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T H E
LEVELLER
TRACTS

1647-1653

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THE LEVELLER TRACTS

1647 - 1653

Edited by William Haller

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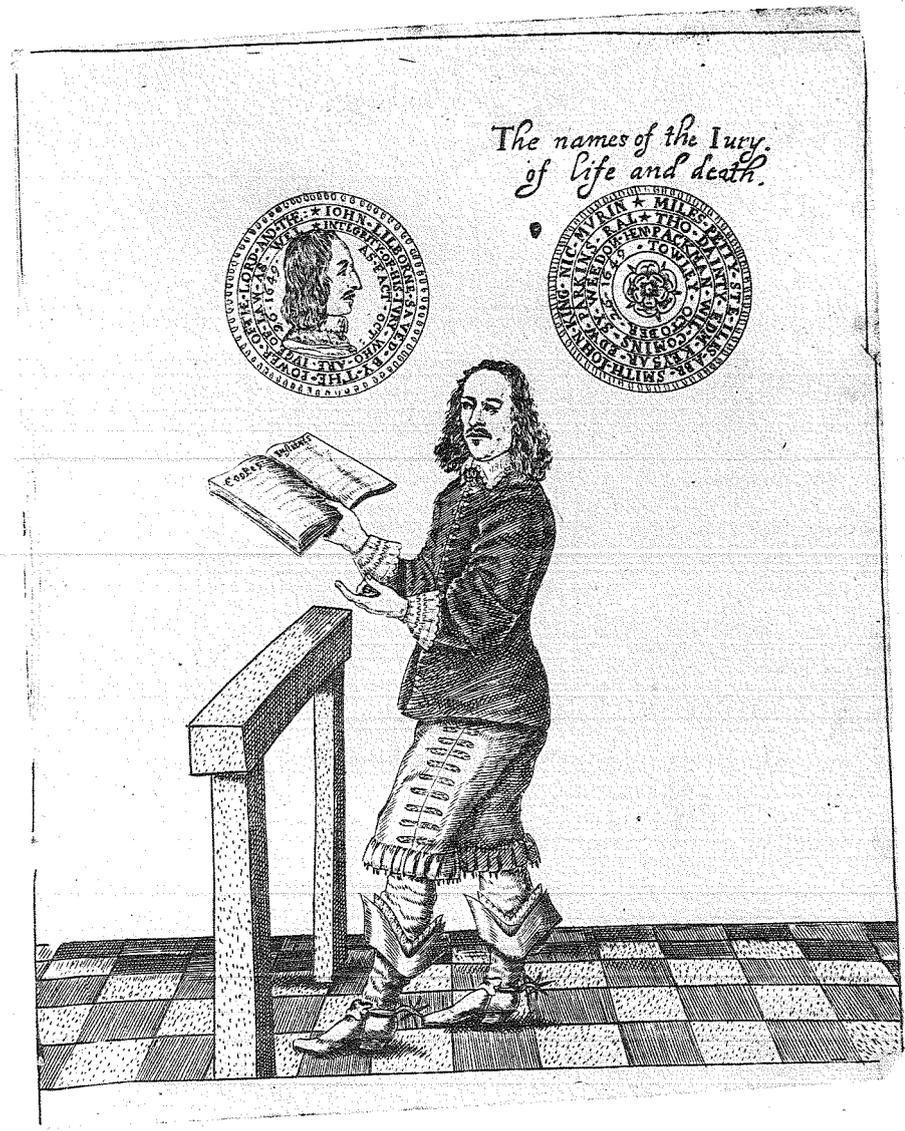
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*The names of the Jury
of life and death.*

JOHN LILBURNE

Frontispiece to *The Triall of Lieut. Collonel John Lilburne...*
Published by Theodorus Verax [Clement Walker] (1649)
Reproduced from a copy in the Huntington Library

Koupi od	~
Darem od	min. Školství
v	Prose za Kčs
Inv č	36. 947
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PREFACE

THE Introduction was originally written by Mr. Haller, read by Mr. Davies, and then rewritten in its present form by Mr. Haller. The notes prefixed to the several tracts were originally written by Mr. Davies and rewritten by Mr. Haller. The texts of most of the tracts were edited by Mr. Davies, with assistance from Mr. Haller with regard to several of them.

In general, the original texts have been followed faithfully, except when strict adherence would have hampered a reader's understanding of them. The main exception is that the italics with which Lilburne and the other writers strewed their pages have generally been changed to roman. Italics have been retained for the normal purposes, and occasionally to avoid ambiguity. The capitalization has been kept, except that passages wholly in caps have been lowercased. Punctuation has been changed only to make the meaning clear. The more obvious typographical errors have been silently corrected. All marginal notes have been transferred to the bottom of the page, and, when the tract itself did not indicate to which passage the note refers, an asterisk or other symbol has been inserted in the text at an appropriate point. To facilitate comparison with the original, the pagination has been inserted *in loco*, and all page references in the Introduction and elsewhere are to originals. The writers of the tracts sometimes inserted material in square brackets, but it is believed that no confusion will arise between their insertions and those of the editors. The few notes added to the texts have the words *Editors' note* attached. The full title of each tract reprinted is given in conjunction with the text. Of tracts referred to in the general introduction, the significant part of the title, but not necessarily the full title, is in each case given at the point of principal reference, and a more abbreviated title may be given at other points. Omissions within titles as given are indicated. Capitalization as it appears on the original title pages has been approximated but not strictly adhered to. All titles and authors are to be found in the index. In the general introduction and the introductory

PREFACE

notes to the texts dates of first appearance given in the originals are cited in parentheses. Dates supplied by George Thomason on the title pages of copies in his collection now in the British Museum are cited in brackets.

WILLIAM HALLER
GODFREY DAVIES

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. . . . for what is done to any one, may be done to every one: besides, being all members of one body, that is, of the English Commonwealth, one man should not suffer wrongfully, but all should be sensible, and endeavour his preservation; otherwise they give way to an inlet of the sea of will and power, upon their laws and liberties, which are the boundaries to keep out tyranny and oppression; and who assists not in such cases, betrays his own rights, and is over-run, and of a free man made a slave when he thinks not of it, or regards it not, and so shunning the censure of turbulency, incurs the guilt of treachery to the present and future generations.—THE JUST DEFENCE OF JOHN LILBURN

INTRODUCTION

I

JOHN LILBURNE left the parliamentary army at the close of 1644, returned to London, and took up the battle for his rights as a free-born Englishman by attacking his former commander, the Earl of Manchester, his old friend William Prynne, the Presbyterians in general, and the House of Lords. The result was that by the middle of 1646 he found himself in the Tower, where he remained, except for brief intervals, until August, 1648. From prison, however, he was able to continue his campaign, and men with fears and grievances similar to his own rallied about him. Hence there quickly developed under his leadership an agitation for personal rights and economic redress which presently issued in a broad and definite program for constitutional reform. This was set forth in a series of petitions and manifestoes culminating in the so-called large petition, which the House of Commons on May 20, 1647, ordered to be burned by the common hangman. Parliament had also recently rejected petitions from the soldiers of the New Model Army protesting against the terms proposed for their disbandment and had thus initiated that controversy which eventuated two years later in the establishment of the Commonwealth. Lilburne and his followers, repulsed by Parliament, joined forces with the disaffected soldiers, who were organizing under the leadership of chosen representatives or, as they were called, agitators. There followed a remarkable series of pronouncements from the army and an equally remarkable series of debates between officers and men at Putney at the end of October (in the course of which, it would appear, Lilburne and his friends were dubbed Levellers¹), and at Whitehall in

¹ R. H. Tawney (*Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 338n) notes that the word was used to describe themselves by rebels against enclosures in Leicestershire and Warwickshire in 1607, but these men were engaged in levelling "not social inequalities but quickset hedges and park palings." The term was resented by Lilburne and his friends. In *The second Part of Englands New-Chaines* (reprinted below), p. 7, he states that "the word Leveller was framed and cast upon all those in the Army (or elsewhere) who are against any kind of Tyranny, whether in King, Parliament, Army, Council of State, &c." In *Legall Fundamentall Liberties* (partly reprinted below), p. 36, he implies that the term was first used to designate his followers in the debates in the Army Council at Putney, at the close of October, 1647. He there refers to "other sorts of men, going then under the name of Levellers (so baptized by your selves [the officers] at Putney)." The

December, 1648, and January, 1649. Another outcome of the insurgent movement was a new series of publications, in which the Levellers advanced their program and argued their case in print. The reports of the army debates are already available in modern editions. The present volume aims to make available the most important Leveller publications, from the burning of the large petition of May, 1647, to the final repression of Lilburne and his party under the Commonwealth. Without exaggeration it can be said that no more extraordinary body of material exists in the entire literature of politics. Certainly, no body of material of comparable importance dealing with such subjects had ever before appeared in English. The Leveller program was, no doubt, as Gardiner says, one "for three centuries rather than for a single parliament." Nevertheless, here for the first time English individualism found occasion and means to express, full-blown in its own native idiom, those conceptions of political and social relationships which were eventually to prevail everywhere among English-speaking peoples. Here was made manifest that not Cromwell but Lilburne had his feet on the main track to the democratic future.

For several reasons historians of the Puritan period have been somewhat tardy in doing justice to Lilburne and the Levellers. The subject has to be studied in a multitude of tracts, many of them anonymous and all deeply involved in the extensive and complicated mass of ephemeral and more or less fugitive controversial literature of the Puritan Revolution. Milton's polemics were singled out for attention in the eighteenth century because Milton was a great name on other grounds. Those of Lilburne and his followers had to wait until they were made generally accessible in public collections. Even so, the interests and attitudes of nineteenth-century historians were not always favorable to an objective understanding of such a movement. The matrix in which the Leveller movement developed was precisely that vulgar Puritanism which was discredited at the Restoration. Even the best historians, who were not principally interested in the religious phase of their subject anyhow, dealt impatiently with dissent, preferring to devote themselves to the great constitutional issue between Parliament and the crown and to the epic struggle of Cromwell against all antagonists, of whatever camp, who impeded his heroic work of conquering and governing. The Levellers they regarded with varying

first example of the word given in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is dated 1644. Actually, the source of the quotation, Nedham's *Case of the Commonwealth*, was printed in 1650. Nedham, earlier in the work than the *O.E.D.* reference, states, "because all persons have an equality of right to chuse and be chosen . . . the promoters of this way, are not improperly called Levellers"—not a bad definition.

degrees of displeasure or, at best, condescension. So long as Lilburne waged war on Cromwell's side, Gardiner, who set the tone and pattern, treated him, on the whole, sympathetically, but not so when he turned against Cromwell. A juster understanding of the democratic forces at work in the Puritan Revolution began with C. H. Firth's publication of *The Clarke Papers* (1891-1901), containing reports of the army debates and other relevant matter. The same writer supplied, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, an accurate, dispassionate outline of Lilburne's career, but in his later work occupied himself more with Cromwell and the army than with political movements and ideas. A serious effort to present Leveller conceptions with critical detachment was made by G. P. Gooch in 1898 in his *English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century* (new edition, revised by H. J. Laski, 1927). The first detailed study, based upon careful and extensive examination of the pamphlet literature, was T. C. Pease's *The Leveller Movement* (1916). This established beyond question the historical importance of the Levellers and still remains, in spite of certain omissions, a standard work from which later studies must take their start. Not its least valuable service is the aid it provides for dealing with the complex bibliography of the subject.

Comparatively little attention, up to this point, had been given to the intimate relation of Leveller political ideas to the religious background from which they sprang and by which they continued to be deeply colored. That lack was in some measure supplied by William Haller in *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution, 1638-1647* (1933-34), which reproduced several earlier pamphlets by Lilburne and his sympathizers, and in *The Rise of Puritanism* (1938), which included an account of Lilburne's writings and career up to the Long Parliament. A. S. P. Woodhouse, in *Puritanism and Liberty* (1938), offered a new edition of the army debates from the Clarke Papers and included a supplementary selection of material from contemporary tracts by Levellers and others. An illuminating introductory essay dealt with the confusion that arose in the popular mind in the course of the Puritan Revolution between the idea of Christian liberty under the gospel and the supposed rights of man under the law of nature.

The Leveller pamphlets have, of course, been freely used by students seeking information about particular matters in the history of the period. They have not, for obvious reasons, been often enough studied as a whole and in sequence, and, although individual pamphlets have been reprinted from time to time, no considerable number of them has up to now been

presented as a continuous series. To publish the entire series would probably require at least three volumes the size of the present one and would involve a good deal of repetition. We have, therefore, offered in these pages what seem to be the most representative items. A few of them have been previously reprinted but are included here because of their special significance in the context of Leveller agitation as a whole. The collection opens with the army *Declaration* of June 14, 1647, in which the soldiery are found embracing the political proposals contained in the Leveller petition rejected by Parliament on May 20. This is followed by some of the publications in which Lilburne and his friends developed their demand for the recognition of individual rights by fundamental law agreed to by the people and for a system of government which should give free play to individual enterprise within the state. Included also are two of the most noteworthy printed attacks upon the Levellers: one emanating from the parliamentary leaders and directed especially against Lilburne; the other from the religious leaders and directed against Walwyn. These attacks, together with the replies which they provoked, throw important light on certain of the sources of the Levellers' ideas and on their methods of agitation and organization. The collection might logically conclude with Clement Walker's account of Lilburne's trial and acquittal in October, 1649, but that, for all its dramatic interest, contributes little which is new to the story and would, besides, require too much space. We have, therefore, closed with Lilburne's final apologia, his *Just Defence* of 1653 against all who charged him with mere turbulency of spirit. A note prefixed to each selection is intended to define its place in the whole series and to direct the reader to other immediately relevant contemporary publications.

II

The Leveller movement can hardly be understood apart from the character and career of John Lilburne.² In 1637, at the age of twenty-two or twenty-three, he suffered his first punishment when the Star Chamber ordered him to be whipped, pilloried, and imprisoned for his share in the publication of John Bastwick's attack upon the bishops. Released by the Long Parliament on Cromwell's motion, he had entered the army and risen to be a lieutenant colonel. He had actively supported Cromwell

² Jane Robinson, of the University of California at Los Angeles, is writing a biography of John Lilburne. Until it appears, the life in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is recommended to the reader.

in the controversy which led to the formation of the New Model Army, but had resigned his commission because his conscience would not permit him to subscribe the covenant. The offense for which he was sent to the Tower was essentially his denial that the House of Lords had any authority over a commoner and his appeal to the House of Commons as the people's chosen representative. The Tower merely served him as a more resounding rostrum from which to keep up his agitation for what he claimed to be his rights against the tyranny, first of the House of Lords, but presently of the House of Commons as well. At the outset the Lords forbade him the company of his wife in prison, the use of writing materials, and the visits of friends, but these prohibitions were impossible to maintain. The conscience of that age was embarrassed at the thought of separating a man from the wife to whom God had joined him or of denying him recourse to any of the means of grace. Besides, influential people were interested in Lilburne and they, though unable—perhaps in some instances not overeager—to compel his release, nevertheless kept his enemies from taking extreme measures against him. Consequently, he was left in some measure free, while in the Tower, to con his books, consult his friends, direct his followers, pen his manifestoes and petitions, and dispatch them to the printer. One of the houses or a committee might upon occasion summon him to appear, on the charge of publishing a scandalous unlicensed pamphlet, but Lilburne simply took the opportunity to make a noisy scene, followed by an even more outrageous pamphlet. Ostensibly, all he asked for was that the Commons' committee which had been appointed to consider his case should report its findings and that he should either be dismissed or given a legal trial. But in this way he made himself the spokesman and leader of those whose hope of relief and betterment Parliament was more and more unable or unwilling to satisfy.

Lilburne, vain, quarrelsome, and pigheaded though he seems, had the gift of attracting friends and followers. Cromwell's known friendship probably continued to afford him some protection in the Tower, though by 1647 he was himself persuaded that the great man had betrayed him. What Cromwell thought of his former follower's capacity for making trouble is probably indicated in the defiant letter in which Lilburne tells him: "Doe the worst you can to my throat, which you used jestingly to say, you would cut so soon as ever I fell out with you."³ The prisoner's most devoted adherent and an important agent in the creation of the

³ Letter to Cromwell, Mar. 25, 1647, in Lilburne, *Jonahts Cry* ([July 26] 1647).

political organization which grew up around him was his wife. There was sincerity in his declaration, before the Commons' committee (November 6, 1646), that God had so knit the two of them together that, he says, "I had rather you should immediatly beat out my braines, then deprive me of the society of my wife."⁴ Elizabeth Lilburne flits through her husband's pamphlets as his unfailing attendant and informant, running his errands even while bearing his children. "This," he writes in one letter to Cromwell, "I have sent by the gravest, wisest, and fittest messenger I could think of, and though a Feminine, yet of a gallant and true masculine Spirit."⁵ Other devoted adherents were Richard Overton, his wife, and their associates. Overton was a printer of Baptist provenience, the author of a number of satirical attacks, on both prelatists and Presbyterians, in the manner of the Elizabethan Marprelate. He got into trouble in 1645 with the Stationers' Company, for running an illicit press at which these and similar things were printed, and he was putting forth his brilliant *Araignment of Mr. Persecution* in 1645, at the time when Lilburne was locking horns with Prynne. When the Lords sent Lilburne to prison, Overton came to his defense in a series of inflammatory tracts which led to his own arrest in August, 1646. Lodged in Newgate, he followed his leader's example in defying the House of Lords and in arguing, rather more coherently, their common cause.

Lilburne also received the support of the Baptists led by his old friend William Kiffin and of John Goodwin's followers, who gave him financial as well as moral aid. At the beginning of the troubles Goodwin was the regular incumbent at St. Stephen's in Coleman Street, but he had already begun to deviate from orthodoxy and early in 1644 brought his learning and eloquence to bear in support of the dissenting minority in the Westminster Assembly. Deprived of his living, he organized his followers into an Independent congregation, one of the most active and prosperous in the city. All of these godly adherents of Lilburne, Independent or Baptist, were eager in 1645 to make common cause with anyone who would help them to withstand the Presbyterians, but, as the danger of repression from that quarter diminished and as other objectives of the revolutionary movement came to the fore, their zeal in his behalf declined. They grew especially suspicious of his association with William Walwyn.

Lilburne and Walwyn met in the purlieu of Westminster Hall, in 1645, when the latter appeared as one of a committee of citizens bringing

⁴ Lilburne, *Anatomy of the Lords Tyranny* (Nov. 9, 1646), p. 17.

⁵ Letter to Cromwell, Mar. 25, 1647, in *Jonahs Cry*.

charges of corruption against William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons. Walwyn was a merchant of means, about forty-five years old, happily married, the father of a large family. He had a comfortable house, a garden, and a library, whither he sometimes brought the men he met about town in order to continue the kind of talk into which he was accustomed to lead them. He did not, like Lilburne, court public attention, but, along with a lively interest in ideas and in reforming the state, he had a taste and a gift for political organization. Early in the struggle, he had concerned himself about the affairs of various sects and, without identifying himself with any religious group, wrote several artful tracts against intolerance. Attached to Lilburne, he joined forces with the Baptists and Independents against Prynne and the Presbyterians, and when reviled by Thomas Edwards in *Gangraena* (1646) he retaliated in a vein of polished ridicule and irony rare in the polemics of the day and certain to be misunderstood. He turned his very plausible pen to Lilburne's defense, but, more important, after the Lords shut Lilburne up in the Tower, Walwyn busied himself in organizing popular demand not only for the prisoner's release but also for the adoption of his ideas. Lilburne's sympathizers, among whom Walwyn came to be reputed the most adroit and influential, now undertook not only to write pamphlets but to hold meetings, appoint committees, draft petitions, and get them printed, paid for, circulated, signed by a multitude, and delivered, sometimes by a noisy throng, at the door of the House of Commons. No movement of such a kind on such a scale organized for such a purpose had ever been seen in England. Its leaders were animated by religious convictions and they were experienced in the organization of religious dissent, but the movement was not a religious but a secular one, aiming to secure certain positive rights and benefits by political action. The Levellers constituted a party and in the end became, as Cromwell very well realized, one of the most formidable factors in the situation.

With this organization behind him, Lilburne argued in pamphlet after pamphlet that the House of Lords had no authority over him, because by the law of nature and the law of the land supreme authority over all Englishmen was vested in the people's representatives in the House of Commons. Yet he and his friends were not satisfied to protest merely against the Lords' effort to punish him for a single unlicensed pamphlet. They were aware of many impediments and limitations put upon them not only by the House of Lords but by other institutions not authorized by the people, such as the church, the crown, the king's law courts, the Merchant

Adventurers, the Stationers' Company, and so on. Why should the people not remedy all their wrongs at once by asserting the authority God had given them? That idea, needless to say, was not new. What was quite unprecedented was that men like Lilburne, full of such notions, now commanded the means and the skill to marshal a considerable number of people of like minds and conditions into a single body, so that they should speak and act together in their own interest as though they were in fact the people according to that conception of the law of nature and the state which they had come to accept as truth.

Thus, in the Levellers the party leader, agitator, and journalist appeared unmistakably upon the scene, professing with alarming force and plausibility to be the voice of the people. Lilburne and his friends quickly went beyond their pleas against the Lords, in order to set forth in print the many other grievances, largely economic, which they demanded that Parliament should set right, and they followed up their complaints by a steadily developing program of political reforms based upon their conceptions of history and law. This platform of complaints and reforms was clearly suggested in a pamphlet published in October, 1645, by Lilburne or someone very close to him, called *Englands Birth-Right Justified*, and in numerous succeeding pamphlets by Lilburne, Walwyn, Overton, and others. It was also presented in a series of petitions to Parliament, skillfully managed by the party leaders to put upon Parliament the onus of refusing to grant what the people were made to seem to demand, and, when the petition of May, 1647,⁶ was ordered by the House of Commons to be burned, the Levellers offered their program to the army.

By that time the Long Parliament was hardly a Parliament in any customary sense. It had become a quasi-permanent body, which could not be legally dissolved or replaced against its will, and its members, substantially reduced in number, exercised the functions both of civil administration and of a constitutional convention in time of crisis. The faction led by Cromwell and Vane, which had held the Presbyterians in check in 1645 and put through the New Model, was now in the minority. The men in control were those who had much to lose if the Independents and sectaries, but above all the Levellers, were to have their way. The majority, therefore, supported the Presbyterian scheme of church government, looked to the Scots as allies, and eventually made common cause with the Royalists. In this spirit Parliament in the opening months of 1647 under-

⁶ This petition and several of the tracts which led up to it are reprinted in *Tracts on Liberty*, ed. Haller.

took to reduce the army and organize a smaller force for service in Ireland. It was proposed, however, to pay the soldiers in cash only a part of the arrears due them, with inadequate security for the rest, and to exclude such leaders as Fairfax and Cromwell from command. These terms were received by the army with profound dissatisfaction, which promptly expressed itself in a fashion similar to that which Lilburne and his friends had been practicing and which Parliament deeply resented. The soldiers, the rank and file as well as the officers, held meetings, formed committees, appointed agitators to represent them, drafted petitions, and got them signed, delivered, and presently put into print. This organization of army opinion in opposition to Parliament found expression in "The Humble Petition of the Officers and Souldiers," of March 21, 1647, and then, as resistance grew, in a series of such documents, published together, in September, with the title, *A Declaration of the Engagements, Remonstrances, Representations, Proposals, Desires and Resolutions from His Excellency Sir Tho: Fairfax, and the generall Councel of the Army*, commonly referred to as "The Book of Army Declarations."

While the army was thus vainly pleading its cause, Lilburne and his friends were experiencing the total rejection of theirs. Inevitably the Levellers took an important part, though one that cannot be precisely described, in supporting, even in helping to direct, the campaign of resistance which began forthwith. "And when I saw," Lilburne wrote (July 1, 1647), that the House of Commons "would not heare, regard, or receive, but burnt, or sleighted all those just Petitions; I set underhand on foot, for Justice and my liberty, I applyed my selfe vigorously unto the honest blades, the private Souldiers, I meane, of the Army."⁷ He well knew that the basic theory of the Puritan Revolution from its beginning had been that rulers were responsible to the people and that the people were bound by natural law to reject rulers who betrayed their trust. On this principle Parliament had made war on the King, and Lilburne had appealed to the Commons against the Lords. Now he took the lead in proclaiming that Parliament, having also betrayed its trust, had lost its authority, that the people were compelled to resist, and that the true representatives of the people had become the army. But he meant by that not the army as it had been organized under military commanders for war

⁷ Letter to Cromwell, July 1, 1647, in *Jonahs Cry*. For similar statements by Lilburne see the postscript to the above letter in *Jonahs Cry*, dated July 16; *Copy of a Letter Written to Collonell Henry Marten* (July 20); and letter to Fairfax, July 22, in *Juglers Discovered* (Sept. 28, 1647).

but as it was in process of organizing itself through its agitators, primarily for opposing the orders of Parliament but in a large sense for political action of the widest scope and gravest import. In March he was writing to Cromwell that if, as Parliament declared, "tyranny be resistable, then it is resistable in a Parliament as well as a King."⁸ In April he was making the charge before a Commons' committee, and in print, that Parliament had grown as corrupt and tyrannical as the King had ever been and that it should be replaced by a Parliament elected annually. At the end of May, directly after the burning of the large petition, he assailed the House of Commons in a pamphlet of fifty-six pages, called *Rash Oaths unwarrantable*. Since it is impossible, he says, "for you the peoples chosen and betruſted Stewards or Commissioners to know the grievances of the people, your Empowerers, earthly Creators, Lords and Masters, if you take away the liberty of declaring them unto you," then by rejecting the people's petitions, and incidentally by refusing to pass upon Lilburne's appeal from the House of Lords, "you have forfeited your essence and being, & absolutely nullified the end of your ſitting."⁹ The writer's keen journalistic ſenſe led him to accompany his ſtatement with the texts of the rejected petitions, including the army's of March 21, and a lively circumſtantial account of the incidents leading up to the burning of the petition of May 20. He does not neglect to ſtate the practical conclusion to be drawn from all this. Parliament has become "a conſpiracy and confederacy of lawleſſe, unlimited, and unbounded men," againſt whom the people muſt protect themſelves, if neceſſary, with ſwords in their hands. His conſtitutional objective remained the inſtitution of annually elected Parliaments, but he now looks to the army to bring that objective to paſſ. The ſame appeal in ever more inflammatory language he ſet forth, during the ſummer of 1647, in letters addreſſed to Cromwell, Fairfax, and Marten and alſo circulated in print.¹⁰ It was echoed in Richard Overton's *Appeale from the degenerate Representative Body the Commons of England aſſembled at Weſtminſter* (July 10, 1647). The writer merely addreſſed the people of England and the army in a fuller and perhaps more cloſely argued ſtatement of the principle which Lilburne was at the moment ſumming up in his *Jonahs Cry out of the Whales belly* [July 26].

The diſpute between the army and Parliament developed into ſuch a ſtruggle for power as threatened imminent renewal of civil war. Crom-

⁸ Letter of Mar. 25 in *Jonahs Cry*.

⁹ *Rash Oaths*, p. 38.

¹⁰ See alſo *Copy of a Letter . . . to . . . Marten*; alſo *Two Letters . . . to . . . Martin* ([Sept. 22], 1647); alſo *Juglers Diſcovered*.

well, at firſt reluctant to oppoſe the civil authority, kept aloof from the controversy, but he was naturally ſympathetic with the ſoldiers, and both the Levellers and the groups of ſectaries and Independents pleaded with him to break with Parliament.¹¹ At the beginning of June he rejoined the army, while the army at the ſame time ſeized the King and called a general rendezvous at Newmarket.

There followed a new ſeries of manifeſtoes, penned, moſt probably, by Cromwell's ſon-in-law, Ireton, but emanating largely from heads full of ideas derived from Lilburne. The army's firſt petition to Parliament, in March, had dealt with grievances ariſing from the terms propoſed for its diſbandment. By the end of April a new note began to be ſounded in its pronouncements. According to contemporary obſervers, the army had become "one Lilburne throughout" and his pamphlets were being quoted as law.¹² The agitators were ſaying that they had gone through difficulty and danger to purchaſe liberty for the people, only to ſee oppreſſion greater than ever and the friends of liberty "ſlighted, abuſed, beaten, and dragged to Jayles."¹³ On June 5 officers and men entered into a *Solemne Engagemen*t,¹⁴ at Newmarket Heath, which ſignalized even more clearly the transformation of the army into a political revolutionary body. After another recital of ſoldiers' grievances, this document aſſerted that the men had been forced to the unuſual procedure of electing representatives to ſpeak and act for them becauſe their enemies and the enemies of the people, in miſleading Parliament, were ſeeking to eſtabliſh a new tyranny over them. They pledged themſelves, therefore, not to diſband until all grievances were ſettled to the ſatisfaction of a general council aſſembled for the purpoſe and conſiſting of their officers and "two Souldiers choſen for each Regiment."

Leſſ than a fortnight later the ſame men iſſued *A Declaration, or, Representation*¹⁵ (reprinted below), which put their new conception of the army's poſition beyond ſhadow of doubt. They aſſerted that they were not "a meere mercenary Army, hired to ſerve any Arbitrary power of a State; but called forth and conjured, by the ſeverall Declarations of Parliament, to the defence of our owne and the peoples juſt rights, and liberties." They went on to reiterate their ſpecific complaints as ſoldiers

¹¹ *Walwyns Juſt Defence* (reprinted below), p. 6.

¹² Quoted by S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, III (1891), 237, 245, from manuſcript ſources.

¹³ "A Second Apologie of all the private Souldiers" [Apr.] in *Declaration of the Engagements* (1647).

¹⁴ *Declaration of the Engagements*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

and, in addition, the demands of the Leveller large petition, of May 20, for successive elected Parliaments and freedom of petition, in order "that all . . . grievances of the people may be freely received & admitted into consideration, and put into an equitable and speedy way, to be heard, examined, and redressed."

The army *Declaration* of June 14 marked a new stage in the revolutionary struggle. Although it made no mention of the social and economic reforms called for in the large petition, it signified that the extreme political implications of the Puritan movement were now in some sense acknowledged by the army. That is to say, Cromwell and the commanders, forced to put up a defense against the Presbyterians in Parliament, acted upon the assumption that the authority vested by the people in Parliament had lapsed owing to Parliament's betrayal of the army and had naturally and rightfully been assumed by the army itself on the people's behalf. Hence they proceeded to block the Presbyterian majority in Parliament by a show of force and undertook to deal with the constitutional crisis through the army council. But this did not mean, as their part in the army debates at Putney presently showed, that Cromwell and Ireton saw eye to eye with Lilburne and the agitators, even though Ireton's hand probably penned the *Declaration* of June 14. It was one thing to hold that governments were bound by natural law to serve the people and might lawfully be resisted when, as now, they menaced the people's safety. It was quite another to believe that all men had equal rights or that the people's needs were better known and would be better served by Lilburne and his like than by Cromwell, the army grandees, and—for they, too, must be included—the saints of the sects and congregations. No one knew better than Lilburne, or more handsomely acknowledged, what Cromwell had done for the people or how the people felt toward him.

God hath honoured you . . . not only in giving you extraordinary large roome in the affections of thousands, and ten thousands of his chosen ones, but in hanging upon your bark the glory of all their atcheivements, by meanes of which you have been made mighty and great, formidable and dreadfull in the eyes of the great ones of the world, and truly my selfe and all others of my mind that I could speak with, have looked upon you as the most absolute single hearted great man in England, untainted or unbiased with ends of your owne.¹⁶

Nevertheless, recognition of Cromwell's greatness did not incline Lilburne to give way to him on fundamental political questions. Cromwell's

¹⁶ Letter to Cromwell, Mar. 25, 1647, in *Jonahs Cry*.

purpose, from June, 1647, until the resumption of civil war the following spring, was clearly twofold: first, to restore discipline in the ranks, and then, with the army behind him, to bring Charles and Parliament to agreement on constitutional issues. Plans for such an agreement, drafted by Ireton, were put forth on August 1, 1647, in "The Heads of the Proposals,"¹⁷ but were rejected by Parliament and the King, and at the same time opposed by the Levellers and the agitators, who wanted no settlement short of the full program fathered by Lilburne. This was made plain in the manifesto called *The Case of the Armie Truly stated* (reprinted below), probably drafted by John Wildman, and submitted to Fairfax October 15, 1647, by the agents of five regiments of horse. A few days later these men submitted their program in the form of an outline or platform which they called "An Agreement of the People."¹⁸ There followed the extraordinary debates among the officers and representatives of the soldiers, at Putney, at the end of October, the effect of which was to convince the popular leaders that the army commanders, also, were now betraying the people's cause. Lilburne, to use his own words, had once before been left "caught in the bryers" while Cromwell plucked his own head out of the collar,¹⁹ and he was quick to voice his suspicion that the same thing was about to happen again. The accusation was reiterated by others, and presented by Wildman with special vigor at the close of the year, in *Putney Projects or the Old Serpent in a New Forme*.

Lilburne, all this time, was still in the Tower, clamoring vainly for release and growing more embittered against Cromwell for not coming to his rescue. The army petitioned the House in his behalf in July.²⁰ In September Cromwell came to see him and gave him "very faire promises." Still nothing was done. Probably Lilburne, who now offered to leave the kingdom if justice were granted to his claims, was not wholly incorrect in thinking that he was being kept in prison "because, if I were at liberty, it is said I would goe down to the Army, and make new hurly burlyes there."²¹ In November the House began to relent, and he was permitted

¹⁷ *Declaration of the Engagements*. Reprinted in *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625-1660*, ed. S. R. Gardiner (1906), pp. 316-26.

¹⁸ Published [Nov. 3] 1647. Reprinted in Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, III, App., and *Constitutional Documents*, pp. 333-35.

¹⁹ Letter to Cromwell, July 1, 1647, in *Jonahs Cry*. See also Lilburne's statement, dated July 20, *ibid.*; letter to Fairfax, July 22, and "Advice to the Private Soldiers," in *Juglers Discovered; Two Letters . . . to . . . Martin*, and letter to Maynard in *The grand Plea*, (Oct. 28, 1647).

²⁰ *Declaration of the Engagements*, July 18; Lilburne's letter to Fairfax, July 22, in *Juglers Discovered*. See also *Legall Fundamentall Liberties*, p. 27.

²¹ *The grand Plea*, p. 22.

to go free from day to day. He at once joined in the attempt of his partisans to get up a new petition to Parliament. Now that the army seemed to be failing them and to be more and more at odds with Parliament, they made ready to appeal again to the House of Commons, notwithstanding their former repudiation of its authority. The new plea, "The earnest Petition of many Free-born People of this Nation," restated their program, with a more extended and uncompromising urging of grievances. Associated with the "Petition" was an outburst of extreme hortatory eloquence, called "The mournfull Cryes of many thousand poor Tradesmen, who are ready to famish through decay of Trade or The warning Tears of the Oppressed."²² Noteworthy are the nature and extent of the party organization Lilburne and his friends had built up. A central committee, meeting regularly in a city tavern, directed the campaign. Local committees were appointed to serve in London and the surrounding counties. Meetings were arranged to discuss and approve petitions and to raise money for getting them printed and distributed. In addition to the petition just mentioned, which was for general distribution, there were special supporting petitions, from here and there, also intended for submission to Parliament. The Levellers were determined that, if remedy of the people's grievances were not forthcoming, the reason would not be that Parliament had failed to hear of them. The evidence concerning all their activity was, in fact, collected and published at the instance of the Committee of Both Houses, in a pamphlet called *A Declaration of some Proceedings of Lt. Col. John Lilburn, and his Associates*, which appeared in type about February 14, 1648 (reprinted below). This was a shrewd attack, supported by circumstantial details, upon Lilburne's point of view and upon the Levellers' political methods. It included, apparently with the expectation of discrediting the authors rather than of aiding in the circulation of their ideas, the inflammatory petition and manifesto to which reference has just been made. Lilburne himself was locked up again on January 19, 1648.

Cromwell persisted through the early months of 1648 in his unavailing efforts to bring the army, the Presbyterians, and the King into line, while Lilburne persisted in petitioning and pamphleteering against him, the House of Lords, and all other enemies of liberty, his own and the people's. In May the Royalists rose in Kent, the Scots prepared once more to cross the border, and the army went back to waging war. The Presbyterians

²² Both this and "The earnest Petition" were printed in *A Declaration of some Proceedings* (see below).

left in control of Parliament now suddenly exonerated Lilburne and set him free (August 11) in the expectation that he would devote himself more than ever to making trouble for the army leaders.²³ But if the Presbyterians reckoned thus, they reckoned without knowing their man. Even though their spokesman, Sir John Maynard, made handsome acknowledgment of the principles Lilburne had been championing, the latter realized that a Scottish victory would spell defeat for his cause. Rather than join the attack on Cromwell, then going forward in the House, he turned a deaf ear to the Presbyterians and, he says, "applied my hand to help him up again, as not loving a Scotch Interest." He assured Cromwell that he was no "staggerer" from his first principles and would seek no revenge for what he had suffered.

I could have had of late the choice of twenty opportunities to have payd you to the purpose; but I scorn it, especially when you are low: and this assure your self, that if ever my hand be upon you, it shall be when you are in your full glory, if then you shall decline from the righteous wayes of Truth and Justice: Which, if you will fixedly and impartially prosecute, I am

Yours, to the last drop of my heart blood.²⁴

These words probably did not seem simply presumptuous to the man to whom they were addressed, because, as his later actions showed, he knew how dangerous an opponent Lilburne with his party behind him might be.

Thus, while Fairfax and Cromwell combatted the armed resistance of Presbyterians and Royalists, the Levellers held back on the political front, but the second Civil War was not over before they resumed the offensive in a pamphlet called *The Bloody Project, or a discovery of the New Designe, in the present War* (reprinted below). The writer, who signs himself W. P. and may have been Walwyn, tells the people, "you and your poor friends that depend on Farmes, Trades, and small pay" are the ones who have had to bear the miseries of the times. King, Parliament, and great ones of the city and army have had only one quarrel—"namely, whose slaves the people shall be." The people have gained nothing. Their grievances, of which the writer gives an impressive and significant list, remain essentially the same, and the remedy likewise—to wit, those devices, for free discussion, agitation, organization, and representation, by

²³ Lilburne, "Plea to the Committee of Indemnitie," June 20, 1648, in *Legall Fundamentall Liberties*, pp. 1-18; the anonymous *Englands Weeping Spectacle* ([June 29] 1648); Sir John Maynard, *Speech Spoken in the Honourable House of Commons* (Aug. 11, 1648).

²⁴ *Legall Fundamentall Liberties*, p. 28; see also *Picture of the Councel of State* (reprinted below), p. 21.

which Lilburne's party proposed to implement that natural fundamental law of the state, *salus populi suprema lex*. The Levellers issued *The Bloody Project* just before the final triumph of the army, at Colchester, on August 27, and two weeks later they had ready another petition to the House of Commons. They now protested against any resumption of negotiations by Parliament with the King and set forth in full their own program of radical reform. When Parliament failed to act on the petition, its supporters are said to have returned to the House, on September 13, clamoring against members hostile to their designs and shouting that they knew no use for king or lords, mere devices of men since God had made all alike.²⁵

The humble Petition of divers wel affected Persons, commonly referred to as the petition of September 11 (reprinted below), precluded an attempt to bring all factions of the revolution together for a settlement of the crisis. This was undertaken in a new series of conferences among representatives of the four most important factions on the winning side of the war just concluded: the army command, the parliamentary minority which had opposed the Presbyterians, the Independent congregations and sects, and the Levellers. The outcome of these debates was to be disagreement and redoubled confusion.²⁶ The Levellers proposed a strictly political solution for a problem in which religious interests and emotions were deeply involved. The sects and congregations, fearing the intolerance of the Presbyterians, had participated with Lilburne's party in marshaling popular support of the army, but, now that the Presbyterians were no longer to be feared, the saints fell out with those who put their trust in political organization rather than in the conventicle. Cromwell, who as virtual master of the army was in effect the arbiter of all these disputes, realized the importance of reaching an understanding with the Levellers, but his interest and point of view were fundamentally opposed to theirs. Along with his strong practical sense, he had great faith in godliness and the godly and a deep impatience with dialectics of any sort and with demagogues. He had at the same time, of course, to be making up his mind what to do with Charles Stuart. Under these conditions, it was not strange that Lilburne, though he proved to be a not uncompromising negotiator, should have failed to secure agreement to his proposals. An important difficulty right at the start was that John Price, who represented the in-

²⁵ *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, Sept. 12-19.

²⁶ For the text of the debates see *Clarke Papers*, Vol. I, and *Puritanism and Liberty*, ed. Woodhouse.

fluent body of saints attached to John Goodwin, refused to have anything to do with the ungodly William Walwyn, although Lilburne declared that the latter "had more honesty and integrity in his little finger, than John Price had in all his body." The crowning impossibility, however, was that of winning over the army grandees, "Cromwell, and the whole gang of creature Colonels and other Officers"—above all, Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law and mentor, "the Army's Alpha and Omega," "the cunningest of Machiavilians."²⁷ On December 15 Lilburne gave up the attempt, published the compromise agreement²⁸ that he had vainly tried to put through, and about a fortnight later went off about his private affairs in the north. On January 20 a form of "The Agreement of the People,"²⁹ drafted by Ireton and approved by the officers, was submitted to Parliament.

