sort abhorring *Baal*, might smile secretly thereat.

There is a kind of smiling and joyful laughter, for any thing I know, which may stand with sober gravity, and with the best man's piety, justly occasioned from the right apprehension of things; else had not *Abraham* fallen into it, nor holy *Job*, nor the righteous in seeing (which is strange) matter of fear. Well, I have clothed this book as it is. It may be, some humour took me, as once it did old *Jacob*, who apparelled [clothed] *Joseph* differently from all the rest of his brethren in a party-coloured coat. It may also be, that I took (as *Jacob* did in his *Joseph*) more delight in this lad, than in twenty other of his brethren born before him, or in a younger Benjamin brought forth soon after him.

When I thus did apparel [cloth] him, I intended to send him forth to his brethren, hoping hereby to procure him the more acceptance, where he happily should come; and my expectation hath not failed. Deceived altogether I am not, as was Jacob in sending his Joseph among his envious brethren; for not only hundreds, but some thousands have welcomed him to their houses. They say they like his countenance, his habit and manner of speaking well enough; though other, too nice, be not so well pleased therewith.

But who can please all? Or how can any one so write or speak as to content every man? If any mistake me, and abuse him in their too carnal apprehension, without the truly intended spiritual use, let them blame themselves, and neither me nor him; for the fault is their own, which I wish them to amend.

You that like him, I pray you still accept of him, for whose sake, to further your spiritual meditation, I have sent him out with these Contents, and more marginal notes. [Marginal note have been removed in this file].

His habit is no whit altered which he is constrained by me to wear, not only on working days, but even upon holidays and Sundays too, if he go abroad. A fitter garment I have not now for him; and if I should send out the poor lad naked, I know it would not please you.

This his Coat, though not altered in the fashion, yet is it made somewhat longer. For, though from his first birth into the world it be near a year, yet he his grown little bigger; but I think him to become to his full stature; so he will be but as little pigmy to be carried abroad in any man's pocket.

I pray you now this seventh time accept him, and use him as I have intended him for you, and you shall reap the fruit. though I forbid you not to be Christianly merry with him. So fare you well in all friendly well-wishes.

R. B. May 28, 1627.

THE ISLE OF MAN — PART 1

THE ISLE OF MAN: OR, THE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS IN MANSHIRE AGAINST SIN.

Lamentations 3:40. — "Let us search and try our Ways,"

The lamenting Prophet Jeremiah, in his days, full of lamentation and mourning, seeing and also partaking with others of those miseries which befell the state of the Jews, justly procured at God's hands for their sins, doth here give them advice what was best to be done, that in this their distress God might shew them mercy; and that was to repent and turn unto the Lord; to the effecting whereof, he counselleth them two things laid down in my text. First, to search out Sin; and, secondly, to put it to trial.

In the handling whereof, I will proceed as here we do against a lewd and wicked Malefactor, legally, according to the laws of this realm.

The first part of my text is to search. We know that when one hath offended the laws: hath committed any felony, murder, treason, or done any outrage, for which he is to be apprehended, he presently flying and hiding himself, is pursued, and sought after: diligent search is made to attach him.

The Malefactor here which doth so much harm on every one, every where without ceasing, is Sin. This is *a notable thief* and *robber*, daring to set upon any. He robbeth God of his honour, and man of God's favour. This *thief* stole from angels their excellency of glory; from our first parents their innocency. This is he that robbeth us of our graces: the spiritual money which we have in the purses of our heart, to help us in our journey to heaven. This *villain* bereaveth us of our goods, driveth away our cattle, spoileth us of every temporal blessing: of our health, our peace, our liberty and plenty. He it is that utterly undoeth us, and maketh our estate miserable, that we cannot thrive in any thing, body or soul.

His is a murdering thief; wheresoever he breaketh in, by day or by night, there will he either kill or be killed: man and sin cannot both live together. Most bloodily cruel he is, for he will spare none. He slayeth the hoary head, and killeth the tender mother with the newborn babe. He regardeth no person, no sex, no age, of so murderous a disposition is he, and so inhumanly barbarous.

He is a *very strong thief*, no human power can subdue him; he taketh man and bindeth him: for 'iniquity taketh the wicked, and holdeth him with the cords of his own sins.' He will bear rule where he cometh, all must obey him. He will command the reason, reign over the *will* and swagger over the *affections*, and lead captive the whole man, and make him serviceable to his lusts; yea, and make him spend his whole estate to maintain him in his lustful humours; whether it be in pride, or drunkenness, or gluttony, or idleness, or whoredom, or whatsoever else it is; he both must and will have maintenance, else will he set all on fire: for *wickedness burneth as fire*.

This is an *ungrateful* and *mischievous thief*: for let any entertain him and favour him, he will work their overthrow, loveth it. Yea, *so vile a villain* is he, that the more any make of him, the worse he is to them: for, he withholds all good from them, he procureth mischiefs to light upon them. He keepeth out grace from having any entertainment. He smothereth *conscience* for speaking; hardeneth the *heart* for feeling; blindeth the *judgment* from discerning; stoppeth the ear from hearing any good counsel; lameth the feet from walking in God's paths; benumbeth the hands from doing duties of charity; and maketh the tongue to faulter in speaking of holy things. Neither yet doth he this only; but he worketh enmity betwixt his favourite and his best friend, even between God and his own conscience. And to make up the height of his mischief: the more to strengthen himself against his foolish and unhappy friend, he, at unawares to him, letteth in, and that into the best room (even the heart), his great and most deadly enemy the devil.

Thus Covetousness did let him into Judas's heart, and set him on work to betray Christ. Flattery let him into the hearts of the false prophets, to deceive Ahab. Carelessness lets him in to hinder the fruit of the word. Loss of God's graces lets him in, and seven worse with him, to ruin a man utterly. Hypocritical vain-glory, and covetousness, did let him into the hearts of Ananias and Sapphira: for vain-glory made them sell all, to make a show to be like Barnabas; but Covetousness, with Unbelief, advised them to withhold some of the money, lest they should happen to want; but how to do this, and keep their credit, they knew not; therefore *Hypocrisy*, *Vain-glory*, *Covetousness*, and *Unbelief*, called in Satan to hear his

counsel; who taught them to lie unto the Holy Ghost, but to the death of them both. Thus we see, what an ungrateful villain Sin is to his best friends.

Lastly, this thief is a *pestilent*, *subtile*, *thief*. Sin is deceitful; it beguiled Adam, David, and Solomon: yea, St. Paul, once rapt up into the third heaven, doth acknowledge that it deceived him. And whom hath it not deceived? He is therefore carefully to be avoided and taken heed of: and this robbing, murdering, strong, ungrateful, mischievous, and subtile thief diligently to be sought out.

But before search can be made, a watch must be set to espy him out, that he may be attached.

The Watchman appointed for this purpose, is *Godly-jealousy*, who hath ever an holy suspicion of a man's own ways, lest in any thing at any time he should misbehave himself.

This vigilant *Watchman* hath with him two assistants ever to accompany him; the one is *Love-good*, a zealous fellow for God and good duties: the other is *Hate-ill*, an angry and waspish fellow, and of a fierce countenance against Sin.

These three ever keep together, so as Sin cannot so cunningly enter, but they can as quickly espy him, and as speedily pursue him, and put him to flight.

The place where these are set watch-men, is called *Soul's-town*, a town of great resort, a thoroughfare, never without travellers, ill motions, day and night; and the posts, which are Satan's suggestions, ever and anon pass through, and many at the common inn, the *Heart*, take up their lodgings.

This town is very spacious and large; for besides many *back-sides*, *by-lanes*, and *out-corners*, there are four great streets; *Sense-street*, *Thought-street*, *Word-street*, and *Deed-street*; in some of which this lewd companion Sin, and his cope-mates, will be found wandering.

When the watch is set, they have a charge given them, by one in authority, which is this: 'Keep thy soul diligently.' And withal they have a watchful eye to the Inn, and to 'take heed lest at any time there be a heart of infidelity to depart from the living God;' commanding also the watchmen 'to exhort one another daily, lest their hearts be hardened with the deceitfulness of sin.'

These Watchmen have also a *watch-word* given them; even a word of preventing grace, saying to them, 'this is the way, walk in it, when they are turning to the right hand or to the left.'

To this watch-word, *Godly-jealousy*, with his associates, do willingly attend, keeping carefully the watch, so as the thief is descried; and presently they make Hue-and-cry after him.

This *Hue-and-cry* is written by the *Bible-clerk*, and containeth infallible marks to discover Sin; whereby it may be certainly known, and they are these:

- 1. By the *Law of the ten Commandments*: for by it cometh the knowledge of Sin; for every failing in that which is commanded, and every thought, word, and deed, against that which is forbidden, is sin.
- 2. By every *exhortation to virtue, and every dehortation from vice*: being appendices to the Commandments; shewing what we ought to do, and what ought to be shunned and avoided of us.
 - 3. By every threatening; which is the word of God's displeasure for sin.
 - 4. By punishment inflicted; which is certainly God's hand for sin; for were he not provoked by sin, he would not afflict.
 - 5. By the *humble confession* of such as have acknowledged their sins in particular.
 - 6. By plain accusations; laying sins to men's charge. Isa. 59:3, &c.

- 7. By reproofs and checks for sin. 2 Chron. 19:2.
- 8. By places, *numbering up sins* by name, in sundry Scriptures. Rom. 1:29, 30, 31, 32; 1 Tim. 1:9, 10; 2 Tim. 3. &c.; 1 Cor. 5:11; Gal. 5:19, 20, 21; Rev. 21:8. Prov. 11:1. Mic. 6:11.
 - 9. By the description of sin; shewing what it is, as in 1 John 3:4, 5:17. Rom. 14:23. Prov. 21:4, 24:9, 1:21.
- 10. By the *description of godly men negatively*, by such things as they ought to avoid; as in Psalm 1:1, 15:3, 5, 24:4. Ezek. 18:68. Isa. 33:15. Psalm 101:3, 16:4.

Lastly, By the description of wicked men; by their bad qualities and conditions. Psalm 10:2, 11, 12:2, 4 57:21.

The Hue-and-cry thus set out, it is carried by the Spirit of *supplication*, crying mightily to the Lord for grace and mercy to help in time of need; as David did, who saw sin before him, and then made the Hue-and-cry, saying: 'Have mercy upon me, O Lord, according to thy loving-kindness, according to the multitude of thy mercy, do away all mine offences.'

This Hue-and-cry must not be let slip at any hand; but be carried along in the pursuit, lest in following of Sin, men be deceived, and solid Virtues be attached instead of Vices. For this we must know, as Vices have not a few friends (as after shall be shewed,) so Virtues have many enemies ready to inform against them, that they may be pursued after as malefactors, that Sin in the mean while may seek shelter and escape: and the enemies are these.

1. One Mr. *Outside*, in the inside a carnal Securitan; a fellow that will come to his church, keep his Sundays and holidays; but yet in the congregation, while he sitteth among others, sometimes he is nodding, and sometimes fast asleep; and if he abide waking, then is his mind wandering abroad, so as he remaineth still ignorant, without any effectual power of the word; and being out of the church, he is presently upon his worldly business.

This fellow cannot abide any after-meditation, or christian conference with others, of that which he hath heard; and if he espy any meeting together for this purpose, then he maketh information against them, and is ready to send the Hue-and-cry, as against privy, schismatical, conventicling, and unlawful meeting. This is a vulgar *ignoramus*, and a blockish adversary.

- 2. The second is Sir *Worldlywise*: a very fool to God, a self-conceited earth-worm, whose wisdom is from below, and therefore *sensual*, *earthly*, and *devilish*; who proudly, with much disdain, condemneth and contemneth the wisdom which is from above, pure and peaceable, sincere and charitable; and is ready to send the Hue-and-cry after it, as after foolish and doting simplicity.
- 3. The third is *Sir Lukewarm*. This fellow is a temporizing time-server: Jack on both sides; he is all in the praise of moderation and discretion; one very indifferent between this and that: he cannot endure fervent zeal, but would have Hueand-cry sent against it, as a fiery mad-brained rashness.
- 4. The fourth is *Sir Plausible-Civil*; a fashionable fellow, framed to a commendable outward behaviour for civility; but in matter of religion, he hath no more but what he hath by common education, custom, and example of other. To the life of religion he is a stranger: strict serving of God, and a more narrow search of our ways, he holds to be foolish scrupulosity; and is desirous to have the Hue-and-cry sent out against it, as against fantastical preciseness.
- 5. The fifth is *Master Machiavel*; a mischievous companion: all for policy, little for piety, and then in pretence only. He is a very Jehu, zealous against Baal, to root out Ahab's posterity, for the more sure settling of the kingdom to him and his; but in state idolatry, a very Jeroboam to keep the kingdom from being re-united to Judah. He cannot suffer gainful abuses to be reformed; but if any attempt any such thing, he accuseth them for factious, turbulent spirits; and so would he have the Hue-and-cry made against their endeavours, as against some puritanical trick.
- 6. The sixth is one *Libertine*. This licentious fellow hath a cheverel [maybe unaccountable] conscience, caring for nothing but how to pass on along his life in pleasurable contentments. Religion by him is held to be but a devised policy, to keep men in awe of a Deity; and therefore when he seeth Religion to be made conscience of, he presently causeth Hueand-cry to be made against it as against hypocrisy. This profane enemy laugheth at, and mocketh at Christianity.

- 7. The seventh is *Scrupulosity*. This is an unsociable and a snappish fellow; he maketh sins to himself more than the law condemneth, and liveth upon fault-finding. *Weaker-Apprehension* is his father, and *Misunderstanding* his mother, and an *Uncharitable Heart* his nurse. The use of Christian liberty, if it be more in his conceit than he pleaseth to like well of, then would he have the Hue-and-cry sent against it, as against *carnal security*. This is a rigid and censorious adversary.
- 8 The eighth is the *Babbling Babylonian*. This is a doting companion, and superstitiously foolish; he boasteth of antiquity, though his ways be novelty. Yet he will have it the old religion; and if any forsake it as idolatry, those he condemneth for schismatics, and labours to have the Hue-and-cry sent out against all reformation in Christian churches, as against heresy. This is a bloody anti-christian adversary.

These are the principal informers (for I pass by petty companions), which endeavour to mislead the pursuer of Sin, and to set him to attach very eminent and excellent virtues for vices. Therefore it is necessary to have Sin set out, by marks infallible, in the Hue-and-cry; else this subtile villain, Sin, will craftily beguile the pursuer, and will escape, either by the shifts which he can make to deceive him, or by his many friends he hath to keep him from being apprehended.

The shifts which commonly a thief maketh to escape in his fleeing away, are two.

- 1. Is his *counterfeiting the habit of an honest man*. So Sin craftily putteth upon himself the show of virtue, as Jehu did piety, for the getting of a kingdom, and establishing of it to himself: whose sin was covered with a pretended and hypocritical zeal for the Lord. Ananias and Sapphira made show of liberality, like that of Barnabas, not discernible till Peter discovered it. For as Satan can transform himself into an angel of light, and his apostles into the apostles of Christ; so can Sin, the seed of Satan, put upon itself the counterfeit of virtue.
- 2. A thief will alter his name; and by assuming the name of an honest man often-times escape away. And after this manner also escapeth Sin; vice getting upon it the name of virtue. And so *drunkenness* escapeth under the name of *Good-fellow-ship*; *Covetousness*, under the name of *Good-husbandry*; *filth Ribaldry*, under the name of *Merriment*; *pride of apparel*, under the name of *Decency* and *Hand-someness*; *bloody revenge* for wrongs offered, escapeth under the name of *Valour*; *foolish watchfulness*, under the name of a *Frank and Liberal Disposition*; *superstition*, under the name of *Devotion*, of Forefathers, and the Old Religion; *remissness* in punishing, under the name of *Gentleness*; *flattery*, under the name of *Inoffensiveness*; *lukewarmness* in religion, under the praise of *Discretion*; and many such like foul vices do thus deceitfully hide themselves, and so escape unattached.

If by these his shifts he cannot escape *Godly-jealousy*, that constant pursuer, then will he seek to be holpen by his kindred and friends (for Sin hath many,) who will either so defend him, or excuse him, or *deny* him, or *hide* him, or *make* him so little in fault, as will almost persuade *Godly-jealousy* that it is even needless so eagerly to pursue after him.

- 1. The first of these is his grandsire *Ignorance*. For he knows no sin; he cannot read the Hue-and-cry; he breedeth Sin, and bringeth him up, and maketh no conscience of it: if Sin get into his house, he holds himself safe enough.
- 2. The second, his brother *Error*, the son of Ignorance. This fellow mistaketh all, and misconstructh the whole Hueand-cry, and can find no fault with Sin; and so endeavoureth to send the pursuer another way.
- 3 The third is his cousin *Opinion*. And this will hold the pursuer with a long and tedious disputation; questioning the act, whether it be a sin or no? And will endeavour, by probabilities, to make it no sin, that so he might make the pursuer to desist. Thus sins of profit, and such as may prevent certain dangers, are disputed, *pro and con*, as men say. The sin of usury by many is brought under Opinion, as lawful some way.

So the sin of Idolatry; to go and hear a mass without inward reverence, as it was disputed in Queen Mary's days, to prevent the imminent danger of death then. Many sins, evident enough, are made disputable if they yield profit, or be delightsome to the flesh, or such as may help to keep a man's person or state in safety. For all these. *Opinion* will be a proctor.

4. The fourth is one *Master Subtilty*. His wit being attended on by little conscience of the truth. This man cometh with his distinctions, to clear an act from sin. Thus with his *latria and doulia* [worship of God and veneration of saints] he will

have idolatry no idolatry; so with his biting and not biting, and lending to the rich upon use, but not to a needy brother, damned usury must be no sin. This *subtilty* of wit with a cheverel conscience, maketh foul sins to pass along as no sins.