Cromwell, however, had already begun to deal with the situation in his own fashion. On December 6 Colonel Pride and his troopers were posted at the doors of Parliament to exclude those members who were known to oppose the will of the military commanders. On January 4 the remainder of the House, henceforth known as the Rump, resolved that "the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, being chosen by, and representing, the People, have the supreme Power in this Nation." The Rump's declaration expressed no intention to replace the government of Charles I or of themselves by a new Parliament. It was issued in order to justify what the masters of military power had done and what they were about to do. Acting under quasi-legal forms which deceived nobody, they proceeded to the beheading of the King on January 30 and to the abolition of the crown and the House of Lords. The Rump then committed executive authority to a council consisting, in effect, chiefly of Cromwell and his adherents. It is well to remember that the political revolution which was thus accomplished was different from that proposed by Lilburne but not less drastic.

When the new Council of State convened on February 16, 1649, it found itself still confronted by Lilburne and by the problem he was determined it should not ignore. He had just returned to London, resolved, he says, to look after his family and keep out of public affairs. Yet, whichever way he turned, his efforts to help himself seemed blocked by

²⁷ *Legall Fundamentall Liberties*, pp. 30-35.

²⁸ *The Foundations of Freedom; or an Agreement of the People* (Dec. 15, 1648). Reprinted in *Puritanism and Liberty*, ed. Woodhouse, pp. 355-67.

²⁹ Reprinted in *Constitutional Documents*, ed. Gardiner, pp. 359-71.

abuses permitted or fostered by the men in power. His attempt to realize on the reparations which had been voted him netted little more than loss and vexation. Conscience would not let him accept the offer, which he claims was made, of a lucrative post under a government he regarded as illegal, especially since the poor were starving. He thought of taking up farming, or soap boiling, or of trading abroad in wool or cloth or at home in Newcastle coals, but, what with tithes, free quarter, excise, customs, monopolies, restraints of trade, delays of the law, exactions of lawyers and parliamentary committees and officials, he could discern nothing but ruin ahead of him. The proceedings against the five Royalist peers (February 10–March 6) convinced him that the only authority behind the new government was the sword and that the masters of the sword had no intention of carrying out even that limited provision, for “a new, equal, and just representative,” contained in their own proposed “Agreement” of January 20. In these circumstances, he says that he was beset by a multitude of poor people who came to him for help in their distress. Once before, when Parliament had, it seemed to him, abrogated its responsibilities, he had looked to the army to take up the people’s cause. Cromwell and the officers had acceded to that action so long as it suited them to do so, and had then betrayed their followers. Now Lilburne made ready to turn to the army again, but this time in order to organize the rank and file against the regime which their commanders had imposed upon the state. What, however, the commanders had been willing to accept as the voice of the people when directed against the Presbyterians and Royalists, they were to regard as mutiny when directed against themselves, whether by private soldiers or civilians. Report reached Lilburne that the council of officers, at a meeting on February 22, had proposed to subject all importunate petitioners to martial law. One colonel was rumored to have said that they had had enough of civil courts: “we can hang 20. before they will hang one.”³⁰

Lilburne lost no time in meeting the threat to himself and his party. “My spirit,” he says, “was all on fire.” On February 26 he was at the bar of the House, with a crowd at his heels bearing a fresh petition, which he immediately published with the caption *Englands New Chains Discovered* (reprinted below). Like the publications which quickly followed, it may have been penned by Lilburne but was obviously the manifesto of a party

³⁰ *The hunting of the Foxes* (see below), p. 10; Lilburne, *Englands New Chains*, sigs. A4^v–B1; *idem*, *The second Part of Englands New-Chaines*, p. 18; *idem*, *Legall Fundamentall Liberties*, p. 74.

rather than the expression of any single mind. It marked the opening of a campaign by the Levellers to win control of the revolution by pressure upon the House of Commons and mutiny in the army. It reaffirmed, though with a certain restraint in language, the Leveller “Agreement of the People” of December, 1648, and the petition of September 11. It stigmatized the new regime as a usurpation by the military, designed not to redress the grievances or recover the rights of the people but to secure to themselves the wealth and power which the people’s struggle for liberty had given them opportunity to seize. Three days after this pronouncement, eight troopers presented a petition to the officers’ council, indorsing its strictures and proposals and demanding the right of direct petition to Parliament, which had been claimed by the soldiers at Newmarket two years before. The men were promptly court-martialed, and five of them cashiered and ignominiously punished. Yet that did not prevent their sympathizers from publishing a full account of the circumstances, including both the offending document and another petition which, it was asserted, was being circulated in their behalf. *The hunting of the Foxes from New-Market and Triploe-Heaths to White-hall, By five small Beagles (late of the Armie)*³¹ of ([March 21],) was a brilliant polemic narrative of the struggle which the Levellers and agitators had been carrying on, since the spring of 1647, for what they regarded as the common rights of Englishmen, especially for the right to be heard, and of their betrayal by the army commanders. The Levellers immediately followed up that attack by an equally brilliant pamphlet addressed to Parliament and published (March 24) as *The second Part of Englands New-Chaines Discovered* (reprinted below).³² There was no longer any doubt as to what Lilburne and his party intended. The people, it was again asserted, had trusted the army to rescue them from tyranny, but the army commanders, once assured of victory, had set about erecting a new tyranny, and now the people were worse off than before. The remedy was for Parliament, as the only remaining vestige of legal authority, to declare the rule of force at an end, restore the rule of law, summon a new Parliament to be elected by the people for a limited term, and dissolve.

We shall not doubt, [if this is not done,] but that what we have here presented, and published, will open the eyes, and raise the hearts of so conscionable a number of the Souldiary and People in all places, and make them so sensible

³¹ Reprinted in *Somers Tracts* (1809–15), VI, 44–54.

³² Reprinted also in D. M. Wolfe, *Milton in the Puritan Revolution* (1941), pp. 399–415.

of the bondage and danger threatned, as that these men, this Faction of Officers, shall never be able to goe through with their wicked intentions.³³

The purpose was, of course, to incite rebellion against the government which Cromwell and his associates were endeavoring to launch in the face of a multitude of dangers. The Scots had immediately proclaimed the young Charles, and he and his adherents had at once made common cause with Presbyterians in Scotland and with Catholics in Ireland. At home the conclusion of nearly ten years of revolution and civil war brought on a fresh outburst of religious excitement, mystical in spirit, sectarian in form, but political in implication. All these elements—Royalists, Presbyterians, and sectarians, Fifth Monarchists, Diggers, Ranters, Seekers, and Socinians—joined, along with the Levellers, in filling the press. The King's book (so-called), *Eikon Basilike* (1649), appeared directly after its supposed author's taking off and spread in innumerable copies and editions. Almost as ubiquitous were the scurrilous sheets issued by Royalists against their conquerors. At no time, probably, in the entire course of the revolutionary movement did control over all organs of expression break down more completely or freedom of expression seem more dangerous to existing authority.

How dangerous Lilburne appeared to the man in the new government who knew him best was shown by the action immediately taken, under Cromwell's urging, against the supposed authors of *The second Part of Englands New-Chaines*. The Council of State began, March 26, by directing Milton, its newly appointed secretary, to prepare a reply, and the next day the House of Commons resolved that the offending pamphlet was "highly seditious, and destructive to the present Government" and that it tended "to Division and Mutiny in the Army." The Council was ordered to find out "Who have been the Authors, Contrivers, and Framers, Printers, and Publishers of the said Paper; and to proceed therein as they shall find just and necessary, for preventing Tumults, and for Preservation of the Peace of the Commonwealth." The Council immediately ordered out the guard, and on the twenty-eighth Lilburne, Walwyn, Overton, and Thomas Prince were brought in to be examined. They stood, defiantly, on their rights as they understood them, refused to answer questions, and were ordered into the next room. Even among members of the Council, however, opinion was not united against them. Cromwell, according to Lilburne, whose ear was at the door, had to shout "very loud, thumping his fist upon the Council Table, til it rang . . . I tel you Sir,

³³ *The second Part of Englands New-Chaines*, p. 16.

you have no other way to deale with these men, but to break them in pieces . . . if you do not breake them, they will break you."³⁴

The Council debated until midnight before deciding by a majority of one vote to lock the four offenders up in the Tower, without bail, on a charge of treason. Then, even from the Tower, they continued to wield a large and dangerous influence both in the city and in the army. An important ally was Gilbert Mabbott, deputy to John Rushworth, clerk of the House of Commons, during the latter's absence with the army as secretary to Fairfax. Mabbott also served as licenser of weekly newsbooks and was himself the writer of such a publication, called *The Moderate*. From this time until he was discharged from his post by Parliament, in May, 1649, his paper actively abetted the Levellers. It published an account of the arrest of Lilburne and his associates and of their appearance before the Council, accompanied by a petition in their behalf, signed, it was said, by ten thousand subscribers and submitted to Parliament on April 2. There were to be more petitions of the same sort in the ensuing weeks, including one, no doubt engineered by Elizabeth Lilburne, signed by women. Meanwhile, the pens of the prisoners themselves were not idle and could not be stopped. Lilburne, Overton, and Prince printed their respective stories in another display of extreme journalistic competence, called *The Picture of the Council of State, Held forth to the Free people of England*, dated April 4 (reprinted below). Long use had not dulled the force of Lilburne's pen. He presented himself, to the life, delivering into the very teeth of the grandees of the Council the by-now-familiar charge that all the proceedings against him and his party were acts of military violence contrary to law.

At this juncture the Levellers were confronted by the open and final defection of their former allies, the Baptist and Independent congregations. Safe at last from both prelatical and Presbyterian interference, the saints wished above all things to settle down in the Zion that Cromwell's sword had provided and to contend no longer for aims that went beyond the aspirations of godliness. Consequently, when on March 25 *The second Part of Englands New-Chaines* was submitted to some of the Baptist congregations for their indorsement, the ministers came out against it, and on April 2 a deputation of them, headed by William Kiffin, appeared before Parliament with a petition³⁵ repudiating the Levellers and endeavoring to

³⁴ *Picture of the Council of State*, pp. 14-15.

³⁵ *The humble Petition and Representation of Several Churches of God in London, commonly (though falsly) called Anabaptists* (Apr. 2, 1649). Reprinted in *Confessions of Faith*, comp. E. B. Underhill (Hanserd Knollys Society, 1854).

make certain that no one should be left with any excuse for confusing Baptists with Anabaptists of evil fame. They implored Parliament to relieve the grievances of the people, but they did not neglect also to implore that proceedings be effectually taken against "Whoredoms, Drunkenness, Cheating and all such like abominations"—offenses, they were convinced, certain to provoke God's wrath upon the commonwealth. In the meantime the sectarian leaders sent one of their number, Samuel Richardson, to wait upon Lilburne and his associates, in the Tower, for the purpose of persuading them to submit peaceably to the new regime. The prisoners incontinently refused to abandon their principles and charged their enemies in Parliament and among the congregations with trying to make them odious by slanderous accusations of irreligion and immorality. Lilburne struck back at the ministers in a postscript to his part of the *Picture of the Council of State*, and Overton, who was doubtless not invulnerable to the suspicion of loose living, certainly not to that of bold thinking, openly assailed their self-righteous treachery. "The businesse," he exclaimed, "is, not how great a sinner I am, but how faithfull and reall to the Common-wealth; that's the matter concerneth my neighbour, and whereof my neighbour is only in this publick Controversie to take notice."³⁶ The distinction between godliness and civic worth was, however, something the saints were quite unable to comprehend.

Yet their hostility did not fasten chiefly upon Overton, who notwithstanding his caustic pen seems to have had little personal influence, or upon the unlucky Prince, whom they put down for a simple fellow,³⁷ or even upon Lilburne, whom, however misled, they continued to regard as still essentially one of themselves. The man they most feared, not without reason, was Walwyn, whom they stigmatized as not only ungodly himself but as a wilful promoter of ungodliness in others. He was in fact a striking example of Protestant humanism on the vernacular level—a vulgar freethinker of a type which was to plague the godly for a long time to come. He had learned early, he tells us, to clear his mind of the distresses caused by "Doctrines mixt of Law and Gospel" and to believe in "free justification by Christ alone."³⁸ That is to say, he had concluded, as so many were to conclude, that the strict doctrine of predestination was incompatible with the doctrine of Christian liberty. All men were saved

³⁶ *Picture of the Council of State*, p. 44.

³⁷ In *The Silken Independents Snare Broken* ([June 20] 1649) he indignantly repulsed their belittlement of him.

³⁸ *Walwyns Just Defence*, p. 8.

through Christ unless they rejected the grace vouchsafed to them in the atonement. Walwyn was ready to support this position, needless to say, from the scriptures, which nobody even in that time was more apt in quoting, and to refute from the same source the notions of less supple and more pious minds. He had fortified his own mind, also, with such authors as Lucian, Thucydides, Plutarch, and Montaigne, all of whom he read in current English translations. He was especially taken with Montaigne's humane rationality, and the famous picture of the noble and happy cannibals strengthened his belief in the inherent reasonableness and goodness of men. With such ideas in his head, Walwyn kept clear of the sects and congregations but essayed quite deliberately to govern his existence by common sense and good will and to judge of the religious professions of his contemporaries by criteria thus grounded.

I have no quarrell to any man, either for unbeleefe or misbeleefe, because I judge no man beleeveth any thing but what he cannot choose but beleeve; it is misery enough to want the comfort of true beleeving, and I judge the most convincing argument that any man can hold forth unto another, to prove himselfe a true sincere beleever, is to practise to the uttermost that which his faith binds him unto: more of the deeds of Christians, and fewer of the arguments would doe a great deale more good to the establishment of those that stagger.³⁹

But this was not to say that Walwyn did nothing to stagger men with arguments and by arts which the leaders of the faithful regarded as peculiarly unscrupulous. He did not openly challenge the preachers or deny the notions men got from them, but he made it his practice to go about listening to all sorts of people, quizzing them as to how they knew that what they believed or were told to believe was indeed the word of God, and upon occasion putting into their hands some of the profane books he himself affected. Such a man was certain to puzzle dull-witted believers and to alarm their pastors and teachers. They could accept his support against the Presbyterians but hardly the reasons he gave for his opposition. His professed aim was the good of the commonwealth rather than of the communion of saints. His argument was that the motive of persecution was always self-interest of some sort, very generally of churchmen, and that its worst effect was to promote disunity among supporters of the state.

The strength of organized dissent before 1649 lay, however, not in

³⁹ *Still and Soft Voyce* (1647), p. 15.

promoting unity among the people at large but in protecting minorities in a period of revolutionary turmoil. The weakness of dissent, which victory made apparent, was its unwillingness or inability to take effective responsibility for the economic, social, and political problems which the revolution had brought about and which Cromwell and the grandees of the army were quite unable to cope with by themselves. To the saints all such difficulties seemed simply visitations of God's just wrath on the unregenerate outside the fold, and the proper remedy was to compel the unregenerate to behave themselves, willy-nilly, in a manner agreeable to the saints' notion of the will of the Lord. Walwyn, meanwhile, having begun as the enemy of Presbyterian intolerance, became the critic of the narrow and divisive particularism of the dissenters in their day of triumph. To one of his way of thinking, there could be little to choose between Presbyterian theocracy and the domination of the ministers of the sects and congregations.

The ministers and he had become well acquainted in the course of that concerted movement against the Presbyterians, in the Assembly and in Parliament, which eventuated in the petitions of 1647. Walwyn came into especially close association with the very important congregation whose spiritual guide was John Goodwin but whose spokesman in the present controversy was John Price, and he soon aroused in these men the same kind of suspicion which Edwards had recently voiced against him. Hence a number of them in 1646, according to his own account, got up a committee to collect evidence to prove that he was a bold, wicked, and dangerous person, an atheist and a denier of the scriptures. Though the attack did not at once find its way into print, Walwyn attempted to meet it by publishing, early in 1647, a sort of confession of faith, called *A Still and Soft Voyce from the Scriptures, Witnessing them to be the Word of God*,⁴⁰ which was really an only slightly veiled criticism of his assailants. He said that he believed in God solely through an irresistible inner compulsion and that he believed the scriptures, not because of the testimony of men, but through the persuasive power of the divine word itself. The proof of a man's faith was to be looked for, not in his arguments nor in his censures upon other men, but in his works of charity, high among which, of course, was to be rated his service to the commonwealth. Walwyn's uneasy association with the saints, who were perhaps mollified by this plea, continued through most of 1647. The "uppermost Independents," he tells us, stood aloof from the petition which was burned by

⁴⁰ Reprinted in Wolfe, pp. 365-74.

order of the House on May 20, but he and Price were shortly afterward together in persuading Cromwell to cast his weight against Parliament and with the army.⁴¹ Walwyn, however, in the momentous cleavages which were defining themselves in that year, was clearly on the side of the soldiers and the populace and against the grandees both of the army and of the congregations and sects. In consequence, John Price refused to sit on the same committee with him in the abortive conferences among the army's adherents at the close of the second Civil War.

After that frustration, Walwyn appears to have dropped out of active participation in political affairs, content, probably, to wait and see what the new regime would do. He seems to have had no hand in the series of manifestoes which led to his own as well as Lilburne's arrest, and even after that event he made no contribution to the *Picture of the Council of State*. Nevertheless, there is good reason to suspect that he had not entirely abstained from making war, after his own fashion, upon those leaders of the godly by whom he had recently been discomfited. Somebody, at any rate, shortly after Lilburne's appearance at the bar of the House with the petition published as *Englands New Chains*, launched an anonymous attack upon the practices and the pretensions of the ministers, called *The Vanitie of the present Churches*, published early in March (reprinted below). This was a bold exposure of the self-seeking, self-centered myopia of Puritan dissent grown prosperous, exactly in the vein of Walwyn's *Still and Soft Voyce*, but intensified and somewhat embittered. Whether Walwyn wrote it or not, it did nothing to allay the exasperation of the preachers against him and his friends. Lilburne heard that it made them so angry, "supposing it to be the Pen of some of our friends," that they were thinking of getting up a petition in revenge.⁴² He for his part recommended the book to every honest, unbiased man in England. Walwyn, when forced a little later to defend himself against the preachers, once more urged upon them the doctrine of charity laid down by St. Paul and St. James, and concluded with the remark, "I might enlarge my self upon this theme, but the little Book, called, *The vanity of the present Churches*, hath prevented me, unto which I refer the ingenious Reader, for satisfaction of what they call Religion among them."⁴³

Thus the Levellers in the Tower saw themselves, as they said, being delivered up for slaughter "by such as we took for Friends, our brethren of severall Churches."⁴⁴ They replied on April 14 to the aspersions

⁴¹ *Walwyns Just Defence*, pp. 4-5.

⁴² *Picture of the Council of State*, p. 24.

⁴³ *Walwyns Just Defence*, p. 23.

⁴⁴ *Manifestation*, p. 7.

which continued to be circulated against them and to the recent petition of the Baptists, in *A Manifestation* (reprinted below), the work, probably, of Walwyn's pen. This was a suavely written statement of devotion, so incomprehensible by the sectarian mind, to purely secular and political purposes. It was accompanied by a calm but firm denial of the charges that the signers were trying to create confusion, that they were acting for the King, that they were Jesuits, atheists, or "Antiscripturists," and that they were only seeking office and profit for themselves. They were at special pains to deny that they sought to "Levell all mens estates," abolish distinctions of rank and dignity, or bring about "Community" of property. They were, it is obvious, proposing no more than a political solution for problems which Winstanley at the moment was attempting to deal with by an economic reorganization of society that carried equalitarian principles to conclusions quite contrary to the purposes of Lilburne and his party.⁴⁵

Toward the end of *A Manifestation* the Levellers stated that they would have been content if the new government had actually put into effect the form of agreement which the officers had submitted to Parliament on January 20. Since this had not been done, the four prisoners, in order to vindicate themselves, announced that they would shortly republish their own proposals, but in more practicable terms. They kept their promise by bringing out *An Agreement of the Free People of England*, dated May 1 (reprinted below), presenting their program in its final form, with studied moderation of tone but with no less studied clarity. Though such a program now seems anything but impracticable or subversive, in its own time it seemed a dangerous threat against the interests which saw themselves about to become firmly seated in power. The Levellers were asking the army grandees and their parliamentary allies, entrenched in the Rump and the Council, to step out of office. Their endeavor was to impede established ways of doing business and making money, and accordingly to oppose the special and profitable privileges of bodies like the Merchant Adventurers and the Stationers' Company. They were setting up to be the critics and in effect the rivals of both the lawyers and the ministers. The defenders of the new order did not, however, assail in the press the Levellers' political and economic ideas, but simply intensified the attack on their derelictions from godliness. At the end of April, seven representatives of the sects and congregations, headed by William Kiffin but with John Price to do the writing, published *Walwims*

⁴⁵ See *The Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, ed. G. H. Sabine (1941).

Wiles: or the Manifestators Manifested (reprinted below), an able exposition of what the godly mind conceived to be the nefarious machinations by which Walwyn, especially, had been seducing honest men to the confusion of their souls, of the churches, and of the commonwealth. Walwyn apparently at first thought he could best meet this attack by ignoring it, perhaps trusting that the effect of it would be offset by the reasonableness of the new *Agreement* which he and his associates put forth on May 1. Silence, however, obviously did not avail. Humphrey Brooke came to his defense in print, at the end of May, with *The Charity of Church-men* (reprinted below) and Walwyn soon afterward spoke in his own behalf, first briefly in *The Fountain of Slaunder Discovered* (partly reprinted below) and then at greater length in *Walwyns Just Defence* (reprinted below). Meanwhile, the reply to *The second Part of Englands New-Chaines*, which the Council of State had ordered immediately upon that pamphlet's appearance, came not from Milton, who abstained from attacking the Levellers at any time, but from an anonymous writer, in the two parts of a pamphlet called *The Discoverer* [June 2; July 13]. Lilburne tells us that this was the work, partly of Walter Frost, the chief secretary of the Council, but principally of John Canne.⁴⁶ It added nothing new to the case against its victims. Walwyn's friend Brooke made a counterattack in *The Crafts-mens Craft* [June 25]. The whole series of polemics just mentioned, especially *Walwims Wiles* and *Walwyns Just Defence*, though not dealing directly with the Leveller program, is of the greatest importance for understanding the inner history of the movement behind it. These pamphlets are the principal source of information concerning William Walwyn, the origin and development of his ideas, and the very important role which he played in the organization of the Leveller party. They reveal, also, that widening difference of outlook and interest which led immediately to the undoing of Lilburne and his friends and finally in considerable measure to the undoing of the Commonwealth itself.

There was a good practical reason why the *Agreement of the Free People*, at the moment of its appearance in print, should not have seemed as peaceful in intention as it did in tone. It was issued just when open mutiny in sympathy with its proposals had once more broken out in the army. The soldiers in general were still dissatisfied with the terms for their discharge and for their enlistment for service in Ireland, and Lilburne's followers took advantage of their discontent. The resultant uprising in

⁴⁶ *Legall Fundamentall Liberties*, p. 66.

Whalley's regiment was quickly suppressed, and on April 27 Robert Lockyer, one of the ringleaders, was executed in St. Paul's Churchyard. He died proclaiming that he suffered for the rights of Englishmen and upbraiding the soldiers who were about to murder him at the command of their officers. His sympathizers in the city accorded him a remarkable funeral, with thousands attending the hearse and wearing the sea-green colors of the Levellers. An outburst of pamphlets accompanied the incident; among them was a letter of protest⁴⁷ addressed to Fairfax by Lilburne and Overton from the Tower. A few days later occurred a more serious uprising, which involved several regiments centering at Banbury. The political demands which the leaders of the affair advanced on the strength of the material grievances of the soldiers were set forth by William Thompson in a manifesto dated May 6 and entitled *Englands Standard Advanced*. "We declare," he asserted, that "we will endeavor the absolute settlement of this distracted Nation, upon that form and method, by way of an Agreement of the people, tendered as a Peace-offering by L. C. Joh. Lilburn, Mr. Will. Walwyn, Mr. Tho. Prince, and Mr. Rich. Overton, bearing date May 1. 1649." The manifesto was accompanied by the text of the *Agreement*, and on the blank page at the end, as if meant for a motto to be exhibited in a hat, were printed in large type the words, "For A New Parliament by the Agreement of the People."⁴⁸ The mutiny was soon put down, but not without bloodshed and not until Fairfax and Cromwell together took the field and overwhelmed the rebels, at Burford, on May 15. In such circumstances, it was natural that the Council of State should have failed to see in the *Agreement* of May 1 the "Peace-offering" its authors and adherents professed it to be. Steps were immediately taken to expel Mabbott, who had given it his imprimatur, from his post as licenser of the press and from his editorship of *The Moderate*. Orders were again issued, probably with no greater effect than before, to stop people from resorting to Lilburne and

⁴⁷ *The Copie of a Letter, Written to the General from Lieut. Col. John Lilburn, M. Richard Overton, April 27, 1649 (1649)*. This appeared as a single sheet, a copy of which is in the Huntington Library. Lilburne reprinted it in the second edition of *Picture of the Council of State*.

⁴⁸ *Englands Standard Advanced in Oxfordshire, or, a Declaration from Mr. Wil. Thompson, And the oppressed People of this Nation, now under his Conduct in the said County. Dated at their Rendezvous, May 6. 1649. Whereunto is added an Agreement of the Free People of England, as the Grounds of their Resolutions. Printed in the Year, 1649*. The motto at the end is noted in S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* (1903), I, 48n, from the copy of the original formerly in the possession of the late Sir Charles Firth and now owned by Godfrey Davies.

his friends in the Tower. Fresh measures were taken for bringing the press under control, and a new act was passed (May 14) declaring it treason for civilians to promote mutiny in the army.

Even after these rebuffs, the Levellers persisted. On the eighth of June, Lilburne put his name to one of the longest and most important of his many pamphlets, *The Legall Fundamentall Liberties of the People of England* (partly reprinted below). Here he once more reviewed his career as the champion of popular rights and indicted the regime as a pure usurpation of civil authority by military power. At no time did he give clearer evidence of being much more than a quarrelsome egoist. He never forgot John Lilburne's wrongs, but the rights he demanded he never failed to insist upon as the rights of all Englishmen under English law. He now clamored for them, in fact, on behalf of the luckless Royalist peers and the late king as well as himself. During the ensuing summer months of 1649, even more provocative tracts came from him and his friends. Early in August, in *An Impeachment of High Treason against Oliver Cromwell and his Son in Law Henry Ireton*, he appealed to his followers in the City, notwithstanding the treachery they had suffered at the hands of the military leaders, to organize in support of the *Agreement* of May 1. At about the same time, in *A Preparative to an Hue and Cry after Sir Arthur Haslerig*, he complained that the Council was endeavoring to trick him into the appearance of conspiring with the Royalists and accused Hesilrige, one of its members, of trying to do him out of his property. On August 20, in *The Levellers (Falsly so called) Vindicated*, six troopers "that hath not yet bowed their knee unto Baal" signed an embittered account of the affair at Burford, indorsed Lilburne's *Legall Fundamentall Liberties* and *Impeachment* and reprinted the recent *Agreement*. Lilburne himself, probably, was responsible for the appearance of *An Outcry of the Young men and Apprentices of London* (dated August 29), which seconded the "vindication" just referred to and once more called upon the soldiers to rise and compel immediate fulfillment of the Leveller program. One final brief mutiny ensued, at Oxford (September 8), and was promptly suppressed.

The failure of the Levellers to overthrow the authority of the army commanders, following the defection of the sects and congregations, spelled defeat. Most of the soldiers, like the majority of the citizens, were unwilling in the final test to hazard everything for constitutional gains beyond their comprehension. The rebels could but damn them for a mercenary crew who would fight for the devil himself if he gave them

a groat more a day.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the new government was slow in pressing to an extreme conclusion the charges it had brought against the four leaders of the movement. To dispose of political opponents out of hand, without at least a show of legality, seemed in that age to be inconceivable, and apparently the Council of State was not sure that it had enough evidence to convict Lilburne of treason. He was in fact released on bail, in July, shortly after Cromwell's departure for Ireland. But following the mutiny at Oxford the authorities determined to take action. On September 14 Lilburne was haled before the attorney general and a few days later recommitted to the Tower. His supporters promptly issued *A Remonstrance of many Thousands of the Free-People of England* [September 21], signed, it was claimed, by 98,064 hands—"and more to be added daily."⁵⁰ Petitions followed from Lilburne's friends, his wife, and his brother Robert. At the last moment he himself offered to remove to the West Indies, provided that all who wished might accompany him and that the government should pay their expenses. The Council, however, was now determined to bring Lilburne to book. His prosecution for treason was ordered on October 13, and the trial opened at the Guildhall eleven days later.

At the very beginning of the affair, Lilburne gained a crucial concession. He was tried by an extraordinary commission; the indictment against him, he protested, was secured from the grand jury by chicane; and he was denied the advice of counsel. Nevertheless, the trial was before a jury of London citizens, and upon his insistence the doors of the courtroom were thrown open to the public. Thus he was granted his audience, and before that audience he needed only to play the role he had been practicing for a dozen years. He was charged with having written, published, and circulated among the soldiers various pamphlets designed to bring the government into hatred and contempt. The indictment instanced among other publications the recent *Outcry of the Young men and Apprentices* and *Legall Fundamentall Liberties*, though not *The second Part of Englands New-Chaines*. His acts, it was charged, were treasonable, and upon this point neither argument by the prisoner nor decision by the jury was allowed. Through adroit objection, Lilburne impressed upon the jury and the crowd that what the court declared to be treason was the right of free men to voice their grievances and demand remedy.

⁴⁹ *Levellers (Falsly so called) Vindicated*, p. 5.

⁵⁰ *Remonstrance of many Thousands*. See also Lilburne, *Salva Libertate* (Sept. 14, 1649) and *Strength out of Weaknesse* (Sept. 30, 1649).

He probably surprised his audience by not defying the court or refusing to acknowledge its jurisdiction. Jury and crowd would hardly have gone along with him in such action, no matter where their sympathies might point. But, when he had finished with the halting and embarrassed witnesses brought against him, he called upon the jury "to know your power, and consider your duty, both to God, to Me, to your own Selves, and to your Country." At this, it was said, "the People with a loud voyce, cryed Amen, Amen," and Major General Skippon sent for more soldiers to stand guard. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty, and to the usual question, Did the prisoner fly when charged? answered No.

Which No being pronounced with a loud voice, immediately the whole multitude of People in the Hall, for joy of the Prisoners acquittall gave such a loud and unanimous shout, as is beleevd, was never heard in Yeeld-hall, which lasted about halfe an hour without intermission: which made the Judges for fear, turne pale, and hange down their heads; but the Prisoner stood silent at the Barre, rather more sad in his countenance than he was before.

There were bonfires in the street that night, followed before many days by a printed account of all these proceedings, by Clement Walker under Lilburne's direction, from documents provided by him and a stenographic report of the trial.⁵¹ An engraved frontispiece showed Lilburne at the bar, with Coke's *Institutes* in his hand and the names of the jury inscribed overhead.

He and his associates were released on November 8, but their endeavor to organize a party of opposition and to secure recognition of its right to function was effectually crushed, and the masters of power in the state made sure that they should have no opportunity to revive it. Lilburne kept quiet for a time after his acquittal, returning to his effort to realize something on the lands which had been granted him by way of reparations. The result, however, was another clash with Hesilrige, whom he accused of feathering his nest at the expense of political opponents. On January 15, 1652, a petition by Lilburne was rejected by Parliament and its author fined and banished. He betook himself to Amsterdam, whence he fought all his battles over again, in an *Apologeticall Narration* pub-

⁵¹ *The Triall, of Lieut. Collonell John Lilburne . . . Published by Theodorus Verax* [Clement Walker] (1649). The frontispiece is preceded by a statement, signed by Lilburne and dated Nov. 28, 1649, authorizing the publication as done "with a very indifferent hand betwixt the Court, and my self the Prisoner." Reprinted in *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, comp. T. B. Howell, Vol. IV (1816). The quotation in the text above is from *Triall*, p. 151.

lished in that city, in both English and Dutch, in April, 1652. This was quickly followed by a letter sent to William Kiffin for presentation to Cromwell and published in May, with the title *As You Were*. Here Lilburne entreats the grandees of the army, in spite of all their "Apostacy, Ambitious breach of promise, and hocus-pocus-juggling with the honest Soldiers, and the rest of the Free-people of England," to return to the principles of their own "Agreement of the People" of January, 1649, and to summon a new and free Parliament. Cromwell could do so, he was certain, as easily as kiss his own hand; and "I will maintaine it," Lilburne concludes, "he hath no real dureable safety in the world, but in the doeing of it."

If he will in the hearts of the honest and understanding people of England be esteemed and bee really their darling, let him arise and doe it with all his might quickly, least I or some other contemptible or unthought of instrument or instruments, doe it for the people in despight of him, and so run away with the honour of it, and have it called by our name.

In tendering this prescient advice, Lilburne found very distinguished company. "I thinke," he says, "Politicus in his notable preambles to his thursday newes-bookes, hath already sufficiently cleared that point." "Politicus" was Marchamont Nedham, whose *Mercurius Politicus* was being issued under the supervision of John Milton. Lilburne may or may not have known of that fact, but he did know what Milton himself had just stated in print to Cromwell. "I shall request you," Lilburne writes to Kiffin, "to commend unto the serious and hearty consideration of the Lord Generall and his Confederates the advice of their valiant and learned Champion Mr. Milton." He thereupon translates the passage of Milton's recently published first *Defensio* against Salmasius, in which the Latin secretary, as Lilburne says, "turnes his speech to his Masters that had set him on worke," in order to tell them that they must themselves refute their adversary by being as valiant for liberty in peace as they have been against tyranny in war. The citation did not, of course, indicate that the scholar-poet and the party leader thought alike concerning the means by which liberty could best be served in the state.⁵²

Cromwell, foregoing the opportunity to become the hero of the rising democracy, did not heed the advice to summon a free Parliament, but when he expelled the Rump in April, 1653, Lilburne ventured to come home without leave. He was again arrested and put on trial (July 13),

⁵² Lilburne's reference to Milton's *Defensio* was pointed out by D. M. Wolfe in *Modern Language Notes*, LVI (May, 1941), 360-63.

again acquitted by a jury (August 20), and again he arranged that reports of the proceedings against him should be made public in print.⁵³ In the meantime, probably not long after his return from exile, another pamphlet came from his busy pen—*The Just Defence of John Lilburn, Against Such as charge him with Turbulency of Spirit* (reprinted below). It makes plain that, though the man may have spoken too insistently in and out of season, the things he spoke for were worth suffering some pains and making some trouble to utter and, if possible, obtain:

for what is done to any one, may be done to every one: besides, being all members of one body, that is, of the English Commonwealth, one man should not suffer wrongfully, but all should be sensible, and endeavour his preservation; otherwise they give way to an inlet of the sea of will and power, upon their laws and liberties, which are the boundaries to keep out tyranny and oppression; and who assists not in such cases, betrayes his own rights, and is over-run, and of a free man made a slave when he thinks not of it, or regards it not, and so shunning the censure of turbulency, incurs the guilt of treachery to the present and future generations.

The Just Defence was Lilburne's political swan song. In October, 1655, he joined the Quakers, and his last tract, *The Resurrection of John Lilburne* (1656), records his final retreat to the shelter of the religious sect. He was released from prison when Cromwell became convinced of the sincerity of his conversion. He died August 29, 1657, and a year later his great adversary followed him to the grave.

III

To the historian Gardiner, not Lilburne but Cromwell represented the typical Englishman and the correct English attitude toward government—that is, devotion to established ways and institutions, disinclination to change save step by step, the habit of dealing with men as they come and with situations as they arise, avoidance of extreme positions and large commitments but capacity for action upon decisions once taken. This point of view implies that when Cromwell acted uncompromisingly, drastically, it was because he was compelled to do so by intransigence in his opponents—Charles, the Irish, and the Rump. Their undoing at his hands was the result not of his attitude but of theirs, and by the same reasoning Lilburne's fanatical insistence upon the most extreme implications of Puritan revolutionary principles led to the total rejection of the "Agreement of

⁵³ *The Tryall of L. Col. John Lilburn at the Sessions House in the Old-Baily, on Fryday, and Saturday, being the 19th and 20th of this instant August* ([Aug. 22] 1653).

the People" and finally to the forcible suppression of the Leveller party. Cromwell is pictured as determined that those whom he conceived to be the elect of God, not those whom Lilburne conceived to be the elect of the people, should govern the state. No one, we are assured, was more devoted than he to the rule of law or more averse to that of the sword. The Commonwealth failed to find any basis except Cromwell's mastery of the army, and all efforts at reconciliation came to nothing, because, among other reasons, Lilburne and his kind endangered everything by demanding everything at once.

There is no need, here, to dispute such a view, and we may grant that, if Cromwell had yielded to Lilburne, the Restoration might have occurred sooner and perhaps less fortunately than it did. Yet to overemphasize that aspect of the matter is to mistake or ignore the true significance of the Levellers and of the situation which both produced them and led to their defeat. The fact was that military power in 1649 superseded civil authority. From then on, whatever order was attained in the Commonwealth was the order imposed by Cromwell as master of the army. The result might conceivably have been the establishment of a military state in England, but nothing proved more contrary to the determinant forces of English life. Cromwell's immediate compelling task was to bring the war to an end the quickest way, and the quickest way he knew was the way of the sword; but the real problem was to establish national unity. That could be accomplished only if Cromwell could win public support for what the army had done—an impossible outcome unless he could venture or contrive to lay the sword aside. Lilburne was simply telling the unpalatable truth when he declared, in August, 1649, that the prince might come in if he were willing to come not by conquest but by consent of the people. Such consent, he said, could easily be had, because

the people will easily see that presently thereupon they will enjoy this transcendent benefit. . . the immediate disbanding of all armies, garrisons, and fleets, saving the old cinque-ports, and so those three grand plagues of the people will cease, viz. free-quarter, taxations, and excise; by means of which the people may once again really say they enjoy something they can in good earnest call their own, whereas for the present army to set up the pretended Saint Oliver or any other as their elected king, there will be nothing thereby from the beginning of the chapter to the end thereof but wars and the cutting of throats year after year; yea and the absolute keeping up of a perpetual and everlasting army under which the people are absolute and perfect slaves.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ *Impeachment of High Treason*, p. 8, as quoted in Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, I, 162.

Gardiner grants that the man who could write these words was "no mere vulgar broiler." He was not, indeed. He was, as a matter of fact, as English as Cromwell himself, and the solution he offered for Cromwell's predicament was thoroughly English, urged, as it was, not at all on grounds of abstract theory but on those of conscience, experience, law, and custom. Cromwell in rejecting it never solved the problem, and none of his successors ever solved it in any other way.

The conception of a natural law, divine in origin and supervening all other laws—of the responsibility of rulers under the law of nature to, as well as for, the people—was very ancient when it began to be alleged in justification of revolt by subjects of Charles I. The question always was, Who were the people and how was their will to be made known and implemented in the state? According to medieval theory the voice of the people was the voice of God, the people were comprised in the church, and the voice of the church was the voice of the people. According to Puritan adaptation of the theory, the voice to which rulers were obliged to hearken was the voice of the pulpit. According to the apologists for Parliament against Charles I, Parliament was the people, and the people spoke through the body of men then convened in Westminster. Milton, the supreme Renaissance mind in England, conceived the state as governed, ideally, by a senate of worthies under the instruction of wise and eloquent men of learning. None of these theories envisaged, except with alarm, the active participation of any considerable number of the populace in determining what was to be voiced on the people's behalf or in designating who in particular was to do the voicing. The people were not yet conceived as speaking, with authority that must be heeded, through that machinery of public discussion—free press, free association, and popular election—which has since come to seem indispensable to the exercise of any freedom whatever. Authority to speak for the people was certainly not conceded to the men who were at the moment gathering, in the streets and taverns of the city or in the camps of the army, to air their grievances or to appoint agents and committees to draft petitions and manifestoes and to get them printed, circulated, approved, and signed by a multitude. And, needless to say, nobody in power was inclined to acknowledge the authority of a man whose only claim to be heard was that he had contrived to marshal these people at his back.

Nevertheless, in Lilburne the oncoming democracy had developed out of its own ranks a new kind of leader, and under his leadership was developing a new kind of organization to give force to the old idea of natural

law. That organization was not a sect but a party, an association of men drawn together by certain definite interests to seek certain concrete benefits by concerted political action; and what the party leaders demanded was that the consent of the people, without which no law of the state was valid, should not be assumed without their participation. This was, of course, tantamount to a fundamental change in the structure of government. Quite justly the defenders of Parliament, in 1648, claimed that Lilburne and his friends had not been denied the right of petition, for, they said, "a Petition is to set forth your grievances, and not to give a rule to the Legislative Power; if you meane it shall be an *Edict*, which you must compose, and the Parliament must verifie, call it no more a *Petition*." ⁵⁵ That was exactly the point. Presuming upon their ability to organize some hundreds or thousands of people in their support, the Levellers set themselves up to "give a rule" to the Long Parliament, and that body had either to concede their right to do so—which is to say to grant to their kind of organized opposition and complaint a place and function in the state—or to repress them.

The rule or edict which the Levellers deemed themselves authorized to give the Long Parliament was nothing less than a precise formulation of that very law which was universally supposed to have been written by nature in the breasts of the people. This law, they held, should be set down in plain English. But the essential thing was not that it must be written but that it was fundamental—which meant that, whenever men in authority attempted to abrogate it and act contrary to the people's will, the state fell apart and the people reverted directly to a condition in which of necessity and by agreement they must create the state anew. The Levellers thought of themselves as merely proposing an ordered procedure by which to accomplish such an end. They urged that the Long Parliament be replaced by successive Parliaments, elected by the people at regular intervals, for definitely limited periods. The authority of Parliaments thus elected was to be supreme, subject only to the limitations imposed by the fundamental law itself. These historic restrictions upon the power of the state over the individual made possible the activities of individuals like John Lilburne and his associates. What, of course, they were really proposing was that the constitution should acknowledge the inexorable fact of difference and change in human circumstance, and that provision should be made in the frame of government for the free play of criticism and disagreement arising from that fact. The stability of the state was to be

⁵⁵ *Declaration of some Proceedings*, p. 40.

insured by an organ for opposition to authority within the state—in other words, for revolution by due process of law.

There is no need to dilate here upon the past history of the Levellers' ideas of government or their foreshadowing of the momentous future. More to the point is to observe how such men as Lilburne and his associates came by their ideas in their own time, how and with what effect they applied them to the situation at hand. If the doctrine of natural law, as presented by them, seemed peculiarly apposite, that was not because of its abstract dialectical force or because of respect for authority but because it seemed to spring directly from common belief and experience and to answer immediately to common need. The Leveller leaders were London tradesmen in varying stages of distress. The theater of their activities was the swarming town, with its many meeting places—streets, shops, taverns, law courts, churches, and gaols—and with its printing presses and book-stalls. The New Model Army seemed to them but the legitimate extension of all this. The people they addressed shared a common religious experience based upon the English Bible, but were by then also reading more and more of the extensive secular and ephemeral literature which the printing press poured out for them. They were eagerly receptive pupils of the tremendous events which were disrupting their world. The Levellers' right to speak for that abstraction, the *populus* of timeworn political theory, could be questioned, but not their ability to speak to and for the multitude which under their leadership now believed itself to be the people and to whose will governments might in fact be forced to bow. Speaking for that multitude, Lilburne and his friends gave a strange, new, ominous meaning to the doctrine of natural law.

The beginnings of the Leveller movement, and the main secret of its strength, are to be looked for in the popular and unorthodox forms of Puritanism which sprang up in the wake of the reform movement in the English church. The reform, or Puritan, party, ever since the Elizabethan settlement, had been working, not to disrupt the church in the name of liberty, but to liberate it from control by the crown through prelacy and to restore it to its position as the one, comprehensive, independent organ of spiritual life, under the control, theoretically of the people but actually of the clergy.

The Westminster Assembly was convened by Parliament in 1643 in order to effect such a reform, which continued to be the object of the Presbyterians—that is to say, of the main body of the Puritan clergy and of the important social class they represented, right up to the Restora-

tion. The attempt to enforce the Westminster Directory for Public Worship, which Parliament approved in 1645, never came to more than partial success, and the causes of this failure lay within Puritanism itself. The Puritans, from the early days of Elizabeth, were denied the power to reform the church, but they were never entirely prevented from conveying their doctrines to the people, through pulpit and press. They expected that the final effect of their preaching would be the restoration of the church under their control to its pristine dignity and authority, but in the meantime they and their followers became habituated to the exercise of an independence which they would never have tolerated in the church reformed according to their ideas—an independence which in practice they found they could neither relinquish nor deny.

Their difficulties were progressively intensified by the very teachings they had been so tireless in setting forth. For at least three generations they expounded to an increasing audience the doctrine and way of life which they had derived from Paul, under the guidance of Calvin and Augustine. They taught that, under the law revealed to Moses, all men, being equal in sin, were justly damned to all eternity, but that under the gospel of Christ some were set free from the consequences of sin, not by any act or merit of their own or by any human authority but solely by the free grace of God himself. Those chosen were born to be saved and to believe they were saved. Who they were, only God determined, but his choice was made known in the hearts of the elect, who in turn manifested their election by a lifetime of spiritual struggle. Having been made one with Christ, they were appointed to rule his church, and they were destined upon his eventual return to rule with him over the earth. These truths, it was said, were set forth in the scriptures in such fashion that all men not wilfully hardened might come to understand them and then confirm knowledge by personal experience. To that end the help of learned ministers was, at any rate in the estimation of the ministers themselves, so invaluable as to be practically essential; but even the best instruction had to be verified by the individual himself, searching ceaselessly in the word of God and in his own breast.

The vitality of dogma is evinced as often in the heterodoxies it provokes as in the orthodoxy it maintains. By assuring the people that God might save any of them he chose, the preachers did not mean that no man was irretrievably lost. By dwelling upon the union of Christ with the elect, they did not, as a rule (before the chaos of revolution began), mean that saints should withdraw from communion with the unregenerate or ex-

clude them from the church. By urging that all men should be compelled to come in and hear the gospel preached, the preachers did not imply that all who came to hear were free to believe or not, as they chose. By asserting that the Bible made truth sufficiently plain to every human capacity, they did not mean that any untutored fellow who had learned to quote scripture in the mother tongue was qualified to go forth and preach the word. Yet such were the inferences which sprang up the more vigorously and abundantly the longer the reformers went on preaching their doctrine to the people without power to impose their discipline. The church was not reformed, but the people learned to read the book, and the book set them free. Hence individual enthusiasts, churchmen as well as laymen, fired by their several visions of truth, when they grew impatient at delay in the reformation of the church in the light of truth as they saw it, were more and more often moved, as time went on, to act for themselves, to gather each his own flock about him and to remove in some degree from the main body of the unregenerate.

The gradations of nonconformity and dissent are here immaterial. By the time the Westminster Assembly convened, in 1643, the habit of freedom in religion was already well established. Men had learned to kindle their imaginations at the Bible and to organize themselves in like-minded groups for their own ends, whether as independent congregations still in some measure acknowledging the church or as sects withdrawn from it. Hence came the multiplicity of such bodies which sprang to light the moment the pressure of Star Chamber and High Commission was removed. But the congregation or sect, once formed, had to protect its autonomy against interference from without and its solidarity against disruption from within. The first of these necessities was secured by toleration, the one object which ever brought dissenters of all degrees together. The other presented a much more complex and difficult problem, since it involved imposing restraint upon the very forces which had called every group of the kind into being. Some, under vigorous leadership, succeeded in stabilizing themselves and gained certain positive comforts and advantages, but as they prospered, keeping warm and dry amid the flood of unregeneracy, they grew self-centered and intolerant of all difference. Others found themselves unable to settle down and take their ease in the conventicle, and in these cases the group quickly fell apart, rendered, by the dynamics of the faith that brought it forth, into smaller and smaller particles until finally nothing was left but the single saint, a church to himself.

Not all independents or sectaries became heretics, but each stage of the devolution of dissent was attended by corruption of the great doctrine of predestination. The orthodox teaching was not that everyone was free but that anyone might become free if God so chose and that the chosen would know of their election in their hearts and show it in their lives. What men are taught, however, and what they make of the lessons they receive are often quite different things. The Puritans had, if they could, to win a multitude to their cause, and they succeeded in doing so, not by persuading people that they were for the most part damned as they deserved, but by encouraging them to think that they might in spite of everything be saved. Convinced that grace might come to them, the multitude readily concluded that in fact it had come, that it came to everybody, and that nobody need be damned against his inclination. Not the least attractive feature of such a way of reasoning was that it enormously simplified the intellectual problem of faith. It left one with little more to do, in order to discover truth and end all question, than listen to the dictates of one's own heart. Thus the energy of Puritanism, unless it merely turned in upon itself and congealed into self-regarding congeries of saints bent upon exploiting the favorable situation in which they found themselves under the Commonwealth, deployed in what seemed unrestrained individualism.

In the Levellers, however, Puritan individualism sought to save itself from anarchy by organizing not dissident communions of saints but an all-inclusive community of citizens. This was the larger meaning of Lilburne's career. He began as a proselyte of the Baptists, and his early tracts against prelacy recorded a Puritan enthusiast's awakening to his mystical vocation. He learned to believe that, however young, poor, uneducated he might be, Christ would come to him nevertheless—was indeed the more likely to come on that account—and having come would illuminate his spirit and send him forth to make war on wickedness, especially in high places. It was characteristic of the man that he should never feel so sure of his calling as when, at no matter what personal cost, he had gained an audience to observe his spirit battling for the Lord against the powers of this world and to listen to his whirling biblical eloquence, the peculiar language of exalted godliness. True, he did not concern himself at any time with fine points of theological doctrine, but the teachings of the Puritan pulpit had brought to him, and to others like him, a great liberation of spirit. They felt themselves rather set free, than condemned, by the great doctrine of election.

To many such men that was to prove enough; the communion of like-minded saints in a hostile world was to prove the be-all of their hopes, and toleration the end-all of their strivings. But with Lilburne the case was different. His reading did not stop with the Bible, and he soon learned many things of which the pulpit took no cognizance. One of the most important features of his writings, and of the writings of Walwyn and other Levellers, is that they show, not only the effect upon the popular mind of the Bible and the system of ideas which had been constructed upon the Bible, but also the impact upon minds thus affected of ideas drawn from other literature which had by then accumulated in English print. Lilburne informs us that in his apprentice days he spent his spare time reading the scriptures, the "Book of Martyrs," the works of Protestant reformers and divines (a number of whom he specifies by name), "with multitude of other such like Books with histories that I bought with my own money."⁵⁶ His pamphlets, which though full of the Bible seldom refer to preachers or theologians, testify to the important use he made of the historians available to him. Speed, Holinshed, Martin, Daniel, Raleigh, and others, as well as the historical books of the Old Testament, supplied proof that his demands were not for innovation but for the restoration of rights grounded in custom, precedent, and law. History showed that the people were God's chosen and that they were always justified in rising up against their oppressors. History was but the record of creation, revealing for man's direction the law written in his nature—a conception confirmed in Lilburne's mind by the lawbooks which also presently fell into his hands.

The first of these, in all probability, was the book usually referred to as the *Doctor and Student*, more accurately *The Dialogue in English, betweene a Doctor of Divinitie, and a Student in the Lawes of England*. This was the English version of Christopher Saint-German's *Dialogus de fundamentis legum et de conscientia*, of which the earliest extant edition is dated 1528.⁵⁷ The English version appeared in 1530/31 and was frequently reissued. It became the leading authority, in English, on equity and was frequently cited by Coke, Blackstone, and other legal writers. Lilburne's first specific reference to it, in the edition of 1623 or 1638, was in *Innocency and Truth* [January 6] 1646), but it

⁵⁶ *Legall Fundamentall Liberties* (2d ed., 1649), p. 23.

⁵⁷ S. E. Thorne, "St. Germain's Doctor and Student," *The Library*, 4th ser., X (March, 1930), 421-26; Paul Vinogradoff, "Reason and Conscience in Sixteenth Century Jurisprudence," in *Collected Papers* (1928), II, 190-204.

must have been known to him some time before that. The canon law had developed in the medieval church as a body of rules supposed to be based upon universal principles by which particular, local, and customary laws might be subjected to the general conscience of mankind. In England, with the decline of the church, the authority of canon law was more and more superseded by that of common law. The principles derived from canon law were not abandoned, but the occasions for confusion between the law based upon practice and statute and the law based upon conscience—in other words, for conflict between law and equity—were greatly multiplied. What Saint-German did was, in the first place, to transpose into the vernacular, for the benefit of English lawyers, the general conception, derived from medieval theory, of the supervening law revealed by God to all men through natural reason, as distinguished from the law revealed only to the elect through faith in the gospel and from laws of human imposition, such as laws of the state. Lilburne, however, was not concerned with delimiting law and conscience but with gaining assurance for the assertion of his own conscience in the face of any opposing authority whatever. Saint-German assured him that there is a law “written in the heart of everie man, teaching him what is to bee done, and what is to be fled: and because it is written in the heart, therefore it may not bee put away . . . and therefore against this law, [neither] prescription, statute, nor custome may not prevaile.”⁵⁸

Here, then, was impressive confirmation for the conviction Lilburne had already attained by the experience of grace. The orthodox pulpit might warn him again and again that the saints were few, that not every stirring in the breast was of God’s evocation, but no such reservations could stand against his will to believe that God was surely with him and with all such as he, especially with the people who presently joined him in the political struggle that ensued. Saint-German made clear enough that the law of grace, revealed only to the faithful, and the law of nature, revealed to gentile, Jew, and heathen alike, were not the same law, though each was revealed in the breast. But that distinction did not greatly impress a mind little acquainted with Jews and heathen, yet intensely aware of itself. Lilburne could not help taking for granted that the two laws, of grace and of nature, flowed together in the hearts of the people, who were presumed, all of them, to be God’s elect and in

⁵⁸ *Dialogue in English, betweene a Doctor of Divinitie, and a Student in the Lawes of England* (1623), p. 4.

whom, therefore, natural reason spoke with all the authority of the inner light of grace.

The confusion of the two categories of law, natural and supernatural, was further promoted in Lilburne’s mind by the kind of reasoning he encountered in Henry Parker’s *Observations upon some of his Majesties late Answers and Expresses* ([July 2] 1642),⁵⁹ which he also cites for the first time in *Innocency and Truth* and may have read before coming upon the *Doctor and Student*. Parker, who as a lawyer must have been familiar with Saint-German, adapted the conception of natural law to the support of Parliament against the crown and fortified his argument by a plausible account of the social contract resulting, by the operation of natural law, from the fall of man. To Parker’s contention that, within the meaning of this conception, Parliament was in essence the people, Lilburne in 1642 could conceive no objection, theoretical or practical. The important thing for him at the time was that the aspirations he shared with the people with whom he so completely identified himself seemed to be sanctioned by scripture and law combined. Any distinction, moreover, between myth and history was in such a case quite beyond his comprehension. Parker’s pamphlet, needless to say, was but a facile statement of notions prevalent among the members and the friends of the Long Parliament. Lilburne found them proclaimed and exemplified even more usefully in the various pronouncements which Parliament itself directed against the King at successive stages of its resistance. These were published, in March, 1643, in a book called *An Exact Collection of all Remonstrances, Declarations, Votes . . . and other Remarkable Passages betweene the Kings most Excellent Majesty, and his High Court of Parliament*, which Lilburne repeatedly cited, generally as “The Book of Declarations,” in the course of his own contention with Parliament and with Cromwell and the Council of State.

The book which put the capstone to Lilburne’s education was Sir Edward Coke’s *Institutes of the Lawes of England*. The first part of this work, published in 1628, was the “Commentary upon Littleton,” dealing with tenures. The second part, published in 1642, was concerned chiefly with Magna Charta, of which it supplied a text, and the third and fourth parts, published together in 1644, dealt respectively with treason and other pleas of the crown and with the jurisdiction of courts, especially the High Court of Parliament. To Lilburne the first part was the least important, the second the most. Whenever, indeed,

⁵⁹ Reprinted in *Tracts on Liberty*, ed. Haller.

he talks of Magna Charta, it is to the second part of the *Institutes* that he refers. He is not, of course, in the least affected by the shortcomings of Coke's legal and historical scholarship. To the enemies of the second of the Stuarts there could be no greater name in the law than that of the great judge who had defied the first. To Lilburne, especially, Coke supplied exactly what was needed to complete his conception of law and liberty in the state and to support his case against any or all superiors who ventured to resist his demands.

The sanctions and restraints of reason and conscience, which the church had formulated in canon law, continued to operate in the court of chancery even when ecclesiastics, representing the church, gave way to lawyers, representing the state. The universal law, as Saint-German indicated, was still distinct from those laws which arose in time and place from the particular interests of men. But it did not follow that, as Englishmen took their reasons and consciences out of the keeping of the historic church, they were prepared in legal matters to turn them over without dispute or reservation to judges appointed by the crown, any more than that in religion they were disposed to yield authority to prelates appointed in the same way. The first positive accomplishment of the reform movement in religion had been to get the Bible before the people in English, with the result that the people tended more and more to look for God in his printed word and to find him in the hearts of readers. The function of the church largely resolved itself into the function of the pulpit, and the function of the pulpit was more and more conceived as simply that of declaring the word which God made known directly to the people.

But if the word was made known to the people, why not also the law? Lilburne had learned from his religious teachers that the people—those he thought of as such—were God's elect, set free by grace and appointed to be keepers of their own consciences. He had it on the authority of Saint-German and Henry Parker that the law of reason and conscience, which was fundamental to the state and to all laws whatsoever, was written in the breasts of the people. That law, Coke's *Institutes* taught him, was specifically embodied in the common law and in Magna Charta and certain statutes supplementing the common law. In other words, the state and its citizens were bound by laws which emanated directly from the people and which the common-law courts merely declared on their behalf. These laws were formulations of the reason and conscience of mankind, and not rules derived from canon law or acts of Parliament.

Magna Charta by such reasoning took on a special importance. If one asked to be shown the actual instrument in which and according to which the people consented to be governed, here it was, and here too were precedent and pattern for any similar fundamental instrument the people at some future time might be compelled by the law written in their breasts to impose upon their governors.

Certain features of Coke's work served to make especially appealing his exaltation of the common law, with consequent confusion of common with natural law and of both with liberty under the gospel. In the first place, it would not have been so easy to believe that the law came from the people if Coke had not written in English, a language, he told his readers, "as copious and significant, and as able to express anything in as few and apt words, as any other native language, that is spoken at this day."⁶⁰ Lilburne took full polemic advantage of the fact that the laws generally cited against him were in the language of the Conqueror, which neither he nor the people could understand. Coke's argument professed, necessarily, to be historical in method, and the fact that his history was at least part legend detracted not at all from its persuasive force. He took the position that statutes and edicts could be valid only in so far as they conformed to reason, which was the essence of the law, and that reason, emanating from the people in tradition and precedent, became law by declaration of judges in particular cases as they arose. He asserted that the comments of doctors on the civil law were so numerous and diverse that they produced only doubts and uncertainties, but in English law, on the contrary, "the resolutions of Judges in Courts of Justice in judicial courses of proceeding, either related or reported in our Books, or extant in judicial Records, or in both, and therefore being collected together, shall (as we conceive) produce certainty, the Mother and Nurse of repose and quietnesse."⁶¹ Thus, the will of God, operating in nature as reason, was reflected in history, and history with presumed certainty spoke the law on the lips of judges. Such a conclusion was not difficult for men who had learned also to look for law in the myths, sagas, and chronicles of the chosen people of the Old Testament. It was made the more convincing by the method Coke employed in his book, which was always to expound the law from decisions in specific cases. Not the least important lesson Lilburne drew from this was that, if a man wished to make history or secure justice, he must at any cost, if necessary, make a case and force a decision which should become

⁶⁰ *Third Part of the Institutes*, Proeme.

⁶¹ *Second Part of the Institutes*, Proeme.

a precedent. The tactic was, of course, one which laid him open to the charge of being a mere egotistical, litigious brawler.

The method of looking into the past for the law upon every case and behind every enactment meant that Coke was always having to run his cases and seek his precedents farther and farther back in time. He made use, he tells us, of many ancient authors and records never before printed, "to the end the prudent Reader may discern what the Common Law was before the making of every of those Statutes, which we handle in this work."⁶² The conclusion at which he arrived was that the prime source of common law was to be found in the laws of the Saxons. To support that position Coke drew heavily upon a work of the thirteenth century, called in English *The Mirror of Justices* and attributed to Andrew Horn, fishmonger and chamberlain of the city of London. The book, written in French about 1289, was in reality intended to expose current abuses in the king's courts, by professing to set forth the ancient laws and usages, derived from Holy Writ, by which the Saxons had governed themselves before the coming of the Norman. Whether the writer knew even as much about the Saxons as at a later time Montaigne knew about cannibals appears to be doubtful. He begins with a fanciful account of the manner in which God delivered Britain over to the people of "the most humble and simple of all the countries adjoining," whose princes, when their wars were over,

chose themselves one king to reign over them, to govern Gods people, and to maintain and defend their persons and their goods in peace by rules of law. And at the beginning they made the king to swear, that he should maintain the Christian faith with all his power, and govern his people by law, without having regard to the person of anyone; and that he should be obedient to suffer right as well as his other people should be.

The names of Alfred and Edward were freely used in order to imply discredit to later kings less faithful to their trust. The authenticity of the *Mirror's* delvings into the past does not concern us. The author was a London citizen who thought that the laws and legal practices by which he was affected should square with his ideas of moral right. He fortified his argument by appealing to the scriptures and to the legendary Saxons, whom he depicted as reasserting their native rights, under their ancient laws, against their Norman oppressors. Coke found these notions still apposite three hundred years later and used the *Mirror of Justices*, with-

⁶² *Ibid.*

out restraint or compunction, in the second part of the *Institutes*, the publication of which was quickly followed by the first appearance in print of the French text of the *Mirror* and by the publication, in 1646, of an English translation by William Hughes.⁶³

The implications of the legend so conveniently brought down to date by Coke were clearly stated by the translator in his introduction to the *Mirror*, and with even greater vivacity by the author, possibly Henry Marten, of an anonymous tract in defense of Lilburne, published, in November, 1646, with the title, *Vox Plebis, or, The Peoples Out-cry against Oppression, Injustice, and Tyranny*. These writers are perfectly certain that the freedom vouchsafed to the elect by faith in the gospel is identical with the law of reason written in their breasts by nature, that this was embodied in the laws of the Saxons (which is to say the common law), and that in Magna Charta it was imposed upon the Norman ruler and all his successors. Examples drawn from classical and Renaissance historians were added by the author of *Vox Plebis* to the authority of Coke, the *Mirror of Justices*, and the Bible.

Lilburne was off at the war when the second part of the *Institutes* appeared, but he probably lost no time in making that and the succeeding parts his own, soon after his return to London in 1644. In *Englands Birth-Right*, the following October, he argued that Parliament was proceeding contrary to its own declarations and to Magna Charta. In his tracts from that time onward, citations from the *Institutes* are matched in number only by those from the parliamentary "Book of Declarations" and the scriptures. The *Mirror* he cited often, either from Coke or from Hughes's translation. These were the chief sources of support for his contention that the House of Commons was the sole legal representative of the people. Therefrom, throughout all his troubles, he drew arguments, precedents, and a model of procedure for laying claim to personal fundamental legal rights. If it is, indeed, the animating principle of our system to provide in the very constitutional and legal frame of the state for the free play of individual variation and for change and development, within the state itself, springing from such variation, then it must be said that no man in those crucial years explored the implica-

⁶³ *La Somme appelle Mirroir des Justices vel Speculum Iusticiariorum, Factum per Andream Horne* (1642); translated as *The Booke called the Mirrour of Justices*, by W[illiam] H[ughes] (1648). For a modern translation and an authoritative discussion, see *The Mirror of Justices*, ed. W. J. Whittaker, with an introduction by F. W. Maitland (Publications of the Selden Society, Vol. VII, for 1893, 1895). References above are to the translation by Hughes.

tions of that principle more searchingly or brought them to the fore more unequivocally. "Poor upstart John," as Prynne complained,⁶⁴ thanks to Coke set himself up to be his own and everybody's lawyer and to convict Parliament of breaking the law when it would not give him what his books told him was every man's native right. He was, of course, but the first of a long succession of lawyers of and for the people, throughout the English-speaking world.

Thus Lilburne was always to be found, as Hugh Peters appears to have found him even in gaol,⁶⁵ with his lawbooks ready at hand. Yet he was more than a vulgar lawyer litigating for his own interest. The most fundamental imperatives of nature were deemed to be those that required men to preserve both themselves and one another. The question was, What dangers did they actually have most reason to guard against and what exactly did the safety of the people comprise? Lilburne's answer was direct and definite. The troubles of the people he represented had not come to an end with the ascendancy of the Long Parliament, and not all the people were able to content themselves with the exercise of godliness secured by toleration. Some benefited from the troubled times, but more were left with their livings unmade and their hopes of fortune unrealized. Lilburne expressed the conviction that the natural laws, *se defendendo* and *salus populi suprema lex*, were not fulfilled so long as economic needs remained unabated. How could a man preserve his life if he was deprived of his property or ruined by tithes, customs, excise, and free quarter, by the monopolistic practices of the merchant companies, or by the peculations of parliamentary committees and favorites? Gerrard Winstanley, in similar distress, proposed a revolution in the very economic structure of society, but Lilburne entertained no such dream. His plan was, for his day, at once more realistic and more prescient. Granted toleration and freedom of speech, he took the lead in organizing popular demand for economic relief and, to that end, for the reform of government, to permit uninterrupted expression, as a function of government, of all sorts of demands in the people's behalf. Nothing could have been more squarely in line with future developments. In a word, the state was to incorporate the principle of free speech, free speech was to clear the way for free enterprise, and free

⁶⁴ William Prynne, *The Lyar Confounded* (1645).

⁶⁵ Lilburne, *A Discourse Betwixt Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburn . . . and Mr Hugh Peter* (1649).

enterprise was to satisfy every need that nature plants in the human breast.

IV

The answer to the question, Why did Cromwell reject these principles and fall so fiercely upon the author of them? seems obvious. He distrusted Lilburne and believed that to surrender to the Levellers would have the effect of restoring power to those from whom he had been at such trouble to wrest it. He thought, naturally enough, that to preserve the Commonwealth he must keep power in his own hands. But this does not explain why, having crushed all, including the Levellers, who resisted him, Cromwell still failed to forfend the Restoration, which came about substantially as Lilburne prophesied that it would if government by consent of the people were denied. The material reprinted in the present volume helps to make clear the reason for that failure. The only wholehearted organized public support which remained loyal to the army, when under Cromwell's leadership it set up the Commonwealth, was that which came from the sects and independent congregations and from the Levellers. The quarrel between these groups which then came to a head divided the supporters of the new regime. What might have happened if Cromwell had acceded to the demands of the Levellers or if he had found a way to make peace between them and their religious opponents—indeed, to reconcile the various divisions created by the Puritan Revolution—is, of course, past telling. The course he chose left him with few of his original supporters outside the army, except the godly led by such men as Kiffin and Price. The failure of the Commonwealth may be largely attributed to that fact.

Many men of the social class to which Cromwell belonged had aligned themselves with the Presbyterians, and before long made their way back to the church on its moderate side. He, however, had been drawn by temperamental sympathy in the direction of the Puritan enthusiasts, mystics, individualists, and eccentrics. He cared deeply for what was called godliness or the spirit, and he was able to forgive much, though not everything, to anyone who had the root of the matter in him. Hence came the tolerance for which he has been so greatly admired, hence his initial interest in Lilburne, but hence, too, his distrust of dogmas, dialectics, and general schemes of any sort, when opposed to the spirit within himself—that is to say, to his own inner drive to command. But

his failure to gain popular approval for the government he founded proved that toleration in religion—certainly, the mere toleration of vagarious dissent—was an insufficient basis for national political stability. Indeed, no sooner had Cromwell crushed the Levellers than a sect arose to plague him by demanding, in the name of the inner light, reforms similar to those the Levellers demanded in the name of natural law. What Lilburne and his party proposed was not merely the toleration of religious differences but the extension of the principle of toleration in religion—by which the disruption of the church was acknowledged and perpetuated—to liberty within the state. Then the disastrous effects of political disunion might have been counterbalanced and religion itself set free to transcend division in the church.

This, however, would have required of Cromwell the systematic toleration of political opposition, and that was something he would not or could not venture upon. Since he had the army at his command, none of his enemies was able to prevent him from enforcing peace. But the religious groups who supported him used their day of power not to reunite the people but to divide them more irretrievably than ever. They insisted upon the ineluctable division of all men into a band of regenerate saints and a multitude of unregenerate sinners, and, assuming the right of the saints to rule over the sinners, they essayed to regiment the multitude according to a code of specious righteousness which destroyed whatever influence they may have had with the public and has given them and their kind a bad name to the present day. Cromwell, when the Rump failed him, called upon these religious groups to provide the state with a new Parliament. They provided the Barebones Parliament, and the fiasco which attended that body's attempt to function foreshadowed the doom of the Puritan Commonwealth. The political failure of the saints was made complete when the army itself, with Cromwell gone, abandoned them and restored the King to a people happy to receive him.

A DECLARATION, OR, REPRESENTATION

A Declaration, or, Representation is reprinted from one of two variant copies of the London edition in the Huntington Library. There are several copies of this edition in the British Museum and in the Sutro Collection in the San Francisco Public Library, and one in the Union Theological Seminary. Another variant was reprinted in *The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England*, XV (1763), 455–70, with the title, *A Representation . . .* said to have been “Printed at Cambridge, by Roger Daniel, Printer to the University, with the following Fiat. St. Alban’s, June 14, 1647. By the Appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, with the Officers and Soldiery under his Command. J. Rushworth, Secretary” (p. 455*n*). There are two copies, apparently, of this variant in the University Library, Cambridge, and two more in Trinity College Library, Cambridge, but they have not been available for collation. In the *Parliamentary History* occur two paragraphs omitted from the London edition. They have been inserted, below, in square brackets. *A Declaration, or, Representation* was probably composed by Henry Ireton, but expressed the sentiments of members of the rank and file of the army who were especially under the influence of Lilburne.

The “Declaration of the Army,” as it was commonly called, was one of a series of petitions and manifestoes issued by the officers and soldiers of the army in the course of their controversy with Parliament, which began in March, 1647. Along with *A Solemne Engagement* of June 5, it is often referred to by Lilburne and others as an expression, asserted to be binding, of the army’s democratic ideals and purposes (see especially *The second Part of Englands New-Chaines and Legall Fundamentall Liberties*). The series of army pronouncements as a whole, including the London text of *A Declaration, or, Representation*, was published with the title, *A Declaration of the Engagements, Remonstrances, Representations, Proposals, Desires and Resolutions from His Excellency Sir Tho: Fairfax, and the generall Council of the Army* (1647; authorization to the printer by the Clerk of the House of Lords, Sep-

tember 27). This was commonly referred to as "The Book of Army Declarations." The London text of *A Declaration, or, Representation* was reprinted in John Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, Pt. IV, I (1701), 564-70, and the Cambridge text, in William Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, III (1808), 615-25. Extracts based upon a collation of both texts are given in *Puritanism and Liberty*, ed. Woodhouse, pp. 403-9.

A/ DECLARATION,/ OR,/ REPRESENTATION/ From his Excellency,/ Sir Thomas Fairfax,/ And the Army under his command,/ Humbly tendred to the Parliament,/ Concerning the iust and Fundamentall/ Rights and Liberties of themselves/ and the Kingdome./ WITH/ Some humble Proposals and Desires./ June 14, 1647./ By the appoyntment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax,/ With the Officers and Souldiers of his Army,/ Signed John Rushworth, Secretary./ LONDON,/ Printed for George Whittington at the Blew Anchor in Corn-hill,/ neere the Exchange. 1647.

A Declaration, or Representation from his Excellency, Sir Tho. Fairfax, and of the Army under his Command, Humbly tendred to the Parliament.

THAT we may no longer be the dis-satisfaction of our friends, the subject of our enemies malice (to worke jealousies and misrepresentations upon) and the suspicion (if not astonishment) of many in the Kingdome, in our late or present transactions and conduct of businesse; we shal in all faithfulness and clearnesse professe, and declare unto you, those things which have of late protracted and hindred our disbanding, the present grievances which possesse our Army, and are yet unremedied, with our desires, as to the compleat settlement of the liberties, and peace of the kingdome; which is that blessing of God, then which (of all worldly things) nothing is more dear unto us, or more pretious in our thoughts, we having hitherto thought all our present enjoyments (whether of life or livelihood, or nearest relations) a price but sufficient to the purchase of so rich a blessing; that we, and all the free-born people of this Nation, may sit down in quiet under our Vines, under the glorious administration of Justice, and righteousness, and in

the full possession of those Fundamentall Rights and Liberties, without which we can have little hopes (as to humane considerations) to enjoy either any comforts of life, or so much as life it selfe, but at the pleasures of some men, ruling meerly according to will and power.

It cannot be unknown what hath passed betwixt the Parliament and the Army, as to the service of Ireland. By all which, together with the late proceedings against the Army, in relation to their petition and grievances, all men may judge what hath [2] hindred the Army from a ready engagement in that service; and without further account or Apologie as to that particular, then what passages and proceedings themselves (already made publicke), doe afford; we doe appeale to your selves, whether those courses, to which the Parliament hath (by the designes and practises of some) been drawne, have rationally tended to induce a cheerfull and unanimous undertaking of the Army to that service, or rather to break and pull the Army in pieces with discontent and dishonour, and to put such disobligations and provocations upon it, as might drive it into distemper, and indeed discourage both this Army and other Souldiers from any further engagement in the Parliaments service. And we wish all men would (with us) upon the whole carriage, seriously consider, whether (in the intentions of those who have by false informations, and misrepresentations put the Parliament upon such wayes) the timely and effectuall reliefe of Ireland, seem really to have been intended, or rather (with the breaking, or disbanding of this Army) to draw together, or raise such other forces, and of such a temper as might serve to some desperate and destructive designes in England. For which, (besides the probable suspicions from their carriage of the businesse) we have beforehand, in the transaction thereof, had more then hints of such a designe, by cleare expressions to that purpose, from many of the Officers of the Army, that have been perswaded, and appeared most forward, to engage as for Ireland, on the tearmes proposed. And, that such a designe hath all along been driven, seemes now too evident, by the present disposing of those Forces that have been engaged for Ireland, by the endeavours of some, to gain a power from the Parliament of ordering those Forces for some service in England; and by the private listings of men for service there, without any publick authority of Parliament. And (all this) by the same persons, who have all along, appeared most active, and violent in the late proceedings against the Army.

As to the just discontents and dis-satisfactions of the Army, in rela-

tion to their grievances, and their non-compliance to the late orders for sudden disbanding by peece-meale (before more full and equall satisfaction were given to the whole) we desire you to look back to the Papers already published, of the grie-[3] vances themselves, the Narrative of the Officers, and the late Papers from the generall Counsell of Warre at Bury, and late generall Rendezvouz neare Newmarket: and (we thinke) your late resuming the consideration of these things (as to a further satisfaction) doth much justifie the desires and proceedings of the Army, in the past particulars, hitherto.

And though (had we (upon our first addresses) for our undoubted Rights and Dues) found a free, and candid reception, with a just consideration, and a reasonable satisfaction, or at least a free answer therein, we should have been easily perswaded to have abated or forborne much of our Dues, and not to have enquired into, or considered (so farre as we have) either the possibilities there are for more present satisfaction of Arreares, or the credit of future securities proposed; yet since upon these former addresses, we have found such hard dealing, as in the said Papers is set forth, and those additionall (though hitherto but partiall) satisfactions, comming so hardly as they have, we finde no obliging reasons in the least, to decline or recede from what is our due; but rather still to adhere unto our desires of full and equall satisfaction, in all the things mentioned in the aforesaid Papers, not onely in behalf of our selves, and the Army, but also the whole Souldiery throughout the whole Kingdome, who have concurred, or shall concurre with us in the same desires.

And to all our former desires, as Souldiers, we cannot but adde this (wherein we find our selves so nearly concerned in poynt of Justice and Reputation) that more care, and a stricter course may be taken for making good all Articles granted upon Surrenders, according to the true intent and meaning of them. As also for Remedy and Reparation in case of any breach; (and this) without those delayes which divers have found, as prejudicial to them or more, then if they had been totally denied the performance of them.

Nor will it now (wee hope) seeme strange or unseasonable to rationall and honest men, who consider the consequence of our present case, to their own, and the Kingdoms, (as well as our) future concerns in point of right, freedome, peace and safety, [4] if (from a deepe sence of the high consequence of our present case, both to our selves (in future) and all other people) we shall, before disbanding,

proceed, in our own and the Kingdoms behalf, to propound, and plead, for some provision, for our, and the Kingdoms satisfaction, and future security in relation to those things, especially considering, that we were not a meere mercenary Army, hired to serve any Arbitrary power of a State; but called forth and conjured, by the severall Declarations of Parliament, to the defence of our owne and the peoples just rights, and liberties; And so we tooke up Armes, in judgement and conscience to those ends, and have so continued them, and are resolved according to your first just desires in your Declarations, and such principles as we have received from your frequent informations, and our own common sence concerning those our fundamentall Rights and Liberties, to assert and vindicate, the just power, and Rights of this Kingdome in Parliament for those common ends premised, against all arbitrary power, violence and oppression, and against all particular parties, or interests whatsoever. The said Declarations still directing us to the equitable sence of all Laws and constitutions as dispensing with the very Letter of the same, and being supream to it, when the safety and preservation of all is concerned, and assuring us, that all authority is fundamentally seated, in the office, and but ministerially in the persons, neither doe or will these our proceedings (as we are fully and in conscience perswaded) amount to any thing, not warrantable before God and men, being thus far, much short of the common proceedings in other Nations, to things of an higher nature then we have yet appeared to. And we cannot but be sencible of the great complaints, that have been made generally to us of the Kingdome, from the people where we march, of arbitrarinesse and injustice, to their great and insupportable oppressions.

And truly such Kingdomes, as have according both to the law of Nature and Nations, appeared to the vindication and defence, of their just rights and liberties, have proceeded much higher; As our brethren of Scotland: who in the first beginning of these late differences, associated in Covenant, from the very same grounds and principles (having no vissible form, either of Parliament or King to countenance them) and as they were [5] therein justified, and protected by their own, and this Kingdome also, so we justly shall expect to be.

We need not mention the States of the Netherlands, the Portugals, and others, all proceeding upon the same Principles of right and freedome; And accordingly the Parliament hath declared it no resistance of Magistracie, to side with the just Principles, and law of Nature and Nations, being that Law upon which we have assisted you. And that the

Souldiery may lawfully hold the hands of that Generall, who will turne his Cannon against his Army on purpose to destroy them; the Sea-men the hands of that Pylot, who wilfully runnes the Ship upon a Rock, (as our brethren of Scotland argued.) And such were the proceedings of our Ancestors of famous memory, to the purchasing of such Rights and Liberties as they have enjoyed through the price of their blood; and we (both by that and the later blood of our deare friends and fellow-Souldiers, with the hazard of our own) doe now lay claim unto.

Nor is that supream end, (the glory of God) wanting in these cases, to set a price upon all such proceedings of Righteousnesse and Justice, it being one wisse of God in the World to carry on a Testimony against the Injustice and unrighteousnesse of men, and against the miscarriages of Governments, when corrupted or declining from their primitive or originall glory.

These things we mention, but to compare proceedings, and to shew that we are so much the more justifiable, and warranted in what we do, by how much we come short of that height and measure of proceedings, which the people in free Kingdomes and Nations have formerly practiced.

Now having thus farre cleared our way in this businesse, we shall proceed to propound such things as we do humbly desire for the settling and securing of our own and the Kingdomes common right, freedome, peace, and safety, as followeth.

1. That the Houses may be speedily purged of such members, as for their Delinquency, or for Corruptions, or abuse to the State, or undue Elections, ought not to sit there: whereof [6] the late elections in Cornwall, Wales and other parts of the Kingdome afford too many examples, to the great prejudice of the peoples freedome in the said elections.

2. That those persons, who have, in the unjust and high proceedings against the Army, appeared to have the will, the confidence, credit, and power, to abuse the Parliament, and the Army, and indanger the Kingdom in carrying on such things against us (while an Army) may be some way speedily disabled from doing the like or worse to us (when disbanded, and disperst, and in the condition of private men) or to other the free-born people of England in the same condition with us, and that for that purpose, the same persons may not continue in the same power (especially as our and the Kingdoms Judges in the highest trust) but may be made incapable thereof for future.

And if it be questioned who these are, we thought not fit particularly to name them in this our representation unto you, but shall very speedily give in their names; and before long shall offer what we have to say against them, to your Commissioners, wherein we hope so to carry our selves, as that the world shall see we aime at nothing of private revenge, and animosities, but that justice may have a free course and the Kingdome be eased, and secured by disabling such men (at least) from places of Judicature who desiring to advantage, and set up themselves, and their party in a generall confusion have indeavoured to put the Kingdom into a new flame of warre, then which nothing is more abhorrent to us.

But because neither the granting of this alone, would be sufficient to secure our own, and the Kingdoms rights, liberties, and safety either for the present age or posterity, nor would our proposing of this singly be free from the scandal, and appearance of faction or designe onely to weaken one party, (under the notion of unjust or oppressive) that we may advance another (which may be imagined more our own) we therefore declare. [9]*

That indeed wee cannot but wish, that such men, and such onely, might be preferred to the great power and trust of the Common-wealth, as are approved, at least, for morall righteousness; And of such wee cannot but in our wishes preferre those, that appeare acted thereunto by a principle of Conscience and Religion in them. And accordingly we doe and ever shall blesse God for those many such Worthies, who, through his providence, have been chosen into this Parliament; And, to such mens endeavours (under God) wee cannot but attribute that Vindication, (in part) of the peoples Rights and Liberties, and those beginnings of a just Reformation, which the first proceedings of this Parliament appeared to have driven at, and tended to, though of late obstructed, or rather diverted to other ends and interest by the prevailing of other persons of other principles and conditions.

But yet wee are so farre from designing, or complying to have an absolute or arbitrary power fixed or settled for continuance, in any persons whatsoever, as that, (if we might be sure to obtaine it) wee cannot wish to have it so in the persons of any, whom wee could most confide in, or who should appeare most of our own opinions or principles, or whom wee might have most personall assurance of, or interest in, but wee doe, and shall much rather wish, that the Authoritie of this King-

* Pages 7 and 8 omitted in the numbering. *Editors' note.*

dome in Parliaments (rightly constituted, that is, freely, equally and successively chosen, according to its originall intention) may ever stand and have its course. And therefore wee shall apply our desires, chiefly to such things, as (by having Parliaments settled in such a right Constitution) may give most hopes of Justice and Righteousnesse, to flow downe, equally to all, in that its ancient Channell, without any Overtures, tending either to overthrow, that foundation of Order and Government in this Kingdome, or to ingrosse that power for perpetuity into the hands of any particular persons, or party whatsoever.