- 5. The fifth is called *Custom*. This old sire patronizeth many vain and sinful practices. By this the Jews held it no sin in them to demand, and in Pilate to let loose to them, a wicked Barabbas: one worthy to die for insurrection and murder.
- 6. The sixth is a Popish fellow, called *Forefathers*. He advanceth his ancestors, and their worth, and thinketh so well of them, that to imitate them is no sin. Thus the Samaritans justified their false worship.
- 7. The seventh is one Sir *Power*. He maketh ever that warrantable which law establisheth, ordaineth and decreeth. Great and capital sins, in the Romish synagogue, are thus countenanced.
- 8. The eighth is Sir *Sampler*; who produceth for patterns, great men's and learned men's examples, as if they could not do amiss: but whatsoever they do or say, it must be good and lawful, and therefore imitable without sin.
- 9. The ninth is Sir *Most-do*; who maintaineth sin from a general practice, because multitudes do it here, and there, and every where; and therefore no sin to do such a thing, which almost all, or the greatest part do.
- 10. The tenth is one Sir *Silly*: one made all of good meaning, who will qualify the fact by thinking no harm, or intending well. Thus would Saul have justified his rebellion, and Abimelech excused his taking of Abraham's wife. And thus vain persons excuse their wanton communication, lascivious songs, foolish jestings, and such like; saying, they mean no harm, they only make themselves merry. Thus Sir *Silly* is he that maketh simple souls plead good meaning for all their foolish superstitions, blind devotions, and licentious merriments.
- 11. The eleventh is *Vain Hope*, this teacheth to put off the fault to some other; as Adam to Eve, and Eve to the serpent; and to deny the fact, as Cain did, even to God himself; hereby hoping to shift off sin, and to escape punishment; who maketh God all of mercy.
- 12. The twelfth is the Lord *Presumption*, he feareth not judgment, he blesseth himself in his evil ways; he maketh a covenant with Death, and a league with Hell, and suffers Sin to be his daily guest; and will let the Hue-and-cry pass along without any fear of peril, as nothing at all concerning him.
- 13. The thirteenth is Sir *Wilful*, hating to be reformed. This is an obstinate friend for Sin, who will wilfully defend it, and be careless of all reproofs. This fellow, in contempt, will tread down the Hue-and-cry under his feet, and maintain Sin.
- 14. The fourteenth is Sir *Saintlike*: which under the shew and shadow of piety, and pretended honesty, will cover much iniquity, and hide it for a time, that it be not taken by the pursuer with the Hue-and-cry. Such were the hypocritical Scribes and Pharisees.

These great ones, and many other more, are the friends of this thief and rebel. But yet, for all these favourites, *Godly-jealousy* espies him out, and his harbour; and presently goeth to a Justice of the Peace to procure a warrant to attach him, and all his companions with him.

The Justice is not one of a mean rank, or any petty justice; but the very *Lord Chief Justice* of heaven and earth, the Lord Jesus; for it is he that can give the warrant to attach Sin; no other warrant will Sin obey.

The Warrant is the power of God's word. The form of which warrant is, (as you see in my text) to search out and attach Sin with all his associates, and to bring him and them before authority, to answer to such things as shall be objected against them, in his Majesty the King of heaven's behalf.

The procuring of this warrant, is by going unto, and conferring with some of the *Lord Chief Justice's Secretaries*, the writers of holy Scriptures, setting down this charge, as Jeremiah doth here; 'to search and try our ways.'

This warrant procured, *Godly-jealousy* taketh and carrieth to an officer, which hath authority to make search and attach Sin.

This officer, without which Sin neither can, nor indeed will be attached, is Understanding, who knoweth what Sin is.

Now as there be four sorts of officers which may attach felons by warrant, the *Deputy Constable*, the *Tithing-man*, the *Petty Constable*, and the *Head Constable*; so is the spiritual officer fourfold.

1. The *Deputy Constable* is commonly some neighbour, entreated to perform the office in the other's absence. This is the very shadow of a constable, and will not willingly intermeddle in any thing; so as the people where he dwells, may do, for all him, what they list.

This *Deputy Constable*, in this spiritual *Township*, is the *Understanding darkened*, the son of *Ignorance*, and grandchild of *Blindness of heart*: this is a blind constable, and hath never an eye to see with.

This suffers all disorder in the whole man, or *Soul-township*. Here be such as be alienated from the life of God; past feeling, given over to work all uncleanness with greediness. All the affections are quite out of order, and no care taken for their reformation: for this foolish fellow employeth himself about his grounds, cattle, sheep, and oxen; about buying and selling: as for the estate of his soul, he is to it a very stranger. He knows the price of corn, oxen, and sheep; but what is the excellency of virtue, what the evil of vice, what the price of his soul, he neither knows nor cares to know.

2. The *Tithing-man*, which commonly is a mean fellow, and so contemptible, as few or none care for him. And therefore hereupon is very little or no reformation where he hath his dwelling. If any amendment be sought, it is only for some notorious, shameful misdemeanours, and he must be much called upon for this too, else no reformation thereof; and as for many other offences, there is no care had at all.

This Tithing-man is *Gross-understanding*; like one purblind [dimwitted], who cannot see afar off, but only gross transgressions forbidden in the law, according to the sound of the bare letter only; as theft, murder, adultery, and so forth. The spiritual meaning and large extent of the commandment, he is wholly ignorant of. This purblind Tithing-man suffers a number of disorders in his township, and must be much urged to see very gross and foul misdemeanours; else will he not seek to reform them.

3. The *Petty Constable*, which is some civil, honest man of the parish, and perhaps hath some country learning: but yet is an one-eyed fellow, half-sighted, and so passeth by many faults.

This Petty Constable is the *Understanding somewhat cleared*: he hath an insight into the moral law, who by civil education, some art and learning, and an outward form of religion, and reading in the Bible now and then, can speak of the Gospel historically, and prettily discourse of religion.

But this his knowledge is only superficial; for neither in the common law, which is the law moral; neither in the statute law, the law of the Gospel, or law of liberty, is he any professed student. He is no *Inns-of-Court-Man*; never brought up in the *Inner Temple*. He maketh neither the common nor statute law his profession.

As he is no student in these, so he is no practitioner; but only aimeth at civil behaviour, common honesty, and careth to be held only a Christian at large, and to profess the religion of the present state, without any more curious endeavours to proceed further to find out the power of religion.

Therefore where this kind of understanding dwelleth, there care is had only to see to disorders against civil honesty and common moral duties, and against courses apparently dangerous to his outward estate; and those things which may offend the most or the greatest sort amongst men. This half-sighted Constable, a superficial fellow in divine truth, aimeth at no more.

The sinner immediately against God, and against his gospel; as unbelief, impatience, pride, disdain, envy at other men's gifts, presumption of God's mercy, abuse of his favours, and many such, he taketh no notice of; but permitteth them to live where he hath to do, without controul.

4. The *Head or Chief Constable* is a man of right and good understanding, knowing his office, and the duties thereto belonging, with care and conscience to discharge the same; for he is studious in both laws, and a good practitioner therein.

This Chief Constable is *Illuminated Understanding*: this is one that hath both his eyes to see with, of nature and of grace; he is well read, both in the common law, the law moral; and the statute law, the law of liberty, the Gospel of Christ; he hath been a long practitioner in both, and is called the spiritual man, who can discern and judge of all things.

2. The place of his common abode and dwelling, is in *Regeneration*, a very healthful, comfortable, and commodious habitation. He is no straggler, but loveth to keep home, and to look to his office.

He hath an excellent family; his wife is called *Grace*; his two sons, *Will* and *Obedience*; his three daughters, *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*; his two servants, *Humility* and *Self-denial*; and his two Maids, *Temperance* for his summer-house of prosperity, and *Patience* for his winter-house of adversity.

This *Chief Constable*, where he dwells, keepeth very good order; he suffereth not the rebel, Sin, to rule and swagger in the township of his soul.

If drunkenness, as once in Noah; or adultery, as once in David; or pride of heart, as once in Hezekiah; or envy, as once in Miriam; or such like, happen to be found where he hath to do, he speedily sendeth them packing. For though they may at unawares, perhaps, creep in, and be found where he dwelleth, in some street of this town, yet they get there no abiding place: though he cannot ever and at all times prevent their creeping in, yet he always taketh care that they settle not themselves where he hath to do, but will dislodge them wheresoever he shall find them: for he is very careful in his office to discharge it to the utmost.

This Chief Constable is he to whom Godly-jealousy bringeth his warrant, to seek out the rebel, Sin, and to attach him.

This Constable having received the warrant, presently addresseth himself to make the search. But for that Sin is masterful (especially every capital sin, which is attended on by many other,) and will not easily submit, but dare make opposition against authority, till he be overmastered: therefore this man takes with him sufficient company, to watch Sin for escaping, to go very strongly to attach him, and to hold him when they have him, so as never a friend may dare to side with him.

First, he taketh his own two servants, *Humility* and *Self-denial*, which ever, in every search, necessarily attend him.

Then going together, he calleth upon his next neighbour, *Godly-sorrow*, with his seven sons, ready to bear them company. 2 Cor. 7:11.

- 1. The first of these is *Care*; to find out Sin, that it may not be hid.
- 2. The second is *Clearing*; which, when he espieth Sin, will not wink thereat, nor partake with it.
- 3. The third is *Indignation*; a fierce fellow, which can never look upon any sin, but with a godly anger.
- 4. The fourth is *Fear*; not natural or dastardly fear, nor servile fear, all too base-minded to attach Sin; but such a fear as maketh him to stand in awe of God rejecting all fellowship with the wicked and partakers with Sin.
- 5. The fifth is *Vehement Desire*; to apprehend Sin, to be in God's favour, in love with the godly, and free from his own corruptions. This is a stirring fellow.
- 6. The sixth is *Zea*l, who dare seize upon even the most capital rebel, for he is like to Phineas, ready to thrust him through and to kill him wheresoever he findeth him.
- 7. The seventh is *Revenge*, who answereth to his name, for he desireth to pay Sin home for the wrong he hath done him, and would have him proceeded against to the uttermost. This fellow lustily layeth hold on Sin, and bindeth him at the Chief Constable's command to lead him away.

These are able to take prisoner the sturdiest rogue, the stoutest rebel, and strongest thief. What sin in the soul is it which this *Chief Constable* with his men, his neighbour *Godly Sorrow* and his seven sons cannot over master, and lead by God's grace captive, and make it the king's prisoner?

As the constable goeth with these his many neighbours and with his own servants, to the number of ten besides himself, a couple of busy fellows uncalled thrust in themselves to increase the number.

I. The one of these is *Self-love*, a pestilent fellow; for he not only can hinder the constable's diligence in taking pains to search, but in searching to be too partial and over-respective to himself, if the sins sought after be either pleasurable or profitable; but also withal, he can dull the spirit of *Godly Sorrow*, and do his seven sons very great mischief, as by their confessions afterward it doth appear.

Therefore when the constable *Understanding* espieth him, he commandeth forthwith his servant *Self-denial* to put him out of the company for hindering the search.

2. The other is *Self-conceit*; the former lewd companion disordereth all the affections; this blindeth judgment, by the overweening of a man's self, and will pick the warrant out of the constable's pocket, and will blow out the candle-light which is in the constable's hand, if it be not prevented.

This wretched fellow of all wise men is held a fool, for The way of the fool is wise in his own eyes, and there is more hope of a fool than of him that is vise in his own conceit; and therefore are we dehorted [advised against] from being wise in our own eyes, or leaning to our on wisdom; and a woe is pronounced against such; yet is the fool a very dangerous fool and a knave too; he will so deceive by flattery. He will make a man believe his ways to be clear in his own eyes, when the end thereof is death. Yea, can beguile a generation of men, and make them to think themselves pure in their on eyes and sight, and yet are not washed from their filthiness. Such a conceited fool was the Laodicean Angel.

The *Constable* therefore commandeth his man *Humility* to thrust this fool and knave out of their company, before they make search for Sin; for if these be suffered to go along with the rest, labour is but lost, Sin will never be found out and attached.

Now when the constable hath rid away these two troublesome companions, (for they usually go together) then he goeth unto the place where he knoweth that *Sin* hath taken up his lodging.

The place is a common Inn, an harlot's house called Mistress *Heart*, a receptacle for all villains, profligates, and thieves, and for all dishonest persons whatsoever, none are denied house room or harbour there.

And that she is such a dishonest woman, is clear and evident, as in her arraignment shall be fully proved.

But to cover her naughtiness as much as she may, she hath gotten into her house one called *Old-Man*, corrupted by her deceitful lusts, to become her husband, when indeed she is his own daughter; and so keep they rout and riot night and day. If any honest Traveller (a good and godly motion) happen sometimes to fall in there unawares, he is straightway denied entertainment. Her answer is by and by, that her lodgings are taken up for other manner of men, that there is no room for any such troublesome guests as these be, and that none can be merry for them where they come hindering all good fellowship.

The house in which this riot dwelleth, hath many inlets, five doors open for their guests to come in at. These five doors are the five senses.

1. The first is the *Door of Hearing*; the first that ever was opened to let in Sin as we may learn in the Serpent's beginning to tempt Eve.

At this door entereth in Lying, Slandering, Backbiting, Filthy Communication, Flattery, Swearing, Error, Heresy, False Doctrine, Tale Bearing, Blasphemy, and with these enter also Ill Opinions of one another, Uncharitable Judging, Ill

Suspicion, Rash Credulity, and many other sins, caused and committed by the tongue, through want of wisdom and charity.

- 2. The second is the *Door of Seeing*, at this enter in the lusts of the eye; Adultery, Covetousness, Desire of Naboth's vineyard, the marriage of the sons of God with the daughters of men; Achan's theft, who saw a wedge of gold, and desired it, and took it; many are the sins which enter in by this door, through want of chastity and contentment.
- 3. The third is the *Door of Tasting*; at this enter in Riot, Gluttony, Drunkenness, Revellings, and the fruits thereof, Chambering and Wantonness, Prodigality, Quarreling, and Fighting; and many other cursed effects of seeking to satisfy the appetite, which the goodly man avoideth, and also the very occasion thereof, by Sobriety and Temperance.
- 4. 'The fourth is the *Door of Smelling*; at this enter in foolish niceries, perfumings and other allurements to dalliance, effeminateness, and such like.
 - 5. The *fifth is the Door of Feeling*; at this door entereth Wantonness, Selfish Indulgence, and other fruits of the flesh.

These be the doors by which all sin ordinarily entereth into the heart, except original sin bred within, and brought from the womb; as also Satan's immediate suggestions suddenly cast into the heart. When sins enter in at any of these doors, they first come into the hall, where attendeth *Common Sense* to welcome them.

Then they go into a parlour, a more inner room, and there stayeth Fantasy to entertain them.

After this they ascend into an upper chamber, and are there received of *Intelligence*, who presently acquainteth Mistress *Heart*, the mistress of the house with it, who is in her Dining-room, what are the company and number of her guests come in; for this hostess is a stately dame, and is not to be spoken with by and by. Thus, as you have heard, are her guests entertained and brought in unto her.

With her are eleven daughters attending her as maids, lewd stumpets, and as impudent as herself.

These eleven waiting maids are the eleven passions of the Heart, corrupt, disorderly and immoderate wantons, which be these:

- 1. The first is *Love*, set all on pleasures, profits, honours, and wholly upon worldly and fleshly vanities; contrary to that in *l John 2:l5*, *Love not the world*, *nor the things that are in the world*.
- 2. The second is *Hatred*, which is contrary to Love, setting itself against God's Word, good men, and good things, a mischievous maid ever setting one another at odds, and disquieting often the whole house and the table of guests.
- 3. The third is *Desire*, never content, but would have sometimes this, and then that, now here, now there; never resting, never satisfied with either riches or honours, or variety of pleasures.
- 4. The fourth is *Detestation*, contrary to *Desire*, which loatheth and cannot endure good counsel, good company, godly conference, much less reproof or any opposition in her ways.
 - 5. The fifth is *Vain Hope*, which possessing the heart, maketh it foolishly presumptuous.
- 6. The sixth is *Despair*, contrary to *Hope*, which causeth acts against reason, against nature sometimes; as it did in Ahitophel, in Saul, in Zimri, in Judas, who killed themselves. It also maketh men run into dissolute and rebellious courses, even to walk wilfully on in evil, as being without hope.
- 7. The seventh is *Fear*, which passion doth so slavishly captivate the mind, as it will make a man forget his duty to God, so as he may escape danger with men, as it did Peter and Pilate; and is ever a false friend in adversity.
- 8. The eighth is *Audacity*, contrary to *Fear*, which maketh a man fool hardy, without deliberation to thrust himself into imminent dangers as it did the Israelites.

- 9. The ninth is *Joy*, which cheereth a man when he hath that which he delighteth in, be it never so ill, as it did the inhabitants of the earth at the destruction of the two Prophets.
- 10. The tenth is *Sorrow*, contrary to Joy, which afflicteth the soul, causing weeping and wailing, lamentation and mourning, often with an outcry, as in the land of Egypt.
- 11. The eleventh is *Anger*, which cometh upon a man not only for apparent injury, as on David against Nabal, but upon imagined wrongs, as on Haman against Mordecai, Naaman against Elisha, and Ahab against Micaiah.

There is no passion contrary to this: for though quietness be contrary to anger, yet it is no passion; therefore they are but eleven as Thomas Aquinas reckons them.

Besides these attending very diligently on Mistress *Heart*, she hath a man servant called *Will*.

This *Will* hath three at command under him, the Feet, the Hand, the Tongue, like the Hostler, Tapster, and Chamberlain. All these are at Mistress *Heart's* and her maids' commands.

If *Love* in a maid affect a young man, though all her friends be against it, yet mark how she sets *Will* on work for her. I will have him (saith she) though I never have good day with him. *Will* here must make the match against all gainsaying. Judah, he lusted after one he saw in the way (not knowing it to be Tamar:) *Will* must here make the base bargain. What (saith she) wilt thou give me? I will (saith he) give thee a kid.

As Love sets *Will* at work, so doth *Hatred*, as we may see in Esau, I will kill my brother Jacob. So doth *Desire*, as in Adonijah, who said, "I will be king." In Gehazi, greedy of gain, "I will run after him;" *Will* here made the feet to run, the tongue to speak, the hands to receive. So in Judas, to betray Christ; *Will* must do it; "What will you give me, and I will deliver him into your hands?" Thus to these and all other passions, this *Will* is made a pack-horse, a slave, and without him they can do nothing. *Will* is the man that must ever do the deed for every passion, though they be contrary one to another; miserable is his service that must be commanded by so many mistresses, and so disagreeing among themselves one from another.

When the *Heart* hath entertained her guests thus as you have heard, and received them into her Dining-room, provision is presently made for them, yea she hath it ever ready for them, as never being without many guests.

The table is spread, which all must sit at, and this table is *Instability*; for inconstant are the thoughts of the deceitful heart.

The table therefore is not square, but round, turning about both for more company, and also that her guests may take their places every one of them as they come without discontent.

For albeit there be degrees and differences of sins, yet to her they are alike welcome, one as well as another; although some at one time sit nearer to her than at another, as guests do that sit at such a round table.

The table-cloth that covereth it is *Vanity*; for upon *Instability*, with such vicious guests, what can there be but *vanity*; this Solomon found in all his inventions, Eccl. 1.

The *bread* set on the table is the *Fitness of every sin's proper object*, without which sin actual can no more live than a man without bread.

The *salt* which seasoneth sin's appetite to feed itself is *Opportunity*, for time, for place, for person; this sharpeneth sin to be working, as the appetite to receive food, when it is well seasoned.

The *trenchers* to eat on are *Strength* of every man's nature to act sin.

The *napkins* to make clean their hands and mouth in eating, are the *Pretended shows of virtue*, contrary to these vices, by some good works (so they wipe their mouths, as the harlot in the Proverbs), and by some good deed of either one kind or other outwardly done; and thus they wipe clean their fingers, and will not be thought to be the unclean persons which they are taken for.

The *dishes of meat* set before them are only three:

The first is the *Lusts of the flesh*, and this is served up in the *place of pleasure*.

Of this dish feedeth heartily Unholy Affections.

The second dish is *Lust of the eye*, and this is served up in the *platter of profit*.

Hereon feedeth Covetousness, Usury, Oppression, Bribery, Extortion, Dishonest Gain, and such like. Of one of these two dishes do all *Sins* taste, except the Sin of Swearing, in which is lewd profaneness of heart, but neither pleasure nor profit as in other *Sins*; though by swearing, ungodly men sometimes in buying and selling make gain unjustly.

The third dish is *Pride of life*, and this is served up in the *Charger of worldly estimation*. This is very windy meat, which puffeth up the mind with vain glory of an empty title of some honour, as a bladder is with wind, and yet is very costly feeding.

Of this dish feedeth Arrogancy, Pride of Spirit, Love of Eminency, Desire of Superiority, and Outward Reverence, and such like, for which they are made to pay well.

The drink which they drink to make them digest their meat, is the Pleasurableness of sin for the present.

The waiters at this table to give attendance that nothing be wanting, are the eleven maids, with Will their man..

These harlots humor their guest, and are ready at a beck to give contentment.

Where *Incontinency* sits, there *Wanton Love* will wait.

Where *Displeasure* is, there *Hatred* will attend.

Where Covetousness is, there Unsatiable Desire will be.

Where Flattery, that base humouring disposition to get grace and favour sitteth, there Fear to Offend will stand by.

Where *Impatience* takes his place, there *Anger* is ready waiting to do his will.

Where Inconsiderateness sits, there Audacity and Fool-hardiness will wait.

Where sullen *Malcontentedness* sits, there *Despair* will soon give attendance.

Where *Joviality* taketh his place, there *Joy* will bid him welcome.

Where *Credulity* sits, there *Vain-Hope* will be.

And thus they attend upon the table, to give their guests all content to the utmost.

After full feeding, follows the taking away of these dishes of pleasure, profit, and honour.

Now where *vanity* was the *table-cloth*, what can the taking away be, but *vexation of spirit*, as Solomon speaks? For it is with these, as with guests in an inn, all merry and pleasant while they be eating and drinking, till the Chamberlain cometh

to take away, and giveth them a round reckoning; and then they take to their purses with almost a deep silence, so displeasing is payment on a sudden.

After supper Mistress *Heart* provides them their lodging.

The place they lie in is but one room for all their guests; but it is large enough for all; the room is *Natural Corruption*.

In this room lieth Mistress *Heart*, all her *maids*, her man *Will*, and all her guest together.

With these eleven harlots lie these guest, in so many several beds.

- 1. In the bed of *Love*, lie Wanton Thoughts, Lasciviousness, Filthy Communication, Fornication, Adultery, and other sinful uncleannesses.
- 2. In the bed of *Hatred*, do lie Mindfulness of Wrongs, Ill-speaking, Backbiting, Slandering, Railing, Quarrelling, Fighting, Revenge, Murder; and such like.
 - 3. In the bed of *Desire*, do lie Covetousness, Thief, Oppression, Robbery, Fraud; and such like.
 - 4. In the bed of *Detestation*, lie Want of Charity, Disunion of Spirit, Discord, Plotting of Destruction; and such like.
- 5. In the bed of *Vain-hope*, lie Violent Assays, to effect what they hope for: sometimes Neglect of lawful Means, Presumption of Mercy, Abuse of God's Favour, and Profaneness.
 - 6. In the bed of *Despair*, Unbelief, Servile Fear; and such like.
 - 7. In the bed of *Fear*, do lie Cowardliness, Flattery, Faintheartedness, Hypocrisy, and Dissimulation.
 - 8. In the bed of *Audacity*, lie these, Headiness, Rashness, Daring, Desperate Attempts; and such like.
 - 9. In the bed of Anger, do lie Impatiency, Railing, Backbiting, Quarrelling, Murder; and such like.
 - 10. In the bed of *Joy*, lie Wanton Delights, Foolish Jesting, Levity; and a World of Vanity.
 - 11. In the bed of Sorrow, lie Worldly Sorrow's Grief, Unquietness, Murmuring, Discontentedness; and such like.

The bed which they lie upon is *Impenitency*, and the coverings are *Hardness of Heart*, and *Carnal Security*, in which they lie carelessly till the *Chief Constable* come upon them, and attach them all one after another, the greater villains, and the lesser thieves, not sparing any; he feareth not to attach the capital, neither passeth he by any of their meanest associates.

The attaching of sin is nothing else but the apprehension of God's wrath striking us with fear, through the terror of the law, and our guiltiness of the breach thereof.

For in this spiritual attaching, it is as in the attaching, of felons, who knowing themselves guilty of the breach of the laws, are stricken with fear, in their apprehension of death, which they know they cannot escape.

These thieves thus apprehended, the *Constable* carrieth them to the next *Justice*, by authority of his warrant.

The Justice is Well-informed Judgment, able to examine every malefactor, that is, every Sin, brought before him,

A Justice of Peace must be a man of wisdom and experience; so this spiritual Justice must be a judgment well-informed in wisdom and discretion, wisely to proceed against Sin.

It is meet that a Justice be learned in the laws, to know how to proceed legally: so, must this spiritual Justice be learned both in the law and gospel, to know what Sins are committed against either of them, and thereafter to proceed.

A Justice is commonly to be one in that country where he is an inhabitant: so this Justice must be every man's well-informed judgment within himself, not another man's: for it is not another man's judgment that can sit down in his soul, to try and examine his heart and ways, but his *own* judgment. "For who knoweth what is in man, saving the spirit of a man which is in man."

The Justice's office is to preserve peace, and to see the laws observed, and to see to the suppressing of all disorders, riots, robberies, and conspiracies; also to take order for all vagabonds, stout and sturdy beggars; yea, to see the reformation of all unlawful gaming, and every misdemeanor whatsoever, by law prohibited; contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, and the quiet of the weal [welfare of the] public. So this spiritual Justice, his office is to see peace kept between God and himself; to see the laws of God observed, and to see all disorders in his soul, as vagrant thoughts, sturdy resolutions, riotous behaviour, every misdemeanor in thought, word, and deed, forbidden by God's law, contrary to the peace of a good conscience, and the quiet of the soul; contrary to the dignities of a Christian, and the honour of our Sovereign Lord the King, Christ Jesus.

When a malefactor is brought before a Justice, the Justice is first to examine him, then to set the charge down, then to bind some over to prosecute against the felon at the assizes [court session], and lastly, in the mean time to send him to the gaol [jail], if he be not bailable.

First, He is (as it is said) to examine the party apprehended and brought before him, and to demand his name; then to inquire after the fact and the nature of it, with the occasions, causes, and degrees, with the associates, evident signs, the fruits and effects thereof; so this spiritual Justice is to examine Sin.

- 1. To know the name and nature thereof, and to what commandment it belongeth, so that he may consider what statute of God is broken.
 - 2. What were the occasions offered.
 - 3. What were the causes moving thereto. As envy in the Jews to put Christ to death, and in Cain to kill Abel,
- 4. What are the several sorts under one and the same capital sin. As under theft, covetousness; under adultery, fornication, &c.
- 5. What be the degrees in the same sin, As in stealing, not from the rich, but from the poor; not from a stranger, but from a Christian brother, from father and mother. So committing uncleanness, not only with one of no kin, but with one nigh in blood: in killing not an unknown person, but against nature, his father, mother, his wife, his child, himself.
- 6. What sins accompanied the same. As the making of Uriah drunk, and the murdering of him, accompanied David's adultery.
- 7. What are the *signs* thereof. As the wanton eye, filthy speech, &c, are signs of adultery: all such ornaments and vanities of which Isaiah speaketh, are ensigns of pride.
- 8. What *fruits* and effects did follow thereupon. As from will-worship and idolatry, cometh ignorance of God: from this, liberty to sin; from this, obstinacy; from this, contempt of God's true worship, and sincere professors thereof.

Secondly. In examining, the Justice is to set down the examination and confession of the party. So this spiritual Justice, after he hath thus examined his ways, he is to set it down. This is a serious consideration of all his sins and offences, and such a remembrance of them, as may make a man to forsake them, and to turn his feet unto God's statutes, as David did. The examination, without this, will be in effect as nothing: this must not therefore be omitted.

Thirdly. The Justice is to bind some over to prosecute against the felon, at the next assizes and gaol-delivery. So doth this spiritual Justice bind over *True Repentance* to follow the law, and to give evidence against this *felon* Sin; which he is

very ready to do; for it cannot be (if a man's judgment be well informed, upon serious examination, with a careful and considerate remembrance of all his sins,) but that he must needs be made sorrowful for them, and upon true repentance, pursue them to the death with a deadly hatred.

Fourthly. The Justice finding the offender not bailable by law, he maketh his *mittimus* [arrest warrant] to send him to the gaol, there to be in durance to the next assizes. So this spiritual Justice doth; for he knows by the law of God, that the reward of Sin (of what kind or degree soever, greater or less, though but in thought), is not bailable by any man. No man is able to answer to God for the least deviation from God's law; for if he continue not in all things which God commandeth, he is accursed.

Therefore none being sufficient to lay in bail to answer God for the Sin, nor Sin in itself bailable, he maketh his *mittimus*, and delivereth it into the Constables hand, to carry him to the gaol.

The Constable, you have heard, is *Illuminated Understanding*.

The *mittimus* given him, is the *active power of the well-informed judgment*, forcing the exercise of the understanding against Sin, to find out remedies to keep it under.

The Chief Gaoler is Master *Newman*, placed over the prisoners, and made the *gaol-keeper* by the Sheriff; for the prison is his, and he is to answer the King for them.

The Sheriff is *True Religion* wrought in man's soul.

The Under-Sheriff is an *Holy Resolution* to perform what the Sheriff commandeth, and what he is by his office to do.

If any prisoner, Sin, break out, the Sheriff, *Religion*, must bear the blame, saying, This is your Religion, is it?

The Gaol is *Subjection*: for saith the Apostle, (as if he were the gaoler) *I keep under*: here is the keeper: *my body*, here is the prisoner; *and bring it in subjection*; here is the prison. When Sin is brought under subjection, that it doth no more reign, (as it doth in all natural men, but not in the regenerate,) then it is put in prison, but not before.

Now the Chief Gaoler, Master *Newman*, hath with him three *Under-Gaolers*, to look well to the prisoners, and all little enough; they be so many and exorbitantly unruly, ready to break out of prison daily, if they be not diligently watched.

This Master *Newman's* three Under-gaolers, are his hands, his eyes, and his feet, without which he can do nothing; and they are these which are named by St. Paul in his epistles.

- 1. Is *Saving Knowledge*. This looks to these sorts of prisoners; Ignorance especially, Wilful Error, Vain Opinions, Jangling, Sophistry, False Doctrine, Heresies, Doctrine of Devils; and such like.
- 2. Is *True Holiness*. He looketh to all the transgressors of the first table; as to Atheism, Paganism, Judaism, unbelief, desperation, presumption, confidence in strength, riches, places, policy, &c.; so also to will-worship, with mere outward service without the inward, and all corruptions of God's worship; likewise to blasphemy, rash swearing, false swearing, cursing, idle talking, a vicious life, contempt of God's word and works. Lastly, to sabbath-breaking, neglect of public worship, profaneness, persecution of the truth, and to an infinite number of other sins against God and true holiness.
- 3. Is *Righteousness*. This looks to all the sins against the second table; as to rebellion, disobedience, murder, malice, adultery, fornication, and theft, &c., to false-witness-bearing, to backbitings, to discontentment, and to all other transgressions, many and manifold, comprehended under these commandments.

Now because these prisoners be unruly, if there be not a strict hand kept over them; therefore, lest they should at unawares break forth, to the danger of the Sheriff, *Religion*; the Gaoler, Master *Newman*, hath fetters, bolts, and manacles, to hold them in, and to have them at command.

And they are these: *respect* unto the commandments of God in all our ways; *holy meditations, lawful vows, religious fasting, fervent prayer*, and *conscientious practice* of our Christian duties to God and man. All these are strong chains and links, to keep under and to fetter the body of Sin, and all the fruits thereof, and to hold them in subjection, to keep the whole man in obedience unto God, when they be fastened and knocked on by the hammer of God's word, and the effectual power thereof.

But it is not enough thus to imprison them and to see them bolted, and thus fettered, but also for him to see the prison to be strong: for the prisons of the best keeper that ever were, have been broken. Drunkenness brake out from Noah; rash and unadvised speeches from Moses; idolatry from Solomon; adultery from David; cursing and false-swearing from Peter.

Therefore the Gaoler, Master *Newman*, must look daily to the prisoners, and to see the prison-house sure, and to do this.

1st. He must see the doors, which are his senses, to be shut, and to have a care to lock up *Taste* (that Drunkenness and Gluttony break not out,) with the *key* of moderation in eating and drinking. To lock up *Hearing*, (that Credulity break not out,) with the key of trying before we trust. To lock up *Seeing*, (that Uncleanness break not out,) with the *key* of continency; and to bar this door fast also with contentment, that Covetousness break not forth.

2ndly. In the next place he must take heed that no lewd companions lurk about the prison-house, either by day or by night, lest they cast in files, to file off the bolts; or picklocks to open the doors, to let the prisoners escape.

These lewd companions are the devil, the wicked, and our own corrupted reason. Their files and picklocks are suggestions from Satan, evil counsel from men, worldly and fleshy arguments of our own inventions, to make no conscience of Sin, but to file off all those bolts, and to open the doors of senses, that Sin may break loose and get out of subjection, to the gaoler's overthrow and utter undoing, if diligent watch be not kept.

3rdly. He must see to the walls of the prison, that they be strongly built with good stones cemented together. These are moral virtues, and evangelical graces, by which, as by walls, our Sins and our natural corruptions are kept in. Though Master *Newman* lock and bar the doors, yet if the walls be weak, the prisoners may get out.

4thly. And lastly, He must look well to the foundation of the house, that it be not undermined. The true foundation of subjection of Sin, is the power of the death of Christ, and of his resurrection, into whom by faith through the operation of his Spirit, by the word, we are ingrafted.

This must not be undermined by the Popish doctrine of free-will, and abilities of ourselves to over-master Sin.

All these things well and diligently looked unto, the prisoners will be kept safe in the gaol under Master *Newman*, until the time of the assizes.

And thus much for the first part of my text; the searching, the attaching, and imprisoning of Sin. The other part, which is the trial, followeth.

THE ISLE OF MAN — PART II.

At the time of Assizes [court session], by the King's appointment, cometh the Judge, attended on by the Sheriff, the Justices of the Peace, and such as necessarily are to be there, for the dispatch of such business as come to be tried and adjudged.

The Judge coming in place, he hath his seat or bench, and being set, the commission is read.

The *Judge* is a Judge of Oyer [to hear] and Terminer [to determine the truth] in the circuit where he is appointed to sit. The judgment here is absolute, without any appeal from his sentence.

The Judge spiritually understood, attended upon by Religion the Sheriff, and the Under-Sheriff, Resolution, is Conscience.

From this judgment is no appeal, for he is in God's stead; therefore must his sentence stand, and we must submit to it.

The seat or bench on which this Judge sitteth, is Impartiality. For Conscience well-informed, will judge in righteousness and truth, without all partiality, without respect of any person. He regardeth not the rich and mighty; no bribe can blind him, neither doth he pity the person of the poor, to give for pity an unjust sentence; but as the truth is, so speaketh he.

The Commission is the active Power of Conscience, given of God by his word, to condemn the guilty, or to acquit the innocent, except this Commission be lost.

Sometimes it is lost, as when Conscience is dead, as in all ignorant persons; or seared with an hot iron, as some men's have been and are; such as fall from the faith, and are past feeling, by reason of the blindness of mind, and hardness of heart: or else benumbed, as in those that fall into some grievous sin, as did David, who lay therein, until Nathan found the Commission, and acquainted him with it. when he said. *Thou art the man*.

If the Commission be lost, the power of Conscience lieth dead, seared, and benumbed; then the Judge can do nothing till it be found: and being found, it is read openly.

The reading of this Commission before the whole county, is every man's experimental knowledge of the power of Conscience; by which is acknowledged his authority to sit as Judge over every thought, word, and deed of man.

The Circuit of this Judge is his own Soul. He is not to sit and judge of other men's thoughts, words, or deeds; but of the thoughts, words, and deeds of that man, wherein he is. A man's own Conscience is Judge of himself; to judge another is out of his circuit: neither hath he any authority from the King of heaven to enable him so to do. Knowledge may go out to see and discern of other men's ways, but Conscience ever keepeth at home, and sits within to judge of that man's courses, whose Conscience he is. Conscience only troubles a man for his own Sins, it cannot for another man's; but as far as he hath made them his own, and being accessary to them, by commanding, alluring, counselling, commending, excusing, defending, winking thereat, when he ought by his place to have punished the same.

The Judge in this circuit is Judge of Terminer. Over [to hear] and Terminer [to determine the truth]; he will hear before he doth judge, and he will truly then judge as he heareth; for as he is impartial in judging, so is he prudent and careful to know what and whereof to give sentence, before he doth judge. This is the Judge.