And for that purpose, though (as wee have found it doubted by many men, minding sincerely the publike good, but not weighing so fully all consequences of things) it may and is not unlike to prove, that, upon the ending of this Parliament, and the [10] Election of New, the Constitution of succeeding Parliaments, (as to the persons Elected) may prove for the worse many wayes; yet since neither in the present purging of this Parliament, nor in the Election of New, wee cannot promise to our selves, or the Kingdome, an assurance of Justice, or other positive good from the hands of men, but those who for present appeare most righteous and most for common good (having an unlimited power fixed in them during life or pleasure) in time, may become corrupt, or settle into parties, or factions; or, on the other side, in case of new Elections, those that should so succeed, may prove as bad or worse then the former. Wee therefore humbly conceive, that, (of two inconveniences the lesse being to be chosen) the maine thing to be intended in this case (and beyond which humane providence cannot reach, as to any assurance of positive good) seemes to be this, viz. to provide, that how-ever unjust or corrupt the persons of Parliament-men, in present or future, may prove; or whatever ill they may doe to particular parties (or to the whole, in particular things,) during their respective termes, or periods, yet they shall not have the temptation or advantage of an unlimited power fixt in them during their own pleasures, whereby to perpetuate injustice and oppression upon any, (without end or remedy,) or to advance and uphold any one particular party, faction, or interest whatsoever, to the oppression or prejudice of the Communitie, and the enslaving of the Kingdome unto all posteritie, but that the people may have an equall hope, or possibilitie, if they have made an ill choice at one time, to mend it in another; and the members of the House themselves may be in a capacitie, to tast of subjection as well as rule, and

may so be inclined to consider of other mens cases, as what may come to be their owne. This wee speake of, in relation to the House of Commons, as being entrusted, on the peoples behalf, for their interest in that great and supreame power of the Common-wealth, (viz. the Legislative power, with the power of finall judgement,) which being, in its own nature, so arbitrary, and in a manner unlimited (unlesse in point of time) is most unfit and dangerous (as to the peoples interest) to be fixt in the persons of the same men during life, or their own pleasures. Neither, by the originall Constitution of [11] this State, was it, or ought it to continue so, nor does it (where-ever it is, and continues so) render that State any better then a meere Tyranny, or the people subjected to it, any better then Vassalls: But in all States, where there is any face of common freedome, and particularly in this State of England (as is most evident, both by many positive Lawes, and ancient constant custome) the people have a right to new and successive Elections unto that great and supreame trust, at certain periods of time, which is so essentiall and fundamentall to their freedome, as it is, cannot, or ought not, to be denied them, or withheld from them, and without which the House of Commons is of very little concernment to the interest of the Commons of England. Yet in this wee would not be mis-understood, in the least, to blame those Worthies of both Houses, whose zeale to vindicate the Liberties of this Nation, did procure that Act for continuance of this Parliament; whereby it was secured from being dissolved at the Kings pleasure, (as former Parliaments had been) or reduced to such a Certainty, as might enable them the better to assert and vindicate the Liberties of this Nation, (immediately before so highly invaded, and then also so much endangered.) And these wee take to be the principall ends and grounds, for which, in that exigency of time and affaires, it was procured, and to which wee acknowledge it hath happily been made use of; but wee cannot thinke it was by those Worthies intended, or ought to be made use of, to the perpetuating of that supreame trust and power in the persons of any during their owne pleasures, or to the debarring of the people from their right of Elections (totally new) when those dangers or exigencies were past, and the affaires and safety of the Common-wealth would admit of such a change. [12]

Having thus cleared our Grounds and Intentions (as wee hope) from all scruples and misunderstandings, in what followes we shall procede further to propose what wee humbly desire for the setling and securing

of our owne and the Kingdomes Rights and Liberties (through the blessing of God) to posterity; and therefore, upon all the Grounds premised, we further humbly desire as followeth;

3. That some determinate period of time may be set, for the continuance of this and future Parliaments, beyond which none shall continue, and upon which new Writs may of course issue out, and new Elections successively take place according to the intent of the Bill for Trienniall Parliaments.

And herein we would not be misunderstood to desire a present or suddain dissolution of this Parliament, but only (as is exprest before) that some certaine period may be set for the determining of it, so as it may not remaine (as now) continuable for ever, or during the pleasure of the present Members; And we should desire that the period to be now set for ending this Parliament, may be such as may give sufficient time for provision of what is wanting and necessary to be passed in point of just Reformation, and for further securing the Rights and Liberties, and settling the peace of the Kingdome. In order to which we further humbly offer.

4. That secure provisions may be made for the continuance of future Parliaments, so as they may not be adjournable or dissolveable at the Kings pleasure, or any other wayes then by their owne consent during their respective periods, but at those periods each Parliament to determine of course as before. This we desire may be now provided for (if it may be) so as to put it out of all dispute, for future, though we thinke of right, it ought not to have beene otherwise before.

[And because the present Distribution of Elections for Parliament Members is so very unequal, and the Multitude of Burgesses for decayed or inconsiderable Towns (whose Interest in the Kingdom would in many not exceed, or in others not equal, ordinary Villages) doth give too much and too evident Opportunity for Men of Power to frame Parties in Parliament to serve particular Interests, and thereby the Common Interest of the whole is not so minded, or not so equally provided for: We therefore further desire,

5. That some Provision may be now made for such Distribution of Elections for future Parliaments, as may stand with some Rule of Equality or Proportion, as near as may be, to render the Parliament a more equal Representative of the whole; as for Instance, That all Counties or Divisions and Parts of the Kingdom (involving inconsiderable Towns) may have a Number of Parliament-Men allowed to their

Choice, proportionably to the respective Rates they bear in the Common Charges and Burdens of the Kingdom, and not to have more; or some other such like Rule.]

And thus a firme foundation being laid in the authority and constitution of Parliaments for the hopes, at least, of common [13] and equall right and freedome to our selves and all the free-born people of this Land; we shall for our parts freely and cheerefully commit our stock or share of interest in this Kingdome, into this common bottome of Parliaments, and though it may (for our particulars) goe ill with us in one Voyage, yet we shall thus hope (if right be with us) to fare better in another.

These things we desire may be provided for by Bill or Ordinance of Parliament to which the Royall Assent may be desired: when his Majestie in these things, and what else shall be proposed by the Parliament, necessary for securing the Rights and Liberties of the people, and for settling the Militia and Peace of the Kingdome, shall have given his concurrence to put them past dispute. We shall then desire that the Rights of his Majestie and his posterity may be considered of, and settled in all things, so farre as may consist with the Right and Freedome of the Subject, and with the security of the same for future.

5. We desire, that the right and fredome of the people, to represent to the Parliament by way of humble Petition, their grievances (in such things as cannot otherwise be remedied then by Parliament) may be cleared and vindicated, That all such grievances of the people may be freely received & admitted into consideration, and put into an equitable and speedy way, to be heard, examined, and redressed (if they appeare reall) and that in such things for which men have remedy by law, they may be freely left to the benefit of law, and the regulated course of Justice, without interruption or checke from the Parliament, except in case of things done upon the exigency of Warre, or for the service and benefit of the Parliament and Kingdome in relation to the Warre, or otherwise, in due pursuance and execution of Ordinances or Orders of Parliament.

More particularly (under this head) we cannot but desire, that all such as are imprisoned, for any pretended misdemeanor, may be put into a speedy way for a just hearing and triall, and such as shall appeare to have beene unjustly and unduly imprisoned, may (with their liberty) have some reasonable reparation according to their sufferings and the demerit of their oppressors. [14]

6. That the large powers, given to the Committees or Deputy Lieutenants during the late times of Warre and distraction, may be speedily taken into consideration, That such of these powers as appeare not necessary to be continued, may be taken away, and such of them as are necessary may be put into a regulated way, and left to as little Arbitrarinesse, as the nature and necessity of the things wherein they are conversant will beare.

7. We could wish that the Kingdome might both be righted & publickly satisfied in point of Accounts, for the vast summes that have been levied and paid, as also in divers other things wherein the Common wealth may be conceived to have beene wronged or abused; But we are loath to presse any thing, that may tend to lengthen out further disputes or contestations, but rather such as may tend to a speedy and generall composure, and quieting of mens minds, in order to Peace, for which purpose we further propose.

8. That (publique Justice being first satisfied by some few examples to posterity out of the worst of excepted persons, and other Delinquents, having past their Compositions) some course may be taken (by a generall Act of oblivion or otherwise) whereby the seeds of future Warre, or fewds, either to the present age, or posterity, may the better be taken away, by easing that sence of present, and satisfying those feares, of future Ruine or Undoing, to persons or families, which may drive men into any desperate wayes for selfe preservation or remedy, and by taking away the private remembrances and distinction of parties, as farre as may stand with safety to the rights and Liberties wee have hitherto fought for.

There are (besides these) many particular things which wee could wish to be done, and some to be undone, all, in order still to the same ends, of common right, freedome, peace, and safety. But these proposalls aforegoing, being the principall things wee bottome and insist upon, wee shall (as wee have said before) for our parts acquiesce for other particulars in the Wisdome and Justice of Parliaments. And whereas it hath been suggested or suspected, that in our late, or present procee-[15] dings, our design is to overthrow Presbytery, or hinder the settlement thereof, and to have the Independent government set up, we doe clearely disclaime, and disavow any such designe; We onely desire that according to the Declarations (promising a provision for tender consciences) there may some effectuall course be taken according to the intent thereof, And that such, who, upon conscientious grounds may

differ from the established formes, may not (for that) be debarred from the common Rights, Liberties, or Benefits belonging equally to all, as men and Members of the Common wealth, while they live soberly, honestly, and inoffensively towards others, and peacefully and faithfully towards the State.

We have thus freely and clearely declared the depth and bottome of our hearts and desires in order to the Rights, Liberties and Peace of the Kingdome, wherein we appeale to all men, whether we seeke any thing of advantage to our selves, or any particular partie whatever, to the prejudice of the whole, & whether the things we wish and seek, do not equally concern & conduce to the good of others in common with our selves, according to the sincerity of our desires and intentions wherein, (as we have already found the concurrent sence of the people in divers Counties by their Petitions to the Generall, expressing their deepe representment of these things, and pressing us to stand for the Interest of the Kingdome therein, so,) we shall wish and expect to finde the unanimous concurrence of all others, who are equally concerned with us in these things, and wish well to the Publique. And so trusting in the mercy and goodnesse of God to passe by and helpe any failings or infirmities of ours, in the carriage or proceedings hereupon, we shall humbly cast our selves and the businesse upon his good pleasure, depending onely on his presence and blessing for an happie issue to the peace and good of this poore Kingdome, in the accomplishment whereof, wee desire and hope, that God will make you blessed Instruments. [16]

June 14th 1647.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, with the Officers and Souldiery of his Army, Signed,

Jo: RUSHWORTH

Secretary.

THE CASE OF THE ARMIE

The Case of the Armie is reprinted from one of two variant copies in the possession of Godfrey Davies. There are copies in the British Museum and the Huntington Library (three variants). Extracts are given in *Puritanism and Liberty*, ed. Woodhouse, pp. 429-36, and in Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, VII (1701), 1358-61. The work is a manifesto, probably written by John Wildman but signed by the agents of five regiments of horse designated by their colonels' names, Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, Rich, and Whalley. These representatives had been chosen at the beginning of October, 1647, when the soldiers, especially those under the influence of Lilburne, were becoming convinced that their officers were about to betray the principles which had been announced in the army's *Solemne Engagement* of June 5 and *Declaration* of June 14. The manifesto was addressed to Fairfax as commander in chief and purported to have the approval of the rank and file of the whole army. It was published, in several variant forms, shortly after October 18, the date attached to the statement at the end of the pamphlet. *The Case of the Armie* was referred to a committee of the Council of the Army on October 22, and six days later the agents presented the first of the papers known as "The Agreement of the People" (reprinted in *Constitutional Documents*, ed. Gardiner, pp. 333-35, and Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, III, Appendix). For an account of the several documents called "The Agreement of the People," see J. W. Gough, in *History*, new series, XV (Jan., 1931), 334-41. The two manifestoes and the "Heads of the Proposals," the constitutional scheme drawn up by Ireton (*Constitutional Documents*, pp. 316-26), were debated in the Council of the Army from October 28 to November 11 (*Clarke Papers*, I, 226-418; *Puritanism and Liberty*, pp. 1-124). In the course of these debates Ireton implied, without being directly contradicted, that Wildman, one of the chief spokesmen for the soldiers, was the author of *The Case of the Armie*. While the debates were going on, this manifesto was seconded by others, such as *A Cal to all the Souldiers* (extracts in *Puritanism and Liberty*, pp. 439-43), which may also have come from Wildman's pen. The style and substance of the latter pamphlet and of *The Case of the Armie* closely resemble those of *Putney Projects* (extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 426-29), published at the end of 1647, which he is known to have written.

THE CASE/ OF THE/ ARMIE/ Truly stated, together with the mischiefes/ and dangers that are imminent, and some sutable remedies,/ Humbly proposed by the Agents of five/ Regiments of Horse, to their respective Regiments,/ and the whole Army./ As it was presented by Mr. *Edmond Bear*, and Mr. *William Russell*,/ October 15. 1647. unto his Excellency,/ *Sir Thomas Fairfax*./ Enclosed in a Letter from the said Agents: Also his Excellencies/ Honourable Answer thereunto./ Deut. 20.8. *What man is there that is fearefull and faint hearted? let him go and returne unto his House, least his brethrens heart faint as well as his heart.* • Judg. 7.7. *And the Lord said unto Gideon, by the three hundred men that lapped, will I save you, and deliver the Midianites into thine hand, and let all the other people go, every man unto his place.*/ LONDON Printed in the Yeare,/ 1647.

The Case of the Army truly stated, together with the mischiefes and dangers that are imminent, and some sutable remedies, Humbly proposed by the Agents of five Regiments of Horse, to the respective Regiments and the whole Army.

WHEREAS the grievances, dissatisfactions, and desires of the Army, both as Commoners and Soldiers, hath been many months since represented to the Parliament; and the Army hath waited with much patience, to see their common grievances redressed and the rights and freedoms of the Nation cleared and secured; yet, upon a most serious and conscientious view of our Narratives, Representations, Ingagement, Declarations, Remonstrances, and compairing with those the present state of the Army and Kingdome, and the present manner of actings of many at the Head Quarters, we not only apprehend nothing to have been done effectually, either for the Army or the poore oppressed people of the nation, but we also conceive, that there is little probabilitie of any good, without some more speedy and vigorous actings.

In respect of the Army, there hath been hitherto no publike vindication thereof, about their first Petition, answerable to the Ignominie, by declaring them enemies to the State, & disturbers of the peace: No publike clearing nor repairing of the credit of the Officers, sent for about that petition as Delinquents: No provision for Apprentizes Widowes, Orphans, or maimed Souldiers answerable to our reasonable addresses propounded

in their behalf: No such Indempnitie, as provideth security, for the quiet, ease, or safety of the Soldiers, disbanded or to be disbanded. No securitie [2] for our Arreers, or provision for present pay, to inable the Army to subsist, without burthening the distressed Country. And in respect to the rights and freedoms of our selves and the people, that we declared we would insist upon, we conceive there is no kind or degree of satisfaction given: *a* there is no determinate period of time set when the Parliament shall certainly end: The house is in no measure purged, either from persons unduly elected, or from Delinquents, that appeared to be such at the Armies last insisting upon their rights, or since: the *b* honour of the Parliamentary authoritie not cleared, and vindicated from the most horrid injustice of that Declaration against the Army for petitioning, nor of suppressing and burning Petitions, abusing and imprisoning Petitioners: But those strange presidents remaine upon Record, to the infamy of Parliamentary authority; and the danger of our own and the peoples freedoms: The people are not righted, nor satisfied in point of accompts, for the vast summes of money disbursed by them: None of the publique burthens, or oppressions, by arbitrary Committees, *c* injustice in the Law, Tythes, Monopolies, and restraint of free trade, burthensome Oathes, inequallitie of Assessments, Excize, and otherwise are removed or lightned, *d* the rights of the people in their Parliaments, concerning the nature and extent of that power, are not cleared and declared. So that we apprehend our own & the peoples case, little (if in any measure) better, since the Army last hazarded themselves for their own and the peoples rights and freedoms. Nay, to the grieffe of our hearts, we must declare, that we conceive, the people and the Armies case much impaired, since the first Rendezvous at New Market, when that solemne ingagement was entred into: And that from the consideration

That the Armies Engagement, Representations, Declarations, and Remonstrances, and promises in them contained, are declined, and more and more daily broken, and not only in some smaller matters wherein the Armie and the Kingdome are not so neerly concerned, but in divers

a Viz. The copy of the grievances presented to the Parliaments Commissioners at Saffron Walden.

b Viz. the Representation of the Armies dissatisfactions, agreed on upon June 4. & 5. pag. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. where these were represented as the ground of the solemne Engagement.

c Viz. the declaration of Ju. 14. p. 6, 9.

d Viz. the Remonst. of Jun. 23. pag. 6, 7. Its mentioned as one of the dissatisfactions, that caused the march to London. See also the dissatisfactions of the Armie annexed to the Engagement. pag. 19, 20.

particulars of dangerous consequence to the Army and the whole Nation. As,

First, In the Engagement, pag. the 5. the Armie promised every Member thereof each to other, and to the Parliament and Kingdome, that they would neither disband nor divide, nor suf-[3]fer themselves to be disbanded or divided untill satisfaction should be given to the Army in relation to their grievances, and desires; and securitie that neither the Army nor the free borne people of England, should remaine subject to such injuries, oppression, and abuse, as the corrupt party in the Parliament then had attempted against them.

Secondly, the Traine of Artillery is now to be disbanded, before satisfaction or securitie is given to the whole Army in relation to themselves, or other the free borne people, either in respect to their grievances or desires. And when the strength or sinewes of the Army be broken, what effectuall good can be secured for themselves or the people in case of opposition?

Thirdly, The Army is divided into quarters so farre distant, that one part is in no capacitie to give timely assistance to another, if any designe should be to disband any part by violence sodainly, although neither our grievances nor desires as Soldiers or Commoners are redressed or answered. And as we conceive this dividing of the Army before satisfaction or securitie as aforesaid, to be contrary to the Armies intention in their Engagement, at the said Rendezvous, so we conceive it hath from that time given all the advantage to the enemies, to band and designe against the Armie, whereby not only pay hath been kept from the Soldiers, and securitie for arreers prevented, but the kingdom was indangered to have been imbroyled in blood, and the settlement of the peace and freedom of the Nation, hath been thus long delayed.

The whole intent of the Engagement, and the equitable sense of it, hath been perverted openly,* by affirming, and by sinister meanes making seeming determinations in the Counsell, that the Army was not to insist upon or demand any securitie, for any of their own or other the free borne peoples freedoms or rights, though they might propound any thing to the Parliaments consideration; and according to that high breach of their Engagement, their actions have been regulated, and nothing that was declared formerly, to be insisted upon, hath been resolvedly adhered to, or claimed as the Armies or the peoples due, and we conceive it hath been by this meanes, that the Soldier hath had no pay constantly pro-

* Viz. His Excellencies letter to the City sent from Royston, June 16.

vided, nor any security for Ar-[4] reers given them, & that hitherto they could not obtain so much, as to be paid up equally with those that did desert the Army,* it not being possitively insisted upon, although in the Remonstrance of June 23. pag. 11. It was declared, that it should be insisted upon resolvedly, to be done before the Thursday night after the sending that Remonstrance, and its now many moneths since.

Fourthly, In the prosecution of this breach, there hath been many discouragements of the Agitators of the Regiments, in consulting about the most effectuall meanes, for procuring the speedy redresse of the peoples grievances, and clearing and securing the native rights of the Army, and all others the free Commons.

It hath been instilled into them, that they ought not to intermeddle with those matters, thereby to induce them, to betray the trust the Regiments reposed in them; and for that purpose, the endeavours of some hath been to perswade the Soldiery, that their Agitators have medled with more, then concerned them. In the Declaration of June 14 pag. † It was declared that the Army would adheare to their desires of full and equall satisfaction to the whole Soldiery of the Kingdome in Arreers, Indempnity, and all other things mentioned in the papers, that contained ‡ the grievances, disatisfactions and desires who did then, or should afterward concurre with this Army in these desires.

But many thousands who have concurred with this Army, are now to be sent for Ireland, or to be disbanded with two moneths pay, before any securitie for Arreers, or sufficient Indempnity, or any satisfaction to any desires as Soldiers or Commoners, then propounded; so now our Declaration is forgotten, and the faith of the Army, and his Excellency broken, for it may be remembred, that his excellency often promised, that the same care should be taken for those, that concurred, that should be for this Army, therefore if this course be driven on, what better can wee expect for our selves in the end?

Sixtly, In the same Declaration, June 14. pag. 6. it is declared that the Army took up Armes, in judgement and conscience, for the peoples

* The pay since received hath not been so much as since accrued to be due in course, and therefore that answers not the three moneths Arreers that was paid to the deserters of the Armie.

† See above, *Declaration*, pp. 2ff. *Editors' note*.

‡ It was declared to be one of the chiefe grounds of discontent, if any part of the Armie should be disbanded before satisfaction was given to the whole, See the Engagement pag. 3. and the Armies first grievances, and are not all that concurred with the Armie in the same condition?

just rights and liberties, and not as mercenary Souldiers, hired to serve an arbitrary power of the State, and that [5] in the same manner it continued in armes at that time, and pag. 7. of the same Declaration, it was declared that they proceeded upon the principles of right and freedom, and upon the law of nature and Nations: But the strength of the endeavours of many hath been, and are now, spent to perswade the Soldiers and Agitators, that they stand as Soldiers only to serve the State, and may not as free Commons claime their right and freedome as due to them, as those ends for which they have hazzarded their lives, and that the ground of their refusing to disband, was only the want of Arrears and Indempnity.

Seventhly, In the Remonstrance June 23. pag. 14. compared with pag. 15. it was declared, that such extraordinary courses should be taken as God should direct & enable them thereunto, to put things to a speedy issue, unles by the Thursday then imediately following, assurance and securitie were given to the Army and Kingdome, that the things desired in the Declaration, June the 14 should be speedily granted and settled.

But there hath been ever since, a totall neglect of insisting possitively upon the redresse of those grievances, or granting those desires of the Army as Soldiers. That the Declaration of June the 14. pag. the 3. refers unto, as formerly expressed, and not so much as one of those desires, as Commoners of England in the behalfe of themselves and others, (propounded in the same Declaration, pag. 6, 9, 10, 11.) hath been insisted upon possitively; neither setting a determinate period, wherein the Parliament shall certainly end, nor purging the House, nor clearing the rights of the people, in petitioning, nor the righting of them in accounts, &c. so that by these declinings of the Army, from insisting resolvedly upon the peoples, and the Armies own rights,* both are after long expectations, as farre from right and freedome, as though there had been no man to plead their cause. And herein it is to be observed, that the neglect of insisting upon our most just desires, hath given enemies such secret encouragement, that they shuffle off any desires, though propounded, † as to be insisted upon, as may be mentioned in that our just desire, of recalling publicly the Declaration, inviting al to desert the Army, & professed to be insisted upon, in the same Declaration, June 23. pag. 11. which notwithstanding to this day was never publicly recalled; so likewise the desire [6] of vindicating the Parliaments honour, in rela-

* Viz. declaration June 14. pag. 4.

† Viz. the Armies representation of dissatisfaction June 4. 5. page 19.

tion to a publique disowning the order to suppress our first Petition, and many others.

Eightly, In the declaration of June 14. pag. 10. as in all other Remonstrances and Declarations, it was desired, that the rights and liberties of the people might be secured, before the Kings businesse should be considered.* But now the grievances of the people are propounded to be considered after the restoring him to the regall power, and that in such a way according to the proposals, viz, with a negative voice, that the people that have purchased by blood what was their right, of which the King endeavoured to deprive them, should yet solely depend on his will, for their reliefe in their grievances and oppressions; and in like manner the securitie for the Armies Arrears, is proposed, to be considered after the businesse of the King be determined, so that there is a totall declension since the method formerly desired, in the settling the peace of the Nation.

Ninthly, It hath been alwayes professed and declared, that the Army was called forth and conjured by the Parliaments Declarations, for defence of the peoples rights, against the forces raised by the King, and for delivering the King from his evill Councell, who seduced him to raise the war, and bringing Delinquents to condigne punishment, But now through the Armies countenance and indulgence, those conquered enemies, that were the Kings forces, abuse, reproach, and againe insult over the people, whose freedome was the grounds of the Armies engagement, yea, the Kings evill Councillors, that concurred in designing all the mischiefes in the Kings late warre against the people, are againe restored to him, and are admitted free accesse without check into all the Armies quarters, whereby they are restored to a capacitie of plotting and designing mischiefes against the Armie and kingdome.

Tenthly, When imminent ruine, to the whole nation was apprehended, by meanes of the multitudes of corrupted Members in Parliament, diverting and obstructing all good proceedings; then the purging of the House in part, from one kind of Delinquents, was againe insisted upon, and a solemn Protestation was passed in the remonstrance from Kingstone, pag. 21. That the [7] Armie would not permit those to sit in the House, that usurped the name and power of Parliamentary authoritie, when the

* The parliament & Scots Commissioners long since resolved that satisfaction and securitie was to be given to the people in relation to those publique ends for which they expended so much treasure and blood, before the King should be provided for; this is hinted in the Remonstrance signed Kingstone, page 11.

Parliament was by violence suspended, and endeavoured to raise a warre to distroy the Parliament and Army, but that they would take some effectuall course to restraints them from sitting there, that the people might be concluded only by those Members that are free from such apparant treacherous breaches of their trust.

But hitherto this Engagement for purging the House from those Delinquents, (whose interest ingages them to be designing mischiefes against the people and Army) is declined and broken, to the black reproach and foulest infamie of the Army; and now these strong cords are cut in sunder and so forgotten, that there are no visible endeavours or intentions, to preserve the honour of the Armie, in its faithfulness to its Engagement and Protestation.

Thus all promises of the Armie to the people that Petitioned his Excellencie and the Army to stand for the National interest, freedomes and rights, are hitherto wholly declined, and the law of nature and nations now refused by many to be the rule by which their proceedings should be regulated; they now strip themselves of the interest of English men, which was so ill resented when it was attempted by the mallice of the enemies.* And thus the peoples expectations that were much greatned, and their hopes of reliefe in their miseries and oppressions which were so much heightned are like to be frustrate, and while you looke for peace and freedome, the flood gates of slaverie, oppression and miserie are opened upon the Nation, as may appear by the present manifold dangers that incompass about the Army and the whole Nation. [8]

The mischiefes, evils, and dangers, which are and will be the necessary consequence of the Armies declining or delaying the effectuall fulfilling of its first Engagement, Promises and Declarations or of its neglect to insist positively upon its first principles of common right and freedome.

Whereas its now many moneths since the Army declared (in answer to the Petitions of divers Counties, and from the sense of an absolute necessitie thereof,) that they would insist upon the peoples interest; † as in the Declaration of June 14. pag. 13. And yet no reliefe for the people in any of their oppressions, by arbitrary powers, Monopolies, in-

* See his Excellencies letter to the City, dated Ju. 10. pag. 4.

† Long since then also they professed that they hoped God would cleare it, that they have acted the kingdomes and every honest mans interest. viz. the Remonstrance from Kingstone, pag. 12.

justice in the proceeding at Law, Tythes, Excize, &c. is effectually procured; nor any greater probabilitie of future helpe is visible then was before; no foundations of freedome being yet laid; and yet the Soldiery burthening the country with free quarters and occasioning greater taxes. These five mischiefes and dangers ensue inevitably.

First, The love and affection of the people to the Armie, (which is an armies greatest strength) is decayed, cooled, and neere lost; its already the common voice of the people, what good hath our new Saviours done for us? What grievances have they procured to be redressed? Wherein is our condition bettered? or how are we more free then before?

Secondly, Not only so, but the Army is rendred as an heavie burthen to the people, in regard more pay is exacted dayly for them, and the people find no good procured by them, thats answerable or equivolent to the charge, so that now the people begin to cry lowder for disbanding the Army then they did formerly for keeping us in Armes, because they see no benefit accruing, they say they are as likely to be oppressed and inslaved both by King and Parliament, as they were before the Armie engaged professedly to see their freedomes cleared and secured.

Thirdly, Whilst the peoples old oppressions are continued, and more taxes also are imposed for pay for the Army, they are disabled dayly more & more for the maintaining of an Army for the preservation, for they beginne to say, they can but be destroyed by [9] oppression, and its all one to them, whether it be by pretended friends or professed enemies, it were as good, say they, that the King should rule againe by prerogative; we were slaves then to his will and we are now no better; we had rather have one tyrant then hundreds.

Fourthly, By this meanes, distractions, divisions, heart-burnings and jealousies are increased, to the imminent danger of ruine to the Army and Kingdome; the people are inclined to tumults crying out, will none procure reliefe for us: shall we alwayes be deluded with faire words, and be devoured by oppressors? wee must ere long rise up in armes, and every one catch what he can: confusion is thus threatned.

Fiftly, The Army is exposed to contempt and scandall, and the most black reproaches, and infamies are cast upon them, the people say, that their resolutions not to disband, were because they would live idly on the peoples labours, and when the Souldiers are constrained to take free quarters, this (saith the people) is for freedom, and right, to eat the bread out of our childrens mouths: so that many Souldiers are ashamed of themselves, and feare that the people should rise to destroy them:

you will doe nothing for us, (say they) we are vexed by malignant Judges, for conscience sake by arbitrary Committes in the Country, and at Parliament ordering one thing this day, and recalling it the next to our intollerable vexation, injustice in the law is the same, and we buy our right at as a dear rate as ever, Tithes are inforced from us double and treble, Excise continues, we can have no accompts of all our moneyes disbursed, for the publicke, more is dayly required, and we know not what is become of all we have paid already, the Souldiers have little pay, and the maimed Souldiers Widowes and Orphans are thrust upon us to be parrish charges.

Secondly Whereas the Engagement is broken, and the first principles deserted or neglected, these mischiefes and dangers have ensued.

1. The enemies are encouraged and imboldned to proceed in prejudice to the people & the Army as formerly: * they may receive hopes upon the armies own words in their Generall Counsell, that the army will not oppose or disturbe them in their proceedings, to deprive the Armie and people of their native rights, for [10] if they can abuse the Parliament, or surprize them as formerly, they may say for themselves, the Army hath declared that they stand only as Souldiers, and will not insist upon any possitive demand of their own and the Nations freedomes: and was it not this that imboldned the enemies formerly to suppress our first petition, and declare us enemies, for petitioning? they thought we would have stood only as mercenary Souldiers, hired to serve their arbitrary power, and not remembered that we by their invitation took up armes in judgment and conscience, to preserve the nation from tyrannie and oppression, and therefore were obliged to insist upon our rights and freedomes as Commoners, and surely it hath been upon this ground, that they kept us without money so long, thinking we would not or durst not insist upon our demands of that which is due to us, and upon this ground we judge the Parliament hath proceeded of late to increase the peoples oppressions, by an Ordinance for trible dammages, to be paid by all that refuse (though for conscience sake) to Pay Tythes, and an Ordinance to locke up the printing presses against whom they please, which was in the Bishops time complained of, as one of the great oppressions, and have slighted just petitions, and neglected to consider and redresse the prisoners grievances and oppressions and the sufferings of conscientious persons, by the unjust statutes against Conventicles so stiled, & statutes for

* They formerly prevailed and proceeded in that way, viz Dcl. offered to the Commissioners at Saffron Walden.

Common prayer Book, and enforcing all to come to Church, and all other the peoples grievances.

2. From the Armies declining their first principles, the same corrupt Members remain in Parliament that caused the Army to be proclaimed enemies for petitioning, and its to be observed that through the influence of those in the house, there was never any publike vindication of the Armyes honour, and of the justice of their petitioning at that time, and can the Army be safe, so long as its old declared enemies are in power and doe but watch the fittest opportunity to worke any mischief, but not only those enemies remain in power, and watch to destroy you, but 65. at least that lately voted and endeavoured to raise a new work to destroy the Armie, are suffered to vote in the Parliament though the Army hath * protested solemnly, they would not suffer those [11] usurpers to sit there, or that they would be concluded by those that were coactors in such treasonable breaches of their trust.

3. Through the Armies dividing contrary to the Engagement, and neglecting to insist upon the first Declaration, the enemies have had power and opportunity, to prevent them of their constant pay, and obstruct all proceedings to security for Arreares, whereas otherwise the enemies would not have dared to presume to obstruct good proceedings, and to prosecute their designes against the Army.

4. Through the Armies back-sliding from the Remonstrance, and Protestation from Kingston, August 18. those that lately endeavoured to raise a warre against the Parliament and Army, continue in the House, and have passed an Ordinance, wherein those betrayers of their trust are acknowledged to have been a House of Parliament, when the Parliament was forced away and suspended, and the Army having declared them to be no Parliament,† and his Excellency slighted their Command, at Colebrooke, professing he knew no Parliament, to which he should send, are by this made guilty of the highest treason, and so a snare is layd for his Excellency and the Army, that when the enemies shall have the advantage, they may be declared traytors, for declaring against the Parliament, and disowning their authority, so that if some speedy remedy be not applyed, no man knowes how soon the enemy may prevaile to destroy his Excellency, the Army and Kingdome by this meanes: and the policy of the enemy is to be observed, that they would never suffer that Declaration to be debated in the House, that was published at the Armies march-

* Viz. The Remonstrance from Kingston, Aug. 18. pag. 21.

† viz. Dec. shewing the reasons of their last march unto London, pag. 9.

ing towards London; wherein those that usurped the power of a Parliament, when the Parliament was suspended, were declared to be no legall Parliament: but the Declaration and Remonstrance of August 18. wherein the Army protested against the sitting of those usurpers in the House, may together be made the ground of their declaring us Traytors upon any advantage, for disowning, and declaring against the supream authority of the Nation, in case those usurpers shall continue to be acknowledged an house of Parliament, as it remains at present by the late Ordinance of August 20. procured to be passed by those Usurpers themselves sitting Judges of their own case.

5. By this neglect and declining of the Army, The Parliament [12] is returned to their old delatory way of proceeding, neither insisting upon the relieving the people speedily and effectually in any of their grievances, nor providing constant pay for the Army, nor security for Arreares; so that the delays that are occasioned through the Armies declining their first principles are as destructive to the Army and Kingdome, as if there were direct actings by the Army against the Kingdomes peace.

6. Through the same declension of the Armies first principles, and the good and necessary method propounded for settling the nation in peace and freedome before the Kings businesse be considered, the King is likely to recover his old capacity, before the peoples freedoms (which they have redeemed out of the hands of him and his forces by blood) be cleared and established securely, and likewise before any security be given for Arreares; and then what probability there is, that then there should be any good security of pay obtained for the Army that conquered him, and for the freedoms of those that assisted them, let any rationall man judge? It may more certainly be expected, that he will provide for the pay and Arreares of his own Souldiery rather then of ours. And likewise by the same meanes, the Armies and their assistants indempnity, is propounded to receive its strength from the Kings consent; whereas not onely his signing of, or consent to any act is wholly null and void in Law, because he is under restraint, and so our indempnity, will be insufficient, if it shall depend in the least, on his confirmation. But also its the highest disparagement to the supream authority of this Nation, the Parliament, that when they have commanded an Army upon service against the King, they should not have sufficient power to save them harmlesse for obedience to their commands, and also its the highest dishonour to the Army, that they should seeke to the conquered enemy to save them harmlesse for fighting against them, which is to aske him pardon, and so will re-

maine as a perpetuall reproach upon them, & render them traytors to posterity.

7. Through the Armies declining its first principles, to insist upon satisfaction and security as Souldiers and Commoners before disbanding or dividing the Army, is it now likely to be so far scattered into severall quarters, that it shall be in no capacity, to insist upon security for arreares, sufficient indempnity, or upon any its own or the nations rights, in case they shall be still denyed them. [13]

8. It is to be considered that the enemies on the one hand, and the other increase dayly in their boldnesse, confidence, and strength, whilst securitie for the armies arreers, and constant future pay (so long as it shall be continued) are not provided, and the rights and freedoms of the people are not cleared and secured, & the armie may divide, in case one part should insist upon the first just principles, and be faithfull thereunto, and another part should by flatteries, preferments, feare or negligence decline or deferr them, and let it be considered what strength that would add to the enemies, and how far it will indanger the ruine of the armie and kingdome.

Now we cannot but declare, that these sad apprehensions of mischiefes, dangers and confusion gaping to devoure the armie hath filled our hearts with troubles, that we never did, nor doe regard the worst of evils or mischiefes that can befall our selves in comparison to the consequence of them to the poore Nation, or to the security of common right and freedom, we could not but in (reall not formall fained) trouble of heart for the poore Nation and oppressed people, breake forth and cry, O our bowels! our bowels! we are troubled at the very heart to heare the peoples dolfull groanes, and yet their expected deliverers will not heare or consider, they have run to and fro, and sighed & even wept forth their sorrowes and miseris, in petitions, first to the King then to the Parliament, and then to the armie, yet they have all been like broken reeds, even the armie it selfe upon whom they leaned have pierced their hands, their eyes even faile with looking for peace and freedome, but behold nothing but distraction, oppression and trouble, and could we hope that helpe is intended, yet the people perish by delayes, we wish therefore that the bowells of compassion in the whole armie might yearne towards their distressed brethren, and that they might with one consent say each to other, come let us joyne together speedily to demand present redresse for the peoples grievances, and securitie for all their and our

own rights and freedoms as Soldiers and Commoners. Let us never divide each from other till those just demands be answered really and effectually, that so for the peoples ease as many forces as are not absolutely necessary may be speedily disbanded and our honour may be preserved unspotted, when they shall see, [14] that we minded not our own interest, but the good, freedome, and welfare of the whole Nation. Now to all that shall thus appeare we propound

That whatsoever was proposed to be insisted on either, in the Declaration of June the 14. or the Remonstrance June 23 and in the Remon. from Kingstone, August 18. be adhered to resolvedly, so as not to recede from those desires, untill they be throughly and effectually answered: more particularly, that whereas it appeares by possitive lawes and antient just customes, that the people have right to new successive elections for Parliaments, at certain periods of time, and that it ought not to be denyed them, being so essentiall to their freedome, that without it they are no better then slaves, the nature of that legislative power, being arbitrary: and that therefore it be insisted on so possitively, and resolvedly, as not to recede from it.

1. That a determined period of time, be forthwith set, wherein this Parliament shall certainly be desolved, provided also that the said period be within 9. or 10. moneths, next ensuing, that so there may be sufficient time for settling of peace and freedome.

2. Whereas all good is obstructed and diverted by the power & influence of Delinquents, the late usurpers, & undu elected ones in the Parliament, that therefore it be possitively & resolvedly insisted on; that the house be forthwith purged, from al that have forfeited their trust, or were unduly elected, but especially that an order be passed forthwith, for the expelling all those from the house, who sate in the late pretended Parliament, & that likewise a severe penalty be ordered to be imposed on every of those usurpers that shall presume to sit in the House, for the passing of such an order, before they shall have given sufficient evidence, that they neither voted for a new warre, or for the Kings comming to London upon his own tearmes.

3. Wheras his Excellencie & the whole armie, were guilty of the highest treason if the pretended Parliament had been a legall Parliament, and its apparent that they were no legall Parliament, that therefore it be possitively and resolvedly insisted upon, that the Declaration of the army upon their last march up to London be forthwith publikely owned,

and approved of by the Parliament, and that the same publique approbation be Passed upon the Remonstrance, & protest sent from Kingstone August 18. [15]

4. Whereas Parliaments rightly constituted are the foundation of hopes of right and freedome to this people, and whereas the people have been prevented of Parliaments, though many possitive lawes have been made for a constant succession of Parliaments, that therefore it be positively and resolvedly insisted upon, that a law peramount be made, enacting it, to be unalterable by Parliaments that the people shall of course meet without any warrants or writs once in every two yeares upon an appointed day in their respective Countyes, for the election of their representors in Parliament, & that all the freeborn at the age of 21. yeares and upwards, be the electors, excepting those that have or shall deprive themselves of that their freedome, either for some yeares, or wholly by delinquency, and that the Parliament so elected and called, may have a certaine period of time set, wherein they shall of course determine, and that before the same period, they may not be adjurnable and dissolvable by the King, or any other except themselves.

Whereas all power is originally and essentially in the whole body of the people of this Nation, and whereas their free choice or consent by their Representors is the only originall or foundation of all just government; and the reason and end of the choice of all just Governors whatsoever is their apprehension of safety and good by them, that it be insisted upon positively. That the supreme power of the peoples representors or Commons assembled in Parliament, be forthwith clearly declared as their power to make lawes, or repeale lawes, (which are not, or ought not to be unalterable) as also their power to call to an account all officers in this Nation whatsoever, for their neglect or treacheries in their trust for the peoples good, and to continue or displace and remove them from their offices, dignities or trust, according to their demerits by their faithfulness or treacherie in the businesse or matters where with they are intrusted. And further: that this power to constitute any kind of governors or officers, that they shall judge to be for the peoples good, be declared, and that upon the aforesaid considerations it be insisted upon, that all obstructions to the freedome and equalltie of the peoples choice of their Representors, either by Pattents, Charters or usurpations, by pretended customes, be removed by these present Commons in Parliament, and that such a freedome of choice be provided for, as the people

may be equally represented. This power of Commons in Parliament, is the thing against which the King hath contended, and the people have defended [16] with their lives, and therefore ought now to be demanded as the price of their blood.