The Justices of Peace in the county are there, and do sit with the Judge, and are in commission with him. Of these some are of the quorum [minimum number of members of an assembly], and of better rank; some are meaner [smaller] Justices, and take their place lower.

The Justices of Peace in the soul of better rank, are *Science*, *Prudence*, *Providence*, *Sapience* [wisdom]. The inferiors are *Weak Wit*, *Common Apprehension*, and some such like.

These justices have their Clerks there ready with their examinations and recognizances. Justice *Science*, his clerk is *Discourse*: Justice *Prudence*, his clerk is *Circumspection*: Justice *Providence*, his clerk is *Diligence*: Justice *Sapience*, his clerk is *Experience*: Justice *Weak Wit*, his clerk is *Conceit*; and Justice *Common Apprehension*, his clerk is only *Sense*, a couple of poor Justices.

With the Judge and Chief Justices are in commission, the King's Sergeant, and the King's Attorney.

The King's Sergeant is *Divine Reason*; a man of deep judgment in the laws of his Sovereign, swaying much with the Judge.

The King's Attorney is *Quick-sightedness*; both are excellent helps and assistants to search out, and to handle a cause before Judge Conscience.

For *Quick-sightedness* will soon espy an error in pleading, and *Divine Reason* will enforce a just conclusion, and so move the Judge to give sentence according to equity and right. If these should be wanting, many matters would go amiss.

There is also the Clerk of the Assizes, the keeper of the writs, that hath all the enditements.

This Clerk is *Memory*, which retaineth all those names of every sin, with the nature of the offence: and what God hath in his word written against them, and what complaints *Repentance* hath made against them.

Besides this Clerk, there is the Clerk of the Arraignment, who readeth the enditements.

This Clerk is the *Tongue*, making confession of our sins.

Lastly, there is the Crier.

This is the *Manifestation of the Spirit*.

Before the Clerk of the Arraignment readeth an enditement, it is first framed by the Complainant.

This Complainant is true *Repentance* or godly sorrow.

The framing of the enditement, is the laying open of sin, as it may be known and found out to be sin, according to the true nature thereof.

Moreover, an Inquest, or Grand Jury, there must be, by whose verdict the offender is endited, and made a lawful prisoner; yet is this enditement no conviction. What these agree upon, is delivered up in writing to the Justices. On the back of this enditement, framed by the complainant, they write either *Ignoramus* [ignorant], or *Billa vera* [signifying that a presenter has furnished probable evidence].

If the former, then the complaint is judged false; it is left in record, but the prisoner is not endited.

If the latter, the prisoner is endited, the enditement read, and the prisoner brought to the trial at the bar.

This Grand Inquest, or Jury, are the *Holy men of God*, whose writings are the Grand jury. Holy Scriptures in the Old and New Testament.

By the verdict of these, every thought, word, and deed of man, is either freed, or made a lawful prisoner.

But yet this Verdict is no lawful conviction of particular men, till they be rightly applied.

If they write upon the enditement, or Bill trained, *Ignoramus*; that is, if the Holy Scriptures of God declare it not to be a sin, it is no sin: for *Where there is no law, there is no transgression*. Not the complaints of all under heaven, not all the laws of men, decrees of councils, commandments of Popes, can make that a *sin*, which they write *Ignoramus* upon.

Therefore the Bills of Enditement framed by those false informers before-mentioned, Formality, Worldly Wisdom, Lukewarmness, Mere Civil Honesty, Scrupulosity, and Papistry, against Christian Conference, Godly Sincerity, True Zeal, Godly Conversation, Holy Living, and the rest, are false accusers, and have upon their complaints, written by the Grand Inquest, an Ignoramus; and therefore by these worthy Justices, Justice Science, Justice Prudence, Justice Providence, and Justice Sapience, are not to be admitted; nor Judge Conscience to be troubled therewith; though all the Popes, the whole Popish Church, all Popish Councils, and all the Popishly-affected Statists in the world plead for them; for that thought, word, or deed, is no Sin, no breach of God's law, on which these write Ignoramus; Conscience (as it is said) is not to be troubled with such bills of complaint.

But if these write *Billa vera*; that is, if the Holy Penman have set down any thought, word, or deed, for a Sin; not all the Pope's dispensations and pardons; not all the subtle distinctions of the most learned; no custom, nor any thing else whatsoever, can acquit it from Sin, but Sin it is, and so must it be taken as a lawful prisoner, to be brought to the bar, and put upon the Jury of life and death.

The Bill being found true, then they proceed unto the arraignment.

The Prisoners are brought forth chained together, and set to the bar before the Judge.

The Prisoners are Sins, (as you have heard before) the *Old-man*, with Mistress *Heart*, her *Maids*, and *Will*, her man.

Their Bringing forth is the manifestation thereof by the Gaoler, Master *Newman*, Knowledge, Holiness, and Righteousness.

They are chained; for Sins are linked together, as Adultery and Murder in David; Pride, with Hatred of Mordecai, in Haman; Covetousness and Treason in Judas; Covetousness, Hypocrisy, and Lying in Ananias and Sapphira; yea, the breach of all the commandments in the fall of Adam and Eve. They therefore are brought out chained together.

The Bar is the *Apprehension of God's Wrath* due for sin.

After all this, when the Prisoner standeth at the Bar, a Jury for life and death is impannelled, who are for the King, and are sworn to give in a true Verdict, according to their Evidence.

This Jury is a chosen company of excellent Virtues, the fruits of the Spirit, delivered in by the Sheriff *Religion* to be called, and to be of his Jury in behalf of the King's Majesty, Jesus Christ, to go upon the prisoners, the *Fruits* of the *Flesh*, which stand at the Bar.

Their names being given up, they are called, as the *Clerk of the Arraignment*, the *Tongue*, nameth them. Then the Crier, *Manifestation of the Spirit*, calleth them one by one to appear, as the Clerk nameth them; and they are these:

- 1. Call Faith. Crier: Have you Faith, which purgeth the heart?
- 2. Call Love of God. Crier: Have you the Love of God, which is the keeping of the commandments?
- 3. Call Fear of God. Crier: Have you the Fear of God, which is the beginning of wisdom?
- 4. Call Charity. Crier: Have you Charity, which rejoiceth in the truth?
- 5. Call Sincerity. Crier: Have you Sincerity, which makes a true Israelite, in whom there is no guile?
- 6. Call Unity. Crier: Have you Unity, which maketh men to be of one heart, and is the bond of peace?
- 7. Call Patience. Crier: Have you Patience, which worketh experience, and by which men possess their souls?
- 8. Call Innocency. Crier: Have you Innocency, which keepeth harmless?

- 9. Call Chastity. Crier: Have you Chastity, which keepeth undefiled?
- 10. Call Equity. Crier: Have you Equity, which doeth right to every man?
- 11. Call Verity [true principle or belief]. Crier: Have you Verity, which ever speaketh the truth?
- 12. Call Contentment. Crier: Have you Contentment, which ever rests satisfied?

Then the Clerk saith, Count.

And so the Crier saith unto them, Answer to your names.

Then the Clerk nameth them, and the Crier telleth or counteth them.

Faith, one. Love of God, two. Fear of God, three. Charity, four. Sincerity, five. Unity, six. Patience, seven. Innocency, eight. Chastity, nine. Equity, Ten. Verity, eleven. Contentment, twelve.

Then the Crier saith, Good men and true, stand together, and hear your charge.

With all these graces should the soul of man be endued to proceed against Sin, we should be able to say, that we have them by the manifestation of God's Spirit, and also to know their power and virtue, and distinctly to be able to reckon them, and so wisely to esteem them, as the good and true gifts and graces of God; which have a charge over them, which is every grace his proper gift, and all conjointly what it is have power to discern of any Sin, and to give a just verdict thereupon.

This Jury, thus called and empannelled, are commanded to look upon the prisoners at the Bar arraigned.

This is when we oppose virtues to vices in our meditation, that so by the excellency of the one, we may see the foulness of the other, and so come to the greater love of virtue, and to the more deep hatred of vice. This is the jury of virtues profitable, looking upon vices the Prisoners at the Bar.

The prisoners, though they stand together, yet are they to answer one by one.

So Sins must distinctly one by one be arraigned: for we cannot proceed against Sin, but upon a particular knowledge thereof.

A general, and so a confused notion of Sin (which yet is that which is in most men), will never make a man truly to see how his estate standeth with God, and so to bring unto death.

The Prisoners, at the sight of the Jury, and naming of them, have leave to challenge any of them. If they can give good reasons against this or that man, they are put off the Jury, and others chosen in their stead.

These Prisoners seeing such a Jury, presently begin to challenge them.

Unbelief, he crieth out against Faith, as his enemy. Hatred of God, against the Love of God, as his enemy. Presumptuous sinning, against the Fear of God, as his enemy. Cruelty, against Charity, as his enemy. Hypocrisy, against Sincerity, as his enemy. Discord, against Unity, as his enemy. Anger, Rage, and Murdering, against Patience, as their enemy. Murdering, Fighting, and Quarrelling, against Innocency, as their enemy. Wantonness, Adultery, Fornication, and Uncleanness, cry out against Chastity, as their deadly enemy. Deceit, Theft, and Unjust Dealing, against honest Equity, as their enemy. Lying, Slandering, and False-witness-bearing, against Verity, as their mortal enemy. And lastly, Greedy Desire, Covetousness, and Discontentment, cry out against Contentment, as their enemy.

All these together challenge the whole Jury, crying out and saying, Good my Lord, these men are not to be of the Jury against us; for your Lordship knoweth very well, and none better, that they are all of them our deadly enemies. Your

Honour knoweth that every one of them hath petitioned to the Lord Chief Justice very often and importunately, to bind us all to good behaviour, and to cast us into prison, as we have been by their means. They have made Master *Newman* the Keeper, and his Under-keepers, to deal very hardly with us.

It is well known, my Lord, that *Chastity* procured Master *Newman* almost to famish *Incontinence* to death. Good my Lord, consider of us, these are our most bloody and cruel enemies: we appeal to your Lordship, to God and to all good men, that know both them and us, that it is so.

Our humble suit to your Lordship therefore is, that more indifferent persons may be chosen to try us, else we are all but dead men. We do know, my Lord, that there are here many other of very good and great credit in the world, fit to be of this Jury, men very well known to your Lordship, and to Master Sheriff, and the worshipful Gentlemen. These are men of worth, my Lord, of far more esteem every where than these mean men here, picked out designedly by Master Sheriff. These, my Lord, of the Jury, are men of small reckoning in the country. These live scattered here and there, almost without habitation, except in poor cottages; so as we marvel, my Lord, how they can be brought in for Freeholders, hardly any one of them is of any account with men of great estates, and of worth in the land. Good, my Lord, consider of us.

Then the Judge asketh them, what these men be of whom they speak, and what are their names?

Then they answer, My Lord, they are these; Master *Naturalist*, Master *Doubting*, Master *Opinion*, Master *Careless*, Master *Chiverel*, Master *Libertine*, Master *Laodicean*, Master *Temporizer*, Master *Politician*, Master *Outside*, Master *Ambodexter*, and Master *Neutrality*, all, my Lord, very indifferent men betwixt us and them; gentlemen Freeholders, of great means: we beseech you, my Lord, to shew us some pity, that they may be of the Jury.

The Judge informed by those worthy Justices of the Quorum [minimum number] concerning these men so named by the prisoners, and knowing the honesty and good credit of the chosen Jury; their exceptions against them are not admitted of, and so these indifferent Gentlemen are passed by.

The Clerk therefore is commanded to go forward, and then he readeth the enditement of every one in order, one after another, as they be called forth by name, and set to the Bar.

The first which is called out, is the *Old-man*.

Then saith the Clerk, Gaoler, set out Old-man to the Bar.

Then he is brought to the Bar, and commanded to hold up his hand, and his enditement is read.

Old-man, thou art endited here by the name of Old-man, of the Town of Eves Temptation, in the County of Adam's Consent, that upon the day of Man's Fall in Paradise, when he was driven out, thou didst corrupt the whole nature of man, body and soul, loading all and every of his posterity, coming by generation, with the body of Sin, making him indisposed to any thing that is good, averse to every holy duty, and polluting his best actions, but making him prone to all evil, bringing him captive to imperious lusts, and so causing him to live in continual rebellion against God, contrary to the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, Jesus Christ, his Crown and Dignity.

What sayest thou to it?

He pleads Not Guilty, and so puts himself to the trial.

Then the Crier calleth for Evidence against the Prisoner.

Then cometh forth David, whose Evidence is this: I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin hath my mother conceived me. Job's is this: He cannot be clean that is born of a woman. Isaiah, his Evidence is, That all are transgressors from the womb. Saint Paul's Evidence is most clear; for being asked what he could say, he answered, My Lord, this Old-man hath been the death of very many. I have woeful experience of him, a wretched man hath he made me, he took occasion by the Commandment to work all concupiscence in me. He deceived me and slew me, wrought death in me, so that in my flesh dwelleth no good, but when I would do good, evil is present with me, so that through him, the good I would do, I cannot,

and the evil I hate, that I do; he maketh war against the law of my mind, and bringeth me into captivity to the law of Sin. Thus, my Lord, is in me the Body of Death, from which I desire to be delivered: and this is what I can say.

The Evidence being thus clear, the Jury presently being all agreed, give in their Verdict; and being asked what they say of the Prisoner at the Bar, guilty or not, they answer, Guilty.

Then he was asked what he could say for himself, why sentence should not be pronounced against him.

Good, my Lord, saith he, I am wrongfully accused, and am made the man I am not; there is no such thing as Original Corruption. Pelagius, a learned man, with others, (who well enough know all these Evidences brought against me,) have hitherto, and yet do maintain it, that Sin cometh by imitation, and not by propagation, and inbred depravity. Good, my Lord, I beseech you, be good unto me, and cast not away so poor an *Old-man*, good, my Lord; for I am at this day 5557 years old.

Then said the Judge; *Old-man*, the Evidence is clear: those thou hast named are condemned Heretics; and as for thy years, in respect of which thou cravest pity, it is a pity thou hast been suffered so long to do so great and so general a mischief as these good men do witness against thee.

O my Lord, I beseech you then a Psalm of Mercy.

Old-man, the law of the King allows thee not the benefit of the Clergy, for *The reward of Sin is death*. This is his Majesty's decree, unchangeable as the law of the Medes and Persians.

Good, my Lord, that is meant only of actual Sin, and not of me.

That is not so; for Original Sin is Sin, and all men know, that children die, that never sinned by imitation, nor actually after the similitude of Adam's transgression, *And death goeth over all, inasmuch as all have sinned*. If sin were not in infants, they could not die, hear therefore thy sentence.

Thou *Old-man* hast by that name been endited of these Felonies, Outrages, and Murders, and for the same arraigned; thou hast pleaded Not Guilty, and put thyself upon the trial, and art found Guilty; and having nothing justly to say for thyself, this is the law: thou shalt be carried back to the place of Execution, and there *be cast off, with all thy deeds, and all thy members daily mortified and crucified with all thy lusts*, of every one that hath truly put on Christ.

This sentence pronounced, the Sheriff is commanded to do execution; which *Religion*, by his Under-Sheriff *Resolution*, seeth thoroughly performed.

The Executioner is he that hath put on Christ, Rom. 5:24.

This Prisoner thus proceeded against the Gaoler is commanded to set out Mrs. *Heart* to the Bar, who is commanded to hold up her hand, and then is her enditement read.

Mrs. Heart, thou art here endited by the name of Mrs. Heart of Soul, in the County of the Isle of Man, that also upon the day of Man's fall in Paradise, thou becamest corrupted, accompanying the Old-man, and also Will thy man, and hast been so hardened that thou couldest not repent, and so blind that thou becamest past feeling, and hast made men to give themselves over to all lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness, even with greediness, to be also very slow to believe all that the Prophets have spoken: and to be so enraged with passion sometimes, as to run mercilessly on Innocents to murder them, and to cause men most cursedly to depart from the living God. Thou hast been, and art also in confederacy with all and every evil thought, word, and deed, committed against God and man. Thou hast been a receptacle of all the abominations of every Sin whatsoever, and hast had conference with Satan to lie unto the Holy Ghost, and for greedy gain, at the devil's suggestion, hast set some on work to play the Traitors, to the shedding of the innocent blood of our Sovereign, contrary to the Peace of the King, his Crown and Dignity. What sayest thou to this enditement? Guilty, or Not Guilty?

She answers, Not Guilty; and puts herself to the trial.

Then the Crier saith, If any man can give Evidence against the Prisoner at the Bar, let him come; for she stands upon her deliverance. Then come in such as can say any thing against her; and first is Moses.

Moses, what can you say against this Prisoner? Look upon her, see if you know her.

My Lord, I know her well enough, she made me and my brother Aaron to speak so unadvisedly with our lips by our passion, that we could neither of us be admitted to go into the land of Canaan. This I can say of her, *That every imagination of her thought is only evil continually*, and that evil she hath been from her youth up.

Moses, having ended; then saith the Judge, is there any more?

To whom answer is made, Yes, my Lord, there is Jeremiah the Prophet.

Jeremiah the Prophet, look upon the Prisoner; can you say any thing on behalf of his Majesty?

My Lord, this I can say, *That she is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked*: so that no man, without God's special assistance, can either find out her devices, or escape her treacheries.

And this moreover I know, that she hath been sent unto and forewarned to wash herself of her wickedness: and yet for all this she doth lodge still ill thoughts in her house. Yea, my Lord, she hath seduced many from God, making them to walk after her evil counsels and imaginations, to their utter destruction. And I am truly informed, that she is in every place where the enemies of their own souls do work their wickedness and mischiefs.

Are there any more Evidences? Yes, my Lord, here is Ezekiel.

Ezekiel, what can you say?

My Lord, I can witness thus much: such is her conduct, that she followed after idols, and after covetousness, which is idolatry, both high treason and rebellion against God. Yea so very shamelessly and lawlessly she carrieth herself, that if evil companions come not after her, she will go out and follow them.

These be witnesses enough, saith the Judge, to condemn her: but is there any other?

Yes, my Lord, please you here are more: here is St. Matthew.

St. Matthew, what can you say against the Prisoner at the Bar?

My Lord, I have heard it from the mouth of my Lord Chief Justice himself, (when I did attend upon him, he having occasion publicly to speak of her) that out of the Heart do come evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, and foolishness. All these evils he witnesseth to come forth of her house: so that it is evident against her by his Honour's undoubted testimony, that she is an harbourer of a company of very bad and unsufferable guests. St. Mark, here next me, can witness as much.

It is very true, my Lord.

Here is a criminal indeed (saith the Judge) Jury, if you be agreed to give in your Verdict, what say you of this Prisoner? Guilty, or not Guilty?

We say Guilty, my Lord.

Woman, what canst thou say for thyself, that sentence according to law should not be pronounced against thee?

Ah, good my Lord, take pity on me, a poor weak old woman; these men speak against me the worst that they can, because I would not be ruled by them. They speak of malice, my Lord. If I have conducted myself amiss any way, it was

by this *Old-man* my father's misleadings, my Lord, by whom I though, that being a woman I should be wholly guided. But hear me, good my Lord, I beseech you, let not these men's testimonies cast me away. For I did dwell with as good men, and better than they are, or ever were my Lord, as others can witness, to my great commendations.

Then saith the Judge, who are these I pray you?

I dwelt, my Lord, with King David, with King Solomon, and was in their household to be a perfect Heart: so was I after accounted in King Asa's house. Yea, my Lord, with Abraham the father of the faithful, was I found faithful, and such hath been my credit, that I was well spoken of even to God himself by good king Hezekiah. That all this is true that I say, I beseech you to ask Isaiah the prophet, as also Nehemiah, and others that have recorded the same.

Besides all these, be pleased to hear me, my Lord, ask all my country people, and they will with one mouth speak well of me. They have, say they, a good Heart towards God, and that ever since they were born, they never found me so wicked as these witnesses are pleased to declare. I hope, therefore, my Lord, that you will be pleased to be good to me; pity a very poor, aged woman, as ever was born of a woman.

Woman! woman! for the witnesses against thee, they are without exception, and thy own mouth doth condemn thyself, in that *first* thou dost confess, that thou wouldest not be ruled by them when these holy men were sent unto thee, and that with special command from his Majesty to see thee reformed. Again, that thou dost acknowledge thyself to have been wholly led by the *Old-man*, one now most justly condemned by the law to be crucified.

As touching David's heart, Solomon's heart, Asa's heart, the faithful heart of Abraham, and the upright heart of Hezekiah, not one of these was thyself, thou dost lewdly seek to deceive by equivocation, and to beguile the standers by with thy tricks. True it is that there is great commendation of an *Heart*, and the same to be an honest and good heart, an upright heart; a faithful heart. But woman, this is the heart sanctified and purged by faith in all those that are born anew of water and the Holy Ghost: but this is not that which thou art, the natural and corrupt heart; thou art that commendable heart in name only, but not in quality: therefore thy boasting is vain, thy pleading subtilty, verifying Jeremiah's evidence of thee, that thou art very deceitful.

As for the vulgar praising of thee, it is through their own self-love, and foolish self-conceit, and their utter ignorance of thee, that maketh them to speak so well of thee. Thou dost therefore but trifle away the time, and trouble the assembly.

As for thine age, it procureth thee no pity at all, because thou hast beguiled, undone, and bewitched so many. Thine age should have taught thee better things, but thy obstinacy in wickedness would not suffer thee. Hear therefore thy sentence.

Thou Mrs. *Heart* has been endited by the name of Mrs. *Heart*, of those Felonies, Murders, Conspiracies, and Rebellions, and for the same hast been arraigned: thou hast pleaded Not Guilty, hast put thyself to the trial, and been found Guilty, having nothing justly to say for thyself. This is the law. Thou shalt be carried back from whence thou camest, and there live condemned to perpetual imprisonment under Master *Newman* the Keeper, without bail or mainprise [release of a prisoner]. Gaoler, take her to thee, look to the Prisoner, and keep this 'Heart diligently, and take heed lest there be at any time in you an heart of unbelief, to depart from the living God.' Mr. Sheriff *Religion*, and the Under-Sheriff *Resolution*, do see it performed very carefully and speedily according to the sentence given.

After Mrs. *Heart's* arraignment, and condemnation, *Wilful Will* is commanded to the Bar, and to hold up his hand, and his enditement was read.

Wilful Will, thou art endited by the name of Wilful Will, of the Town of Free, and in the County of Evil: that thou partaking with Old-man, and wickedly living under the control of Mrs. Heart hast been a champion for them, ready to act all their villainies, and upon every motion of theirs, or any solicitation of theirs, hast from time to time gathered together all the powers thou couldest make within this Isle of Man, to raise rebellion, and by force of arms hast often attempted to rush in upon his Majesty's garrison, appointed for the safe keeping of the Town of Soul, and so of the whole Island, and thereby hast given occasion to the enemies, to seek to invade the same contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.

What sayest thou to this enditement? Guilty, or Not Guilty?

His answer was, Not Guilty, my Lord; and so put himself upon his trial by God and the country.

Then were witnesses called out, and the first of them was the Captain of the Garrison, which was one Captain Reason.

The Captain coming before the Judge, was asked what he could say for the King, against the prisoner at the Bar?

My Lord, saith he, by my Sovereign's appointment, I was made Captain of this Garrison in *Soul*: and his Majesty also was pleased to place this prisoner in the same for his service, but yet under me, and at my command, and not to do what he himself listed.

But he having conceited himself to be free, and not under controlment, and being grown full, he hath by the bewitching of Mrs. *Heart*, and her maids, endeavoured to bear all the sway, treading down with contempt all my lawful commands. I made many Fortifications against his violent courses, to restrain his out-roads, lest thereby he should have made way for his enemies breaking in upon us, to the danger of the whole Island: but all these fortifications very often he hath defaced, and by the force of strong passions, he hath borne them down before him, without any regard of supreme or subordinates authority whatsoever. He may well, my Lord, be called *Wilful Will*, for except he be more under subjection, neither I his Captain, nor ever an Officer in the whole band, will be obeyed, yea, assuredly, my Lord, if he be not curbed, the whole Town of *Soul*, will be overthrown, and all the Island fall into the enemies' hand to the great dishonour of his Majesty. And this is that which I have for the present to say. My Officers, if it please your Lordship to have them called, can say very much against him.

Then saith the Clerk, Crier, call in Captain Reason's Lieutenant.

What is his name, saith the Crier.

He is, saith the Clerk, called *Discourse*.

Lieutenant *Discourse*, come into the Court, Have you the Lieutenant?

Lieutenant, what can you say touching this Wilful Will, the prisoner at the Bar?

My Lord, my Captain and I have had many occasions of much conference upon every serious business, into which this Prisoner hath often intruded himself, and thereby hath greatly hindered our designs. For say we what we could, he would have all things go after his pleasure, and only to satisfy the lust of Mrs. *Heart*, and some of her maids, on whom he hath attended, and by whom he hitherto hath been too much ruled, and I may say, most strangely bewitched, having no power to deny them any thing.

Our Ancient, my Lord, can further inform you.

How call you him? saith the Judge.

He is called, my Lord, Profession.

Then, saith the Crier, Ancient *Profession*, come into the Court, have you Profession?

Ancient, what can you say for the King against the Prisoner at the Bar?

My Lord, when I bare the colours of a *Holy Conversation*, and displayed the same in word and deed before the company, he hath attempted, and that not seldom, to rend and tear them; and this not only within ourselves, but sometime also before, and in the very sight of the enemy hath sought to deface my colours, through his violent disposition, untamed nature, with the help of enraged passions, to my utter disgrace, and not to mine only, but to the whole band of good qualities, gifts and graces, in the Town of *Soul*.

So heady he is, and so perversely bent to his own will, that he never regardeth, for the present, what may happen afterwards. Our two Serjeants can more at large expose him, if it please your Lordship to hear them: here they stand by me.

What do you call them? saith the Judge. My Lord, saith the *Ancient*, the one is Sergeant *Unity*, and the other is Serjeant *Order*, worthy Soldiers, my Lord, and very serviceable for good government.

Sergeant *Unity*, come in, What can you say of this Prisoner?

My Lord, when all the whole band lovingly, as one man, were obedient in all things, he, upon every least discontent, did mutiny, and endeavoured to set us against one another. He hath adhered to secret conspiracies of inbred corruptions; yea, and hath not been only found to favour, but also to stand for, and to encourage our open enemies, even Satan's suggestions, and the pomps and vanities of this wicked world; to whom he hath been so serviceable, as if he had been a prest [ready] soldier for them, forgetting his faith and allegiance to his own Sovereign. If he be not, my Lord, suppressed, he will at length be our utter overthrow. My Fellow-serjeant *Order*, can say more.

Serjeant Order, what is it that you have to witness against the Prisoner?

My Lord, whensoever he cometh out of Mrs. *Heart's* evil house, and from among her companions, he is so enraged, as he behaveth himself more like a savage beast than a man: all is by him put out of order, our Captain cannot rule him, especially when he hath gotten a pestilent fellow, one *Obstinacy* to accompany him, and another deceitful companion, called, *Shew of Good*, to hearten him in his forward courses and bad enticements. Of himself he is ill enough, but these, my Lord, make him incapable of good counsel, or of the best advice that our Captain can give him.

Where are, saith the Judge, these fellows? Why were they not apprehended, and brought in hither with him?

My Lord, as soon as he was attached and brought under authority, they both presently fled: our Captain *Reason* made diligent search after them, but could not find them. For, my Lord, these companions durst never appear with him, but when they knew him to be wholly bent to his own will, and when they were very sure our Captain had not strength enough with him to withstand them, otherwise they would keep close and not apparently be seen to countenance him. If order might be taken for the apprehending of these, there would be some hope of better government in this Prisoner, if he should be released.

Upon this the Judge gave order to Mr. *Sheriff*, to his *Under-Sheriff*, and to all the Justices of the Bench, for the speedy apprehending of these two evil and rebellious companions. Then the Crier was commanded to call in one witness more, which was one of the Corporals of the Band, whose name was *Discipline*, who being there attending, presently appeared.

The Corporal being at the Bar, it was demanded of him what he could say more than had been spoken?

My Lord, saith he, though very much hath been spoken, and that most truly against him, yet have I more to say than hitherto hath been spoken by any of them. It is well known, my Lord, to the whole *Corps de Garde* [guardhouse] how unruly he hath been after the setting of the watch, such conceit he hath ever had of his freedom, my Lord, that my very name hath been odious unto him. He hath gotten such liberty, that he could never endure to be disciplined, our arms he hath taken, and made them often unserviceable.

Our Powder of holy affections he hath damped, the Match of fervency of spirit he hath put out: the *Small Shot* of spiritual ejaculations he so stopped as in time of need they would not go off; of the *Sword of the Spirit*, the Word of God, he quite took away the edge; he brake the *Helmet of Salvation*, bruised the *Breast-plate of Righteousness*, the *Shield of Faith* he cast away, and unloosed the *Girdle of Truth*. The *Points* of all the *Pikes* of Divine threats by presumption he so brake off, as they had no force to prick the *Heart*. He would, after the watch was set, of himself, without the Word, go the round, and divers times meeting the Gentlemen of the round, holy *Meditations*, and Divine *Motions*, he would stop their passages, and turn them back again. And not seldom hath he fallen upon the Centinels, *Quick Apprehensions*, and put out their eyes, so as they could not, if the enemies had approached, have discerned them. My Lord, by his wilful unruliness, and by his obstinate masterfulness he hath often endangered the whole *Island of Man*, the lower part called *Body* and the higher called *Soul*, and in a manner delivered them into the enemy's hand. For the common Soldiers, the powers and

faculties of both, are too often swayed by him, to follow him in his rebellious courses. And therefore, my Lord, if he be not suppressed and brought in obedience to our worthy Captain, he will surely at length yield this his Majesty's right, into the hands of foreign powers, which daily watch to have by him some opportunity to invade us. They have, my Lord, often assailed our *Castle of Confidence*, raised upon the Mount of God's mercies, hoping only upon his help to make a breach therein, and entering to cast us out; we therefore beseech your Lordship to have justice against him.

Then saith the Judge, you ask but right, and that which in my place I am bound to yield you, without respect of persons.

Honest men of the Jury, you have heard what all these Gentlemen have witnessed against him, if you be agreed on your Verdict, give it in; what think you of the Prisoner, Guilty, or Not Guilty?

They answer, Guilty, my Lord.

Then the judge turneth his speech to the Prisoner: *Wilful Will*, thou hast heard what all these have witnessed against thee, what canst thou now say for thyself, why the sentence of Death should not now be pronounced against thee?

My Lord, I am a Gentleman freeborn, and ever like a Gentleman brought up in liberty. And though I was in some sort to be ordered by Captain *Reason*; yet I ever held myself his equal, and stood upon my freedom of choosing or refusing, or of suspending the action. He had no authority to enforce me further than it pleased myself. I have always been a free man, my Lord, from servile obedience to any man, and owe subjection to none but only to my Sovereign. I cannot deny but that Captain *Reason* hath offered daily to advise me, and I have not ever wholly rejected his counsel: if I have at any time miscarried it was through the wicked Mrs. *Heart's* deceitfulness, and the violence of these her passionate affections misleading me, for want of deliberation before I either made choice of or refused the thing objected before me.

I do here, my Lord, ingenuously confess the truth of all that which these Witnesses have spoken against me, for which I heartily crave pardon.

I also acknowledge that I stood too much upon my birth and Gentry [good social position, nobility in birth], as too many at this day do, having never a good quality besides to brag or boast of. I took it for granted that my gentry stood in idleness, pleasurable delights, hunting, and haunting taverns; putting on of new and variety of fashions; in boasting, and oaths, in high looks, great words, and in the forms of Gentry: which I verily suppose should sufficiently of itself have borne me out in all my extravagant courses, in my licentious liberty, and lascivious wantonness in Mrs. *Heart's* house, through which I was brought into all these rebellious disorders, for which I justly deserved my Sovereign's indignation, of whom I humbly crave mercy and forgiveness; my Lord, take pity upon me.

Wilful Will, I am sorry that thy deserts are no better, being so well born, and that thou hast so abused thy Gentry to thy shame and confusion, through thy vain mistake, and foul abuse of thy high station, which consists of nobleness of spirit, honorable endowments of mind, praise-worthy qualities, and serviceable employments for the King and Country; and not in such base pursuits as thou hast named, unfitting altogether true Gentry, being indeed the fruits either of degenerating spirits from the worth of their ancestors, never having had the understanding of the true qualities of a Gentleman indeed.

But seeing thou art humble and penitent, and mayest do his Majesty good service hereafter, thy deserved sentence shall be deferred, till his Majesty's pleasure be further known concerning thee: yet in the mean time, thou art to be bound to thy good behaviour, and be carried back again, to remain under the custody of Master *Newman*. Gaoler, take him to thee, and see him forthcoming whensoever he shall be called for.

Then said he, I humbly thank your Lordship; and so bowing himself to the Bench, he is carried away from the Bar to the place from whence he came, to remain Prisoner until he should be released.

After he was removed, the Gaoler was commanded to set Mrs. *Heart's* Maids to the Bar. But upon deliberation they were sent to Ward again until another time. The reason was, for that two great Traitors and Rebels, chief amongst the condemned crew, were presently to be arraigned, which would take up the allotted time before the Court should break up.

These two were *Covetousness* and *Idolatry*, capital Thieves, pestilently mischievous against God, his Worship and Service, against the Church, and against the Common-weal [welfare of the public].

Covetousness was joined with *Idolatry*, because he is also called *Idolatry*. Now all other Prisoners removed, and the Judge with the Bench ready for these, the Clerk desireth the Crier to command the Gaoler to set *Covetousness* to the Bar, which the Gaoler doth forthwith.

Then saith he unto him, *Covetousness*, hold up thy hand, and hear thy Enditement.

Covetousness, thou art here endited by the name of Covetousness, in the Town of Want, in the County of Never-full, that from the day of thy first being thou hast been the root of all evil, having made some to play the Thieves, others to commit Treason against our Sovereign Lord the King, others to murder innocents for their inheritance. Thou art also here endited for Bribery, Extortion, Oppression, Usury, Injustice, Unmercifulness, and a multitude of outrageous crimes: besides thy hindering men in holy duties and means of salvation, forcing them head-long to their destruction, contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his crown and dignity.

What sayest thou to this Enditement, Guilty, or not Guilty?

He answered, Not Guilty, my Lord, and so he puts himself upon the trial.

After this the parties that can give evidence are called in, and first, *Repentance*, is commanded to produce his witnesses.

Repentance, what can you say?

My Lord, since the Prisoner was committed to prison, and put into Ward, some of my witnesses are dead, as Achan, Ahab, and Judas.

Then saith the Judge, look at the Records, Clerk, and read them.

My Lord, I read here that Achan confessed, that by *Covetousness* he was moved to look upon a wedge of gold, and so coveting, stole it, and with it a Babylonish garment, to the death and destruction of him and all his; also I here find, how, through *Covetousness*, Ahab longed for poor Naboth's vineyard, and so eagerly, that he fell sick for it, because he could not have his will. But Jezebel procured by his leave and liking the death of Naboth and his sons, and so got possession of the vineyard. Moreover, I find here, that Judas confessed how he betrayed the innocent blood of our Saviour through *Covetousness*, and desire of money. This is all the confession, my Lord, in the Records.

Then the Judge willeth the Constable and his Assistants, which were at the apprehending of him, to be called, who make their appearance.

Constable, what can you say, and those that were with you, against this Prisoner at the Bar?

My Lord, when we went to make search for him, he hid himself so close, as we had much at first to find him in Mrs. *Heart's* house; who had almost persuaded us that he had not been there, until I learned it from David the man of God, whom I had found petitioning the Lord Chief Justice for a warrant of good behaviour against the *Covetousness* of the heart. Then thought I certainly he is here, in this house: for if David feared to have him in his heart, that gave so many millions of gold and silver, 3300 cart-load of treasure for the building of the temple, can I think him not to be here? I sought therefore diligently, my Lord, and found him; but before I could apprehend him, he was got into a dark corner, and attempted to blow out my light, and to have escaped me. But I and my company took such diligent heed to him, as he could not get from us: yet before we could bind him, and bring him away, he endeavoured to injure as many as came near him, and would by no means obey my warrant, as the rest here, my Lord, can tell, if you please to hear them. Then began every one of them to speak.

Care complained, that he had almost choaked him with the world and worldly business, so as he had no leisure to mind heavenly things.