That all the oppressions of the poore by Excize upon Beare, Cloath, Stuffes, and all manufacturies, and English commodities; be forthwith taken off, and that all Excize be better regulated, and imposed upon foreign commodities, and a time set wherein it shall certainly end, if there be a necessity of its present continuance on such commodities.

3. Whereas the people have disbursed such vast sums of money, by Pole-money, Subsidies, proposition money, Contribution, the five and twentieth part, viewes and reviewes of the same monethly assessments, Excize, and other wayes, and such vast sums have been collected and enforced by Sequestrations, Compositions, sale of Bishops lands, and other wayes, that the whole charge of the forces by sea and land might have been defrayed to the utmost farthing, and yet many millions of money remained if all that have been disbursed freely or enforced, had been faithfully brought into the publique treasury, and improved for the publique use only: therefore, in respect to the peoples right, and for their ease, and for better and more easie provision of money for the Soldiery, that it be insisted upon positively, that faithfull persons be chosen to receive accounts in every part of the kingdome, especially considering that former Committees for accounts were constituted in a time when corrupt men overpowred the Parliament, and that they have done no service in discovering moneys since their constitution; and herein its to be insisted on, that all without distinction, as well parliament men as others, may be equally accountable to persons chosen for that purpose.

Now herein its further to be insisted on, that whereas the time was wholly corrupt when persons were appointed to make sale of Bishops lands, and whereas Parliament men, Committee men, and their kinsfolkes were the only buyers, and much is sold, and yet its pretended, that little or no money is received, and whereas Lords, Parliament-men, and some other rich men, have vast sums of arreers allowed them in their purchase, and all their moneys lent to the state paid them, while others are left in necessitie, to whom the state is much indebted, and so present money that might be for the equall advantage of all, is not brought into the publique Treasury by those sales. Its therefore to be insisted on that the sale of Bishops lands be reviewed, and that they may be sold to their

worth, and for present moneys, for the publike [17] use, & that the sale of all such be recalled, as have not been sold to their worth, or for present moneys.

And it is further offered, in consideration that the Court have occasioned the late warre, and reduced the state to such necessity, by causing such vast expence of treasure, that therefore whereas the many oppressions of the people, and the danger of absolute tyranny, were the occasion of the expence of so much blood, and whereas the people have bought their rights and freedoms, by the price of blood, and have in vaine waited long since, the common enemy, hath been subdued for the redresse of their grievances and oppressions, that therefore it be demanded as the peoples due, which ought not to [be] denyed to the Army or to them, that seeing the King hath his Court and lives in honour, yet before his businesse be further considered, because the people are under much oppression and misery, it be forthwith the whole worke of the Parliament, to heare or consider of, & study effectually redresse for all common grievances and oppressions, and for the securing all other the peoples rights and freedoms, besides all these afore mentioned, and in particuler.

First, that all the orders, votes, ordinances or declarations, that have passed either to discountenance petitions, suppress, prevent or burne petitions, imprison or declare against petitioners, being dangerous presidents against the freedom of the people, may be forthwith expunged the Journall books, and the injustice of them clearly declared to all the people, and that in such a declaration the soldiery be vindicated, as to the right and equity of their first petition.

That all those large sums of money that were allowed to needlesse pretended Officers of the Court which did but increase wickednesse and prophanesesse, may be reserved for a publique treasure to be expended in paying those forces that must be maintained for the peoples safety, that so through a good and faithfull improvement of al the Lands pertaining to the Court, there might be much reserved for leaving publique charges, and easing the people.

And its further offered, that whereas millions of money have been kept in dead stocks in the City of Lonndon the Hals and Companies, and the free men of the City could never obtaine any account thereof, according to their right; That therefore a just and strict account may be forthwith given to all the freemen of all those dead stocks, & whereas [18] there hath been nothing paid out of those, nor for the lands pertaining to the City, whiles the estates of others have been much wasted, by con-

tinuall payments, that therefore proportionable summs to what other estates have payd, may be taken out of those dead stocks, and lands which would amount to such vast sums, as would pay much of the soldiers arreares, without burthening the oppressed people.

And its further offered, that forrest lands, and Deanes and Chapters lands be immediately set apart for the arrears of the Army, and that the revenue of these and the resedue of Bishops lands unsold till the time of sale may be forthwith appoynted to be paid unto our Treasury, to be reserved for the soldiers constant pay. And its to be wished that only such part of the aforesaid lands be sold as necessity requires, to satisfie the soldiery for arreares, and that the resedue be reserved and improved for a constant revenue for the State that the people may not be burthened, and that out of the revenues publique debts may be paid, and not first taken out of their own purses to be repayed to them.

And its further offered for the peoples ease, that the arreers of all former assessments be duly collected from those who have sufficient estates, and have not been impoverished by the warre.

And whereas its conceived that the fees of receivers of customes and Excize if they were justly computed, would amount to neere as much as the Armies pay, its therefore offered that speedy consideration be had of the multitude of those officers and their excessive fees, & profits, as 500. 600. 1000. 1200. l. per annum. And wheras that many Excize men appoint whom they please as their substitute, and allow what they please for their pay, that the officers may be few, and constant stipends allowed them, none exceeding 200. l. per annum, that so more moneys may be brought into the publike treasury.

And for the ease and satisfaction of the people, its further to be insisted on, that the charge of all the forces to be kept up in the kingdome by sea or land, be particularly computed and published, and that all taxes that shall be necessary, may be wholly proportioned, according to that charge; and that there be an equall rate propounded throughout the kingdome in all assessments, that so one town may not beare double the proportion of another of the same value.

4. That all Monopolies be forthwith removed, and no person whatsoever may be permitted to restraine others from free trade.

5. That the most sad oppressions of prisoners be forthwith eased and removed, and that no person that hath no estate reall or personall, nor any person that shall willingly yeeld up his estate to satisfie his creditors may be detained in prison to the ruine of their persons and families, and

likewise, that no person imprisoned in a criminall cause, may be detained from his legall tryall any longer then the next tearme.

6. That all Statutes, for the Common prayer book, and for enforcing all to come to [19] Church, whereby many religious and conscientious people are dayly vexed and oppressed, be forthwith repealed and nulled. As also that all Statutes against Convinticles, under the pretence of which, religious people are vexed for private meetings about the worship of God, may be likewise repealed and nulled.

7. That all the oppressive statutes, enforcing all persons though against their consciences to pay Tythes, whereby the husbandman cannot eat the fruit of his labours, may be forthwith repealed and nulled.

8. That all statutes enforcing the taking of oaths, as in townes corporate, the oath of Supreamacy, &c. Wherein either the whole oaths, or some clauses in them, are burthens, and snares to conscientious people may be repealed and nulled.

9. That it be declared that no person or Court shall have power or be permitted to enforce any person to make oath, or answer to any Interrogatories concerning himself, in any criminall case.

10. That a Committee of conscientious persons be forthwith selected to consider of the most intollerable oppressions by unjust proceedings in the law, that withall the lawes might be reduced to a smaller number, to be comprized in one volume in the English tongue, that every free Commoner might understand his own proceedings, that Courts might be in the respective Counties or Hundreds, that proceedings might become short and speedy, and that the numberlesse grievances in the law and Lawyers, might be redressed as soone as possible.

11. That all priviledges and protections above the law, whereby some persons are exempted from the force and power thereof, to the insufferable vexation and ruine of multitudes of distressed people, may be forthwith abrogated.

12. That all the antient rights and donations belonging to the poore, now imbezled and converted to other uses, as inclosed Commons, Alms houses, &c. throughout all parts of the land, may be forthwith restored to the antient publique use and service of the poore, in whose hands soever they be detained.

Many other grievances are and ought to be redressed, but these as they are propounded, we conceive might be in a very short time redressed to the relief of many distressed ones, and to a generall ease; or at least, put into a way, wherein there might be visible hopes of remedie, and

therefore these might be demanded as due to the people, though we desire the Counties might be encouraged to represent all their other grievances also for speedy redresse.

7. Generall head. That it be insisted on, that such Indempnitie be forthwith given both for the Soldiery and all that gave them assistance, and shall provide securely for their quiet, ease and safety, and prevent all chargeable journeys to London, to seek after and waite upon Committees.

8. That in some of the fore mentioned wayes, security be given for arreers forthwith, that as soone as the rights and freedomes of the people be secured according as its hereupon propounded, and the other desires of the Army in relation to their particular freedome from pressing, and provision to be made in a certaine and no dishonourable way for maimed Soldiers, Widowes, and Orphans, that shall continue during their lives, that then the Armes may be disposed into the hands of the faithfull well affected of the Nation, which may be so formed into a military posture, as to be ready on all occasions of service, and as many of the forces that [20] are kept in constant pay, as shall not be absolutely necessary for the preservation and safety of the people, may be as speedily as possible disbanded, that they may not be a burthen to the Nation.

9. Whereas mercy and justice are the foundations of a lasting peace, its necessary to be insisted on (for the healing differences as far as possible,) That all those whose estates have been sequestered, and yet were not in armes for the King, or gave any actuall assistance to him in men, money, or armes, plate, horse, &c. in the late warre, that all such be discharged forthwith from their sequestrations; and that all such as have compounded, may not be enforced, to pay the five or twentieth part, seeing their whole estates were so long under sequestration: and that all those that have not compounded, who were in Armes for the King, may be compelled forthwith to compound, provided, that their Compositions be so moderate, as none may exceed two yeares revenue, that their families be not ruined, and they put upon desperate attempts against the peace of the Nation to preserve themselves.

These things propounded are no more then what we conceived, should have been thoroughly done long since, being as to the principall of them but the substance and equitable sense of our former declarations, Remonstrances, and representations, And therefore though our restlesse desires of the peoples good, and of the welfare of the Army, have constrained us, thus publicly to state our case, and the remedie according to the

best improvement of the small Tallent of understanding that God hath given freely to us, yet let not the matter be prejudged because of the unworthy Authors, neither let it be thought presumption. It may be remembred that the Fathers danger made a dumb child to speake, and the Armys yea all the peoples dangers and miseryes have wrested open our mouthes, who had otherwise been silent in this kinde to the grave, and let it not be thought that we intend the division of the Army, we professe we are deeply sensible and desire all our fellow soldiers to consider it.

In case the union of the Army should be broken, (which the enemy waite for,) ruine and destruction will breake in upon us like a roaring sea, but we are much confident that the adhearing to those desires and to that speedy way of attaining our just ends for which we first ingaged, cannot be interpreted to be a desire of division, but the strongest vigorous endeavours after union, and though many whom we did betrusted have been guilty of most supine negligence, yet we expect that the same impulsion of judgement and conscience that we have all professed, did command us forth at first for the peoples Freedome, will be againe so effectually, that all will unannimously concurre with us, so that a demand of the peoples and Armyes rights shall be made by the whole Army as by one man, that then all the enemies to, or obstructors of the happy settlement of common right, peace and freedome, may heare of our union and resolution, and their hands may be weake, and their hearts may fayle them, and so this Army that God hath cloathed with honour in subduing the common enemy, may yet be more honourable in the peoples eyes, when they shall be called the Repayers of their breaches, and the restorers of their peace, right, and freedome.

And this is the prayer, and shall always be the earnest endeavours of

The Armies and all the peoples most faithfull servants,

Lieut. Gen.	{ Robert Everard. George Garret.	Com. Gen.	{ George Sadler. Thomas Beverly.	Col Fleetwood.
{ William Priar. William Bryan.	Col. Whalyes.	{ Matthew Wealy. William Russell. Richard Seale.	C. Riches.	{ John Dober. William Hudson, Agitators.

Gilford, October 9. 1647.

FINIS. [21]

A Copy of a Letter from the Agents of the aforesaid five Regiments of Horse, unto his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax.

May it please your Excellency,

From the deep sense of our duty to God, to our native Country, to your Excellency, to this Army, and to our selves, and to posterities to come, we find such obligations upon our consciences, written naturally by the finger of God in our hearts, that we cannot behold the honour of God to be impaired, the workes of his hands the land of our nativity, your Excellency, this Army, our selves, or posterities, ready to be swallowed and devoured up in confusion, thraldome and ruine, and to sit still, and not arise in the strength of his might, to contribute our best endeavours for the prevention thereof: for, God hath given no man a talent to be wrapt up in a Napkin & not improved, but the meanest vassall in the eye of the Lord is equally obliged and accomptable to God with the greatest Prince or Commander under the Sun, in & for the use of that talent betrusted unto him: and therefore we presume that your Excellency (who does acknowledge your selfe a creature of, & servant to the same God) will not think it strange, or judge us disobedient or refractory, that we should, as we have presumed, State the case of the Army, how declined from its first principles of safety, what mischiefes are threatned thereby, and what remedies are sutable for prevention, which herewith we do humbly present & offer unto your Excellencie: for, Sir should you, yea, should the whole Parliament or Kingdome exempt us from this service, or should command our silence & forbearance, yet could not they nor you discharge us of our duties to God, or to our own natures, for we must be accomptable, & judgment will come for the deeds done in our flesh, whether good or evill: and hee that hath not improved and put forth his talent to [22] use, shall be bound hand and foot, & cast into the lake of eternall vengeance: Therefore, whether God or Man in this case must be obeyed, judge you So that we are bold from our sense of your Excel. piety, honesty and uprightnesse to God and to your Countrie, that in this our discharge of our duties to both, we shall not incur your displeasure or discountenance, but that you will freely commit us and the issue of our endeavours to God, & if it be of him it will stand; & from our consciences we attest, and protest in the presence of this all seeing diety, as we desire safety in this life, or in that which is to come, we have no other then cordiall & faithfull intents and resolutions to the undoubted safety and weale of our native Countrie, to Parliaments, your Excellencie, and this Armie,

in this businesse represented in these inclosed Papers, & we do utterly abhorre and renounce all secret or private designes, or interest under the same, together with all that is contrary to the plaine and vulgar sense expressed in the premises thereof. And if by any one your Excellencie shall be suborned, that we are transgressors of all order and forme, and in that sense only to look upon us We desire to mind your Excellencie; that the law of nature & nations attested in our own publike Declarations & Papers may be an answer to such for the justification of our present expedient, for all formes are but as shadowes & subject to the end, & the safety of the people is above all formes, customes, &c. and the equitie of popular safettie is the thing which justifieth all formes, or the change of formes for the accomplishment thereof; and no formes are lawfull longer then they preserve or accomplish the same. If our dutie bind us when we see our neighbours house on fire, to wave all formes, ceremonies or complements, and forthwith (not waiting for order or leave) to attempt the quenching thereof without further scruple, as thereunto called of God, we say if we be so obliged & called in the case of a particular, then much more are we obliged and called, when we behold the great Mansion House of this Common wealth, and of this Army (wherein all the families of the Nation are contained) on fire, all ready to be devoured with slaverie, confusion and ruine, & their nationall native freedome (the price of their treasure & bloud) wrested out of their hands, as at this present appeareth to our best understandings: And therefore in this exigencie & straight of extremity, we from the very dictates of Divinity, Nature & Reason engraven in our hearts [23] could not otherwise chuse, with quiet and peace to our consciences [which no mortall man can take from us or suppress the overpowering motives thereof] * but consider with our selves what we should do to award those threatning mischiefes from this Nation and Army, and to that end we find nothing more effectuell then to knit our selves together with this fixed resolution, to part with our lives and all that is neare and deare unto us, before we part with our freedoms; and in relation thereunto we the Agents to five Regiments of your Horse, have after our weak manner in this our Representation directed to our respective Regiments and to the whole Army, discharged our duties; And we presume we have not erred from the equitable sense of our solemn Engagement or from the just maximes and matters contained in our Declarations, Remonstrances, &c. from the which we are resolved not to proceed. Thus humbly craving your Excellencies favourable construction on

* This clause is enclosed in brackets in the original text. *Editors' note.*

our innocent intentions and endeavours, we (as we alwayes have been) cordially remaine,

Your Excellencies and this Nations faithfull Servants and Soldiers to stand or fall with you and it, for common Right and Freedome.

Edward Trevers.	}	Lieut. Gen.
Edmon Bear.		
George Garret.	}	Com. Gen.
Jeremiah Cole.		
William Prior.	}	Col. Fleetwod.
William Bryan		
John Fletcher.	}	Col. Riches.
John Dober.		
William Hudson.	}	Col. Whaleys.
Matth. Wealey.		
William Russel.		

[24]

Hempstead, October 15. 1647.

We appoint Edmond Bear and William Russell abovesaid, in our names to present this Letter, together with our Representation, entituled *The case of the Army, &c. to his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax.*

Upon the presentation to, and serious perusall thereof by his Excellency, the sum of his answer was to this effect. That he judged their intentions were honest, and desired that every one of a publique spirit would be acting for the Publique, and that for his part hee had freely ventured his life for common right and freedome, and should freely engage it againe, adding further, that he thought it meet, it should be presented to the Generall-Council.

Octob. 18. 1647.

A DECLARATION OF SOME PROCEEDINGS

A Declaration of some Proceedings of Lt. Col. John Lilburne is reprinted from a photostat of a copy in the British Museum. It was first published on or shortly before February 14, 1648, the date on which Thomason entered it in his collection. There is a copy in the Union Theological Seminary. The work was an official compilation prepared by order of the House of Commons. On November 9, 1647, the House had granted Lilburne, then a prisoner in the Tower by order of the House of Lords, freedom to go abroad from day to day. On January 17, 1648, he and John Wildman spoke at a meeting which had been called for the purpose of securing indorsement for a petition they were promoting. Present at the meeting was George Masterson, a minister whom Lilburne described as "the lying Shepheard of Shoreditch" (*A Whip for the present House of Lords*). The next day Masterson reported what he had heard, first to the House of Lords and then to the House of Commons. On January 19 Lilburne and Wildman were summoned to the bar of the House of Commons and confronted by Masterson. After a heated dispute Lilburne was remanded to the Tower and Wildman sent to the Fleet on a charge of treason. Two printed papers were on this occasion read to the House. The first was a manifesto, *The mournfull Cryes of many thousand poor Tradesmen*, which had been circulating among the soldiers and for which Lilburne and his friends were unquestionably responsible (*A Declaration of some Proceedings*, p. 51). A copy, now in the British Museum, which fell into Thomason's hands was recorded by him on January 22. The other paper was the petition, called "The earnest Petition of many Free-born People of this Nation," which Lilburne and Wildman had been promoting and a copy of which was sent in by Lilburne upon demand of the House. He was reported to have said at the meeting of January 17 that thirty thousand copies were to come forth in print the next day (*ibid.*, p. 17). Information was also received that the person who circulated *Mournfull Cryes* among the soldiers promised that a thousand copies of the petition would be ready for distribution "so soon as they were reprinted, which they were about to do in a smaller leter" (*ibid.*, p. 51).

No separately printed copy in any form has been positively identified by the present editors. Lilburne reprinted the petition in *An Impeachment of High Treason* ([August 10] 1649), pp. 45-53. On January 20 the House of Commons ordered that the Committee of Both Houses take care that "some Declaration may be published to the People, of the Proceedings that have been in the Prosecution of the Petition, intituled, 'The earnest Petition of many freeborn People of England,' carried on by Lieutenant Colonel Lilburne, one Mr. Wildman, and others." On February 5 the committee ordered its secretary, Walter Frost, to draw up such a declaration and to animadvert both on the "Earnest Petition" and the *Mournfull Cryes* (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1648-1649*). The publication, a few day later, of the pamphlet reprinted below was the result. Lilburne at first thought that the writer was either Nathaniel Fiennes, a member of the committee, or Frost, but, hearing that the latter was responsible, he directed to him his rejoinder, *A Whip for the present House of Lords*—adding, however, "though it may be supposed, you had more fingers in it then your owne." The secretary had doubtless been assisted by members and by other agents of the committee. *A Declaration of some Proceedings* printed both "The earnest Petition of many Free-born People" (pp. 26-34) and *The mournfull Cryes of many thousand poor Tradesmen* (pp. 52-56). It also printed two other documents: Masterson's written statement (pp. 13-18), supplied to the House of Commons, concerning the meeting of January 17; and a letter (pp. 20-23) purporting to have been signed by Lilburne, Wildman, and two associates, dated January 9, and addressed to persons in Kent, giving directions for the organization of a local committee for the support of the "Earnest Petition."

The whole affair called forth a number of other pamphlets. Wildman assailed Masterson in *Truths Triumph, or Treachery anatomized*, dated February 1. Masterson replied in *The Triumph stain'd*, licensed by Gilbert Mabbott, February 9. This included the statement of information which the author had supplied to the House of Commons and the letter alleged to have been addressed by Lilburne and his associates to the men of Kent. A certain Jab. Norris joined the attack on Masterson, in *A Lash for a Lyar*, dated February 22, and Lilburne defended himself in *A Whip for the present House of Lords*, dated February 27. He gave a characteristic detailed account of the entire episode in *An Impeachment of High Treason*.

A/ DECLARATION/ Of some PROCEEDINGS of/ L^t Col. Iohn Lilburn,/ And his ASSOCIATES:/ WITH/ Some Examination, and Animadversion/ upon Papers lately Printed, and scattered abroad. One/ called *The earnest Petition of many Free-born People of this/ Kingdome*: Another, *The mournfull Cries of many thousand/ poor Tradesmen, who are ready to famish for want of Bread, or,/ The Warning Tears of the Oppressed.*/ Also a Letter sent to KENT./ Likewise a true Relation of Mr. *Masterson's*, Minister of/ SHOREDITCH, Signed with his owne hand./ Published by Authority, for the undeceiving of those that are misled by these Deceivers, in many places of this Kingdom./ Prov. 18.17. *He that is first in his Cause, seemeth just, but his neighbour commeth and searcheth him.* 2 Tim. 3.13. *But Evill men, and Seducers, shall wax worse and worse, deceiving, and being deceived.*/ London, Printed for Humphrey Harward, and are to be sold at his Shop, the Crown and Bible at Budge-Row-End, near Canning-street./ *Anno Domini, M DC XLVIII.*

A Declaration, &c.

THERE can be nothing more evident to any that will give themselves leave maturely to weigh and compare the past and present state of affaires in this Kingdome with an impartiall Judgement, than that all the pressures formerly imposed, the late Warre, the present distempers, and future threatned danger thereby, doe all grow out of the same root, and flow from the same fountaine; and will lead, if they be pursued, to one and the same end, Even that which was first in the intention of the first Designers, The setting of Tyranny, and enslaving the People. And although he that shall look upon these things only *en passant*, will scarce believe that such different Principles and pretentions as are held out to view, should serve the same ends. And though it should seem there could be nothing at greater distance to the intenti-[2] on of some, who are abused into these distempers, than to promote slavery and hasten ruine. Yet they who are uninterested and uningaged in them, and instructed in, and convinced of the Grand Designe of those who began our troubles, and how it is still carryed on; can both see the Artifice by which they are raised and fomented, and the End to which they tend, and whereat they are like to arrive; There is no need to reckon up what the state of this Kingdom

was before the breaking out of these troubles, being in such condition of wealth, and all manner of prosperity, as made it the Subject of Envie to those who knew not what was designed against it. But no lesse than an absolute Tyranny would please the King; to command the hearts of his people by a just Government, according to the Lawes, and the Limits of his Trust, and thereby to command their persons, and purses, and all for the good of all, was beneath Royallity. And that it was fitter for a King to take, than ask, was then State Doctrine, and the practise suitable. We were to be modelled to a forreign pattern, and in pursuance thereof, all manner of Arbitrary exactions, and impositions were laid upon the people, the particulars will not be forgotten this Age, and need not a recapitulation. A Consumption had seized the people, and their usuall Physick was denyed them; and when twas grown dangerous even to sigh for a Parliament, the Kings necessities by the stirres in Scotland inforce him to call one. But that was not the first the King had broken, and he then knew well enough when it would not serve his turne, and verefie Edicts, How to keep it from serving the people for the recovery of their Liberty: His necessities encrease, this present Parliament is called; and in regard of so many broken before, this [3] was not able to serve the necessities of the Kingdome, unlesse it were put beyond his power to break; And therefore was continued by Law till the Houses by joynt consent should dissolve it; Now the King being fast, as to usuall Court Stratagems, hath recourse to force, deales with one Army, tempts another, frustrate in both; impeacheth Members, comes himselfe to fetch them, nothing takes; He retires into the North, resolves a Conquest of the Parliament, the People, the Lawes, and though to blind the short-sighted multitude, He forbids the repaire of Papists to the Court, yet his principall Assistants in it are those his good Subjects; He set up his Standard, raiseth an Army, maketh Warre against the Parliament and Kingdome, and put it to the tryall of the Sword, whether he shall govern by the Lawes, or by his Will without Law. In the prosecution of which appeal to the Lord of Hosts, he hath lost his Cause, which stands determined against him by a full Conquest of all his forces; And thereby an happy opportunity given, not only to deliver from those late Exactions, and to make their returne impossible, but for the recovery and establishment of all that just Freedome that may make a people happy, as they stand in the Naturall Constitution, and Civill Consociation, and distinct and mutuall relations of the people of England; if themselves hinder not.

The way of force being at an end, but there being no end of the malice of our Enemies, but the slaverie of the Nation, and the ruine of all those faithfull Patriots that hath hitherto hindred it.

They convert now their whole industry to the mannage of that Maxime (Divide and Rule) as to the only Engine left them to attaine their ends, yet this is not now first in [4] practice amongst them, it hath had its part during all the time of the Warre (though not so strenuously pursued, while they had other hopes) by raising and fomenting of factions, and divisions in all places, Armies, Councels, Cajoling all sorts by all those Artifices, whereby their interests, humours, and discontents might be wrought upon. Thus they have had their Emissaries under every disguise, who have laboured to divide the people among themselves; and Characterize that division by distinguishing Names, and to divide them all from the Parliament by severall pretences; that it being naked of the protection of their force, might be unable to protect the people by their Authority. The Pulpits have served the Kings Interests, while they thought they pursued their owne. (The Instruments putting them on, being a New Malignant party, under a disguise, they not discerning they were acted by the old one, through the entremise of these), and while they have divided the people, they have left them lesse able to defend themselves: Division among themselves is not al, they divide also from the Parliament: for the people being wont to believe what ever they hear from that place, by those men, have from thence been abated in their respect and opinion of the Parliament. Hence the City Remonstrance, and hence the first visible turne to their Actings toward the Parliament: The same Instruments tell the souldiers of their Arrears, strengthen their reflections upon their merit, help them to heighten the sense of their present wants, and sufferings, and in the meane time labour all they can possibly, both in the Houses, and among the people, to hinder the advancing or levie of moneys to satisfie them. And what workings there hath been, both toward, and in the Army under the [5] Command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, to breed faction and division there, to irritate it, or to break it, by whom it was done, and whose interest those men carried on, all men know. And how incredible soever it seem, yet even the Cries for liberty, endeavors of levelling, perfectly play the Kings Game; his Tyranny can with greater ease overflow a levell, then where it meets with the opposition of the power of the Kingdom in the Parliament. The Instruments of those designes, know that it is impossible for Tyranny ever to grow again upon Us, till that power be taken away, or disabled,

by which it hath been broken, and our right recovered; and that so long as the people acknowledge their Protectors, and own their Protection, they will be safe under it. The Woolves persuade the Sheep, if the Dogs were away, there would be a happy peace between them. The difficulty now is, to make the Sheep believe they are Woolves that make the overture.

The truth is, tis the greatest pity in the world that plain and simple integrity, and well-meaning innocency should be deceived. But their unhappinesse is, there is nothing easier; it is necessary the Serpent & the Dove should go together, else he that only consults his own Candor and Integrity, will never believe that another mans Propositions or Designs have any worse principle. When Absolon went about to dethrone his father, there followed him three hundred men from Jerusalem, that went in the simplicity of their hearts, knowing nothing: the man pretended only a Religious Vow, and these poor, believed him, And every age produceth sufficient numbers of as little foresight; and there is no doubt, but if many among those that promote the dividing destructive *Agreement of the people*, and indeavor an Anarchicall level-[6] ling, had had but as much light to have judged the designs of their leaders, and to have foreseen the end of their motions, as they have good meaning, their Musters had never swelled to the numbers they account them, though in that there is very little credit to be given to their own Roll.

It hath not been the least part of the Art of those that drive on these designs, to imploy such to serve their turns, whose former merit might seem to priviledge a mistake in their duty, and that it must be ingratitude at least, if not cruelty in the Parliament to proceed to any severe animadversion against men of so much merit as the Leaders, or so large and good affection as their followers.

In which Stratagem, they have not failed, for by the Parliaments lenity and forbearance toward such men, (in hope they would see their mistakes, and return to the wayes of their duty and safety,) they are grown to that height, both by making Combinations, Printing and dispersing all manner of false and scandalous Pamphlets and Papers against the Parliament, to debauch the rest of the people, gathering monyes, and making Treasurers and Representors of themselves, as it is necessary to obviate by present and effectuall means. And the Parliament can no longer suffer them in these seditious wayes, without deserting their trust in preserving the Peace of the Kingdom, and the freedome and property of peaceable men.

Among all the Instruments they have out-witted to carry on their de-

signs with this sort of people, there are none have visibly done them more service then Lieutenant Col. John Lilburn, a man who hath made himselfe sufficiently known to the world, by those heaps of scandalous Books and Papers that he hath either written, or [7] owned against the House of Peers, and such as have done him greatest courtesies; filled with falshoods, bitterness, and ingratitude, whereby he hath given himself a Character sufficient to distinguish him (with the Judicious) from a man walking according to the rules of sobriety, and the just deportment of a Christian: 'Tis true, he suffered much from the Bishops, in the time of their exorbitancies, and he was one of the first the Parliament took into their care for liberty and redresse. But the present temper of his spirit, gives some ground to beleieve, that he added much to the weight of his pressures, by his want of meeknesse to bear what Providence had laid him under.

'Tis also true, that he hath done good service for the Parliament, and adventured his life, and lost of his blood in the Common Cause. But some that know him, well observe, that he brought not the same affections from Oxford, that he was carried prisoner thither withall; though indeed he hath also done service since that time. And the Parliament hath not been unmindfull either of his sufferings, or of his services, but hath given him severall sums of money, notwithstanding the Committee of Accounts reported to the House, that in their judgements there was nothing due to him.

But let his services be as great as himself, or his friends will have them, yet 'tis possible for a man to reflect too much upon his own desert; and mens overvaluing their services, have oftentimes produced such subsequent Actions, as have buried their first merit in a punishment.

It is very probable, many of those that he misleads into these dangerous Actions, look upon him as a Martyr in the Cause against the Bishops; and believe that all his zeal is only for the promotion of Righteousnesse, and [8] just things, and for the Vindicating and Asserting the peoples liberty against Oppression and Violence, and that only by Petition, an indubitably just, and allowed way for all men to seek their grievances by, and by which they may without offence, addresse to any authority or greatnesse whatsoever.

To take off this disguise, and disabuse well meaning men, who cannot judge him by his Character drawn of himself, by himself, in his severall books; It will be necessary to give the world a Narrative of what his deportment and carriage was toward the House of Peers, upon which he

was imprisoned, it having yet been spread to the World, only as he and his friends have pleased to dresse it, all which is taken out of the Records of that House, and is as followeth.

Upon the publishing of a Book by him written, called, *The just mans Justification*, and complaint thereof made to the House; It was Ordered the 10. of June, 1646. That Lieutenant Colonel John Lilborne shall appeare, and answer such things as he stands charged with, concerning a Book entituled, *The just mans Justification*. The 11. of June he appeared, and there delivered at the Barre a paper, entituled, *The Protestation*, Plea, and Defence of Lieut. Col. John Lilborn, given to the Lords at their Barre, the 11. of June, 1646. with his Appeal to his proper and legall Tryers, and Judges, the Commons of England assembled in Parliament. In which Protestation, after he hath acknowledged an Obligation to the House, for dealing justly and honourably with him in a Parliamentary way, in a businesse of his, lately before that House, yet that he [9] would not submit to any Judgement of this House against him in a criminall Cause; but would rather undergoe all deaths or miseries which the wit of man can devise, or his power and Tyranny inflict; And closeth his Protestation in these words, Therefore doe from you, and from your Bar, as Inchoachers and usurping Judges, appeal to the Barre, and Tribunal of my competent, proper, and legall Tryers and Judges, the Commons of England assembled in Parliament: which Protestation being contrived, and prepared by him upon premeditation, and given in at the Barre with so much contempt of and affront unto the Priviledges of this House, It was upon consideration thereof had, Ordered that the said Lieutenant Collonel John Lilborn should stand committed to Newgate, for bringing into the House a scandalous and contemptuous paper, And that the Keeper of Newgate doe keep him in safe custody.

The 23. of June following, the House Ordered he should be brought into the House as a Delinquent, being formerly committed as a Delinquent. At which time being brought to the Barre according to the said Order, he refused there to kneele, which is the constant posture, and so known to be; and accordingly practised by all who are sent for as Delinquents by either of the Houses. And upon that refusall, the House Ordered, That he should for that his contempt to the House, be committed close prisoner to Newgate, And that none be suffered to resort to him, nor any pen and inke to be allowed him, untill the House should take further Order therein, And it was then further Ordered, That the Kings Counsell, with the assistance of Mr. Hailes, Mr. Herne, and Mr. Glover,

should draw up a Charge against [10] him with all convenient speed, and that they should advise with the Judges herein, and acquaint them with precedents: Which Charge being by the said Councill drawn up into certaine Articles, and brought into the House by Mr. Nathaniel Finch, his Majesties Serjeant at Law. July 10. Containing matter of high crimes, and misdemeanors, (and such as only concerned the House of Peers in the Priviledges thereof, and some of their Members, of which matters, We are certainly the unquestionable and undoubted Judges) which Charge was then and there read. And it was then Ordered, That the said John Lilborne should be brought to the Barre next day, which was done accordingly. And he being there, was required to kneel at the Barre (as is usuall in such cases) and to hear his Charge read, that he might make his defence thereto; he did not only refuse to kneel, as before he had done, but when the House commanded his Charge to be read, he said he would not hear, and upon reading thereof he stopped his eares with his finger. Being commanded to withdraw (after the House had taken this his contemptuous carriage into consideration) it was Ordered, That he should be called in again, and admonished, and told, that by his stopping of his eares, his ill language, and contemptuous and scornfull deportment, he had deprived himself of what favour he might have had in the House. And commanded him againe without stopping of his eares to hear his Charge. He answered, he had appealed from this House (as not his competent Judges) to the House of Commons, to which he would stand so long as he had any bloud in his body. The House again commands his Charge to be read, and he again told them he would not hear it, And accor-[11] dingly he again stopped his eares while it was reading; being asked what he said to his Charge, he answered he heard nothing of it, had nothing to doe with it, tooke no notice of it, but would stand to his Protestation, having appealed from this House, and protested against it, as unrighteous Judges, to those Judges who were to judge him and them, namely the House of Commons assembled in Parliament. Being again commanded to withdraw, the House took his refusall as an Answer *pro Confesso* to the whole matter of his Charge. And taking into consideration, the high contempt to the honour and dignity of the House of Peers, shewed by his words and speeches at the Barre, which were also contained in his Charge. It was amongst other things adjudged, That Lieutenant Colonel John Lilborne for his high contempt to the honour of the House, should be imprisoned in the Tower of London, during the pleasure of the House. And upon consideration of the whole matter of his Charge,

it was likewise amongst other things adjudged, that he be imprisoned seven years.

Had this Contemptuous carriage been shewed to the meanest Court in the Kingdome, or to a single Justice of the Peace, he would certainly have been committed for misbehaviour. Courts and Magistrates are no longer able to execute the duty of their places, and discharge their trust in the administration of Justice, than they keep up and maintain their Dignity and Authority from the tramplings and contempt of Delinquents. And there is no doubt but these approaches made by Lieutenant Colonel John Lilborne, and carried even within the walls of the Lords House with so little losse, was a maine encouragement to that generall assault and force upon both [12] Houses, upon the 26. of July last, by that Rable of Reformadoes, and of the Prentices set on and encouraged, by the known Malignant-then-ruling-part of the City. This carriage of his might seem sufficient to discover the Man, and being known, might warn every well-tempered and peaceable disposition, to take heed of engaging in any Designe that may be the conception of such a Spirit: the birth whereof can portend nothing but Distraction and confusion. And the better yet to undeceive wel-meaning men, who may perhaps believe the Results and productions of the late frequent, and numerous meetings of him, and his party, in and about the City, are of a contrary complexion and tendency, and can serve no other end than a firme and speedy settling the peace and tranquillity of the Kingdome, which all good men desire and should promote; They may here take notice of what was delivered to the Houses of Parliament, by Mr. Masterson, Minister of Shoreditch, who was present at one of those meetings, And which was also (after many denials, tergiversations and prevarications, by the said Lieutenant Colonel John Lilborne, and the lie given (or words that signified as much) to Mr. Masterson in the House of Commons (who was confronted there with him at the Barre) confessed by himselfe, in every particular one only excepted. The whole Relation whereof is here printed from the Copie, signed by the said Mr. Masterson with his own hand, and is as followeth.

[13]

At a meeting in Well-Yard, in, or neer Wapping, at the house of one Williams a Gardiner, on Monday the 17 of January. 1647.

There were Assembled Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburn, John Wildman, (with many others) debating a Petition, when I and one Robert Malbor of Shorditch Parish came in; anon after we entred the Room,

one Lieutenant Levett Objected against the manner of their Proceedings, and said, That he liked well enough the particulars of the Petition, but he did not like the manner (namely) of Petitioning the House of Commons, for (said he) They have never done us any Right, nor will they ever do us any: To this Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburn Answered, We must, said he, own some visible Authority for the present, or else we shall be brought to Ruine and Confusion: but when we have raised up the spirits of the people through the whole Kingdom (whether it be nine dayes hence, or a moneth, or three moneths, when the House shall be fit to receive an Impression of Justice) We shall force them to grant us those things we desire.

Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburn did then and there Affirm, That the People of London had appointed ten or twelve of their Commissioners, (whereof he the said Lilburn was one) though he said likewise, that the honest Blades in Southwark did not like the word Commissioners. These Commissioners were appointed to promote the Petition, and send out Agents into every City, Town, and Parish, (if they [14] could possibly) of every County of the Kingdome, to inform the people of their Liberties and Priviledges; and not only to get their hands to the Petition, for (said he) I would not give three pence for ten thousand hands.

A plain man of the Company Objected against that way of Proceeding, thus: Mr. Lilburn (said he) we know that the generality of the People are wicked, and if (by the sending abroad of your Agents into all the Parishes of the Kingdom) they come to have power and strength in their hand, We may suppose, and fear they will cut the throats of all those who are called Roundheads, that is, the honest, godly, faithfull men in the Land. Lieutenant Colonel Lilburn Answered, Pish (said he) do not you fear that, he that hath this Petition in his hand, and a Blue Ribband in his Hat, need not fear his throat cutting; or this Petition in your hand, will be as good as a Blue Ribband in your Hat to preserve your throat from cutting. It was further Objected by one of the Company that sat at, or neer the upper end of the Table, That it was not fit to disturb (or to that purpose) the House at this time, seeing they had made such excellent Votes concerning the King, and had appointed a Committee to hear, and report all our grievances. Lieutenant Colonel Lilburn Answered, Do you know, said he, how those Votes were procured? (or words to that effect.) Some Answered, No; nor did they care, since the Votes (as they apprehended) were so excellent; Lieutenant Colonel Lilburn said he could tell them. There was (said he) a bargain struck between Crumwell, Ireton,

and the King, and the bargain was this, They (namely Lieutenant Generall Crumwell, and Commissary Generall Ireton) by their influence on the Army, should estate the King in his Throne, Power, and Authority; and for their Reward, Crumwell should receive [15] (or had received) a Blue Ribband from the King, and be made Earl of Essex, and his son Ireton, either Lord Lieutenant, or Field Marshall of Ireland: and this he (the said Lieutenant Colonel Lilburn) said he would make good to all the world.

Lieutenant Colonel Lilburn said further, that certain Information of this comming to a Member of the House of Commons, our good (or best) friend: I need not name him, said he, I suppose you all know him; his father was a Parliament man, and a Knight, but he is dead, and this Gentleman his son is of his Christian name (as they call it) a man of a good Estate. This Gentleman, said he, takes upon him a noble Felton resolution, that (rather than a Kingdome should be inslaved to the lust of one man) he would dispatch him (namely Crumwell) wherever he met him, though in the presence of the Generall Sir Thomas Fairfax himself, and for that end, provided, and charged a Pistoll, and took a Dagger in his Pocket, that if the one did not, the other should dispatch him. The said Lieut. Col. John Lilburn, (being asked how it came to passe that he did not effect it, and Act according to his resolution?) Answered, The Gentleman (said he) communicating his resolution to a Member of the House of Commons, a Knight whom he judged faithfull, the Gentleman was by this Knight shut up in his Chamber in White Hall a whole day; and the Knight dispatched an expresse to Crumwell, to inform him of the Gentlemans Resolution; whereupon, Crumwell (apprehending his person in danger) called a pretended day of Humiliation; there he was reconciled to the Officers of the Army, drew up a Declaration to the House, which begat and produced those votes. Upon this John Wildman said, That he knew three other men (at the same time) had taken up the same Resolution of killing Crumwell, and there was not one of them that knew the Intentions of another: [16] likewise the said John Wildman said, That he would never trust honest man again for Crumwells sake.

Lieutenant Colonel Lilburn, and the said John Wildman (speaking promiscuously in the Commendation of the said Petition) one or other or both of them affirmed, That this Petition was of more worth and value, then any thing they had ever yet attempted; and that some great Malignants (as they are called) told them, that if they were not ingaged to the

person of this King, and had personally served him, they would ingage with them; and the said Malignants gave them encouragement to go on with it, saying, it was the most rationall piece that they had seen: And that they (the people assembled) might understand how the Petition had wrought already, they affirmed that it (the Petition) had made the Lords House to quake, and the Commons themselves to stinke: and that before the Petition was two dayes old, or had been two dayes abroad, the Lords (I shall not need to name them, said he, but the greatest Earls of them in Estate, in Authority and Popularity) sent to us a creature of their own to Article with us, and offered (so we would desist from promoting the Petition) to consent to all our priviledges and liberties that we desired in our Petition, so that we would abate them their Legislative power. Lieutenant Colonel Lilburn said further, When they saw we would not desist, they (the Lords) offered us thirty thousand pounds, if we would yet sit down, and lay the Petition aside: nay, more, said he, but here the said John Wildman interrupted him, and said, Prethee do not tell all, but Lilburn replied, He would, and they should hereby see their (the Lords) baseness, whereupon going on, he said, This morning they sent to this Gentlemans Chamber (laying his hand upon Wildman) at the Sarazens head in Friday-street, and offered him, that if we would forbear to Promote [17] this Petition, they would be content for their heirs and successors, to cut off the Legislative power from them by Ordinance or Act for ever, so we would let them quietly injoy the Legislative power for their lives.

Lieutenant Col. Lilburn told them, That they (the Commissioners) had their constant meetings on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays in the evening at the Whalebone; and the other three dayes at Southwark, Wapping, and other places, with their friends; and that upon the next Lords day they were to meet at Dartfort in Kent, to receive an account of their Agents, (from Gravesend, Maidstone, and most of the choice Townes in that County) how they had promoted the businesse there.

Lieutenant Colonel Lilburn drawing a Paper-Book from under his short Red Coat, and turning over the leaves of it, told them that there were certain Letters, one to Colonel Blunt, another (as I remember) to Sir Anthony Welden; and that he said, he wrote himself likewise divers Letters to our friends the well-affected of such and such a County, whose names I remembred not: he the said (Lieutenant Colonel) told them likewise, That because the businesse must needs be a work of charge (there being thirty thousand Petitions to come forth in Print to morrow, and

it would cost money to send their Agents abroad, though the honest souldiers now at White Hall would save them something in scattering them up and down in the Counties) they had therefore appointed Treasurers, namely Mr. Prince, Mr. Chidly, and others, and Collectors, (whose names as I remember, he did not reade) who should gather up from those that acted with them, of some two pence, three pence, six pence, a shilling, two shillings, half a Crown a week: and thus promising to meet them the next night, he tooke leave. [18]

But immediately before his departure told them, that they shut him up in the Tower the night before, but they should not have his company these fourteen nights for it. This is the summe and sence of that which was delivered, and affirmed in the House of Lords, at the conference, and in the Commons House by

GEO: MASTERSON.

By this testimony of Mr. Masterson (which was all but one particular, as was said before, confessed by Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburn himself) Its hoped all men truly conscientious will take heed how they comply with these men, who have conceived those black designes in the dark, and think to bring them forth by murders and assassination; certainly these Councils look as if they were suggested from him that is a Murtherer from the beginning, and yet many are drawn into the same guilt, danger, and disservice to the peace of the Kingdome. The Conspiracy seemes to be formed, and the actings to be at hand, Treasurers chosen, Collectors appointed, moneys gathered, Emissaries sent abroad to stirre up the people; Murders and assassinations are undertaken, and Lilburn, and Wildman know the Instruments. Can any man now that desires to have Peace, and prosperity settled, and conserved, and that abhorres to think of Confusion of all things, and the effusions of innocent bloud, wonder if the Parliament takes care in discharge of their Trust, to make abortive these monstrous conceptions, and prevent the like for the future, by present securing in order to punishing the Authors of these?

To say any thing further upon this relation seems [19] needlesse, it being not imaginable, That after so clear and full a discovery, there should be found any man, either so simple, or so wicked, as not to discover the monster under the mask, to see the danger, hate the design, and feare the Event; and that will not flie from the Councils & Companies of these Pests and Incendiaries, who while they cal themselvs Christians, do yet project, or else at least conceal, and applaud designed murthers and

assassinations. And that all men may the better see, what is like to be the end to which these actions tend, let them here take this account given from a sure hand in forreign parts, Namely, that a Priest, a Chaplaine of a forrain Minister of State, whose name (which is to be concealed) seemes to make him an English man, was lately employed hither as a Spie, and at his returne gives this account to his Master, and to other Confidants, That there are foure hundred Missionaries now in London, and in the Army, under severall disguises, and that some of them act the Preacher, all which, with all diligence attend the service of their Mission, with hope to give a very good account to their Superiours: Are not these Designes, these Councils, and the violent carrying thereof, more like to be the Doctrine of those Wolves under Sheeps skins, than of any man that hath resigned up himself to be led by the Spirit of God?

But that which covers all is, that you doe but Petition, and addresse to the House of Commons, with much seeming respect and deferencie. But, what account you make of their Authority, is seen by Lieutenant Colonel Lilburns Answer to Lieutenant Levet his Objection, and what account of all the Parliament hath done, in asserting and vindicating the just freedome of the Nation, is seen [20] in the said objection. And how farre you meane to attend upon, and acquiesce in the Judgement of the House, to which you addresse, is likewise seen in some of the Letters mentioned by Mr. Masterson, to be sent to their friends, the wel-affected of such and such a County. That, to all the peaceable and wel-minded people in Kent, who desire present Peace, Freedome, Justice, and common Right, and good of all men, is as followeth; the Originall whereof is ready to be produced when occasion is.

Worthy Gentlemen, and dear Friends,

Our bowels are troubled, and our hearts pained within us, to behold the Divisions, Distractions, heart-burnings, and contentions which abound in this distressed Nation, and we are confounded in our selves upon the foresight of the confusion and desolation, which will be the certain consequence of such divisions, if they should be but for a little time longer continued; there are now clouds of bloud over our heads again, and the very rumors and fears of Warre hath so wasted Trading, and enhaused the price of all food and cloathing, that Famine is even entring into your gates; and doubtlesse, neither pen nor tongue can expresse the misery, which will ensue immediately upon the beginning of another Warre; Why therefore O our Country men, should we not every man say each

to other, as Abraham to Lot, or Moses to [21] the two Israelites, Why should we contend each with other, seeing we are brethren? O that our advice might be acceptable to you, that you would every man expostulate each with other, and now while you have an opportunity, consider together wherefore the contention hath been these six or seven years! Hath it not been for freedome and Justice? O then propound each to other the chief principles of your freedome, and the foundation of Justice, and common Right, and questionlesse, when you shall understand the desires each of other, you will unite together inviolably to pursue them.

Now truly in our apprehensions, this work is prepared to your hands in the Petition, which we herewith send to you; certainly, if you shall all joyne together to follow resolutely, and unweariedly, after the things contained in that Petition, the bloud and confusion which now threaten us may be prevented, and the sweet streames of Justice will run into your bosomes freely without obstruction; O that the Lord may be so propitious to this tottering Nation, as to give you to understand these things which belong to your Peace and welfare!

Many honest people are resolved already to unite together in that Petition, & to prosecute the obtaining it with all their strength; they are determined, that now after seven years waiting for Justice, Peace, and Freedome, they will receive no deniall in these requests which are so essentiall to their Peace and Freedome; and for the more effectuell procee-[22] dings in this businesse, there is a Method and Order settled in all the Wards in London, and the out Parishes and Suburbs; they have appointed severall active men in every Ward and Division, to be a Committee, to take the speciall care of the businesse, and to appoint active men in every Parish to read the Petition at set meetings for that purpose, and to take Subscriptions, and to move as many as can possibly, to goe in person when the day of delivering it shall be appointed; and they intend to give notice of that time to all the adjacent Counties, that as many of them as possibly can, may also joyne with them the same day; and the like orderly way of proceeding is commended to severall Counties, to whom the Petition is sent, as to Hartfordshier, Buckingham, Oxford, Cambridge, Rutlandshier, &c. And we cannot but propound to you the same Method, as the best expedient for your union, in pursuing after a speedy settlement of your Peace and Freedome, therefore in brief we desire,

1. That you would appoint meetings in every Division of your County, and there to select faithfull men of publick spirits, to take care that the Petition be sent to the hands of the most active men in every Town, to

unite the Town in those desires of common right, and to take their subscriptions.

2. That you would appoint as many as can with convenience, to meet at Dartford, the 23. of this present January, being Lords day, and we shall conferre with you about the Matters that concerne your Peace, and common good and Freedome.

Wee shall at present adde no more but this, that to serve [23] you, and our whole countrey in whatsoever concerns its common peace and wellfare, is, and alwayes shall be, the desire and joy of

Your most Faithfull Friends and Servants which came from London from many other friends upon this Service,

John Lilburn.
Wildman.
John Davies.
Richard Woodward.

Dartford, this 9. of Jan. 1647.

Wel minded People,

You who are apt to resolve and Act upon the bare consultation of your own unexperienced innocency, look to your selves, there is a design upon you; you perhaps cannot believe, that this tendernesse and trouble of Bowels professed, should tend to tear out your owne; that these breathings after Justice should subject you to the worst Tyranny, and that these men are reducing the Kingdome into Atomes, while they cry out, and complaine of Division; but a Poyson is offered you in this sweet wine, and all these sugred words serve but to sweeten [24] that Pill in your mouth, which will be bitternesse in your belly; there is a hook in the Bait, and all those seeming prudentiall directions in the close of this Letter, serve but to teach you how to destroy your selves with the greatest dexterity and infallibility. The poyson is in the middle, which (if you will take these State-Montebanks words) many honest people are resolved already to take, that is, To unite together in the Petition, and to prosecute the obtaining of it with all their strength; and they are determined, that now after so long waiting for Justice, Peace, and Freedome, they will receive no denyall in these requests: Here's the second part of the 26 of July, to the same Tune to a syllable: There was a Petition, and so is here; there was an Union of the Rabble, so here must be an Union; there was an Horrid, and Barbarous force and violence; here must be a Prosecution with all their strength: The people of divers whole Counties solicited to be present

at the delivery of it, and must be ingaged to it by presubscriptions: Can this, all their strength, all this number, this determination to take no deniall, be lesse then a War, or lesse then a forcing of the Legislative power? Be warned to take heed of such dayes works as the 26 of July, it hath, and will cost some dear: Only the difference is, The Actors in this intended Rebellious and Treasonable force, in the judgement of these infallible Censors of Piety and Honesty, must be honest men: But if they be men so qualified, let them take heed of this Conspiracy, that they may continue so still, and let not those nimble Prestigiators juggle them into Sediton and Treason, before they consider whither they are going. [25]

The Truth is, you mean to stir up the people, and make your selves the leaders; and then 'tis not one man alone that wil be armed with Pistol and Dagger. And it will not be then, either a Blue Riband in the Hat, nor a Petition in the Hand, that wil be a sufficient defence to any of those, whose either Religion and Conscience, Wisdom and Judgment, Integrity and sense of Duty, or more large Estate, and desire to defend his propriety, shal have made them the object of your levelling fury. But any one of those qualifications may make a man as guilty to you, as to write and read did those who had the unhappiness of so much learning in the days of your Predecessors, Jack Straw and his Associats.

But let us examine your Petition it self, magnified, as Lilburn and Wildman affirm, by the greatest Malignants, for the most rational Peace they had seen, and which they perswade them by all means to promote, an acknowledgment of theirs to be specially noted; they have never yet been so zealous for the peace of the People, if it took not beginning from their suggestions, 'tis certainly promoted by their help. They also giving out that no man is more the Kings then Lilburn; And 'tis known to all, that while Lilburn was in the Tower, he still maintained a close Conversation and acquaintance with the principle dangerous men, and especially with David Jenkins, now a prisoner in New-gate for his Treasons. But if it be a Petition to the House, why is it Printed and Published to the people, before the presenting of it to the House? Is it to get the approbation of multitudes? What need of that? If what is asked be reasonable and just, and good for the publike, it needs no other qualification for its acceptance, nor arguments for its grant; though it were only the private suggestion of a single man: If it be not so, the Petitioners, though very many more then wil own this, ought not to be gratified with the wrong of all the rest. The whole Judgment of the Kingdom, is in the Judgment of the Houses; you [26] can represent your own pressures, but not those

of all the Kingdom, for you are not all the Kingdom. You may account that your pressure, which others, and as many as you, may judg their benefit; and the Houses trusted by all, must judg what is good for all.

*To the Supream Authority of England, the Commons Assembled
in Parliament. The earnest Petition of many Free-born
People of this Nation.**

Sheweth,

That the devouring fire of the Lords Wrath, hath burnt in the bowels of this miserable Nation, until its almost consumed.

That upon a due search into the causes of Gods heavy Judgments, we find [a] that injustice and oppression, have been the common National sins, for which the Lord hath threatned woes, confusions and desolations, unto any People or Nation; Woe (saith God) to the oppressing City. Zeph. 3. 1.

That when the King had opened the Flood-gates of injustice and oppression [b] upon the people, and yet peremptorily declared that the people, who trusted him for their good, could not in, or by their Parliament require any account of the discharge of his trust; and when by a pretended negative voice [c] to Laws, he would not suffer the strength of the Kingdom, the [d] Militia, to be so disposed of, that oppression might be safely remedied, & oppressors brought to condign punishment, but raised a War [e] to protect the subvertors of our Laws and Liberties, and maintain Himself to be subject to no accompt, even for such oppressions, and pursuing after an oppressive power, the Judg of the Earth, with whom the Throne of iniquity can have no fellowship, hath brought him low, and executed fierce wrath upon many of his adherents.

* The italicized letters in the text of the "Earnest Petition," enclosed in brackets or marks of parenthesis, appeared in the original text as presented in *Declaration of Some Proceedings*. The marginal notes to which they referred are set in the present reprint as footnotes. *Editors' Note*.

a Amos 5. 9, 10, 11, 12. Micah 2. 2, 3. Micah 3. 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12. Habba. 2. 8, 17. Joel 3. 3.

b See the Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, Decem. 1641. p. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15.

c See the Kings Answer to the Parliaments Remonst. of May 19, 1642. 1 part book Decla., page 254, 284, 285. See the Kings Answer to the Parl. Decla. of May 26, 1642. page 298.

d See the Ordinance for the Militia, Feb. 1641. 1 book Decla., page 89, & pa. 96, 105, 106, 114, 126, 175, 176, 182, 243, 289, 292.

e See the Parliaments Votes, May 20, 1642. 1 part Book Decla., 259, see also page 509, 576, 577, 580, 584, 617.

That God expects Justice from those before whose eyes he hath destroyed an unjust generation. Zeph. 3. 6, 7, and without doing justly, [27] and releeving the oppressed, God abhors fastings and prayers, and accounts himself mocked. Isa. 58. 4, 5, 6, 7. Mic. 6. 6, 7, 8.

That our eyes fail with looking to see the Foundations of our Freedoms and Peace secured by this Honorable House, and yet we are made to depend upon the Will of the King, and the Lords, which were never chosen or betrustrated by the People, to redress their grievances. And this Honorable House, which formerly declared, that they were the representative of al England, & betrustrated with our Estates, Liberties and Lives, 1 part Book of Decla. 264, 382. do now declare by their practise, that they will not redress our grievances, or settle our Freedoms, unless the King and the Lords will.

That in case you should thus proceed, Parliaments wil be rendered wholly useless to the People, and their happiness left to depend solely upon the Will of the King, and such as he by his Patents creates Lords; and so the invaluable price of all the precious English blood; spilt in the defence of our freedoms against the King, shal be imbezelled or lost; and certainly, God the avenger of blood, wil require it of the obstructors of justice and freedom. Judges 9. 24.

That though our Petitions have been burned, and our persons imprisoned, reviled, and abused only for petitioning, yet we cannot despair absolutely of all bowels of compassion in this Honorable House, to an inslaved perishing people. We still nourish some hopes, that you wil at last consider that our estates are expended, the whole trade of the Nation decayed, thousands of families impoverished, and merciless Famine is entered into our Gates, and therefore we cannot but once more assay to pierce your eares with our dolefull cries for Justice and Freedom, before your delays wholly consume the Nation. In particular we earnestly intreat:

First, That seeing we conceive this Honorable House is intrusted by the People, with all power to redress our grievances, and to provide security for our Freedoms, by making or repealing Laws, errecting or abolishing Courts, displacing or placing Officers, and the like: And seeing upon this consideration, we have often made our addresses to you, and yet we are made to depend for all our expected good, upon the wils of others who have brought all our misery [f] upon us: That therefore in case this Honorable House, wil not, or cannot, according to their trust,

f See the Kings Decla. of the 12 Aug. 1642. 1 part book Decla., page 522, 526, 528, 548, & pa. 617.

relieve and help us; that it be clearly declared; That we may know to whom, as the Supream power, we may make our present ad-[28] dresses before we perish, or be inforced to flie to the prime Laws of nature [g] for refuge.

2. Thus as we conceive all Governors and Magistrates, being the ordinance [h] of men, before they be the ordinance of God, and no Authority being of God, but what is erected by the mutuall consent of a People: and seeing this Honorable House alone represents the People of this Nation, that therefore no person whatsoever, be permitted to exercise any power or Authority in this Nation, who shal not clearly and confessedly, receive his power from this House, and be always accountable for the discharge of his trust, to the People in their Representers in Parliament: If otherwise, that it be declared who they are which assume to themselves a power according to their own Wills, and not received as a trust from the People, that we may know to whose Wils we must be subject, and under whom we must suffer such oppressions, as they please, without a possibilitie of having Justice against them.

3. That considering, that all just Power and Authority in this Nation, which is not immediatly derived from the People, can be derived only from this Honorable House, and that the People are perpetually subject to Tyranny, when the Jurisdiction of Courts, and the Power and Authority of Officers are not clearly described, and their bounds and limits [i] prefixed; that therefore the Jurisdiction of every Court or Judicature, and the Power of every Officer or Minister of Justice, with their bounds and limits, be forthwith declared by this honorable House; and that it be enacted, that the Judges of every Court, which shal exceed its Jurisdiction, and every other Officer or Minister of Justice, which shal intermedle with matters not coming under his Cognizance; shall incurr the forfeiture of his, and their whole estates. And likewise, that all unnecessary Courts may be forthwith abolished; and that the publike Treasury, out of which the Officers solely ought to be maintained, [k] may be put to the lesse Charge.

4. That whereas there are multitudes of Complaints of oppression, by

g See 1 part book decla., pa. 44, 150, 382, 466, 637, 690.

h See Col. Nath. Fins his Speech against the Bishops Canons, made in 1640, in a book called Speeches and Passages of Parliament, from 3 Nove. 1640 to June 1641, page 50, 51, 52.

i See your Remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, book decla., pag. 6, 8. See also the Acts made this Parliament, that abolished the Star chamber and High Commission.

k See the Statute of Westmin. 1, made 3 Edw. 1, chap. 26, & 20 Edw. 3, 1, and the Judges oath made in the 13 Edw. 3, Anno 1344, recorded in Pultons collections of statutes, fol. 144.

Committees of this House, determining particular matters, which properly appertains to the Cognizance of the ordinary Courts [l] of Justice; and whereas many persons, of faithful and publike spirits, have bin, and are dayly molested, vexed, Imprisoned by such Committes, sometimes for not answering Interrogatories, and sometimes for other matters, which are not in Law Criminall; and also without any legal [29] warrants expressing the cause, and commanding the Jaylor safely to keep their bodies, untill they be delivered by due course [m] of Law; And by these oppressions, the persons and estates of many are wasted, and destroyed: That therefore henceforth, No particular cause, whether Criminal or other, which comes under the Cognizance of the ordinary Courts of Justice, may be determined by this House, or any Committee thereof, or any other, then by those Courts, whose duty it is to execute such Laws as this honorable House shal make; and who are to be censured by this House in case of injustice: Always excepted, matters relating to the late War, for Indempnity for your Assisters; and the exact Observation of al articles granted to the adverse [n] Party: And that henceforth, no Person be molested or Imprisoned by the wil or arbitrary powers of any, or for such Matters as are not Crimes, [o] according to Law: And that all persons Imprisoned at present for any such matters, or without such legall warrants as abovesaid, upon what pretence, or by what Authority soever, may be forthwith releast, with due reparations.

5. That considering its a Badg of our Slavery to a Norman Conqueror, to have our Laws in the French Tongue, and it is little lesse then brutish vassalage to be bound to walk by Laws which the People [p] cannot know, that therefore all the Laws and Customs of this Realm, be immediatly written in our Mothers Tongue [q] without any abreviations of words, and the most known vulgar hand, viz. Roman or Secretary, and that Writs, Processes, and Enroulements, be issued forth, entered or inrouled in English, and such manner of writing as aforesaid.

6. That seeing in Magna Charta, which is our Native right, it's pronounced in the name of all Courts, That we wil sel to no man, we will not

l See the 29 chap. of Magna Charta, and Sir Ed. Cooks exposition upon it, in his 2 part *insti.*, fol. 187, and the Petition of Right.

m See the Petition of right made in the 3 of the King, & Sir Edward Cooks 2 par. *insti.*, fol. 52, 53, 589, 590, 591.

n See Psal. 15. 4.

o See Rom. 4. 15.

p See the 36 Edw. 3, 15, & 1 Cor. 14. 7, 11, 16, 19, 23. See also the English Chronicles, in the Raigh of Wil. the Conqueror.

q See Deut. 30. 12, 13, 14.

deny, or defer to any man either Justice or Right, notwithstanding we can obtain no Justice or Right, neither from the common ordinary Courts or Judges, nor yet from your own Committees, though it be in case of indemnity for serving you, without paying a dear price for it; that therefore our native [*r*] Right be restored to us, which is now also the price of our blood; that in any Court whatsoever, no moneys be extorted from us, under pretence of Fees to the Officers of the Court, or otherwise: And that for this end, sufficient sallaries or pensions be allowed to the Judges, and Officers of Courts, as was of old, out of the common Treasury, that they may maintain their Clerks and servants, and keep their Oaths uprightly; wherein they swear to take no money or Cloaths, or other rewards except meat and drink, in a smal quantity, besides what is allowed them by the King; and this we may with the more confidence claim as our Right, seeing this honorable House hath declared, in case of Ship-money, and in the case of the Bishops Canons that not one penny, by any power whatsoever, could be leavied upon the people, without common consent in Parliament, and sure we are that the Fees exacted by Judges and Clerks, and Jaylors, and all kind of Ministers of Justice, are not settled upon them by Act of Parliament, and therefore by your own declared principles, destructive to our property; [*s*] therefore we desire it may be enacted to be death for any Judg, Officer, or Minister of Justice, from the highest to the lowest, to exact the least moneys, or the worth of moneys, from any person whatsoever, more then his pension or sallary allowed from the Common Treasury. That no Judg of any Court may continue above three yeares.

7. That whereas according to your own complaint in your first Remonstrance of the [*t*] State of the Kingdom, occasion is given to bribery, extortion and partiality, by reason, that judicial places, and other Offices of power and trust, are sold and bought: That therefore for prevention of all injustice, it be forthwith enacted, to be death for any person or persons whatsoever, directly or indirectly, to buy, or sell, or offer, or receive

r See Sir Ed. Cook in his 1 part *insti.*, lib. 3, chap. 13, Sect. 701, fol. 308, where he positively declares it was the native & ancient Rights of all Englishmen, both by the Statute & Common Law of England, to pay no Fees at all to any Administrators of justice whatsoever. See also 2 part *insti.*, fol. 74, 209, 210, and 176, and he there gives this Reason, why Judges should take no fees of any man for doing his office, because he should be free, and at liberty to do justice, and not to be fettered with golden fees, as fetters to the subvertion or suppression of truth and justice.

s See the Articles of high treason in our Chronicles against Judg Tresilian, in Rich. the seconds time.

t See 1 part book decla., p. 9.

moneys, or rewards, to procure for themselves or others, any Office of power or trust whatsoever.

8. Whereas according to Justice, and the equitable sense of the Law, Goals and Prisons ought to be only used as places of safe custody, until the constant appointed time of tryall, and now they are made places of [*u*] torment, and the punishment of supposed offenders, they being detained many years without any Legal tryalls: That therefore it be enacted that henceforth no supposed offender whatsoever, may be denyed his Legal tryall, at the first Sessions, Assizes, or Goal delivery, after his Commitment [*w*] and that at such tryal, every such supposed offender, be either condemned or acquitted.

9. Whereas Monopolies of all kinds have been declared by this honorable House, to be against the Fundamentall Laws of the Land, and all such restrictions of Trade, do in the consequence destroy not only Liberty but property: That therefore all Monopolies what-[31] soever, and in particular that oppressive Company of Merchant Adventurers be forthwith abolished, and a free trade restored, and that all Monopolizers may give good reparation to the Common-wealth, the particular parties who have been damnified by them, and to be made incapable of bearing any Office of power, or trust, in the Nation, and that the Votes of this House Novemb. 19. 1640. against their siting therein, may be forthwith put in due execution.

10. Whereas this House hath declared in the first Remonstrance of the (*x*) State of the Kingdom, that Ship-money, and Monopolies, which were imposed upon the people before the late War, did at least amount to 1400000 l. per annum, and whereas since then, the Taxes have been double and treble, and the Army (*y*) hath declared that 1300000 l. per annum, would compleatly pay all Forces and Garisons in the Kingdom, and the Customs could not but amount to much more then would pay the Navy; so that considering the vast sums of moneys, raised by imposition of money, the fifth and twentieth part, Sequestrations, and Compositions, Excise, and otherwise, it's conceived much Treasure is concealed: that therefore an Order issue forth immediatly from this Honorable House, to every Parish in the Kingdom, to deliver in without delay to some faith-

u See Sir Edward Cook, 1 part *Insti.*, lib. 3, Cha. 7, sect. 438, fol. 260, who expresly saith, that imprisonment must be a safe custody, not a punishment; and that a prison ought to be for keeping men safe, not to punish them. See also 2 par. *insti.*, fol. 589, 590, 591.

w See the Statute of the 4 E. 3, 2. 12 R. 2, 10.

x See 1 part book decla., pa. 14. *y* See the Armies last Representation to the House.

ful persons, as perfect an accompt as possible, of all moneys Leavied in such Town, City, or Parish; for what end or use soever, since the beginning of the late War, and to return the several receivers names, and that those who shall be employed by the several Parishes in every Shire or County, to carry in those accompts to some appointed place in the County, may have liberty to choose the receiver of them, and that those selected persons by the several Parishes in every County or Shire, may have liberty to invest some one faithful person in every of their respective Counties or places, with power to sit in a Committee at London or elsewhere, to be the General Accomptants of the Kingdom, who shall publish their Accompts every moneth to the publick view, and that henceforth there be only one Common Treasury where the books of Accompts may be kept by several persons, open to the view of all men.

11. Whereas it hath been the Ancient Liberty of this Nation, that all the Free-born people have freely elected their Representers in Parliament, and their Sheriffs and (z) Justices of the Peace, &c. and that they were abridged of that their native Liberty, by a Statute of the 8. H. 6. 7. That therefore, that Birth-right of all Englishmen, be [32] forthwith restored to all which are not, or shall not be legally disfranchised for some criminal cause, or are not under 21 years of age, or servants, or beggars; and we humbly offer, That every County may have its equal proportion of Representers; and that every County may have its several divisions, in which one Representer may be chosen, and that some chosen Representatives of every Parish proportionably may be the Electors of the Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Committee-men, Grand-jury men, and all ministers of Justice whatsoever, in the respective Counties, and that no such minister of justice may continue in his Office above one whole year, without a new (a) Election.

12. That all Statutes for all kinds of Oaths, whether in Corporations, Cities, or other, which insnare conscientious people, as also other Statutes, injoyning all to hear the Book of Common Prayer, be forthwith repealed and nulled, and that nothing be imposed upon the consciences of any to compel them to sin against their own consciences.

z 28 Edw. 1, Chap. 1, 8, and 13. See 2 part instit., fo. 174, 175, where Sir Ed. Cook positively declares that in ancient times by the common law of England, the Coroner, the high Sheriff, Justices of Peace, Verderors of Forests yea and in times of war, the leaders of the Counties soldiers, were chosen in full county by the freeholders.

a It hath been a maxime amongst the wisest Legislators, that whosoever means to settle good Laws, must proceed in them with a sinister, or evil opinion of all mankind; and suppose that whosoever is not wicked, it is for want of opportunity, & that no State can be wisely confident of any publick minister continuing good longer then the Rod is over him.

13. That the too long continued shame of this Nation, viz. permission of any to suffer such poverty as to beg their bread, may be forthwith effectually remedied: and to that purpose that the Poor be enabled to choose their Trustees, to discover all Stocks, Houses, Lands, &c. which of right belong to them, and their use, that they may speedily receive the benefit thereof; and that some good improvement may be made of waste Grounds for their use; and that according to the promise of this honorable House, in your first Remonstrance, care be taken forthwith to advance the native commodities of this Nation, that the poor may have better wages for their labor; and that Manufactures may be increased, and the Herring-fishing upon our own Coasts may be improved for the best advantage of our own Mariners, and the whole Nation.

14. Whereas that burthensom Tax of the Excise lies heavy only upon the Poorer, and most ingenious industrious People, to their intolerable oppression; and that all persons of large Revenues in Lands, and vast estates at usury, bear not the least proportionable weight of that burthen, whereby Trade decays, and all ingenuity and industry is discouraged: That therefore that oppressive way of raising money may forthwith cease, and all moneys be raised by equal Rates, according to the proportion of mens estates. [33]

15. That M. Peter Smart, Doctor Leighton, M. Ralph Grafton, M. Hen. Burton, Doctor Bastwick, M. William Prinne, Lieut. Conell John Lilburne, the heires and executors of M. Brewer, M. John Turner, and all others that suffered any cruelty, or false illegall imprisonment, by the Star-Chamber, the high Commission, or Councill-Board, as M. Alderman Chambers, and all others that suffered oppression before the Parliament, for refusing to pay illegall imposts, customes, or Shipmoney, or yeeld conformity to Monopolizing Patentees, may (after 7. years attendance for justice and right) forthwith by this House receive legall and just reparations out of the estates of all those without exception, who occasioned, acted in, or procured their heavy sufferings, that so in future Ages men may not be totally discouraged to stand for their Liberties and Freedomes, against Oppressors and Tyrants.

16. Whereas we can fix our eyes upon no other but this honourable House for reliefe in all these our pressing grievances, untill we shall be forced to despaire, we therefore desire, that the most exact care be had of the right constitutions thereof: And therefore we desire that all Members of this House chosen in their Nonage, may be forthwith ejected, and that all Votes for suspension of Members from this House may be forth-

with put in execution; provided, that the House proceed either finally to expell them, that others may be elected in their stead, or they be restored to serve their Countrey: And likewise that all Lawyers who are Members of this House (by reason of their over-awing power over Judges of their owne making) may wholly attend the peoples service therein, and that every of them may be expelled the House who shall hereafter plead any cause before any Court or Committee whatsoever, during his Membership in this House: And we further desire, that every Member of this House may be enjoyned under some great penalty, not to be absent above three dayes, without the expresse license of this House, and not above one month without the licence of the place by which they are betruſted: And likewise that no Law may be passed, unlesse two third parts of all the Members of this House be present, and that the most speedy care be had to distribute Elections equally throughout the Nation.

Now whereas the particular requests in our Petitions, are for the most part never debated in this House, but when we are at any time rightly interpreted in our meanings and intentions, we onely receive thanks for our good affections, or [34] promises that in due time our desires shall be taken into consideration, and by such delays our distractions are daily increased, and our burdens made more heavy; therefore we desire that a Committee be forthwith appointed by this honourable House, who may be enjoyned under some penalty, to sit from day to day, untill they have debated every particular of our requests, and reported their sense of the justnesse and necessity of them to this House, that we may attend for an answer accordingly; and that a time be fixed when such a Committee shall make their report. And we further desire the same Committee may be invested with power to heare all our other complaints, and offer sutable remedies to this honourable House, and to bring in the Appeales of any persons from the Judges at Westminster, to this honourable House, against their injustice, bribery, or illegall delay and oppression.

Now O ye worthy Trustees! let not your eares bee any longer deafe to our importunate cries, let not our destruction be worse than that of Sodome, who was overthrown in a moment. Let us not pine away with famine and bee worse then those who die by the sword. Oh dissolve not all Government into the prime Lawes of nature, and compell us to take the naturall remedy to preserve our selves, which you have declared no people can bee deprived of (*b*) Oh remember that the righteous God

b See your Declaration of May 19. 1642. 1 book dec., pag. 207. And your Declaration Nov. 1642. pa. 728. as also pa. 150.

standeth in the congregation of the mighty, and judgeth among the gods, and saith, How (*c*) long will ye judge unjustly, and accept the persons of the wicked, defend the poor and fatherless, do justice to the afflicted and needy, deliver the poor and needy, and rid them out of the hands of the wicked.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c. [35]

'Tis indeed called a Petition, but the whole frame and matter of it is nothing else but a Calumnie against those they seem to petition, charging upon their account all those Evills that are upon the Kingdome, and a great number more imaginary ones which they have created, and make men believe they are pressed with; and publish all this to the Kingdome, to render the Parliament odious to the People, to divorce their affections, and withdraw their assistance, without which, the Common Enemy know very well, they are not able to settle the peace and tranquillity of the Kingdome from forraigne and domestick Force, and calme and compesce those civill and intestine aestuations, the remaining distempers of our late (almost mortall) Disease, (of which the motions of the Petitioners are a very considerable part) that thereby a faire way might be paved for a free and equall course of Law and Justice, (which is a fitter meanes to preserve peace, then restore it) whose lower voice cannot be heard while the Drums beat, or the People tumultuate. It pursues that common and hatefull Maxime, Calumniate boldly, something will stick. It runs in generals, which ever covers deceit: why descend you not to particulars? The Cries are loud against injustice, oppression, bribery, exacted, extorted Fees, and can you name no man that is guilty? You would make all the World believe you were in an iron furnace, and that the Kingdome were an Hell to its Inhabitants; and yet tell not who hurts you: But 'tis easier to caluminate then accuse, and yet to accuse, then to prove. Be not abused by them that serve their designes by you; Accuse no man falsly, though upon others informations; look upon the File in which false [36] accusers march, and consider who may be like to the Leader. A good name is above riches, 'tis sooner taken away then restored: name those Oppressors you complaine of, bring forth the matter and the prooffe, and then if you have not justice, you may have reason to complaine. You complaine of unnecessary Courts, and Courts exceeding the limits of their jurisdiction; you desire the one to be abolished, and the other to be limited; neither is here any particular: Hath not this Parliament taken away the Starre-Chamber,

c Psal. 82. 1,2,3,4.

High Commission, all the Bishops Courts, the Court of Wards? and are not all the jurisdictions of the other Courts well knowne? What have any of the Petitioners suffered by those Courts transgressing their limits? or what are the unnecessary Courts you meane? was it your modesty, or want of matter, that you omit particulars? Untruths are boldly affirmed upon heare-say; why are you silent in the things that presse your selves?

A word or two to your Margent and then the particulars of the Petition it selfe shall be a little toucht upon. The Margent you have filled, with Authorities and Quotations of Magna Charta, Statutes, Comments on them, Declarations of &c. Speeches in Parliament; to what purpose serve these? Would you have the Parliament bound in their Parliamentary proceedings by precedent Lawes? Were not those Lawes made by Parliament, and is it not the proper work of the Parliament, to repeale, as well as to make Lawes? Els why doe you desire in your twelfth Particular, to have the Statutes there mentioned repealed? Either put out your Margent, and deceive not the ignorant with a shew of that which signifies nothing, or els reconcile it with your text; unlesse you meane to say, you will appoint the Parliament what Lawes they shall re-[37] peale, and by what they shall govern themselves. If it be onely to tell them what hath been done before, you may take notice, that there are those in that House, to which you addresse, that can as well tell what the Law now is, or heretofore was, without your Index, as they are able to judge what is necessary for the present, or for the future, without your advice or intimation. But you would faine make the People believe, the Parliament neither have wisdom enough to know how, nor fidelity enough to make them willing to discharge their trust, unlesse you direct and incite them.

The Petition is large; to give it an answer in proportion, were to write a volume, which few could buy, and fewer would read: and perhaps there is something of policy in the length, least their seduced numbers should be satisfied by a just confutation. Yet because perhaps there are some among them of that sort of people, to whom a word is enough; therefore they may please to consider, 'Tis called onely the Petition of *many* Free-borne people of this Nation; 'tis not then, by your own confession, of *all*, or of the *major part*: remember this, and be modest for once, act not as if you were *all*. But why many *Free-borne* People of this Nation? are there any Englishmen that are not *Free-borne*? why doe you distinguish your selves? what need of that Epithete, while you addresse to the House of Commons, who have asserted, and by the blessing of God upon the

Councells and Forces of the Parliament, vindicated the English Freedome from the Common Enemy, under the slavery of whom, by these your dividing distempers, and weake and out-witted designes, you seek to returne, and carry the Kingdome with you. [38]

To give it the more Authority, the prefacing part of it is forc'd to speak Scripture; but not with the Idiome of the Spirit that wrote it, your Hebrew hath much of Ashdod, the breathings of that Spirit are purity and peace; and the fruits of that Spirit are love, joy, peace, and the rest of that Catalogue.

You begin with a sad complaint, that the fire of the Lords wrath hath been among us, which must be acknowledged; and it may be justly conceived it is so still; what meane else the distempers of the people, that will not be healed, and the actings of division, together with the Cries for peace? But to say as you do, that it is almost consumed, were to lie against the truth, and sin against that mercy which he hath remembred in the midst of his wrath. This Kingdome hath found the effects of the rowlings of his bowells, while it hath been under his chastising rod, that bush hath burned, but 'tis not consumed; and 'tis an evidence that God is in it. 'Tis true, in many places of the Land the scarres of great wounds remaine, but not as in Germany; the lands in England are not untilld for want of men, the thistles grow not in the furrowes of the field, the Oxen are yet strong to labour, and the Sheep bring forth their thousands; if you had not intended an ill use of the complaint, the matter would have borne a mixture of thanks: but it seems you had rather God should lose the praise of his mercy, then you would omit this Engine, to move the People to murmure and discontent.

'Tis true, that for injustice and oppression God hath threatned woes, confusion and desolation to any People or Nation; but if your search had been as due as you affirme it was, you might have found other besides those, which you may light upon perhaps, if you would make a [39] review. It is not to be denied, that oppression and injustice cause loud cries to heaven, onely remember justice is to render to every one his owne, and not to doe to another what you would not should be done to you.

The rich may be oppressed as well as the poore, propriety is to be preserved to all: and a poore man that oppresseth the poore, is like a sweeping raine that leaveth no food.

You observe the Kings oppressions and how God hath brought him low, and executed fierce wrath upon his adherents. Why will ye suffer your

selves to be abused by those adherents, into those dividing destructive courses whereby you contribute directly to the restoring of the Kings affaires; you are acted by his Counsellors, and you will not see it, and every man shall be the Enemy of the people that tells you of it, and if his party shall againe get head to the indangering of the Kingdome, which God forbid, thank your owne petulant importune and unseasonable interpellations of those Councells, by which through the blessing of God, your deliverance had been perfected, if your selves had not hindred; can you believe the Kings Counsellors are changed? or that he wants a party waiting an oportunity to bring that upon you which you feare and complaine of? why doe you then give them hope and the Parliament worke, who have yet so much to doe to preserve the vitalls and recover strength, that they cannot attend to prescribe a topike to cure the Morpew on the face? trust them with your cure, and allow it time, over-hasty ones prove palliate ones, and not sound. It is the Patients part to declare his grieffe, and take his Physick, but he must let the Physitian write the Recipe, if he desires the cure should succeed. [40]

That your Petitions were burned, and your selves imprisoned *onely* for petitioning, serves to irritate and inrage those whom you have misled and deceived, a Petition may well deserve to be burned and the Petitioners punished, if the matter be unjust, false, scandalous, seditious; read over some of your old copies, and see if there be none of those faults; 'tis true, it is your liberty to Petition, and it is also your duty to acquiesce in the Parliaments judgement upon it; a Petition is to set forth your grievances, and not to give a rule to the Legislative Power; if you meane it shall be an *Edict*, which you must compose, and the Parliament must verifie, call it no more a *Petition*.

You say your Estates are expended, how come you then to lay Contributions upon your selves for the promoting these destructive designes? is that the way to reimburse your selves? or is it to enable you to fly to the prime laws of nature for refuge? your Margent will teach the Legislative Power to suspect you, and that if you be not wicked, it is because perhaps you may not have oportunity or strength enough, which it will be therefore their care to prevent: and however perhaps it may be true, that these sad troubles have caused some diminution in your Estates, yet if you had used as much diligence since in your owne callings, as you have done in those you lesse understand, and had let out the current of your thoughts, which have been misimployed about Politiques, to the Oeconomy of your families, the account of losse had not run so high, and your private reflec-

tions (if ever you assume the trouble of viewing your selves) had imbraced you with the smiles of a sweeter peace within, and your actions abroad had lesse procured the guilt of others. [41]

Thousands of families you say are impoverished, and merciless Famine is entring into your Gates, and therefore You will once more essay to pierce their ears with your dolefull cries for Justice and freedome, before the Parliaments delays consume the Nation. What justice, what freedom is it you mean? Which of all the particulars in your Petition being granted, will be able to turn this famine you so aggravate, into a plenty? what an odious aspersion is this, to lay upon the Parliament, to make them hatefull to all men? To tell the World in Print, That there is something in their power (for otherwise you say nothing) that they delay, whereby this Dearth and Famine, as you call it, is upon the Kingdom? Have you learned this from those of old? That whenever Famine, Pestilence, or any publicke calamity, invaded the World from the just hand of God, then to cry out, Throw the Christians to the Lions, attributing to them the cause of all, as you do now to the Parliament. Do you not know that the unseasonable seed-time in 1646. and the unkindly Spring following, might well cause a Dearth, which is not yet in England, (through the mercy of God) as it is in other places? And do you think it is in the power of the Parliament to give a Law to the Heavens, to restrain the Pleiades, or loose Orion, to give or withhold rain? can the Parliament make windows in heaven, or create a plenty? Why do you say you care not what, and abuse the people without blushing?