Clearing accused him, that he had so undermined his understanding at unawares, as almost had broken the neck of his good name and reputation, of his profession and religion.

Indignation complained, that he had well nigh lost his life by him: for whereas before he could not behold Sin, but with an holy anger; now profit of Sin, through this cursed Covetousness, made him look cheerfully upon it, and heartily welcome it for profit's sake.

Fear complaineth, that he did bewitch him: for, said he, whereas, before I was tender-hearted, and trembled at God's word, desire of gain made me loath to lose my commodity, though I got it with Sin.

Vehement Desire did greatly complain of his violent setting upon him, to make him eager after earthly things, so as he could hardly take any rest.

Zeal complained, that he struck him so hard upon the head, that the blow made him, in hope of gain, to undervalue a sense of God's glory, which before he preferred above all things in the world.

Lastly, *Revenge* complained that the Prisoner had attempted to murder him, and so wounded him, that whereas before he could master Sin, now he was grown so weak, that any gainful Sin was able to master him, and to bring him under command.

When these had spoken what they could, the rest were brought to give evidence, and these also were men of very good account, and of great worth in their country; Master *Church*, Master *Common-weal*, Master *Household*, Master *Neighbourhood*, and Master *Good-work*, who having answered to their names, they give in evidence one by one.

Master *Church*, what can you say against the Prisoner at the Bar?

My Lord, I am not able to reckon the particular mischiefs he hath done against me. There falleth never a Benefice [reward] of any reasonable value, but he sets many to run and ride after it, and to offer largely for it, and maketh some Patrons thieves, and to admit many an *Ignoramus* into the charge and cure of Souls; and many a Minister to be a perjured Simonist, before God. He maketh not a few to heap up means, not only for maintenance, but also to make themselves great; and many which came in freely to neglect the care of their Flocks, and to seek after their Fleeces, to care to be rich, and to follow so after the world, as that either they give over to preach, or do make them preach at home very idly, seldom, and unprofitably.

When people come to Church, my Lord, he marreth their devotion, and leadeth their souls out of the church, to make them to be walking their grounds, talking with their friends, plotting businesses, and to be going some journey, to be at some market or fair; to be counting their debts, following their debtors, reckoning up their loan upon usury, their profits and gain, and by these means he hinders their devotion. And all these things, my Lord, with many other worldly thoughts, whilst their bodies are in Church.

When people come from the Church, he choaketh the seed of God's Word, that it thriveth in very few; and of these few, it is more in talk than in practice. He keepeth, my Lord, many from the Church, causing them to set the Lord's day apart, not for his service, but for their worldly affairs, because they will not take another time for their profiting in the week days.

Much more, my Lord, I have to say; but I am loath to be too tedious.

You, Master *Church*, have spoken sufficiently and enough to condemn him.

Call Master *Common-weal* [welfare of the public].

Master Common-weal, what can you say on the King's behalf against the prisoner at the Bar?

My Lord, this man hath entered so far Into all business, as hath almost utterly undone me. He maketh merchandizes of Offices, and so maketh the buyers to sell their Duties for profit to make up their monies. He hath monopolized commodities into his hands, enhanced the prices of things, to the great grievance of the King's subjects. He, as your Lordship well knoweth, hath miserably corrupted the course of Justice, by bribery, by making many Lawyers plead more for fees, than honestly, for the equity of the cause; by delaying the cause, by removing it from one Court to another till men be undone. He hath, to get his desire, suborned false witnesses, counterfeited evidences, and forged wills, my Lord, let some order be taken with him, else he will utterly bring me to ruin, and all mine for ever.

Call Master Household.

Master Household, what can you say concerning the prisoner?

My Lord, this wicked *Covetousness* keeps holy exercises out of private houses; he will not let Parents have any time to instruct their children, he maketh Masters use their Servants more like beasts than men, they are so wholly employed in worldly business; as for their souls there is no care taken, but they are left to live as soul-less men, He causeth inadequate and scanty housekeeping, and over-labouring of servants. He breedeth much contention, chiding, and too much use of ill language by mistresses and dames [honored women]; yea between men and their wives in their family, to the great grief, and ill example of their children and Servants.

Yea, my Lord, he hath made Children to be cruel to their parents; brethren and sisters to hate one another; near of kindred and blood to go to law one with another, for and about dividing goods, lands, and inheritances; yea, I can witness this, that he hath made them murder one another: Children their Parents, Husbands their Wives, and one brother another. It would be too long to particularize how great evils and how many ways he hath injured me and all mine. But because other witnesses stand here by me, I will trouble your Lordship with no more complaints at this time.

Call Master Neighbourhood.

Friend, what is it that you can say touching this Prisoner?

My Lord, this unhappy man hath altogether disunited men's affections, so as in our Town there is very little love; hardly will one do another a good turn freely, but either it must be one for another, like for like, or in hope of future gain. This wretch hath almost banished all friendly society; every man is so now for himself, as he neglecteth his neighbour almost wholly. He maketh them trespass one another, to rob cunningly one another in buying and selling, and to fall out with bitter railing, and unneighbourly language for a penny loss, and causeth many suits and quarrels. We are, my Lord, indeed miserably disquieted, and almost utterly undone by him. For, my Lord, we were a company of very good Neighbours till he became Landlord: here dwelt Amity, Kindness, Gentleness, Love, Peace, Charity, Patience, Goodness, Ready, Good Will, Forgetfulness of Wrongs, Sociableness, Good Turns, and Joy; but most unjustly by his cruelty and wrong dealing, he hath displaced them, and brought, my Lord, a company of internal spirits, (for so I think I may without offence call them,) which are these: Hatred, Malice, Envy, Wrath, Anger, Churlishness, Discord, Stingyness, Sturdiness, Strife, Debate, Variance, Emulation, Sedition, Wrangling, Fraud, Deceit, Malignity, Despite, Unnaturalness, Implacableness, Unthankfulness, Fierceness, Highmindedness, Selflove, and Unmercifulness. The best that he brings in, my Lord, are Costless Compliments, Fair Speech, How do you do, Good-morrow, Good-evening, Glad to see you well, Farewell, and such like. Also one Little-good, with another called Soon-lost, and amongst these No-harm, is greatly commended; but never a Good man amongst them, much less any among the Too-good to be found in the Parish, except more in name than in deed. And this is what I have to say my Lord, at this time.

Call out Master Good-work.

Master *Good-work*, what can you say touching the Prisoner?

My Lord, there hath been so much said that I need not say any thing; yet none have more just cause to complain than I have; for he hath endeavoured to his utmost to root me out, and all my posterity, *Bounty, Liberality*, and *Hospitality*.

My Lord, we by reason of him, daily stand in fear of our lives; all the Country crieth out of him in their love to us, who well know how often he hath attempted to murder us.

He hath put out of joint both the arms of my son, *Bounty*, and almost broken the back or my son *Liberality*, that he hardly at any time goeth upright; and all know this, that he hath violently set upon my son *Hospitality*, and forced him out of doors, and in his stead hath let in *Pride of Apparel, Sumptuous Building, Affectation of Vain Titles*, whom he hath made to shut the doors, persuading them that to maintain their state, they must increase their revenues by new purchases, by racking of rents, by enhancing their fines, and incomes, all little enough to withhold their outward state, and vain pomp abroad. And this, my Lord, is that which for the present I have to say.

Then it was asked if all were come in, that should give Evidence?

Answer was made; My Lord, here is only one man more; poor *Poverty*, brought hither by authority to give Evidence; may it please you to hear him.

Call in *Poverty*,

Poverty, what canst thou say against this Prisoner at the Bar?

Why, my Lord, I have reason to curse the day that ever I knew him, and he only it is that hath brought me to this poor state.

I was a man of some credit, my neighbours well know, till I had to do with him, who would lend me nothing but upon usury, and that upon great bonds and mortgage of lands; and so greedy a wolf was he upon his prey, that if I missed but one day of payment, he would take the benefit of the mortgage, or forfeiture; or if he forbore longer, I payed him by presents and gifts so much with the use, as made me to groan under the burden, feeling myself in an irrecoverable consumption. Sometimes too, to keep friends with him, I was forced either to buy for time, or else to sell something out of hand to make ready monies; either of which was as bad, or worse than the biting of usury; for when *William Greedy*, a brother of his, or also *Gain* his cousin perceived my need, Oh, how did he in dealing with me, extort from me, and in buying for ready money oppress me! So that to escape a whirlpool, I fell into devouring gulphs, and thus he ruined me.

And not being therewith content, woe unto him, when I became tenant, my Lord, who was before a good Freeholder, he put into our Landlord's heart to depopulate our whole Parish of Wealth, for so it was called, and there instead of many honest inhabitants and good housekeepers, he set a Shepherd and his cur [aggressive dog] to feed his flocks. This also is he, my Lord, that maketh men of fair lands, which might live well on their own revenues and estates, to take Farms into their hands, and to drive out such as had been merciful relievers of their poor neighbours. In our poor estate we have sought to him for relief, but instead of comfort, he hath railed on us, threatened to whip us, and to send us to the House of Correction. Nothing will he do for us, but what by law he is compelled to do, though he keep his church, and can sometimes also talk of religion. He beggars all of us, my Lord; on work he will not set us, and yet will not suffer us to seek abroad for relief. He never seeth us, but his heart riseth against us. He rather will venture his own damnation, than part with one penny, except it be to go gay [carefree]; to buy and purchase for him and his. Yea, my Lord, that all may know his merciless cruelty, when we have wanted relief, and begged of him, he hath counselled us to shift for ourselves, and steal out of the stacks of corn in gleaning time for bread, to break hedges, to steal wood or coal in the night to make us fires, to pluck sheep, or sheer off their wool for clothing; to rob orchards for fruit, to steal geese, hens, ducks, pigs, and sheep, for flesh meat, to defraud men that set us on work, and to make us poor people hateful to God and man. For he careth not, my Lord, so as he may not be charged any way what we do, or what becometh of us.

And yet to make up the height of unmereifulness, he will be the first, if we of mere extreme need do amiss, that will cry out against us and pursue us to death. This hath ever been his course hitherto, my Lord, consider rightly of us, and pity our case. I beseech you, my Lord.

Poverty, thy case indeed is to be pitied: *Jury*, you have heard the evidence of all, what say you of the Prisoner at the Bar. Is he Guilty, or Not Guilty?

Jury, Guilty, my Lord.

Covetousness. Thou hast heard what all these witnesses have laid to thy charge, and spoken against thee: what canst thou say for thyself, why sentence upon these honest men's verdict should not be pronounced against thee?

My Lord, I stand for my life, let it please you with patience to hear me: And first touching this impatient, ungrateful out-crying fellow *Poverty*; it was not I, my Lord, when he was wealthy, but his then daily and only companions, *Sloth, Carelessness, Prodigality, Good-Fellowship, Go-Gay* [Go-Careless], *Good-Cheer, Wantonness, Improvidence, Little-Work*, and *Many-Mouths*, which, my Lord, cast him into a consumption, and, like canker-worms, consumed him quickly. I confess he came to me often to borrow, but when I saw his vain courses of expence, I was very loath to lend him, but that he so earnestly entreated me, even with tears in his eyes; oftentimes protesting, that I should greatly relieve him, yea, and save him and his estate from ruin, if I would do him that kindness to lend him in his need.

Thus, my Lord, was I moved and drawn on to lend him according to the Statute, only I took good security because I perceived him to be wasteful. Advantage I never took, but only when I saw that he was an idle fellow, and careless, and would never be punctual, then I would only threaten him to terrify him, my Lord, and if he then brought any kindness to my wife, it is more than I know of, and more than I desire of him.

Sometimes he would offer to sell me the land mortgaged to me, when he could not pay, and told me that of necessity he must sell it, and if I would not, another should buy it. Then I thought myself as worthy to have it as any other in all reason.

For my threatening of him and his company, when they went a begging: true it is, because I say, that as they had consumed themselves, they thought to rely on me, and so in like sort have eaten me up too; for idly had they lived, and work they neither could nor would. And whereas they accuse me that I compelled them to steal, herein they very much wrong me, my Lord; for it was their love to live idly, and their pinching necessity, which led and enforced them to fall to shifting and stealing, and not I, my Lord.

Touching their Landlord's depopulating of the *Town of Wealth*, they their ownselves were the very cause thereof. For that worthy Knight and my Kinsman, Sir *Worldly-wise*, when he saw how some by suits of Law, others by drunkenness and riot, others by pride and idleness, did waste their estates, so as they were neither able to till their land, nor to stock their grounds, he bought their estates, one after another, and so left them to buy or hire for themselves elsewhere. And when thus they had removed themselves, he sought the welfare of the Common-weal, which was to hold up clothing, my Lord, the chiefest means here to set the poor on work, which cannot be without wool, and wool cannot be had without flocks of sheep.

If this worthy Knight, and good Common wealth's-man took any advice of me, it was for public good. My Lord, consider that *Poverty* is impatient; ever complaining, and very unthankful to his best friends, if they do not always supply his wants.

You know this, my Lord, to be true, and all the Worshipful Justices of the Bench.

Touching Master *Church*, his accusation; unworthily doth he lay the faults on me: for when any do ride post so for Benefices when they be fallen, they are set on, my Lord, by *Love-of-Pride*, sometimes by *Neighbour Need*, and all of them by Master *Haste*, to get the living, and by Master *Fear* to come short of it. It was never I that made them offer such sums of monies to Patrons, for it is my manner to advise my friends to be ever sparing of their purses; but it was their over forward friend, Master *Hope-to-prevail*, that counselled them to make such proffers.

I am not, my Lord, the cause of any Minister's negligence in his *Function*; but a couple of base, loitering fellows, dwelling with such Ministers, commonly called, my Lord, the Parson's men, *Ease* and *Idle*, by whom such Ministers are too much led.

If the people profit not under those that be such Ministers, my Lord, the fault is not through me, but the fault is in inbred *Ignorance, Dullness, Old-man*, Mrs. *Heart*, and *Wilful Will* her man, and *Maids* hating to be reformed, Dislike of Teachers, either for the person or doctrine. Want of love of the Truth, Contentedness to live and die in ignorance, and the very *Devil himself*, my Lord, their utter enemy. These ought to bear the blame, my Lord, and not I.

For Master *Common-weal*, my Lord, I marvel that he should thus abuse me, and wrong me; for, my Lord, he knows well, that I have many ways enriched such as belong unto him; his cunning merchants in trading, and his crafty lawyers in pleading. I have helped many a mean [small] man to a great estate and many a base birth to be counted of the Gentry [nobility]. Forward have I been to help all sorts of every trade and course of life; and must I now be questioned for my life?

Concerning Master *Household*, he hath no reason of all others to blame me; for I taught him to be careful in his housekeeping, how to manage his estate for the best, how to advantage himself in buying and selling, corn and cattle; I ever sought his profit in all my courses. He hath no cause thus to accuse me to your Lordship. He had never been able to have maintained so great a family, but by me. I raised his father from a base cottage to be a freeholder, and so himself to be master of a great family and household. If any such evils have happened under him as he complaineth of, let him accuse *Unnaturalness*, *Impatience*, *Unruly Passions*, and such like, and withal the *Suggestions of Satan*, which do set men on such mischiefs, and not me, my Lord.

For Master *Neighbourhood*, he may of all others be ashamed to accuse me so, because he hath lived much better, and nothing worse by me, my Lord; for I caused to be removed from him and his neighbours, in their often and idle meetings, (which they pleased to call *Goodfellowship*,) a company of spendthrifts, *Waste*, *Riot*, *Prodigality*, *Drunkenness*, *Gluttony*, *Idleness*, *Carelessness*, *Needless-Expence*, &c. With reverence be it spoken, my Lord, I taught him, and all such as he is, a better way to live, and a more thriving course; to look diligently to their estates, and to take good courses, to save, to get, and to increase their means. I advised them to put away their bad men-servants, *Slack and Slothful*, *Careless* and *Wasteful*, *Weak* and *Wayward*, *Love-bed* and *Drowsy*, *Lightfinger* and *Lurching*, *Gamester* and *Go-gay* [Go-careless], *Slipstring* and *Wanderer*, *Scapethrift* and *Spendall*, and such like unprofitable characters. And withal to rid themselves in like manner of all their bad maid-servants, such as these: *Prattle*, *Wanton*, *Sleepy* and *Sluggy*, *Sweetlip* and *Dainty*, *Gadding* and *Forgetful*, *Sickness* and *Tender*, *Drivel* and *Slut*; also, and above all, the *Charwoman* and her daughters, *Pocketing* and *Filch*, with all their bad companions.

And instead of these, my Lord, I commended unto them a company of menservants worth entertainment, all one man's children, the sons of my honest neighbour *Good Husbandry*; as *Care* and *Forecast, Makehaste* and *Wary, Thrifty, Advantage* and *Holdfast, Watchful* and *Toilsome, Homely-fare* and *Meanclad, Up-be-times* and *Labour, Last-up* and *Trusty, Getting* and *Lock-fast, Spendlittle* and *Get-much, Take-time* and *Lose-nought, Debtless* and *Gain*; with such other profitable servants.

And because I knew that maid-servants answerable to them were as necessary, I advised the best I could to provide such also, the daughters of *Good Housewifery*; as *Quick* and *Nimble, Trusty* and *Timely-up, Healthful* and *Chaste, Everdoing* and *Silent, Witty* and *Pliant*; with other of the like nature, helpful to uphold a man's estate. By which good counsel of mine, my Lord, *Neighbourhood* liveth now richly and not beggarly; *Need* knocks not daily at his door, either to beg or borrow, as he was wont to do.

Concerning the last man Master *Good-work*, he hath least cause of all others to complain; for that same which he pleaseth to call in me *Oppression*, *Usury*, *Extortion*, and what not, have built many a fair *Almshouse*, many a goodly *Hospital* in the land, my Lord, and have also given by Will, many a large legacy to the poor, and much to public uses.

My Lord, when I was a Roman Catholic in our forefathers' days, none was then in more grace and favour with all the Clergy than myself. By me, the holy Father the Pope greatly increased his Treasury; by my counsels the Prelates got up to such an infinite wealth, and to such glorious dignities; by me (they making Religion a cloak for me to put on), they got such stately houses for their dwellings, and for the variety of their orders, built in the best places of every nation; and such yearly revenues as did exceed for their certain maintenance.