Your large Petitory part in 16 Articles, might well receive a very short Answer, That it offers many things as grievances that are removed, desires many things that [42] are already granted, of which you will take no notice, that you may multiply the Odium, mistake the present state of things, as if all were an unformed matter, or *abrasa tabula* fitted for the projection of a new modell, or for the compiling of a new body of Laws.

He that will build a City upon a Plain, hath the place obedient to his projections, and succceptible of any form; And if he be not prejudiced by foreforeign extrinsicall observations, to which he will conform his lines, he may exemplifie the best Ideas his minde offers him: But he that would reedifie or beautifie an old one, will meet with many things that will not submit to pure technicall rules; And where it will not, it is not presently to be pulled down, or set on fire. Rome had a greater beauty and uniformity as it was built by its first Kings, then after the Burning by the Gaules,

and Rescue by Camillus, where each man built as it was most Commodious for him, and not as it was most comely, or convenient for the whole: And yet Catiline and his Complices were judged traytors for designing to burn it, and it was only becoming Nero to put it into flames.

The dispute is not now of what is absolutely best if all were new, but of what is perfectly just as things now stand: It is not the Parliaments work to set up an Utopian Common-Wealth, or to force the people to practise abstractions, but to make them as happy as the present frame will bear. That wise Lawgiver of old, acknowledged that he had not given his people the Laws that were absolutely best, but the best they were able to receive. The perfect return of health after sicknesse, is to be left to nature [43] and time; he that will purge his body, till there remain nothing peccant, will sooner expell his life, then the cause of his sicknesse. And he that out of a desire to repaire his house, shall move all the foundations, will sooner be buried in the ruines of the old, then live to see the erection of a new structure.

1. You forget that universall rule of Justice (to do as you would be done by) which is not only one of those con-nate and common Notions which are written in the hearts of all, which every one capable of reason, and under wrong, can quote from that internall writing, though he that inferrs the injury, will not: And it is given also as a Compendium of the Law, and an Universall rule of Christian Practice, by him who is the one Lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy; To whose Commands and Dictates, whoever will profess contradiction, and pursue a contumacious disobedience; is more worthy the name of a Renegado then a Christian.

Upon forgetfullnesse of this rule it is, that you would by force spoil the Lords of their part of the Legislative power, which they hold by a claim of an older date then any of the Petitioners can shew for their Land: Ask your selves the question, Would any of you be content to be disseized of his Land, to which he can derive a title, or prescribe to for so long a time? And your contumelious expression of Patent Lords might have been spared, seeing the Houses have resolved that none shall be made Peers of Parliament hereafter, but by consent of both Houses, whereby your Representatives and Trustees have a Negative voice against any such Creation for the future? [44] Were it not to inlarge this particular beyond what is intended for the rest, you might be informed, That there were Princes of the people, and heads of the Tribes, amongst the Israelites; and the first choyce of them, when they were new come up out of Aegypt, and were then receptive of any form, was not by the people, but by Moses;

and as it is expresse of the Priesthood, so it is evident in the rest of the Tribes, that the first of the first line was still Prince of the Tribe.

And the longest lived, best governed, most Potent and flourishing Common-wealths that ever the sun saw, have always had their Orders of Nobility or Patricians, in succession from Father to Son, preserved with a kinde of Religion in a cleer distinction from the people: Those two of Old Rome, while a Common-wealth; And Venice at present, are known Examples. But this particular with divers others concerning Government, require a fuller Tractate then this occasionall glaunce.

2. Secondly (besides their right) there is at least a very great conveniency, if not a necessity, that the Legislative power should be in several and distinct bodies for the review of what might else be perhaps at first overseen: There is scarce any man but findes, that revising in the morning his evenings conceptions, he meets with something or other to be added or altered.

3. Are not all Officers and Ministers of Justice, and all other Civill Officers, all military Officers both by sea and land, chosen, and put into their places, by both Houses of Parliament, wherein, as in all other things, the Commons have a Negative Vote? [45]

4. Is not there a Committee that hath been a good while since appointed to receive Informations of grievances, and propound them with remedies to the House? What addresse have you made to them? Have they refused to take your Informations? Why doe you complain before you have been refused redresse?

5. You complaine of the imprisonment of faithfull and publike spirits, for matters not criminall, and would have no imprisonment to be but for crimes, according to Law. But are there not some actions in these unsetled times that may deserve a punishment, for which no former Law hath explictely provided any? You would have no man kept in prison longer, than till he be delivered by due course of Law. You know there are two wayes of delivery by due course of Law; And he that hath deserved the one should not complaine he is still a Prisoner; And for what is a Crime, the party guilty is no Judge; it cannot be denied, that as the Parliament is the supream Judge, so it is the most competent; and if they Judge it necessary, that seditious Incendiaries should be restrained, for the Peace of the Kingdome, must they give an account to the Delinquents of the reason of their Actions?

6. You would have the Lawes in our known tongue, and all writings and proceedings in the present knowne hands; they have been so hereto-

fore; What are you now the better for it? Which of you understand the Saxon Lawes, written in the then vulgar tongue? And the Norman-French, though not then Nationall, yet was very generally understood. And if most of the Petitioners shall look upon the language of two or three Centuries past, they will meet with so many words they understand not, as will disable their understanding of the sense of those they doe. And if those which are in other tongues, were in English, there were a possibility you might mistake them, as well as you doe those that already are so. And if there should be a disuse in the Courts, of writing those hands which now are obsolete to vulgar use, the reading of those hands might in time come to be lost, and thereby a losse of all the Records that are written in them.

7. If any shall denie to doe you Justice, according to Magna Charta, unlesse he may sell it, why doe you not accuse the man? Strike not through all by such oblique insinuations, but let the guilty bear his shame and punishment. You might have taken notice, that the Parliament hath doubled the salaries of the Judges: but to pay all ministeriall Officers from the publick Treasurie, were to waste the States treasure to maintaine the quarrels of the contentious against them that are peaceable.

8. You would have no Judge continue for above three years; What shall he doe the rest of his life? Were not this to put them upon the temptation of the unjust Steward? You will say he may returne to private practice at the Barre againe. Will any of you when he hath set up for himself for the space of three yeares, be content to serve journeyman for the rest of his life? If it be so comely or easie a matter, Why did Lieutenant Colonel Lilburn refuse the Command of a Troup of Horse offered him in the Army of Sir Thomas Fairfax, because he had the title of a Lieutenant Colonel before, And would not accept of lesse than a Regiment? Consider who they are that binde heavie burthens for other men, and grievous to be borne, but themselves will not touch them with one of their fingers. [47]

9. For the buying of Offices; suppose both parties agreed, yet he must have a large purse who can buy of a Parliament, and 'twill be hard where so many must be bribed to be secret in all.

10. For that speedy tryall of offenders; your desire may interfere with Justice, matter cannot be always presently proved, Will you free a man accused of murther done the day before the Assises, because that which hath vehement presumptions, cannot have a legall Evidence till some dayes after.

11. The Monopolies you so much complain of are condemned by Law, You may take your course against any, and no man can hinder you. If there be any Monopolizer in the House, why doe you not declare it to the House, and prove it? Have they not formerly put out some for that offence? if there be none there, that piece might have been spared.

12. You complain, That the Members of the House of Commons are chosen onely by Free-holders, and not by all the free-borne people of the Kingdome. If you conceive it be an Injury to all the rest, that they are chosen only by Free-holders, Consider seriously, and then tell Us, whether it be not an injury to all the rest, that they so chosen must be directed and ordered by you. Tell the world how you came by your Priviledge, To make a Collection of such as this is, of some things good; with a mixture of divers mistakes in the rest, and then magistically obrude it upon the House, presently to passe and confirme, the highest affront to the Legislative power, and the highest injury to your free-borne fellowes that can be well imagined.

13. You take notice of the shame of the Nation, by [48] the begging of the poor, and it is undeniably a great one, and Peace being settled, the remedy of it were one of the most desirable things to be undertaken, and this Kingdom wants not materialls for industry, and there is not any doubt, that the encouragement of fishing in this Kingdome, might produce it a profit of exceeding value; but doe You not know that the Parliament hath had so hard a taske to preserve the Land, that they have had no time left to improve those advantages of the Sea? neither can they give industry to men, which if any will exercise in it, they may be sure of all acceptance. And certainly that, and divers other things for the good of the Kingdome have been thought upon by the Parliament (though you would faine have the world believe they mind nothing, unlesse You be their remembrancers) and had been in effect before this time, had not such consultations been diverted by the necessity of providing against these, and some other distempers. In the meane time, till care can be taken for prevention of beggery, increase not their number by the addition of your selves; neglect not your Callings, forbear your clandestine Contributions. You may perhaps thrive in your own way, but your unhappy and ill advised Statizing will ruine your selves, and hath a naturall tendency to the ruine of the Kingdome.

14. You complaine of the heavie burthen of the Excise, and there again you pretend to be the Advocates of the poore, but in nothing are you more the Kings Attorneys, That standing and constant Revenue being

that, which of all others with greatest ease, supplied the Exigencies of the Warre when it was hottest, and contributed most to the breaking of the Enemy. Every thing [49] must serve to heighten your discontent, and to stirre up the ignorant people. Otherwise tis obvious enough to every discerning eye, that as tis least grievous of all other wayes, because it passeth from a man unseen, so it cannot but be most Equall, because every man is in a sort his owne assessor, it being in his owne power by his frugality, to reduce it to as small a summe as he please, the greatest burthen of it lying upon things not necessary, lesse necessary, or, if necessary, yet there in such a proportion, as those which are for the use of the richer sort have the greatest imposition, there being nothing but only strong beer, wherein the poore seeme to be touched, which for the too much abuse of it, and that even by the poore, it may justly afford something toward the maintenance of the publick, while it is so deeply accessary to the undoing of many private persons. For that other, that it is the decay of Trade, and the discouragement of all ingenuity and industry, You may, if you will but send some of your Emissaries into the united Provinces, be informed there, That that people could never find a foundation of money for those vast charges they were forc'd to be at, to defend themselves from those who tyrannized their Liberties, and to settle the free State they have since managed, till they had fallen upon the Excise; And that notwithstanding it, their Trade is so growne upon them since, that they have in a great measure engrossed it from the rest of Europe, and yet have little matter to raise it upon, but their Industrie, which is not so discouraged by the Excise, but it produceth that effect, and were worth our Imitation; but there was but a word intended, If twere necessary, there is nothing more easie than to justifie this way of Levie by Excise, before all other wayes whatsoever.

15. You doe very magisterially appoint the House how [50] to regulate their Members, and especially those of the long robe, who by no meanes may exercise their calling, because they are called thither to serve the publike; Other Gentlemen have their rents and profits come in without their owne particular care, and they who have trades can drive them by their partners and servants; only those whose employments must be personall must needs suffer losse in their Estates, because they are Members. And what reason is there why a just Judge, who judgeth according to Law, and proceeds according to the rules of the Court, should be awed by, or afraid of, the person of any, though a Member of the

House? for though that House be a Judge of the Judges, yet the Judge in his Court is Superiour in that qualification to whosoever pleads at his Barre.

Your Epilogue might have been spared; the first part of it, in regard the Committee You desire hath been long appointed, to whom any man hath Liberty to bring his grievances, and there is doubt they will be received, and their sense of the justnesse and necessity of them be reported to the House, though tis probable 'twill not please you concerning yours, unlesse it be your own sense also.

Your second might be with more Justice retorted; Poore deluded people! When will yee begin to turne a deafe Eare to those who seduce you? When will you remember your duty, and come out of your dreame, in which you have believed that you are all the people, and therefore supream, and have arraigned all men in a suitable Style? Act not a part, dissemble not with Heaven, remember you are in the light and view of Omniscience; Complain not of Famine before you feele it, lest you provoke him that can send it. There is a difference between scarcity and Famine. God is the God of order, forbear to endeavour any further to dissolve all government into [51] Confusion, lest you compell the Parliament to prevent it in your just punishment; Remember that God stands in your Clandestine Conciliables, as well as in the Congregation of the Mighty, and as he requires of Magistrates to defend the poore and needy, so he hath also forbidden to countenance a poore man in his cause.

Together with this Petition, there was at the same time brought to the House of Commons, by Colonel Barkstead, another scandalous printed paper, of which two quires had been delivered to one Lazarus Tindall, a private souldier of Captaine Groomes Company, in the Regiment of the said Colonel, the papers were delivered to him, to spread among the souldiers of that Regiment, and that same person that delivered them, told him he should have one thousand of the large Petitions also, to disperse in that Regiment, so soon as they were reprinted, which they were about to do in a smaller leter, for the saving of charges. By which it appears that paper also springs from the same root with the foresaid Petition, of which it also takes notice, and helps to promote the same ends with it; and who ever shall put himselfe to the trouble to read them both, will finde them speak the same Language, and discern the same spirit in them both; and is yet more evident by the latter clause of the first Marginall note, which were Lilburns words to a syllable, at the Barre of the House

of Commons; And by that paragraph of the paper, which begins [have you not upon such pretences] * &c. which were Wildmans words at that meeting in Well-yard, which is mentioned in Mr. Mastersons relation, and at the Commons Barre; and by the last clause of the next paragraph, which were the words of Lilburn and Wildman, or one of them, at the Barre of the House of Commons, and are also to be found in the Petition it selfe, so as a very dim sight may discerne it to be a Whelp of the same litter. [52]

The mournfull Cryes of many thousand poor Tradesmen, who are ready to famish through decay of Trade. Or, The warning Tears of the Oppressed.

Oh that the cravings of our Stomacks could be heard by the Parliament and City! Oh that the Tears of our poor famishing Babes were botled! Oh that their tender Mothers Cryes for bread to feed them were ingraven in Brasse! Oh that our pined Carkasses were open to every pitifull Eye! Oh that it were known that we sell our Beds and Cloaths for Bread! Oh our Hearts faint, and we are ready to swoon in the top of every Street!

O you Members of Parliament, and rich men in the City, that are at ease, and drink Wine in Bowls, and stretch your selves upon Beds of Down, you that grind our faces, and flay off our skins, Will no man amongst you regard, will no man behold our faces black with Sorrow and Famine? Is there none to pity? The Sea Monster drawes out the brest, and gives suck to their young ones, and are our Rulers become cruell like the Ostrich in the Wildernesse? *Lament. 4. 3.*

Oh ye great men of England, will not (think you) the righteous God behold our Affliction, doth not he take notice that you devour us as if our Flesh were Bread? are not most of you either Parliament-men, Committee-men, Customers, Excise-men, Treasurers, Governors of Towns and Castles, or Commanders in the Army, Officers in those Dens of Robbery, the Courts of Law? and are not your Kinsmen and Allies, Colectors of the [53] Kings Revenue, or the Bishops Rents, or Sequestratours? What then are your ruffling Silks and Velvets, and your glittering Gold and Silver Laces? are they not the sweat of our brows, & the wants of our backs & bellies?

Its your Taxes, Customs, and Excize, that compells the Countrey to

* This clause is enclosed in brackets in the original text. *Editors' note.*

raise the price of food, and to buy nothing from us but meer absolute necessaries; and then you of the City that buy our Work, must have your Tables furnished, and your Cups overflow; and therefore will give us little or nothing for our Work, even what you * please, because you know we must sell for moneys to set our Families on work, or else we famish: Thus our Flesh is that whereupon you Rich men live, and wherewith you deck and adorn your selves. Ye great men, Is it not your plenty and abundance which begets you Pride and Riot? And doth not your Pride beget Ambition, and your Ambition Faction, and your Faction these Civil broyles? What else but your Ambition and Faction continue our Distractions and Oppressions? Is not all the Controversie whose Slaves the poor shall be? Whether they shall be the Kings Vassals, or the Presbyterians, or the Independent Factions? And is not the Contention nourished, that you whose Houses are full of the spoils of your Contrey, might be secure from Accounts, while there is nothing but Distraction? and that by the tumultuousnesse of the people under prodigious oppression, you might have fair pretences to keep up an Army, and garrisons? and that under pretence of necessity, you may uphold your arbitrary Government by Committees, &c.

Have you not upon such pretences brought an Army into the bowels of the City? and now Exchange doth rise already beyond Sea, and no Merchants beyond Sea will trust their Goods hither, and our own Merchants [54] conveigh their † Estates from hence, so there is likely to be no importing of Goods, and then there will be no Exporting, and then our Trade will be utterly lost, and our Families perish as it were in a moment.

O ye Parliament-men hear our dying cry, Settle a Peace, settle a Peace! strive not who shall be greatest untill you be all confounded. You may if you will presently determine where the supream Power resides, and settle the just common Freedomes of the Nation, so that all Parties may equally receive Justice, and enjoy their Right, and every one may be as much concerned as other to defend those common Freedoms; you may presently put down your Arbitrary Committees, and let us be Governed

* And since the late Lord Mayor Adams, you have put in execution an illegall wicked decree of the Common Council, whereby you have taken our goods from us if we have gone to the Inns to sell them to country men; and you have murdered some of our poor wives that have gone to Innes to finde country men to buy them.

† The Merchants have already kept back from the Tower, many hundred thousand pounds, and no bullion is brought into the Tower, so that mony will be more scarce daily.

by plain written Lawes, in our own Tongue, and pay your Ministers of Justice out of a common Treasury, that every one may have Justice freely and impartially.

You have in your hands the Kings, Queens, and Princes Revenue, and Papists Lands, and Bishops, and Deans, and Chapters Lands, and Sequestred Lands, at least to the value of eighteen hundred thousand pounds by the year, Which is at least five hundred thousand pounds a year more then will pay the Navy, and all the Army, and the Forces which need to be kept up in England and Ireland; and out of that the Kingdoms debts would be paid yearly; whereas now you run further into Debt daily, and pay one thousand pounds by the day at least for use Money. Besides you may if you will Proclaim Liberty, for all to come and discover to a Committee of disingaged men, chosen out of every County, one for a County, to discover to them what Monies and Treasure, your own Members, and your Sequestrators, &c. have in their hands, and you may by that means find many Millions of Money to pay the publique Debts. You may find 30000. li. in Mr. Richard Darley's hand, 25000. li. in Mr. [55] Thorpes hand,* a Member of Yours, who first Proclaimed Sir John Hotham Traytor. And thus you may take off all Taxes presently, and so secure Peace, that Trading may revive, and our pining, hungry, famishing Families be saved.

And O ye Souldiers who refused to disband, because you would have Justice and Freedom, who cried till the Earth echoed, Justice, Justice; forget not that cry, but cry speedily for Peace and Justice, louder then ever. There is a large Petition of some pittifull men, that is now abroad, which contains all our desires, and were that granted in all things, we should have Trading again, and should not need to beg our Bread, though those men have so much mercy, as they would have none to cry in the Streets for Bread.

Oh though you be Souldiers, shew bowels of Mercy and Pity to a hunger-starved People; Go down to the Parliament, desire them to consume and trifle away no more time, but offer your desires for Us in that large Petition, and cry Justice, Justice; Save, save, save the perishing People; O cry thus till your importunity make them hear you.

* M. William Lenthall, Speaker of the House, to cover his cozenage, gave 22000 li. to his servant Mr. Cole, to purchase land in his own name, though for his use; which he did, and then died suddenly, and the land fell to his son, and the widdow having married a Lawyer, keeps the land for the childes use, and saith he knows not that his predecessor received any mony from the Speaker, and now Mr. Speaker sueth in Chancery for the land. A hundred such discoveries might be made.

O Parliament men, and Souldiers! Necessity dissolves all Laws and Government, and Hunger will break through stone Walls; Tender Mothers will sooner devour You, then the Fruit of their own Womb, and Hunger regards no Swords nor Canons. It may be so great oppressours intend tumults, that they may escape in a croud, but your food may then be wanting as well as ours, and your Arms will be hard dyet. O heark, heark at our doors, how our children cry Bread, Bread, Bread; and we now with bleeding hearts, cry once more to you, pity, pity an oppressed, inslaved People: carry our cries in the large Petition to the Parliament, and tell them, if they [56] be still deaf, the Teares of the oppressed will wash away the foundations of their houses. Amen, Amen, so be it.

It seemes to be written by some of the Professors of Rhetorick in Newgate, or Ludgate, whose long practice of that kind of Oratory had made him as great a stranger to truth, as to blushing. The whole matter of it composed of so grosse an hypocrisie, that it scarce deserves that name; mixed with impudency, and lyes, of the same Genius with the Petition, boldly affirming in generals, and brings not forth one particular with prooffe. Where are those famishing babes? and where are those pining carkasses? Why are they not brought forth to the view of some pitifull eye? You cry for pitie, why shew you not the object? Where are those faces black with sorrow and famine? Spend no longer your breath in vaine, Let the famishing pined Carkasses, those black faces be seen, the view gives a deeper impression then heare-say. If you be not of those that have said in their hearts, There is no God, (though your paper abuse the repetition of that sacred Name) Remember that the al-seeing God beholds your hearts, and knowes your distempers, murmurings, and black designations as well as your wants, And sees with what a frontlesse boldnesse you affirme any thing, be the untruth never so notorious. The language looks more like the ebullition of wine than the cries of want.

You complaine of the rising of the Exchange abroad, that Merchants will not trust their goods hither, and our Merchants convey their Estates. And what is the reason thinke you they doe so? (if the matter of fact be true) Why an Army is brought into the bowels of the City. Doth one Regiment of Horse, and one of Foot make an Army in your account? And is White-hall, and the Mewes, in the bowels of the City? The Parliament hath had a [57] guard these five yares; when it was furnished from the City, and places within the lines, it was held a great grievance, And what security the Parliament had by it was evident on Monday the

26. of July last, when either by the Cowardise, or Compliance of the then guard, so horrid and dishonourable a violence was put upon the Houses by an inconsiderable Rabble of people. And what a danger to trade these Regiments are like to be, You might be able to judge, if you would but make an Estimate of the Millions the City suffered in, when the whole Army, whereof these Regiments are a part, marched in Armes through the City, upon the sixt of August, after they had been sufficiently irritated by some of the City: Yet you are not able to bring so much as a loaf of bread to the account of losse to the City by all their march, though the shops were open, and the market furnished.

But you would faine use any pretence to remove these faithfull forces, because you see, as long as they are here, you will hardly be able to make use of your pistolls and daggers, or to dissolve all Lawes and Government, or to have recourse to the prime Lawes of Nature. But indeed twere worth the enquire, what it is that causes this great exporting of Estates, and that hinders all importation, 'tis certainly a disease that must needs destroy, though not in a moment. There hath been a good while a rumour of a pestilence that walketh in darknesse; And hath been known to have infected some that frequent your meetings, and are accounted as your own; and this rumour is not a whispering, it hath spoken almost as loud as some of your Cries for bread, And 'tis the Doctrine of Parity or levelling, bringing all mens Estates to an Equallity; A notion that Merchants, and men of great Trade, are as little edified with, as either the Lords are with being devested of their Honours, and part in the Legislative power, or other Gentlemen to part with [58] their Lands, and therefore having so good meanes to put them out of your reach, which other men have not, may perhaps transport them, not willing their large personall Estates should come under your Distribution, from which there can be no recovery. And if you thinke that Merchandize be good for the Kingdome, and if you have any care of that good, you must consider how to satisfie Merchants, that you intend not to levell; for their Trade runs such a hazzard, and must be managed with such a diligence, and industry, as will hardly receive encouragement from your Utopian parity. And however the Croud of those that follow you intend no such thing, but thinke these are wayes to secure their own property; yet just suspition is upon many of you, And tis not your bare deniall will serve, good words will not satisfie. You know who said Hayle Master, when the salutation was a watchword. It might be thought there would be nothing of greater deferency and respect, than the addresse of your Petition in the superlative

inscription, yet Lilburn told you at the meeting in Wellyard, that when you had once raised the spirits of the people, you would then force the House to grant what you ask. Confide not in your present intentions, remember Hazael. There is not the most clear and Candid soule amongst you that knowes to what (now abhorred) actions he may be driven by the violence of the people, if that Sea shall once break over his bankes, and twill not be then in their power to stop, but only is his that calmeth the Sea and rebuketh the raging of the people, who can say to both, hitherto shalt thou come and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed. But to passe by all the rest, be perswaded to examine the truth of fact with a little more care when you compose your next seditious Harangue; You may take notice, how ill your intelligence hath been in this; It's possible indeed, much of the publique money may be in Collectors, Recci-[59] vers, and sequestrators hands, and it were a meritorious service to the Common-wealth to discover it, and would no doubt be of universall acceptance; but be sure you be rightly inform'd, accuse no man falsly, specially in print, 'tis against Charity, to which Grace no Christian should be a stranger. Bring the particulars and proofes to the House, that a course may be taken to bring that money in to supply the necessities of the Common-wealth, which are great; some paines taken to the purpose in this service, will be more worth than all your Petitioning. But for these particulars here produced, they are so farre from truth, as makes your whole paper suspected to proceed from the Father of lyes. You say there is 25000. l. in Mr. Thorps hands, a Member of the House of Commons. He was never appointed or authorised Treasurer, or Collector of any publique moneys, either by the Parliament, or any Committee, or any others, nor ever received one penny of the publique moneys. Mr. Richard Darley was indeed appointed to receive some moneys in the East riding of Yorkeshier, But he never received more himselfe than sixty three pound or therabouts, which was upon occasion of calling the Sequestrators of Beverly to account; At which time his Deputy receiver, Mr. Richard Thornton, being not there, he received it himselfe, and put it to account. All other moneys were received by his said Deputy, who hath from time to time paid out the same, according to such Orders as he received for that purpose. Mr. Darley knowes not particularly what is at present in his Deputies hand, in regard he is here at London, attending his service in the House of Commons, and his Deputy is in Yorkeshier, neither yet can he tell whether he may not have already accounted with the Committee of the County; however he knowes it cannot be any great

summe, and the account for the whole is ready, when [60] it shall be called for; And so is also the money remaining, when Order shall be given for it. But your famous mistake, is that of your margent * concerning Mr. Speaker, The truth of which story upon through inquiry, instead of what you have Printed, is clearly thus, That Mr. William Lenthall Speaker of the House of Commons, never purchased Land, either in his own, or any other mans name since these troubles; neither did Mr. Cole purchase any for him; Mr. Cole died not suddenly, but of a Fever, and that after ten or twelve days sicknes; his wife is still a widdow, and not married either to Lawyer, or any other; there is no sute against her by Mr. Speaker, nor cause of any. You say an hundred such discoveries might be made as this latter, and indeed its true, they may be done with great ease, it is but to sit down and write an hundred particulars what comes upermost, taking only care there be never a true word in them, which the suggestor of this will easily enable you to do, and then there will be an hundred such discoveries made; but indeed he that would take paines to examine both your Petition, and this Paper, and had so little to do with precious time, as so to imploy it, might finde among your Complaints, Suggestions, & Calculations, some convenient number of truths of the same Complexion with these: But as you may know the Lion by his claw, so you may know the Devill by his tongue, he is a liar, and the Father of lies; and certainly this your mistaken confidence may be sufficient to command belief from such as are content to be deceived in all your Generals, for information in which, it is not credible you would take more care, then in these particulars, which both concerned the reputation of particular Gentlemen, and whereof the truth might be inquired out. But now how will you do these Gentlemen right in this, and give them reparations? perhaps your scandalous Paper, by the great diligence of your selves, and Emissaries to spread them, may come to [61] many hands where their just defence may not follow, and perhaps they may escape more proper uses, so as to remain when the Gentlemen shall be at rest, and be a black Epitaph upon their innocency, and an unjust and unworthy Blot upon their fair reputation. If any man shall after this be misled by these guides, it will not be an easie matter to undeceive him, but he is to be Pitied, as one of those who being fallen out with truth, is given up to strong delusions to beleeve a lye. Be yet advised not to feign a necessity, and hold out that as a Vail to your Resolution to dissolve all Laws of Government, it may confound propriety, and levell Estates, the thing

* The footnotes in this reprint were set as marginal notes in the original. *Editors' note.*

perhaps that some aime at: But it may cause a promiscuous mingling of blood too, and in such a confusion as you seek to introduce, it is not impossible you may lose your own in the Croud. Call not up therefore more spirits then you know how to conjure down, your Spels may fail you, there may be some have Pistols and Dagggers, that neither care for your Spels nor you, nor your Petition neither. While you plot tragedies, and indeavor thus to bring them upon the Stage, take heed there enter not some who will neither take their Cu from your Prompter, nor Act according to your Poets design.

We shall adde noe further trouble to the Reader, and indeed very much of this might have been spared, as to those who have their parts exercised to discern good and evill. The evill of this is so written, that they that run might read it, if prejudice did not blinde them, if perhaps there be not also some that do not see, because they will not see; but because there are some, who in the simplicity of their hearts, have followed those Impostors, let them suffer themselves to make halt in this furious march, and a little to consider their leader, and then think whither they are going; let them take a measure of Lilburn by his books filled with falshoods and bitterness; by his ingratitude to those who [62] have obliged him; by that behaviour in the House of Lords, that wants a name; by the Pistoll and Dagger he speaks of, by which murder was designed, which he cals a noble resolution; by his company, the most desperate Malignants; by their opinion of him, as being wholly the Kings; by all these Actions which tend to stir up the people, to force the power which your Petition acknowledgeth supream, and thereby to dissolve all Government, and mingle all with ruine; then judge impartially, if this be the Character of a Christian, or a Banditto; of a man acted and guided by the Spirit of God, or moved and driven by the Devill: And think if it be becoming men professing Religion to be found in these wayes. To be Religious is no more in despising forms then in adoring them, The power of it is in Conforming the will of man to the will of God, and in all the goings out of that will, either into affection, or action, with an unreserved resignation to give up the man to be guided still by the eternall rule of truth and goodnesse, of which there is sufficient, and cleerely enough laid down in the word of truth, for direction in all things to him that humbly seeks it, of which You should have made more use in sincerity and humility to direct your selves, and lesse in prevaricating and misapplying it with a spirit of bitterness, to make it serve for the language in which you would falsly accuse, not your brethren, but your confessed

Superiours. Be perswaded to study to be quiet, and doe your owne businesse, to live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you; and leave the publique affaires to those, to whom God and the Kingdome hath committed them; abuse not lenity, but make use of thus much for your faire retreat, and charge no more; nor undertake any further to practise till you be a great deale better studied in, and have more universall comprehension of, that very important, and yet very little known art of Statizing.

FINIS.

THE BLOODY PROJECT

The Bloody Project is reprinted from a copy in the possession of Godfrey Davies. There are copies in the British Museum and the Union Theological Seminary. The pamphlet was published at the climax of the war, apparently in the interval between the victory over the Scots, at Preston, on August 17, and the surrender of the Royalists at Colchester on August 27. It was dated by Thomason, August 21, 1648. *The Discoverer* (1649), a semiofficial attack upon the Levellers, implies that "W. P. Gent." was William Walwyn (Pt. I [June 2], p. 17; Pt. II [July 13], p. 54), and that attribution is not denied in *The Crafts-mens Craft* ([June 25] 1649), a reply, on Walwyn's behalf, by Humphrey Brooke. The attribution is supported by the evidence of style and substance. The same evidence makes identification of the initials "W. P." with William Prynne obviously impossible. The pamphlet resumes the argument, interrupted by the second Civil War, for the constitutional reforms set forth by Lilburne and his party, at the beginning of the year, in the "Earnest Petition." This had been included in *A Declaration of some Proceedings*.

The Bloody Project, / Or a discovery of the / New *Designe*, in the present War. / BEING / A perfect Narrative of the present / proceedings of the severall Grandee Factions, / for the prevention of a *Just Peace*, and promoting / of a *causelesse Warre*, to the destruction of / THE / KING, PARLIAMENT & PEOPLE. / Whereunto is annexed / Several Expedients for an happy Accommodation / tending to the satisfaction of all Parties, without / the further effusion of blood. / By W. P. Gent. / Printed in this Yeare of dissembling, 1648. /

The Bloody Project. or New design in the present War discovered.

IN ALL undertakings, which may occasion war or bloodshed, men have great need to be sure that their cause be right, both in respect of themselves and others: for if they kill men themselves, or cause others to kill, without a just cause, and upon the extreamest necessity, they not only disturbe the peace of men, and familiees, and bring misery and poverty upon a Nation, but are indeed absolute murtherers.

Nor will it in any measure satisfy the Conscience, or Gods justice, to go on in uncertainties, for in doubtfull cases men ought to stand still, and consider, untill certainty do appear, especially when killing and sleying of men (the most horrid worke to Nature and Scripture) is in question.

Far be it from any man hastily to engage in any undertaking, which may occasion a War, before the cause he is to fight for, be rightly, and plainly stated, well considered, and throughly understood to be just, and of absolute necessity to be maintained; nothing being more abominable in the sight of God or good men, then such persons who runne but to shed blood for money, or to support this or the other Interest, but neither consider the cause for which they engage, nor ought else, but pay, interest, honour, &c. such are they who so eagerly endeavour to support the interest of a King, by the destruction of the Peoples Interest, the Interest of the Scots against the Interest of the English, the Interest of the Independents, by the ruine of the Presbyterians: and because it best consists with their present honour, profit or humours, make it their busines to pick quarrels, and encrease divisions, and jealousies, that so they may fish in the waters which they themselves have troubled.

But let such know, who ever they be, that though they may and do for a while brave it out, and flourish, yet a time is comming, and draw- [4] eth on apace, when for all the murthers they have caused, and mischiefs they have committed, they shall come to judgement, and then their Consciences will be as a thousand witnesses against them.

But especially let men pretending conscience take heed how they either engage themselves, or perswade others to engage to fight and kill men, for a cause not rightly stated, or not throughly understood to be just, and of necessity to be maintained; for it is one of the most unreasonable, unchristian, and unnaturall things that can enter into the mind of man, though it be to be feared that more then a few that have of late both in the Citie and Country [been], (and at present are) active to engage in killing and sleying of men cannot acquit themselves of this abomination.

I beseech you, (you that are so forward and active to engage in the defence of the Kings, Presbyterian, or Independent interest, and yet know no just cause for either) consider, was it sufficient that the King at first invited you in generall termes to joyn with him, for the defence of the true Protestant Religion, his own just Prerogatives, the Priviledges of Parliament, and the Liberty of the Subject; but never declared in particular what that Protestant Religion was he would have defended,

or what Prerogative would please him, what priviledges he would allow the Parliament, or what Freedoms the People?

Or was it sufficient thinke you now, that the Parliament invited you at first upon generall termes, to fight for the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, the Libertyes of the People, and Priviledges of Parliament; when neither themselves knew, for ought is yet seen, nor you, nor any body else, what they meant by the true Protestant Religion, or what the Libertyes of the People were, or what those Priviledges of Parliament were, for which yet neverthesse thousands of men have been slain, and thousands of Familyes destroyed?

It is very like that some of you that joyned with the King upon his invitation, thought, that though the King had formerly countenanced Popery, and Superstition, had stretcht his Prerogative to the oppression and destruction of his People, by Pattents, Projects, &c. yet for the future he would have been more zealous for the truth, and more tender of his People, and not have persisted (notwithstanding his new Protestations) to maintain his old Principles.

And so likewise many of you that joyned with the Parliament, who had formerly seen, felt, or considered the persecution of godly consci- [5] entious people by the Bishops and their Cleargy, with the reproaches cast upon them, and their grievous and destructive imprisonment, did beleve the Parliament under the notion of Religion, intended to free the Nation from all compulsion in matters of Religion, and from molestation, or persecution for opinions, or non-conformity; and that all Lawes or Statutes tending thereunto should have been repealed: But since you find (by killing and destroying their opposers) you have enabled them to performe all things that might concern your freedome, or be conducive to the peace of the Kingdome. But do you now find that they do mean that, or the contrary? And will your consciences give you leave any longer to fight or engage in the cause of Religion, when already you see what fruits you and your friends reap thereby.

And no doubt many of you understood by the Libertyes of the People, that they intended to free the Commons in Parliament the peoples Representative, from a Negative voyce, in King, or Lords, and would have declared themselves the highest Authority, and so would have proceeded to have removed the grievances of the Common-wealth: And when you had seen Pattents, Projects, and Shipmoney taken away, the High Commission, and Starchamber abolished, did you ever imagine to have seen

men and women examined upon Interrogatories, and questions against themselves, and imprisoned for refusing to answer? Or to have seen Commoners frequently sentenced and imprisoned by the Lords? Did you ever dream that the oppressions of Committees would have exceeded those of the Councel-table; or that in the place of Pattents and Projects, you should have seen an Excise established, ten fold surpassing all those, and Shipmoney together? You thought rather that Tythes would have been esteem'd an oppression, and that Trade would have been made perfectly free, and that Customs if continued, would have been abated, and not raysed, for the support of domineering factions, and enrichment of foure or five great men, as they have been of late times, to the sorrow and astonishment of all honest men, and the great prejudice of the Trade of the Nation.

Doubtlesse you hoped that both Lawes and Lawyers, and the proceeding in all Courts should have been abbreviated, and corrected, and that you should never more have seen a Begger in England.

You have seen the Common-wealth enslaved for want of Parliaments, and also by their sudden dissolution, and you rejoyced that this Parliament was not to be dissolved by the King; but did you conceive it [6] would have sat seavn yeares to so little purpose, or that it should ever have come to passe, to be esteemed a crime to move for the ending thereof? Was the perpetuating of this Parliament, and the oppressions they have brought upon you and yours, a part of that Liberty of the People you fought for? Or was it for such a Priviledge of Parliament, that they only might have liberty to oppresse at their pleasure, without any hope of remedy? If all these put together make not up the cause for which you fought, what was the Cause? What have ye obtained to the People, but these Libertyes, for they must not be called oppressions? These are the fruits of all those vast disbursements, and those thousands of lives that have been spent and destroyed in the late War.

And though the Army seemed to be sensible of these grosse juglings, and declared, and engaged against them, and professed that they tooke not paines as a mercenary Army, hired to fight for the Arbitrary ends of a State, but in judgement and conscience, for the preservation of their own, and the Peoples just Rights and Libertyes: Yet when they had prevailed against those their particular opposers, and accomplished the ends by them aymed at, all these things were forgotten, and those persons that appeared for the Peoples Freedoms, by them esteemed and proceeded against as Mutineers, or Incendiaries.

In like manner, the present Ruling Party of Presbyterians make a great shew of their apprehensions of the great slavery and servitude brought upon the People, by the exercise of an Arbitrary power in the Parliament, and by the jurisdiction of the Sword in the hands of the Army: They tell us that by this meanes the Trade of the Nation is destroyed, and that without the removall of these things, the peace of the Nation cannot be secured: And it is exceeding true: But I beseech you consider, whether they do not revive the same Play, and drive the same Designe, which was acted by the Parliament at first, and by the Army the last Summer.

First, they cry out against the exercise of an arbitrary power in the Parliament, and yet labour to invest it in the King, nay challenge the exercise of it by themselves: for what greater arbitrary power can there be in the world, then that a Priest or two, and a few Lay Elders, under the name of a Presbytery, should have power to bind or loose, bring in, or cast out, save or destroy at their pleasure, and enforce all persons within the limits of their jurisdiction, to beleeve as they beleeve, and submit to whatever they command, or else to be by them delivered over to Sathan. [7]

Nay if you looke into those of that party of the Magistracy of this City, that are the great promoters of the present worke: do there any men in the world exercise a more arbitrary power? Do not many of them act only by the Rule of will and pleasure, and have they not openly professed themselves to be obliged to observe no other Rule then Discretion.

And though they decry against the power of the Sword in the hands of the Independents, yet do they not with all their might, labour to get it into the hands of the Presbyterians? and being there, will they not do that themselves, which they complain of in others? will they not say that there are gain-sayers whose mouthes must be stopt, and with the Sword rather then faile, and though Royalists or Independents may not use the Sword to enforce their Principles, yet Presbyterians may, as if all knowledge of the truth were centred in a Presbytery, consisting of halfe Scotch, halfe English, part Puritan, part Cavalier, luke-warm christianity, neither hot nor cold, zealous for the truth which they know not, only by heare-say, and only because they love not Independency, that being to pure, nor Episcopacy, that being too prophane, they will be between both, (but not in a golden Meane, for that were well) but more zealous then either in outward performances, but for the power of godlines.—I cease to judge, but we say we may know the tree by the fruit, and certain I am that Thistles never bore Figgs.

But if you shall examine what grounds of freedome they propose in all their Papers; what equall Rules of justice they offer to be insisted on as a sure foundation for a lasting peace? Surely if you looke but seriously into the bottom of their design, you will find that the peace they aime at is only their own; not the Nations, and that their own ease, honour and dominion, is the only thing they pursue, and so they could enjoy ease and plenty, and stretch themselves upon Beds of Down, they would never care what the poor Country should suffer.