Good, my Lord, let it please your Lordship to think better of me, than these men procured for witnesses have been suggested; for falsely have they spoken against me. Good, my Lord, good, my Lord, do me right I beseech you.

Stand up, stand up, fellow! I have heard with patience these thy verbal apologics; thy subtle shifts to acquit thyself, thy fair shews to win thee credit, if it were possible thereby to procure thine own release, but know, that yet for all that thou hast said, the Enditement against thee standeth firm, and the evidence against thee is good, which here my brethren the King's Sergeant, and the King's Attorney, and these worthy Gentlemen, Justices of this County, likewise affirm.

It is very true which your Lordship saith.

Good, my Lord, before you pronounce sentence against me, as you be a righteous Judge, hear me but this once more.

What hast thou to say yet for thyself?

My Lord, I am endicted by a wrong name; my name (my Lord) is *Thrift*, and not *Covetousness*, as all this while my adversaries have born your Lordship in hand.

Then the Judge asked Justice Sapience where his examination was? The Justice's Clerk called *Experience*, brought it forth and read it; in which his name was found to be *Covetousness*, and that by the witnesses of his neighbours, to whom he was very well known.

Fellow! saith the Judge, Why dost thou deny thy name?

My Lord, I do not deny it, for my name is *Thrift*; but when I got up some wealth, the envy of my neighbours gave me this other nick-name; and so common it grew, by their so often calling me, that I lost my other name among them. But there are divers of my honest neighbours who love me, and are glad of my welfare, they have told me, that my name formerly was *Thrift*, and they do assure me that I am untruly called *Covetousness*.

Then saith the Judge, Who be these, and what are their names?

My Lord, one is Master Fair-speech, a loving, kind man; and another is Master Soothing his kinsman, both of them my familiar friends, whom I have often invited and welcomed to my house. Also many other of my good neighbours do affirm as much to me, as my neighbour Needy, Retainer, Dependant, Workman, Hireling, Tenant, Fear-man, Faint-heart, Loathto-offend, and Fawning; for though some of these be but poor men, yet I have ever known them all to be so honest, that they have hated to flatter me. There are besides these my Lord, other very substantial gentlemen; as Master Lucre, Master Bribery, Master Oppression, Master Hard-dealing, Master Stingy, Master Pinch-poor, Master Extortion, Master Basemind, Master Usury, Master Hard-heart, Master Love-good, and Master Gripe-hard: all these, my Lord, and other more of my good friends, have much marvelled that I would suffer myself to be so falsely called *Covetousness* by these my accusers, my ever hateful and malicious enemies; such as is Master Pity, Master Relief, Master Liberality, Master Bounty, Master Hospitality, with certain lewd companions; such as Careless and Wasteful, Pride and Prodigality, Idle and Bellycheer, with the like haters of my thriving, and provident courses; for I have heard some preachers say, that he which provideth not for his family, is worse than an infidel; and I would be loath to be held such an one that am a Christian man. And, my Lord, if it please you to hear me, and also to believe me, I have ever hated Covetousness, for I keep my church, I say daily my prayers, and now and then, I hear preachers, yea such as be held of the better sort, ever railing against the Covetous. I have been patron of many a good benefice, and have ever given them freely; and if it happened that I reserved out of them any tithes, it was then upon my Chaplain's thankfulness, and only upon an honest composition. I have given alms now and then; I have not been altogether so hardhearted to the poor; when I sold or let any thing, as often as I did, the price set upon the same ever was so reasonable, (as my Stewards and Bailiffs told me, for I trusted them,) that if one would not give the money, another would. If in housekeeping I have been any whit sparing, it was only wariness to avoid Riot, Excess, Drunkenness, and Gluttony, which every honest man hateth. If the poor (so many as came) were not all relieved, it was for that I saw beggars to increase thereby, and so I may do more harm than good by my alms; for while some came from far, for an alms, or a penny, they might have earned at home in that time perhaps two-pence. I gathered, my Lord, what I have gotten, by Gods blessing, and great pains taking, for present and for future maintenance of myself, my wife, and children after me; and I meant withal, when I died, to have given something to the church, something to the poor, and a reward to a preacher, to preach my funeral sermon; and somewhat more perhaps, to other good uses.

Good, my Lord, I beseech you consider of me; I have ever had a good mind to wrong no man, but only have strove carefully and honestly to thrive in this hard world; and if all my courses be never so strictly observed, they will only prove me to be *Thrift* (which is my right name,) and not *Covetousness*. It hath been my mishap, though I have done good deeds, to be very wrongfully abused, either by such as envied my good prosperity, or by some railing tenants, or by some bordering neighbours that cannot buy of me, how, when, and what they list, at their own prices; or by some unthankful

persons not satisfied according to their humours, though rewarded above their deserts, Good, my Lord, be good unto me, and be not carried away with the words of my malicious, envious accusers.

Fellow! (saith the Judge) but that I only sit to judge, and not to be thy accuser, I could tell thee; *first*, that those thou hast before named, to prove thee to be *Thrift*, and not *Covetousness*, are either flatterers, or fearful to displease thee, or wretched men, companions in evil like to thyself; and therefore their witness is no thing worth: *Next*, that all thou hast alleged concerning thy religion, thy alms-deeds, thy house-keeping, and the rest, do not clear thee of *Covetousness*. For the Scribes and Pharisees would pay tithes, fast weekly, make many and long prayers; yea, they heard John Baptist, a severe reprover of Sin, and Christ Jesus too, who sharply reprehended them: they would give alms, adorn sepulchres, and do many things which you come far short of, and yet were they very covetous. The young man that came to Christ, and stood upon his well-doing towards all men, and that from his youth up; yet, was he a Mammonist [lover of money], and trusted in his riches. There were certain Jews, as one prophet telleth us, who would hear sermons, seem to delight therein, shew love to their teachers in word, and speak to others to go and hear them, yet their hearts followed after their covetousness. In a word, the carriage of thy own speech uttered in thy own praises, savoureth strongly of Covetousness. But, as I said, I will not be both an Accuser and thy Judge: we will hear witnesses for the King in this point also. Call in witnesses.

Then the Clerk telleth the Crier to call in one Master *Proof*, and one Master *Signs*.

Master *Proof*, and Master *Signs*, come into the court to give evidence against the prisoner at the bar, or else you forfeit your Recognizances.

Master *Proof* stand up to the bar, that my Lord may hear you.

Then saith the Judge,

Master *Proof*, look upon the prisoner, do you know him?

Yea, my Lord, I have known him from a child; his name is *Covetousness*.

But he denieth it now, saith the Judge, and calls himself *Thrift*.

My Lord, he of late is grown ashamed of his name; but neither is, nor ever was ashamed, either of the nature or practice of Covetousness, as I and Master *Signs* here do well know, and are able to make good against him.

Then you hold not his name to be *Thrift*.

No verily, my Lord, though he hath pretended it to cover his odious, though very true name. Yet it is not to be denied, my Lord, but that one *Thrift* dwelt where he now dwelleth, and indeed, he is a descendant of *Thrift*, and thus it was.

This Master *Thrift* was once Steward to three worshipful gentlemen, Master *Liberality*, Master *Bounty*, and Master *Hospitality*, and carried himself very commendably in their services, and afterwards for himself, when he came to be a housekeeper, until he fell in acquaintance with a very pestilent, subtile, base petti-fogger, who gave him such bad counsel, as unhappily brought him to fall into familiarity with one *Distrust*, and suddenly to marry a daughter of his, called *Notcontent*. Through this his unhappy father-in-law every urging, and his unquiet wife's solicitation, he was much altered in his nature and condition from that which he was before. Of this woman *Notcontent*, he had divers children; among the rest, *Care, Fear, Spare, Hardfare, Toilsome*, and withal, one called *Gain*: Those former sons were sour, sad, froward, and very unquiet: but this lad *Gain* was a pleasant youth, and often made his parents very merry, and therefore though they neglected not the other, yet their chiefest delight was set upon this. This son they made so much of, as they suffered him to set his love upon one *Coveting*, the base daughter of *Desire*; this fellow *Covetousness*, was their son, the prisoner now at the bar: who when he was but a very babe, so continually lay sucking at his mother *Covering's breasts*, as she had not milk enough for him; and therefore, with her husband *Gain's* consent, she put him to be nursed, and nourished up of one *Greedy*, the wife of *Money-love*. Now so it fell out, that these two had a daughter called *Hope-to-increase*, to which he at ripe years was married, who between themselves, as also by the help of their parents, on both sides; of his parents *Gain* and *Coveting*, and of her parents *Greedy* and *Money-love*, they did grow rich and very great. And so insatiable hath he

been ever in getting, as he justly deserveth to be called *Covetousness*, his very true and proper name. And this is that which I have to say, my Lord, and I hope it may give the Jury satisfaction, that he is not endited by a false name.

If you have spoken, Master *Proof*, then, Crier, call in Master *Signs*, saith the Judge.

Master Signs, saith the Crier, stand up to the bar.

Then the Judge asked him, if he knew the prisoner?

My Lord, saith he, I have known this man of a long time, his name is *Covetousness*; he was so born, and brought up, as Master *Proof* hath witnessed to your Lordship, and to the Jury.

But, saith the Judge, you have heard him deny that this is his name; what evident tokens can you therefore decipher him by, that the Jury may know him to be the very man?

My Lord, though I know him to be blinded with Self-love, and with an over good conceit of himself, as rich men commonly be, (so saith Solomon,) as also that he is flattered by such, as he himself hath named to your Lordship, that he will never believe what I shall say; yet will I deliver undoubted tokens to the Jury, for them to know assuredly that he is the very man, according to his name; a right Mammonist. For, my Lord, he cannot deny that he was ever content with his estate, Heb. 13:5, but through the love of money, which he coveteth after, he hath laboured and made haste to be rich, 1. Tim. 6:9. Prov. 23:4, 28:20, and never would be satisfied, Eccles. 5:6, 10, nor have enough, Isa. 56:11. For as riches increased, so he set his heart upon them, Psa. 62:10. His chiefest joy was because his wealth was great, and because his hand had gotten much, Job 31:25. He hath received silver rather than instruction, and gold rather than knowledge, Prov. 8:10. His trust was in his riches, Prov. 11:20. Jer. 48:7. His wealth was his strong city, Prov. 10:15, and as a high wall in his conceit, Prov. 18:11. Greedy hath he been of gain, and through his greediness, hath he troubled his own house, Prov. 5:27. By chiding, turmoiling, pinching-fare, and such like means, he hath increased his estate by unjust gain and oppression, Prov. 28:8, 22:16. Gifts he hath loved and received. Prov. 29:4. Isa. 1:23. In his abundance he hath not had power given him to live plentifully, Eccles. 6:2, but hath spareth more than needeth, Prov. 11:24. He hath eaten upon other men's labours, Isa. 3:14, and his neighbours' labours he hath used without recompence, Jer. 22:13, for he always only looked to his own ways, and to his own gain, Isa. 56:11. Studying to join house to house, and field to field, that he might be alone, Isa. 5:8. He hath built houses by unrighteousness and wrong, Jer. 22:13. He hath made unhonest gain, Ezek. 22:13, 24. And gotten greedily by extortion, Ezek. 22:12. His eyes and his heart were only for covetousness, Jer. 22:17. Besides all these, my Lord, he hath suffered the cares of this world, and deceitfulness of riches, to choke the word of God, that it hath been without fruit in him, Matt. 13:22. He never devised liberal things, Isa. 32:8. Not to despise the gain of deceits, Isa. 32:8. Any proposition tending to cost was ever displeasing to him, and like the young man in the Gospel, would he go away heavily, as one grieved to part with his goods. As an Ahab he never could see a Naboth's vineyard lying commodiously for him, but he eagerly gaped after it. If he gave to the poor, and to good uses, it was of necessity, not freely, 2 Cor. 9:5, sparingly, and not bountifully, nor cheerfully, and of a willing mind, pleading not to be so rich as men took him to be, Prov. 13:7.

And whereas this man saith, that he hath ever hated Covetousness, as indeed he ought to have done, Prov. 28:16. Surely if he had, then would he, my Lord, with David (one that bestowed infinite treasures to holy uses), have prayed against the Covetousness of his own heart, Psa. 119:25. He would have been more liberal, more bountiful, more given to hospitality, and more ready to good works, than he hath been hitherto. He would be like Cornelius, giving much alms, Acts 10:2. My Lord, I have known him to watch opportunity to get advantages both of rich and poor: If Master *Liberality, Bounty, Hospitality, Good Work, Church*, or *Common-weal* did ever employ him, he then would make gain of them all to himself. Where he found any good fellows for his turn, as *Waste, Prodigality, Pride, Idle, Needy* or *Simple*, as long as they had any thing, he would speak kindly to them; offer to lend them upon usury and mortgages, till he had undone them, which he that hateth Covetousness would never have done.

To be short, my Lord, all the witnesses produced already, with the just complaint of poor *Poverty*, proclaim his name to be *Covetousness*, yea, as your Lordship hath well observed, his own speeches and practices, cry shame against him.

Would a man hating Covetousness, commend the practice of Sir Worldly-wise as he hath done?

Would he commend and entertain in his service, *Advantage* and *Holdfast, Rack-rent*, and *Over-reach, Make-much* and *Pinch-hard, Spare-purse* and *Stingy, Hardfare and Churl, Cold-welcome* and *Wish-rid, Scarce Drink* and *Fare-well*, with a company of base characters, such as these, *Slipthrift* and *Poor-wage, Lack-means* and *Loiterer*, with *So-live* and *Or-begone*? If Covetousness did not oversway him, he would surely abandon all such contemptible companions, which are ever a disgrace to *Liberality, Bounty*, and *Hospitality*; such fellows as these afore-named, they scorn to have abiding in their mansions.

I have been, my Lord, somewhat too long I fear me; but I hope, I have satisfied your Lordship and the Jury, and spoken but that which is truth.

Master Signs, saith the Judge, you and Master Proof have performed the parts of honest men.

Sirrah! sirrah! thou that hast so impudently denied thy name here before the face of thy Country, being so clearly proved against thee everyway, what canst thou yet allege for thyself, that now the sentence of death should not be pronounced against thee?

Good, my Lord, a psalm of mercy.

What! canst thou, so notorious a traitor to God, to his church, to thy king, and to thy country, now imagine to reap any benefit by thy clergy?

Good, my Lord, I pray your Lordship of mercy, good, my Lord.

Fellow, hold thy peace! and hear with patience thy just deserved judgment.

Covetousness, thou hast been endited by the name of Covetousness, of all the aforesaid felonies, Oppressions, and Murders, and for the same thou hast been arraigned; thou hast pleaded Not Guilty, and hast put thyself upon thy trial, and been found guilty; having no more to say for thyself, this is the law.

Thou art to be counted *Idolatry* before God, and also the root of all evil, and so damning a sin, as not to be named amongst Christians, and that such as by thee are made covetous, are to be abandoned of all good men, as of God they are abhorred, being worthy of eternal death: and have no inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God, but upon them must come the wrath of God, as upon the children of disobedience. Thou art, therefore, as a rotten member of the flesh, to be mortified and cut off.

Master Sheriff, do execution; which the Under-Sheriff seeth performed.

Gaoler, set *Papistry* to the Bar.

Papistry, hold up thy hand.

Papistry, thou art here endited by the name of Papistry, of the City of Rome, in the County of Babylon, that thou being a bastard Christian, begotten of Heresy, Judaism, Paganism, hast by violent force and arms invaded the territories of the Church of God, and by Spanish Inquisition, bloody massacres, stabbing, poisoning, and killing of kings, gunpowder plots, treasons, rebellions, and other hellish practices, usurped authority, and thrust upon God's people their human traditions, inventions, superstitions, will-worship, heresies, Jewish ceremonies, and Paganish idolatry, to the damnation of many Christian souls, contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his crown and dignity. What sayest thou hereunto; art thou Guilty, or Not Guilty?

Not Guilty, my Lord.

By whom wilt thou be tried?

By God and the Country.

But, good, my Lord, let me have another Jury chosen, I do not except against the former Jury, *Faith, Love, Fear, Charity, Sincerity, Patience, Innocency*, and the rest; but, my Lord, though they be honest men, and have well discharged themselves in their verdict upon other prisoners, yet have they not such judgment and understanding as others have, to discern of my cause, and the truth of the Evidence which shall be brought against me.

Papistry, because neither thou nor any of thy slanderous favourites may say, that thou hast been proceeded against rigorously and unjustly, without respect to the truth of the cause, I am content to call a new Jury, if here we can have so many as will make up the number.

I humbly thank you, my good Lord, God reward your Lordship for it.

Master *Sheriff*, empannel a new Jury of very substantial men, the chiefest you can find, and fittest to go upon this prisoner now at the Bar.

My Lord, I supposed, that as he would crave, so from your Lordship's uprightness he should obtain this favour, therefore have I prepared a full Jury to this purpose.

It was done wisely of you, Master Sheriff. Let them be called.

Crier, Call in the Jury.

- 1. Call Common Principles. Vous avez [You have] Common Principles.
- 2 Call Apostles' Creed. Vous avez The Creed.
- 3 Call Second Commandment. Second Commandment, come in.

My Lord, I cannot get in.

What's the matter?

My Lord, saith the Crier, the Papists keep him out.

Command to let him in. Vous avez The Second Commandment.

- 4 Call Paternoster. Vous avez Paternoster.
- 5 Call *Holy Scriptures*. Vous avez *Holy Scriptures*.
- 6 Call the *Apocrypha*. Vous avez *Apocrypha*.
- 7 Call Counsels. Vous avez Counsels.
- 8 Call Ancient Fathers for the first six hundred years after Christ. Vous avez Ancient Fathers.
- 9 Call Contradiction among themselves. Vous avez Contradiction.
- 10 Call Absurdity of Opinion. Vous avez Absurdity of Opinion.
- 11 Call Consent of their own men. Vous avez Consent.
- 12 Call Testimony of Martyrs. Vous avez Testimony of Martyrs.

Count, said the Clerk.

Then the Crier bids them answer to their names.

My Lord, here are some more summoned by Master Sheriff's authority.

Who be they, Master Sheriff?

Master Law, with his Sons, Civil, Canon, Common, and Municipal.

Well, let them attend the Court for the Kings service, for use, if need be.

Papistry, if thou canst justly except against any, I give thee leave to challenge any such of the Jury.

Good, my Lord, only one of the Jury I except against, which is *Holy Scriptures*, except it be our own Translation. (Editor's note: Their translation includes the Apocrypha. Richard Bernard is not suggesting the Apocrypha is part of Sacred Scripture. Papistry wanted to be tried by their Bible translation which they include the Apocrypha. And with their own translation, showed they were like the heathens, and thus he was found guilty).

Well, saith the Judge, I am content, it shall be so, let it be either Montanus, or the Rhemist, or the Vulgar Edition; we desire a just proceeding with all the indifferency that may be.

Then the Crier calleth aloud; If any man can give evidence, or can say any thing against the prisoner at the bar, let him come in, for he stands upon his deliverance.

Here is, my Lord, a worthy Gentleman, Mr. Verity [true principles or belief].

Master Verity, come near, what can you say concerning the prisoner at the bar?

My Lord, this I am able to justify; first, that he hath been a False Teacher from the beginning, fraught with error and heresies, teaching as the false teachers did, such as be recorded in Scripture, if they were paralleled together, as the Doctrine of Devils, 1 Tim. 5:1, 2. Traditions and Commandments of men, Matt. 15:2. Mark 7:8, 9. 13. Col. 2:22. Venial [denoting a sin that is not regarded as depriving the soul of divine grace] sins, Matt, 23:16, 18. Children's neglect of Parents for Church's profit, as they pretended, Matt. 15:5, Mark 7:11. Superstitious observation in meats and holy days, Matt. 15:1, Col. 2:6, 21. Laying heavy burdens upon the people, Luke 11:46. Justification by works, therewith troubling the Churches, Gal. 2:18, 3:2, 4, 12. Voluntary Religion and Will-worship, Col. 2:18, 23. The worship of Angels, Col. 2:18. Carnal liberty, 2 Pet. 2:19, Rev. 2:15, 20. And teaching for filthy Lucre, Tit. 2:11. Thus are they, as were the false Teachers, as the Scriptures in the New Testament set them out, like in all these things.

How like they are, my Lord, to after Heretics, learned Whitaker in his book *De Ecclesia*, in the first Question, sheweth in many particulars.

Secondly, my Lord, he hath used the very same Practices which False Teachers have used; he doth to make way for his doctrine, worship, and advancement, even as they did. They played the hypocrites in outward humility, in *long prayers* and forms of Devotion, and so misled silly Women. They graced their doctrine with shew [show] of Forefathers. They took away the Key of Knowledge, and neither would enter into life, nor suffer others. They told the people old Wives' Fables, and told lies in hypocrisy. They used sleights and cunning craftiness to deceive. They boasted of their learning, used profane, and vain-babbling, and oppositions of sciences, as they termed it. They pretended Revelations, Apostolical Traditions, and alleged counterfeit writing. They had the Prophetical Women, and deceiving Prophetesses. They had their Miracle-workers, Casters out of Devils, and Dreamers of Dreams. They would slander men's persons, and the doctrine of faithful Teachers, and lay to their charge what they could not prove, speaking of them contemptuously, and railing on them. They boasted to be the True Church, and that by Succession they were of the Fathers. They would use fair and smoothing words, and teach with enticing words, and did strive for excellency of speech of man's wisdom to deceive. When they could not prevail by fair means, then they would suborne false witnesses: they threatened, beat, imprisoned, banished, and slew the faithful teachers and Christian believers. They would plot conspiracies to the shedding of blood, and the priests must be acquainted herewith beforehand to encourage them hereto. They would make open insurrections, and stir up great personages to take part with them. And what rebellion, treasons, conspiracies, insurrections, and persecutions, this *Papistry* hath wrought, my Lord Bishop of Chichester hath openly discovered to the world in his book

of Thanksgiving for our deliverance from all these traitors, Morton, Sands, Parsons, Campian, Ballard Watson, Clerk, Garnet, Priests and Jesuits; Stukely Somervile, Throgmorton, Parry, Babington, and his company; Lopus, Tyrone, Markham, Brook, with others, Piercy, Catesby, and all the Gunpowder Plotters, Laics. And this, my Lord, is not what I could, but what I thought sufficient to testify at this time, because I would not be tedious.

Mr. *Verity*, by what you have said, it is easy to see how this man hath followed, both the false Teachers in doctrine, and the enemies of the Gospel in their practices. If there be any more witnesses, let them come forth.

Yes, my Lord, here is Sir Christianity.

Sir Christianity, what is it that you have to say against this prisoner at the Bar?

My Lord, I was commanded to be here to-day to give evidence what I know against this man, and this I am willing to for the service of my Sovereign. This is what I have to say, my Lord, that this man with his associates hath, instead of Christian Religion, set up a service of Judaism, and Paganism, which I am able to prove in a multitude of particulars; but because I am loath to be tedious in my relation, I have brought here with me Three Books, that the Jury may judge of all the particulars; or they may be read before the prisoner, if your Lordship shall be pleased to have it also.

What Books, Sir *Christianity*?

My Lord, one is called 'The three Conformities,' set out lately. The other is 'De Origine Papatus,' set out by one Doctor Morisin, and dedicated to his late Majesty: and our third is, our learned countryman Doctor 'Raynolds' Conference with Hart,' never answered by any Papist to this day; who sheweth how the Popish service is like unto the Jewish in very many particulars, and wherein they be more Heathenish than Jewish.

1 am content to have them read to spare your speech touching the Jewish service.

So having been read, the Judge yet wished Sir *Christianity* to declare openly how Pagan-like Papists be and as the Heathenish Idolaters in Israel and Judah were, and only out of the undoubted testimonies of Scripture and the Apocryphal books, because these learned authors had omitted it.

My Lord, I shall, saith Sir *Christianity*, perform this task with as great brevity as I may; that this prisoner (if it be possible) may see how wickedly he hath dealt with men's souls, to set up instead of God's service, an idolatrous, and Pagan-like worship.

These Pagans set forth God like a man. The idolatrous Israelites had a Queen of Heaven; they had Images of gold, and silver, brass, iron, wood, and stone, and some of clay; some molten, some carved and graven, some pourtrayed upon walls, and other Pictures; some were like men, Lam. 3:1, 1 Sam. 5:3, 4; and some like women, Acts 19:27, 2 Maccab. 1:13, 1 Sam. 31:10; some like beasts, (like St. George and the Dragon,) Exod. 34; Wisdom 11:15. They adorned them with silver and gold, Jer. 10:4, and set crowns upon some of their heads, covering them with costly garments and of divers colours, Deut. 7:25; Heb. 2:19; Baruch 6:8, 9, 14, 15, 29, 39, 50, 55, 58; Ezek. 16:18; Wisd. 12:14; carrying a sceptre in the hand, or a dagger, or an axe, Baruch 6:14, 15. They set them up with great devotion and solemnity, with music and melody, Dan. 3:3; with singing, dancing, and other delights, Exod. 22:5. They built Temples for these Images, Joel 3:5; 2 Maccab. 1:13, 15; Baruch 6:18; which were the houses of their gods, Judg. 17:4; 1 Sam. 5:2; and called them Sanctuaries, Isa. 16:12. They had Chapels for them, Amos 7:12. Yea, they set them upon tops of hills, 1 Kings 14:23; 2 Kings 17:10. They had them in private houses, Judges 17:4, 18; in chambers, Ezek. 8:12; and in secret places, Deut. 17:15. They had their pleasant Groves planted, Jer. 17:2; 1 Kings 14:23; and they also had their Images, 1 Kings 15:13; 2 Chron. 15:16; 2 Kings 17:10. They had their standing Pillars and Images, as Pillars as the Papists their crosses, Deut. 12:3, 16:22; 2 Kings 17:10; Lev. 16:1. These were in the head of highways and streets of Cities, Ezek. 16:31; Jer. 11:13. The multitude were allured by the gorgeous decking of them, Wisdom 14:20, 15:5, 6. Yea, they doted upon them, Ezek. 8:10, 11. They worshipped them, bowed unto them, and fell down before them, Dan. 3:2; Isa. 44:7, Jos. 23:6. They would lift up their eyes unto them, Ezek. 33:25. Pray unto them, 1 Kings 18:26; Hab. 2:16; Isa. 44:17. Kiss them, Hos. 13:2; 2 Kings 19:8; set up Candles before them, Baruch 6:19. Make vows to them, Baruch 6:35; and go on Pilgrimage, to some of them very far, Jer. 51:44, expecting some miraculous cure from the Image, Baruch 6:41. In entering into their Temples they sprinkled themselves with water. Alters they had of stone, Isa. 65:3. They used vain repetitions in their prayers, Mat. 6:7. They measured their

Religion, and goodness thereof by plenty, Jer. 44:7. They had their sacrificing Priests, Acts 14:13; and they were shaven Priests, Baruch 6:31, 32. Sometimes they were of the basest of the people, 1 Kings 12:31. Whosoever would, might for money, or for money-worth, make himself a Priest, 1 Kings 13:31; 2 Chron. 13: 9. And some served for base wages, Judges 17. They had their Concubines, Baruch 6:11, Hos. 6:14. Some of them would wear hair clothes, and torment themselves, 1 Kings 18:26, 28; Zach. 13:4; and of a devotion in a Will-worship macerate their bodies, punishing and not sparing their bodies, Col. 2:23. Their Teachers taught for hire, Mich. 3:11; 2 Pet. 2:13, 15; Rev. 2; Tit. 1:11. For gifts, they would promise life and peace, Ezek. 13:22; Jer. 23:14, 17. In their service they had variety of music, Dan. 3. Their set holy days, Exod. 32; 2 Kings 13. They had their holy women attending the Idol-service, Ezek. 8:14; working for them, Ezek. 8:18; 2 Kings 23:7; and prophesying lies, Ezek. 13:22; and were great worshippers of the Queen of Heaven, Jer. 7:18, 44:19. They had also their several gods for their several countries, as Papists have their Saints, 2 Kings 17:29, 18:34. They would pray to these, and swear by them, Jer. 5:7, 12:16; Gen. 31:53; 1 Kings 19:2; 2 Kings 17:35, Zeph. 1:5. Some in Israel which fell to Heathenish idolatry were like Church-Papists; for they would worship Idols, and yet go to God's house, and hear his prophets, Jer. 7:8, 10; 2 Kings 17:14; Ezek. 14:3, 7, 20:1, 31, 23:29. When Idolatry was cast out of the Church, as we have done the idolatry of Rome, the Idolaters would condemn it as an ill act in them, and speak against the serving of God aright, as Papists do against us, 2 Kings 18:22. They worshipped towards the East, Ezek. 8:16. They were very superstitious, Acts 19. They lived in very gross ignorance of the truth, and in liberty of sinning, Isa. 44:18, 19, 45:20; Eph. 4:18, 19; Wisd. 14:15, 16, 17. They worshipped they knew not what, John 4:22. Their Festivals after their Idol service they spent in eating, drinking, singing, dancing, Exod. 32:6. 18, 19. They had their reveilings and meetings, full of excess and riot, 1 Pet. 4:3. And would wonder at and speak ill of such as would not be like them. They had amongst them Conjurers, Wizards, Charmers, Observers of Times, Soothsayers, Astrologers, Star-gazers, and such like. To these the people resorted and consulted with, 2 Kings 21:6; 1 Sam. 5:2; 1 Chron. 10:13, Hest. 37, 9:24, Deut. 18:14; Isa. 19:3, 47:12, 13, Hos. 4:12; Ezek. 21:21; Jer. 8:17; Acts 8:10. They sacrificed to Nets, and burnt incense to Drags, Hab. 1:16. They believed that some of their Images were approved of their great God from Heaven, Acts 15:35. They were cruel and bloodily minded against all that were against their Idolatry, Hos. 5:14, 13:16; 2 Kings 21:15, 16; Judges 6:30; 2 Chron. 24:18, 21. The Idolaters in Israel and Judah brought in the Heathen, as God's plague upon them, to punish them for their idolatry, 2 Chron. 24:23, 21:16,17, 33:11, 30:6, 10:7; 1 Kings 17:18; as the Papists have brought the Turks upon the Christian world by their imagery and idolatry, Rev. 9. They were stupid, and without understanding in their Idol-making, and in setting them up to worship them, Isa. 44:14, 20; and so continued therein obstinate, as the Papists do. And thus have I shewed what I can say, my Lord, touching the Heathenish Idolaters, and their practices.

Your evidence is so clear, Sir *Christianity*, as hereby all may see how Pagan-like Papists be in their imagery, priests and temples. Is there any further evidence?

Then stands up Mr. *Attorney General*. And did prove him to be guilty of High Treason, both against the person and the laws of his Sovereign. My Lord, saith he, this fellow, under pretence of Religion, (for all must be covered with his shadow,) hath set up another spiritual Head over the Church, besides Christ, even Antichrist his great enemy, as is sufficiently proved. He hath set up also Mediators of Intercession besides Christ; also in his rebellious pride of heart he hath exalted man's merit, and made him a party Saviour of himself, by satisfactory punishments, either here, or in their feigned purgatory. Thus is he a rebel, and an abettor [coconspirator] of rebels against Christ.

Again, the Law of Christ, the Holy Scriptures, he hath notoriously corrupted, and abused many ways. 1. He maketh it no *perfect* rule. 2. He teacheth blasphemously that the Original is corrupt, and so shaketh the faith of all such as rest on the Scriptures. 3. He hath added to them man's writings, called Apocrypha, to make them canonical. 4. He hath feigned a traditional word, and equalleth the same with the Scriptures. 5. He debarred for a long time the translating of God's Word into a known tongue to keep the people from the understanding thereof. 6. Being enforced at length to translate it, he hath of purpose done it corruptly; and with many uncouth and obscure words, hath hidden the truth still, to keep the people in blindness. 7. Yet this, their corrupt and obscure translation, is not admitted indifferently to all, but to some, and to these under license for which they pay money. 8. These parties, though they may read the Scriptures, yet must it be with the Pope's Spectacles, and may not see further than the false Teacher pleaseth, nor conceive otherwise of the sense than he suggesteth, though the text be never so clear of itself. 9. They blasphemously publish that the Scriptures *Nose of Wax, a dead Letter, dumb Judges*, and a *black Gospel, inky Divinity*, and may have one sense one time, and another at another time, according to the Church's state and condition. 10. They set up a corrupt Latin translation, for as authentical as the originals in the Hebrew and the Greek. 11. And lastly, they brought into the Church instead of the Holy Bible, a Book of Lies, to be read. Thus is the wicked wretch guilty of High Treason against our Sovereign.

Besides that, he hath counterfeited his Majesty's broad Seal, inventing new Sacraments, never of Christ's institution, and hath conspired and plotted the death of an innumerable multitude of his Majesty's subjects in a most cruel and bloody manner. My Lord, he is no way longer to be endured; for we shall never be at peace, as long as he may have liberty to live; for he is a rank traitor to our King and State, and underminer of Religion, and the true Church of Christ, and an enemy to our peace and welfare in the Commonwealth [public welfare].

Gentlemen, saith the Judge, you of the Jury have heard Master *Attorney* s witness, also both what Master *Verity*, and Sir *Christianity* have spoken against him: now that you have heard the evidence so fully; what say you touching the Prisoner, Is he Guilty, or no?

Then the Foreman, in the name of all the rest, answereth, Guilty, my Lord.

Whereupon the Judge turneth to the Prisoner, and saith, *Papistry*, thou hearest what grievous iniquities, foul and filthy abominations, murders, and massacres have been laid to thy charge; thou hast heard the verdict of these so learned and well approved Gentlemen, chosen without all partiality to go upon thee. And they in their judgment, upon their consciences, have found thee guilty. What canst thou say for thyself, that sentence of death should not be pronounced against thee?

My Lord, the Jury assuredly is corrupted by some means or other, else would they never have found me guilty: for our learned men have cited many of these in my behalf, and therefore I appeal from them to a General Council, for the trial of their honesty in this verdict.

Upon this evil surmize and brazen-faced accusation, all the Jury fell a murmuring, being much grieved to be taxed with faithlessness and perjury. The worshipful Gentlemen the Justices, and Master Sheriff, began to speak in their behalf, but the Judge standing up, stopped them and made answer for them.

Papistry, to be brief with thee, thou art shamelessly impudent, to accuse these Worthy Gentlemen for justly proceeding according to the clear evidence to thy face. For thy learned men, they have only cited the names of some of these, but without their knowledge or consent. Yea, many testimonies they bring under their names, which indeed are proved to be counterfeits, abusing their unadvised readers in their unjust defence of thee. As for thy appeal to a General Council, it is but to set a good face upon an ill cause; for thou knowest that we have long desired a Free General Council: but not a gathering together, like the evil *Conventicle of Trent*.

But art thou not ashamed to conceit the bringing of these men's verdict to the trial? We must by them be tried, and not they by us. By what canst thou try the principles of Religion? Wilt thou deny them? Must Fathers, Councils, Scriptures, and all be brought under our judgments? Thou hadst no cause to tax the Jury; if any had been in fault, it should have been the witnesses; but canst thou tax *Verity* of lying, or *Christianity* of falsehood? As for Mr. *Attorney*, his speech is no more than your own words, writings, and practice do testify.

Hear, therefore, thy sentence, justly deserved before God and men.

Papistry, thou hast been endited by the name of Papistry, of all these former treasons, rebellions, conspiracies, gunpowder-plots, murders, massacres, falsehood, heresies, Judaism and Paganism; and of that thy detestable idolatry; and for the same hast been arraigned, thou hast pleaded Not Guilty, hast put thyself upon the trial, and being found Guilty, having no more to say for thyself, this is the law.

That thou, the *Master of Iniquity*, with the old Serpent called the Devil, or satan, thy father, with thy lewd mother, that great whore, drunk with the blood of the Martyrs of Jesus, which sitteth upon a scarlet-coloured beast, as also with that false Prophet, the *Son of Perdition*, thy guide and governor, shall be cast alive where the Dragon is, into the *lake of fire*, burning with brimstone, there to be tormented with all the marked ones in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb, without rest day and night, the smoke of which torment shall ascend up for ever and for ever, without mercy or hope or redemption!

After this sentence, there is made an *O yes*; and so the Court breaketh up. The *Judge* ariseth, the *Justices* and *Gentlemen* attended him; the *Sheriff* with the *Under Sheriff* and his servants go before with the sounding of a trumpet, and so do conduct him to his house, and there do leave him with rest and peace.

FINIS.