To be short, all the quarrell we have at this day in the Kingdome, is no other then a quarrel of Interests, and Partyes, a pulling down of one Tyrant, to set up another, and instead of Liberty, heaping upon our selves a greater slavery then that we fought against: certainly this is the Liberty that is so much strove for, and for which there are such fresh endeavours to engage men; but if you have not killed and destroyed men enough for this, go on and destroy, kill and sley, till your consciences are swoln so full with the blood of the People, that they [8] burst agen, and upon your death-beds may you see your selves the most horrid Murtherers that ever lived, since the time that Cain kild his brother without a just Cause; for where, or what is your cause? Beleeve it yee have a heavy reeckoning to make, and must undergo a sad repentance, or it will go ill with you at the great day, when all the sophistry of your great Reformers will serve you to little purpose, every man for himselfe being to give an account for the things which he hath done in the body, whether they be good or evill: Then it will serve you to little purpose to say, the King, Parliament, Army, Independents, Presbyterians, such an Officer, Magistrate, or Minister deluded me; no more then it did Adam, to say the woman whom thou gavest, &c. It being thus decreed in heaven, the soule which sinneth shall surely dye.

And though what is past cannot be recalled, yet it must be repented of, and speciall care taken for the future, that you sin no more in this kind, and either stand still or go right for the Future, to which end, let these following directions be your guide.

1. You are to know, that a People living under a Government, as this Nation hath done, and doth, cannot lawfully put themselves into Arms, or engage in War, to kill and sley men, but upon a lawfull call and invitation from the Supream Authority, or Law-making power.

Now if the Supream Authority of this Nation were never yet so plainly declared, as that you understand certainly where it is, and who are invested therewith, you have then had no Warrant for what you have done, nor

have any Plea in Law for your Indempnity, as some of all Parties have lately found to their costs.

And that this point of Supream Authority was ever certainly stated, is absolutely denyed; for according to the common supposition, it is 3. Estates, which till within these few yeares were ever taken to be 1. Lords Spirituall. 2. Lords Temporall. 3. The Commons in Parliament assembled.

Now if these three were essentiall and equall, as all former Times seem to allow; How could the Lords Temporall and the Commons, cast out the Lords Spirituall? For by the same rule, the Lords Spirituall, and Lords Temporall, might have cast out the Commons, but the casting out the Bishops hath both answered the question, and ended the controversie. [9]

Since when the supream Authority is pretended to rest in the King, Lords and Commons; and if so, when did the King assent to your Proceedings in this War, which all the art in the world will not perswade him to be for him, but against him, and to ruine him and his? Or when did the Parliament assent to the proceedings of you that joynd with the King in the late war pretendedly raised for the defence of Religion, the priviledges of Parliament, and Liberty of the Subject; and if the supream power reside in all three, King, Lords and Commons, how can the King justly do any thing without the consent of the Lords and Commons, or the Lords and Commons without the King? May not the King and Lords as justly proceed to make Laws, War or Peace, without the Commons as they without the King? If they are not equal, which of them are supream, and declared and proved by convincing reason so to be? If any, that you are to observe? If none, what have you done? what can you lawfully do?

That there should be either three or two distinct Estates equally supream is an absurd nullity in government, for admit two of them agree, and not the third, then there can be no proceedings or determination, and if there be but two, as is now pretended, in Lords and Commons, whose Ordinances have served (how justly judge you) to make War and confiscate mens estates: admit they agree not, then also nothing can be done, which in Government is ridiculous to imagine, besides it is now a known case that their Ordinances are not pleadable against the Laws, and give no Indempnity, which were they the known supream Authority, could not but be effectual. That the King single and alone is the supream Authority himself never pretended to it, claiming only a negative voyce in the Law-making Power, by which rule nothing can be done without him, then which nothing is more un-[10] reasonable: The Lords also never pretended to

more then an equal share with the Commons, which in effect is a negative voyce and as unreasonable as in the King: And when the Commons have been by Petitioners stiled the supream authority, they have punished the Petitioners, and disclaimed the supream Authority: and as two years since, so very lately they have voted that the Kingdom shall be governed by King, Lords and Commons; which is a riddle that no man understands; for who knoweth what appertains to the King, what to the Lords, or what to the House of Commons? It is all out as uncertain as at first; and if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battel? If by all your endeavors you cannot prevail to have the supream Authority declared and proved, how can you lawfully fight, or upon what grounds with a good conscience can you engage your selves, or perswade others to engage in killing and slaying of men?

And if you should have the supream Authority rationally proved and declared to be in the Commons distinct from any other, as being the sole Representative of the people; you must note that you are a free people, and are not to be pressed or enforced to serve in Wars like horses and bruit beasts, but are to use the understanding God hath given you, in judging of the Cause, for defence whereof they desire you to fight, for it is not sufficient to fight by lawful authority, but you must be sure to fight for what is just: Lawful authority being sometimes mistaken, and many times so perverted and corrupted, as to command the killing and imprisoning men for doing that which is just and commendable, and for opposing what is unjust and destructive. Therefore as you are to forbear till you see the supream Authority distinctly and rationally stated; so also you are not to engage till the Cause be expresly declared, lest after your next engagement you [11] are as far to seek of a just cause as now you are; and after you have prevailed, in stead of finding your selves and your associates freemen, you find your selves more enslaved then you were formerly. For by experience you now find you may be made slaves as effectually by a Parliament, as by any other kind of Government; why then persist you to divide and fall into Factions? to kill and slay men for you know not what, to advance the honor and interest of you know not whom; the King, Parliament, great men in the City and Army can do nothing without you, to disturb the Peace of the Nation; upon you therefore both Soldiers and People, who fight, pay and disburse your estates, is to be charged all the evil that hath been done; if you on all hands had not been and were not so hasty to engage for the advancement of Interests

to the prejudice of the Nation, it is very likely we had not only escaped those late bloody turmoils that have happened among us, but also might prevent greater threatned dangers, which like an inundation begin to break in upon us: And if you now stop not, your Consciences will be loaded with all that is to come, which threatneth far worse then what is past; Therefore, if ye are either men or Christians, hold your hands till you know what you fight for, and be sure that you have the truth of Freedom in it, or never medle, but desist, and let who will both fight and pay.

Certainly there is none so vile, considering what hath been said, that will again incur the guilt of murtherers, and fight before the Cause be plainly stated and published, and if that were done as it ought to be, possibly it may be attained without fighting, and might have been all this while, the difference not being so great as was imagined; Besides, where is the man that would fight against the supream Authority, and a just Cause? and certainly there is none of you (whether Royalists, Presbyterians or Independents) so wicked as to de-[12] sire to kill men without exceeding just grounds and upon the greatest necessity, it being the saddest work in the world.

For the preventing whereof, let us, I beseech you, examine what good things there are wanting, that are essential to the Peace, Freedom, and happiness of the Nation, that may not be obtained without fighting.

1. Is there wanting the certain knowledg where the supream Authority is, and of right ought to be; It is confest no one thing is more wanting, nor can the Nation ever be quiet, or happy without it.

But can it be any where justly and safely but in the House of Commons, who are chosen and trusted by the People? Certainly did men consider that in opposing thereof, they renounce and destroy their own freedoms, they would not do it for any thing in the world.

If the consideration of the manifold evils brought upon us by this House of Commons, deter them, the next thing that is wanting is, That a set time be appointed for the ending of this Parliament, and a certainty for future Parliaments, both for their due elections, meeting, and dissolving: And who will be so unreasonable as to oppose any of these? certainly the number cannot be considerable.

Is it also necessary That Parliaments be abridged the power of impressing men, to serve as bruit beasts in the Wars, who will be against their being bounded therein? a good Cause never wanted men, nor an authority that had money to pay them. [13]

Hath it proved destructive in Parliaments to meddle in Religion, and to compel and restrain in matters of Gods worship? Are they evidently such things as cannot be submitted to Judgment? Doth every man find it so that hath a living Conscience? Who then will be against their binding herein, though they be entrusted to establish an uncompulsive publike way of worship for the Nation?

Is it unreasonable that any person should be exempt from those proceedings of Law, unto which the generality of the People are to be subject? Who is there then that will not willingly have all from the highest to the lowest bound alike?

That Parliaments should have no power to punish any person for doing that which is not against a known declared Law, or to take away general property, or to force men to answer to questions against themselves, or to order tryals, or proceed by any other ways then by twelve sworn men, who would not rejoyce to have such boundaries?

Then, that the proceedings in Law might be rectified, and all Laws and the duty of Magistrates written and published in English: That the Exercise might have a speedy end, and no Taxes but by way of subsidies: That Trade might be free, and a less burthensom way for the maintenance of Ministers be established, then that of Tythes; and that work and necessities be provided for all kind of poor people. Certainly for the obtaining of these things a man may justly adventure his life; all these being for a common good, and tend not to the setting up of any one party or faction of men.

These then are the Causes to be insisted on, or nothing: And if the supream Authority adhere to this Cause, they need neither fear Scotch, French, nor English Enemies; but if they decline this Cause, they are to be declined; the just freedom and happiness of a Nation, being above all Constitutions, whether of Kings, Parliaments, or any other. [14]

For shame therefore (Royalists, Presbyterians, Independents,) before you murder another man hold forth your Cause plainly and expressly; and if any Adversaries appear either within or without the Land, reason it out with them if it be possible, deal as becometh Christians, argue, persuade, and use all possible means to prevent another War, and greater blood-shed; your great ones, whether the King, Lords, Parliament men, rich Citizens, &c. feel not the miserable effects thereof, and so cannot be sensible; but you and your poor friends that depend on Farmes, Trades, and small pay, have many an aking heart when these live in all pleasure and deliciousness: The accursed thing is accepted by them, wealth and

honor, and both comes by the bleeding miserable distractions of the Common-wealth, and they fear an end of trouble would put an end to their glory and greatness.

Oh therefore all you Soldiers and People, that have your Consciences alive about you, put to your strength of Judgment, and all the might you have to prevent a further effusion of blood; let not the covetous, the proud, the blood-thirsty man bear sway amongst you; fear not their high looks, give no ear to their charms, their promises or tears; they have no strength without you, forsake them and ye will be strong for good, adhere to them, and they will be strong to evil; for which you must answer, and give an account at the last day.

The King, Parliament, great men in the City and Army, have made you but the stairs by which they have mounted to Honor, Wealth and Power. The only Quarrel that hath been, and at present is but this, namely, whose slaves the people shall be: All the power that any hath, was but a trust conveyed from you to them, to be employed by them for your good; they have mis-employed their power, and instead of preserving you, have destroyed you: all Power and Authority is perverted from the King to the Constable, and it is no other but [15] the policy of Statesmen to keep you divided by creating jealousies and fears among you, to the end that their Tyranny and Injustice may pass undiscovered and unpunished; but the peoples safety is the supream Law; and if a people must not be left without a means to preserve it self against the King, by the same rule they may preserve themselves against the Parliament and Army too; if they pervert the end for which they received their power, to wit the Nations safety; therefore speedily unite your selves together, and as one man stand up for the defence of your Freedom, and for the establishment of such equal rules of Government for the future, as shall lay a firm foundation of peace and happiness to all the people without partiality: Let Justice be your breastplate, and you shall need to fear no enemies, for you shall strike a terrour to your now insulting oppressors, and force all the Nations Peace to fly before you. Prosecute and prosper.

Vale. [16]

Postscript.

Can there be a more bloody Project then to engage men to kill one another, and yet no just cause declared? Therefore I advise all men that would be esteemed Religious or Rational, really to consider what may be done for the future that is conducible to the Peace of the Nation; If the

Peace of the Nation cannot be secured without the Restauration of the King, let it be done speedily and honorably, and provide against his misgovernment for the future; let his power be declared and limited by Law.

If the Peace of the Nation cannot be secured by the continuance of this Parliament, let a Period be set for the dissolution thereof, but first make certain provision for the successive calling, electing and sitting of Parliaments for the future; let their Priviledges be declared and power limited, as to what they are empowred and what not; for doubtless in Parliaments rightly constituted consists the Freedom of a Nation: And in all things do as you would be done unto, seek peace with all men.

But above all things, abandon your former actings for a King against a Parliament, or an Army against both; for the Presbyterians against the Independents, &c. for in so doing you do but put a Sword into your enemies hands to destroy you, for hitherto, which of them soever were in power, they plaid the Tyrants and oppressed, and so it will ever be, when Parties are supported: Therefore if you engage at all, do it by Lawfull Authority, let your Cause be declared, and just also, and let it be for the good of the whole Nation, without which you will not only hazard being Slaves, but also contract upon your selves, and Posterities the guilt of Murtherers. *vale.*

FINIS.

THE HUMBLE PETITION

The humble Petition of September 11, 1648, with the appended short petition submitted to Parliament two days later, is reprinted from a copy in the possession of Godfrey Davies. There are copies in the British Museum and the Union Theological Seminary. The main petition was also printed in *The Moderate*, September 5-12, 1648, and reprinted in Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, III, 1005-11. Extracts are given in *Puritanism and Liberty*, ed. Woodhouse, pp. 338-42. The paper was probably drafted by Lilburne in consultation with other leaders of the Leveller party. He states in *Legall Fundamentall Liberties* (p. 29), "I was compelled in conscience to have a hand in that most excellent of Petitions of the 11 of Septemb. 1648." This petition was frequently referred to in later manifestoes of the Levellers as a key statement of principles and demands. In *The second Part of Englands New-Chaines* (pp. 11-12; reprinted below) Lilburne makes clear that it formed the basis of the program which he and his associates had vainly tried to get accepted by the army leaders at the close of 1648 and which he had put into print in December as *The Foundations of Freedom; or an Agreement of the People* (reprinted in *Puritanism and Liberty*, pp. 355-67). That publication had been followed by the submission to Parliament, on January 20, of a version of the "Agreement" revised by the officers and published as *An Agreement Prepared for the People of England* (reprinted in *Constitutional Documents*, ed. Gardiner, pp. 359-71). Both *Englands New Chains* (February 26, 1649) and *The second Part of Englands New-Chaines* (March 24, 1649) were directed to Parliament as coming from the supporters of the *Petition* of September 11. *The humble Petition* appeared without a separate title-page.

TO THE/ RIGHT HONORABLE,/ THE/ Commons of England/ In Parliament Assembled./ *The humble Petition of divers wel affected Persons inhabiting the City of London, Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, Hamblets, and places adjacent./ Whereunto is annexed, The humble desires of the said Petitioners for the Houses resolution thereon, before they proceed with the personal Treaty./*

Sheweth,

That although we are as earnestly desirous of a safe and wel-grounded Peace, and that a finall end were put to all the troubles and miseries of the Common-wealth, as any sort of men whatsoever: Yet considering upon what grounds we engaged on your part in the late and present Wars, and how far (by our so doing) we apprehend our selves concerned, Give us leave (before you conclude as by the Treaty in hand) to acquaint you first with the ground and reason which induced us to aid you against the King and his Adherents. Secondly, What our Apprehensions are of this Treaty. Thirdly, What we expected from you, and do still most earnestly desire.

Be pleased therefore to understand, that we had not engaged on your part, but that we judged this honourable House to be the supream Authority of England, as chosen by, and representing the People; and entrusted with absolute power for redresse of Grievances, and provision for Safety: and that the King was but at the most the chief publike Officer of this Kingdom, and accomptable to this House (the Representative of the People, from whom all just Authority is, or ought to be derived) for discharge of his Office: And if we had not bin confi-[2] dent hereof, we had bin desperately mad to have taken up Armes or to have bin aiding and assisting in maintaining a War against Him; The Laws of the Land making it expresly a crime no lesse than Treason for any to raise War against the King.

But when we considered the manifold oppressions brought upon the Nation, by the King, His Lords, and Bishops; and that this Honourable House declared their deep sence thereof; and that (for continuance of that power which had so opprest us) it was evident the King intended to raise Forces, and to make War; and that if he did set up his Standard, it tended to the dissolution of the Government: upon this, knowing the safety of the People to be above Law, and that to judge thereof appertained to the Supream Authority, and not to the Supream Magistrate, and being satisfied in our Consciences, that the publike safety and freedom was in imminent danger, we concluded we had not only a just cause to

maintain; but the supream Authority of the Nation, to justifie, defend, and indempnifie us in time to come, in what we should perform by direction thereof; though against the known Law of the Land, or any inferiour Authority, though the highest.

And as this our understanding was begotten in us by principles of right reason, so were we confirmed therein by your own proceedings, as by your condemning those Judges who in the case of Ship-money had declared the King to be Judge of safety; and by your denying Him to have a Negative voice in the making of Laws; where you wholly exclude the King from having any share in the supream Authority: Then by your casting the Bishops out of the House of Lords, who by tradition also, had bin accounted an essentiall part of the supream Authority; And by your declaring to the Lords, That if they would not joyn with you in setting the Militia, (which they long refused) you would settle it without them, which you could not justly have done, had they had any real share in the supream Authority.

These things we took for real Demonstrations, that you undoubtedly knew your selves to be the supream Authority; ever weighing down in us all other your indulgent Expressions concerning the King or Lords. It being indeed impossible for us to believe that it can consist either with the safety or freedom of the Nation, to be governed either by 3. or 2. Supreams, especially where experience hath proved them so apt to differ in their Judgements concerning Freedom or Safety, that the one hath been known to punish what the other hath judged worthy of reward; when not only the freedom of the people is directly oppo-[3] site to the Prerogatives of the King and Lords, but the open enemies of the one, have been declared friends by the other, as the Scots were by the House of Lords.

And when as most of the oppressions of the Common-wealth have in all times bin brought upon the people by the King and Lords, who nevertheless would be so equal in the supream Authority, as that there should be no redress of Grievances, no provision for safety, but at their pleasure. For our parts, we profess our selves so far from judging this to be consistent with Freedom or Safety, that we know no great cause Wherefore we assisted you in the late Wars, but in hope to be delivered by you from so intollerable, so destructive a bondage, so soon as you should (through Gods blessing upon the Armies raised by you) be enabled.

But to our exceeding grief, we have observed that no sooner God vouchsafeth you victory, and blesseth you with success, and thereby enableth you to put us and the whole Nation, into an absolute condition of

freedom and safety: but according as ye have bin accustomed, passing by the ruine of a Nation, and all the bloud that hath bin spilt by the King and his Party, ye betake your selvs to a Treaty with him, thereby puting him that is but one single person, and a publike Officer of the Commonwealth, in competition with the whole body of the people, whom ye represent; not considering that it is impossible for you to erect any authority equall to your selves; and declared to all the world that you will not alter the ancient Government, from that of King, Lords, and Commons: not once mentioning (in case of difference) which of them is supream, but leaving that point (which was the chiefest cause of all our publike differences, disturbances Wars and miseries) as uncertain as ever.

In so much as we who upon these grounds have laid out our selves every way to the uttermost of our abilities: and all others throughout the land, Souldiers and others who have done the like in defence of our supream authority, and in opposition to the King, cannot but deem our selves in the most dangerous condition of all others, left without all plea of indemnity, for what we have done; as already many have found by losse of their lives & liberties, either for things done or said against the King; the law of the land frequently taking place, and precedency against and before your authority, which we esteemed supream, and against which no law ought to be pleaded. Nor can we possibly conceive how any that have any waies assisted you, can be exempt from the guilt of murders and robbers, by the present laws in force, if you [4] persist to disclaime the Supream Authority, though their owne conscience do acquit them, as having opposed none but manifest Tyrants, Oppressors and their adherents.

And whereas a Personall Treaty, or any Treaty with the King, hath been long time held forth as the only means of a safe & wel-grounded peace; it is well known to have been cryed up principally by such as have been dis-affected unto you; and though you have contradicted it: yet it is believed that you much fear the issue; as you have cause sufficient, except you see greater alteration in the King and his party then is generally observed, there having never yet been any Treaty with him, but was accompanied with some underhand dealing; and whilst the present force upon him (though seeming liberty) will in time to come be certainly pleaded, against all that shall or can be agreed upon: nay, what can you confide in if you consider how he hath been provoked; and what former Kings upon lesse provocations have done, after Oaths, Laws, Charters, Bonds, Excommunications, and all ties of Reconsilliations, to the destruc-

tion of all those that had provoked and opposed them: yea, when your selves so soone as he had signed those bills in the beginning of this Parliament, saw cause to tell him, That even about the time of passing those bills, some design or other was on foot, which if it had taken effect would not only have rendred those bills fruitlesse, but have reduced you [to] a worse condition of confusion than that wherein the Parliament found you.

And if you consider what new wars, risings, revolting invasions, and plottings have been since this last cry for a Personall Treaty, you will not blame us if we wonder at your hasty proceedings thereunto: especially considering the wonderfull victories which God hath blessed the Army withall.

We professe we cannot chuse but stand amazed to consider the inevitable danger we shall be in, though all things in the Propositions were agreed unto, the Resolutions of the King and his party have been perpetually violently and implacably prosecuted & manifested against us, and that with such scorn and indignation, that it must be more than such ordinary bonds that must hold them.

And it is no lesse a wonder to us, that you can place your own security therein, or that you can ever imagine to see a free Parliament any more in England.

The truth is (and we see we must either now speak it [or] for ever be silent,) We have long expected things of another nature from you, and such as we are confident would have given satisfaction to all serious people of all Parties. [5]

1. That you would have made good the supreme [authority] of the people, in this Honourable House, from all pretences of Negative Voices, either in King or Lords.

2. That you would have made lawes for election of representatives yearly and of course without writ or summons.

3. That you would have set expresse times for their meeting Continuance and Dissolution: as not to exceed 40 or 50 daies at the most, and to have fixed an expresse time for the ending of this present Parl.

4. That you would have exempted matters of Religion and God,* from the compulsive or restrictive power of any Authoritie upon earth, and reserved to the supreme authoritie an uncompulsive power only of ap-

* In the original printed text, which shows obvious signs of having been hastily set in type, the word "God," is immediately followed by the word "worship," which has here been transposed to follow the word "publick," three lines below. *Editors' note.*

pointing a way for the publick [worship], whereby abundance of misery, persecution, and hart-burning would for ever be avoyded.

5. That you would have disclaimed in your selvs and all future Representatives, a power of Pressing and forcing any sort of men to serve in warrs, there being nothing more opposite to freedom, nor more unreasonable in an authoritie impowered for raising monies in all occasions, for which, and a just cause, assistants need not be doubted: the other way serving rather to maintain injustice and corrupt parties.

6. That you would have made both Kings, Queens, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Lords, and all Persons, alike liable to every Law of the Land, made or to be made; that so all persons even the Highest might fear & stand in aw and neither violate the publick peace, nor private right of person or estate, (as hath been frequent) without being lyable to accompt as other men.

7. That you would have freed all Commoners from the jurisdiction of the Lords in all cases: and to have taken care that all tryalls should be only of twelve sworn men, and no conviction but upon two or more sufficient known witnesses.

8. That you would have freed all men from being examined against themselves, and from being questioned or punished for doing of that against which no Law hath bin provided.

9. That you would have abbreviated the proceedings in Law, mitigated and made certain the charge thereof in all particulars.

10. That you would have freed all Trade and Marchandising from all Monopolizing and Engrossing, by Companies or otherwise.

11. That you would have abolished Excise, and all kinds of taxes, except subsidies, the old and onely just way of England.

12. That you would have laid open all late Inclosures of Fens, and other Commons, or have enclosed them onely or chiefly to the benefit of the poor. [6]

13. That you would have considered the many thousands that are ruined by perpetual imprisonment for debt, and provided to their enlargement.

14. That you would have ordered some effectual course to keep people from begging and beggery, in so fruitful a Nation as through Gods blessing this is.

15. That you would have proportioned Punishments more equal to offences; that so mens Lives and Estates might not be forfeited upon trivial and slight occasions.

16. That you would have removed the tedious burthen of Tythes, satisfying all Impropiators, and providing a more equal way of maintenance for the publicke Ministers.

17. That you would have raised a stock of Money out of those many confiscated Estates you have had, for payment of those who contributed voluntarily above their abilities, before you had provided for those that disbursed out of their superfluities.

18. That you would have bound your selves and all future Parliaments from abolishing propriety, levelling mens Estats, or making all things common.

19. That you would have declared what the duty or busines of the Kingly office is, and what not, and ascertained the Revenue, past increase or diminution, that so there might never be more quarrels about the same.

20. That you would have rectified the election of publicke Officers for the Citie of London, of every particular Company therein, restoring the Comunalty thereof to their just Rights, most unjustly withheld from them, to the producing and maintaining of corrupt interest, opposite to common Freedom, and exceedingly prejedecal to the trade and manufactures of this Nation.

21. That you would have made full and ample reparations to all persons that had bin oppressed by sentences in high Commission, Star Chamber, and Councel Board, or by any kind of Monopolizers, or projectors, and that out of the estates of those that were authors actors or promoters of so intollerable mischiefs, and that without much attendance.

22. That you would have abolished all Committees, and have conveyed all businesses into the true method of the usuall Tryalls of the Commonwealth.

23. That you would not have followed the example of former tyrannous and superstitious Parliaments, in making Orders, Ordinances [7] or lawes, or in appointing punishments concerning opinions or things super-naturall stiling some blasphemies others heresies; when as you know your selves easily mistaken and that divine truths need no human helps to support them: such proceedings having bin generally invented to divide the people amongst themselves, and to affright men from that liberty of discourse by which Corruption & tyranny would be soon discovered.

24. That you would have declared what the businesse of the Lords is, and ascertain their condition, not derogating from the Liberties of other men, that so there might be an end of striving about the same.

25. That you would have done Justice upon the Capitall Authors and Promoters of the former or late Wars, many of them being under your power: Considering that mercy to the wicked, is cruelty to the innocent: and that all your lenity doth but make them the more insolent and presumptuous.

26. That you would have provided constant pay for the Army, now under the Command of the Lord Gen. Fairfax, and given rules to all Judges, and all other publike Officers throughout the Land for their indempnity, and for the saving harmlesse all that have any wayes assisted you, or that have said or done any thing against the King, Queen, or any of his party since the begining of this Parl. without which any of his party are in a better condition then those who have served you; nothing being more frequent with them, then their reviling of you and your friends.

The things and worthy Acts which have bin done and atchived by this Army and their Adherents (how ever ingratefully suffered to be scandalized as Sectaries and men of corrupt Judgements) in defence of the just authority of this honourable House, and of the common liberties of the Nation, and in opposition to all kind of Tyranny and oppression, being so far from meriting an odious Act of Oblivion, that they rather deserve a most honourable Act of perpetual remembrance, to be as a patern of publike vertue, fidelity, and resolution to all posterity.

27. That you would have laid to heart all the abundance of innocent blood that hath bin spilt, and the infinite spoil and havock that hath been made of peaceable harmlesse people, by express Commissions from the King; and seriously to have considered whether the justice of God be likely to be satisfied, or his yet continuing wrath appeased, by an Act of Oblivion.

These and the like we have long time hoped you would have min-[8] ded, and have made such an establishment for the Generall peace and contentfull satisfaction of all sorts of people, as should have bin to the happiness of all future generations, and which we most earnestly desire you would set your selves speedily to effect; whereby the almost dying honour of this most honorable House, would be again revived, and the hearts of your Petitioners and all other well affected people, be afresh renewed unto you, the Freedom of the Nation (now in perpetuall hazard) would be firmly established, for which you would once more be so strengthened with the love of the people, that you should not need to cast your eyes any other wayes [under God] * for your security: but if all

* This phrase is set in brackets in the original printed text. *Editors' note.*

this avaieth nothing, God be our Guide, for men sheweth us not a way for our preservation.

To the Right Honorable, The Commons of England in Parliament Assembled. The humble Petition of the Presenters of the late large Petition, presented to this Honorable House upon Munday last, being the 11. of September, 1648.

Sheweth,

That we judge our selves and all who have cordially assisted you in the late or present Wars, so much concerned in the matters contained in our said large Petition, as that thereupon depends, not only the lives liberties, and estates of all that have adhered unto You; but also the Peace, Freedom, and prosperity of the Common Wealth.

And therefore considering the weight and necessity thereof, in this instant of time, together with our constant Faithfulness to the true Interest of this Honourable House in Your greatest extremities; we cannot but grieve that we should now in any respect appear so inconsiderable in our selves, or so immaterial in the Petition; (that having received and read the same) neither it nor we should be thought worthy of the least Testimony of your regard to either.

The which your unaccustomed bearing towards Wel-affected Petitioners, and the danger we conceive our selves and the Cause we have defended to be in, untill we know what your Sense and Resolutions are upon the particulars thereof, hath necessitated this our humble and speedy re-adress.

Earnestly praying, That you will be pleased to reassume the consideration of the whol and every part of the said Petition, before you proceed with the Treaty intended; And that you will favour your Petitioners who have not preferred their lives before your preservation, so far as to let them understand your Acceptation and Intentions thereupon; that so we may neither become a prey, nor yet a by-word to our enemies, for our Affection to the Common Welfare of the Nation.

And as in Duty bound, we shall pray &c.

FINIS.

ENGLANDS NEW CHAINS DISCOVERED

Englands New Chains Discovered is reprinted from a copy in the possession of Godfrey Davies. There are copies in the Huntington Library, the British Museum, and the Union Theological Seminary. The entire manifesto was also printed in *The Moderate*, February 27–March 6, 1649. The circumstances immediately leading to its composition, presentation to Parliament, and publication are set forth by Lilburne in the concluding pages of *Legall Fundamentall Liberties*. After the rejection of the Leveller proposals for “An Agreement of the People,” published in *Foundations of Freedom* (December 15, 1648), and during the events leading to the execution of the King on January 30, 1649, and the establishment of the Commonwealth, Lilburne desisted from his public activities. But about February 22 he heard that the Council of Officers was on the point of proceeding against him and his friends. That thought, he says, “ingaged me in the chief manning of the first and second part of *Englands new Chains discovered*” (*Legall Fundamentall Liberties*, p. 74). The first part, we learn from the conclusion of the pamphlet, was presented on February 26 by Lilburne in person, “with divers others,” as an address to the House of Commons. We are told that he came to the bar “with the Address in his hand” and that he “spake these words, or to this effect.” Publication immediately followed. Parliament appears to have taken no action on the matter. The opening paragraphs of Lilburne’s address were a remonstrance against betrayal of the principles set forth in both the Leveller “Agreement” of the preceding December (*Foundations of Freedom*) and the *Agreement Prepared for the People of England* submitted to Parliament by the officers on January 20. A note at the very end expressed the hope that the manifesto would receive “as large an acceptance, as our late Petition of Sept. 11. 1648” (reprinted above) and announced that a new petition, which was expected to be subscribed by many thousands, was in preparation. It was printed as *The second Part of Englands New-Chaines* (reprinted below). *Englands New Chains Discovered* appeared without a separate titlepage.

ENGLANDS/ NEW CHAINS/ DISCOVERED:/ Or/ The serious apprehensions of a part of the People, in behalf of the Commonwealth; (being Presenters, Promoters, and Approvers of the Large Petition of September 11. 1648.)/ Presented to the Supreme Authority of England, the Representers of the people in Parliament assembled./ By Lieut. Col. John Lilburn, and divers other Citizens of London, and Borough of Southwark; February 26. 1648. whereunto his speech delivered at the Bar is annexed./

Since you have done the Nation so much right, and your selves so much honour as to declare that the People (under God) are the original of all just Powers; and given us thereby fair grounds to hope, that you really intend their Freedom and Prosperity; yet the way thereunto being frequently mistaken, and through hast or error of judgement, those who mean the best, are many times mis-led so far to the prejudice of those that trust them, as to leave them in a condition neerer to bondage, when they have thought they had brought them into a way of Freedom. And since woful experience hath manifested this to be a Truth, there seemeth no small reason that you should seriously lay to heart what at present we have to offer, for discovery and prevention of so great a danger.

And because we have bin the first movers in and concerning an Agreement of the People, as the most proper and just means for the settling the long and tedious distractions of this Nation, occasioned by nothing more, than the uncertainty of our government; and since there hath bin an Agreement prepared and presented by some Officers of the Army to this honourable House, as what they thought requisite to be agreed unto by the People (you approving thereof) we shall in the first place deliver our apprehensions thereupon.

That an Agreement between those that trust, and those who are trusted, hath appeared a thing acceptable to this honorable House, [sig. Ar^v] his Excellency, and the Officers of the Army, is as much to our rejoycing, as we conceive it just in it self, and profitable for the Commonwealth, and cannot doubt but that you will protect those of the people, who have no waies forfeited their Birth-right, in their proper liberty of taking this, or any other, as God and their own Considerations shall direct them.

Which we the rather mention, for that many particulars in the Agreement before you, are upon serious examination thereof, dis-satisfactory to most of those who are very earnestly desirous of an Agreement, and many

very material things seem to be wanting therein, which may be supplied in another: As

1. They are now much troubled there should be any Intervalls between the ending of this Representative, and the begining of the next as being desirous that this present Parliament that hath lately done so great things in so short a time, tending to their Liberties, should sit; until with certainty and safety they can see them delivered into the hands of another Representative, rather than to leave them (though never so small a time) under the dominion of a Council of State; a Constitution of a new and unexperienced Nature, and which they fear, as the case now stands, may design to perpetuate their power, and to keep off Parliaments for ever.

2. They now conceive no less danger, in that it is provided that Parliaments for the future are to continue but 6. moneths, and a Council of State 18. In which time, if they should prove corrupt, having command of all Forces by Sea and Land, they will have great opportunities to make themselves absolute and unaccountable: And because this is a danger, than which there cannot well be a greater; they generally incline to Annual Parliaments, bounded and limited as reason shall devise, not dissolvable, but to be continued or adjourned as shall seem good in their discretion, during that yeer, but no longer; and then to dissolve of course, and give way to those who shall be chosen immediatly to succeed them, and in the Intervals of their adjournments, to entrust an ordinary Committee of their own members, as in other cases limited and bounded with express instructions, and accountable to the next Session, which will avoid all those dangers feared from a Council of State, as at present this is constituted.

3. They are not satisfied with the clause, wherein it is said, that [sig. A2] the power of the Representatives shall extend to the erecting and abolishing of Courts of Justice; since the alteration of the usual way of Tryals by twelve sworn men of the Neighborhood, may be included therein: a constitution so equal and just in it self, as that they conceive it ought to remain unalterable. Neither is it cleer what is meant by these words, (viz.) That the Representatives have the highest final judgement. They conceiving that their Authority in these cases, is onely to make Laws, Rules, and Directions for other Courts and Persons assigned by Law for the execution thereof; unto which every member of the Commonwealth, as well those of the Representative, as others, should be alike subject; it being likewise unreasonable in it self, and an occasion

of much partiality, injustice, and vexation to the people, that the Law-makers, should be Law-executors.

4. Although it doth provide that in the Laws hereafter to be made, no person by vertue of any Tenure, Grant, Charter, Patent, Degree, or Birth, shall be priviledged from subjection thereunto, or from being bound thereby, as well as others; Yet doth it not null and make void those present Protections by Law, or otherwise; nor leave all persons, as well Lords as others, alike liable in person and estate, as in reason and conscience they ought to be.

5. They are very much unsatisfied with what is exprest as a reserve from the Representative, in matters of Religion, as being very obscure, and full of perplexity, that ought to be most plain and clear; there having occurred no greater trouble to the Nation about any thing than by the intermedling of Parliaments in matters of Religion.

6. They seem to conceive it absolutely necessary, that there be in their Agreement, a reserve from ever having any Kingly Government, and a bar against restoring the House of Lords, both which are wanting in the Agreement which is before you.

7. They seem to be resolved to take away all known and burdensome grievances, as Tythes, that great oppression of the Countries industry and hindrance of Tillage: Excise, and Customs, Those secret thieves, and Robbers, Drainers of the poor and middle sort of People, and the greatest Obstructers of Trade, surmounting all the prejudices of Ship-mony, Patents, and Projects, before this Parliament: also to take away all Monopolizing Companies of Marchants, the hinderers and decayers of Clothing [sig. A2^v] and Cloth-working, Dying, and the like useful professions; by which thousands of poor people might be set at work, that are now ready to starve, were Marchandizing restored to its due and proper freedom: they conceive likewise that the three grievances before mentioned, (viz.) Monopolizing Companies, Excise, and Customes, do exceedingly prejudice Shipping, and Navigation, and Consequently discourage Sea-men, and Marriners, and which have had no smal influence upon the late unhappy revolts which have so much endangered the Nation, and so much advantaged your enemies. They also incline to direct a more equal and lesse burdensome way for levying monies for the future, those other fore-mentioned being so chargable in the receipt, as that the very stipends and allowance to the Officers attending thereupon would defray a very great part of the charge of the Army; whereas now they engender and support a corrupt interest. They also have in

mind to take away all imprisonment of disabled men, for debt; and to provide some effectual course to enforce all that are able to a speedy payment, and not suffer them to be sheltered in Prisons, where they live in plenty, whilst their Creditors are undone. They have also in mind to provide work, and comfortable maintainance for all sorts of poor, aged, and impotent people, and to establish some more speedy, lesse troublesome and chargeable way for deciding of Controversies in Law, whole families having been ruined by seeking right in the wayes yet in being: All which, though of greatest and most immediate concernment to the People, are yet omitted in their Agreement before you.

These and the like are their intentions in what they purpose for an Agreement of the People, as being resolved (so far as they are able) to lay an impossibility upon all whom they shall hereafter trust, of ever wronging the Common wealth in any considerable measure, without certainty of ruining themselves, and as conceiving it to be an improper tedious, and unprofitable thing for the People, to be ever running after their Representatives with Petitions for redresse of such Grievances as may at once be removed by themselves, or to depend for these things so essential to their happinesse and freedom, upon the uncertain judgements of several Representatives, the one being apt to renew what the other hath taken away.

And as to the use of their Rights and Liberties herein as becom-[sig. A3] eth, and is due to the people, from whom all just powers are derived; they hoped for and expect what protection is in you and the Army to afford: and we likewise in their and our own behalfts do earnestly desire, that you will publicly declare your resolution to protect those who have not forfeited their liberties in the use thereof, lest they should conceive that the Agreement before you being published abroad, and the Commissioners therein nominated being at work in persuance thereof, is intended to be imposed upon them, which as it is absolutely contrary to the nature of a free Agreement, so we are perswaded it cannot enter into your thoughts to use any impulsion therein.

But although we have presented our apprehensions and desires concerning this great work of an Agreement, and are apt to perswade our selves that nothing shall be able to frustrate our hopes which we have built thereupon; yet have we seen and heard many things of late, which occasions not only apprehensions of other matters intended to be brought upon us of danger to such an Agreement, but of bondage and ruine to all such as shall pursue it.

Insomuch that we are even agast and astonished to see that notwith-

standing the productions of the highest notions of freedom that ever this Nation, or any people in the world, have brought to light, notwithstanding the vast expence of blood and treasure that hath been made to purchase those freedoms, notwithstanding the many eminent and even miraculous Victories God hath been pleased to honour our just Cause withall, notwithstanding the extraordinary gripes and pangs, this House hath suffered more than once at the hands of your own servants, and that at least seemingly for the obtaining these our Native Liberties.

When we consider what rackings and tortures the People in general have suffered through decay of Trade, and deernesse of food, and very many families in particular, through Free-quarter, Violence, and other miseries, incident to warre, having nothing to support them therein, but hopes of Freedom, and a well-setled Common-wealth in the end.

That yet after all these things have bin done and suffered, and whilst the way of an Agreement of the People is owned, and approved, even by your selves, and that all men are in expectation of being put into possession of so deer a purchase; Behold! in the close of all, we hear and see what gives us fresh and pregnant cause [sig. A3^v] to believe that the contrary is really intended, and that all those specious pretenses, and high Notions of Liberty, with those extraordinary courses that have of late bin taken (as if of necessity for liberty, and which indeed can never be justified, but deserve the greatest punishments, unless they end in just liberty, and an equal Government) appear to us to have bin done and directed by some secret powerful influences, the more securely and unsuspectedly to attain to an absolute domination over the Common-wealth: It being impossible for them, but by assuming our generally approved Principles, and hiding under the fair shew thereof their other designs, to have drawn in so many good and godly men (really aiming at what the other had but in shew and pretense) and making them unwittingly instrumental to their own and their Countries Bondage.

For where is that good, or where is that liberty so much pretended, so deerly purchased? If we look upon what this House hath done since it hath voted it self the Supreme Authority, and disburthened themselves of the power of the Lords. First, we find a high Court of Justice erected, for Tryal of Criminal causes; whereby that great and strong hold of our preservation, the way of tryal by 12. sworn men of the Neighborhood is infringed, all liberty of exception against the tryers, is over-ruled by a Court consisting of persons pickt and chosen in an un-usual way; the practise whereof we cannot allow of, though against open and notorious

enemies; as well because we know it to be an usual policy to introduce by such means all usurpations, first against Adversaries, in hope of easier admission; as also, for that the same being so admitted, may at pleasure be exercised against any person or persons whatsoever. This is the first part of our new liberty. The next is the censuring of a Member of this House, for declaring his judgement in a point of Religion, which is directly opposite to the Reserve in the Agreement concerning Religion. Besides the Act for pressing of Sea-men, directly contrary to the Agreement of the Officers. Then the stoping of our mouths from Printing, is carefully provided for, and the most severe and unreasonable Ordinances of Parliament that were made in the time of Hollis and Stapletons reign, to gag us from speaking truth, and discovering the tyrannies of bad men, are refered to the care of the General, and by him to his Marshal, to be put in execution; in search-[sig. A4] ing, fining, imprisoning, and other waies corporally punishing all that any waies be guilty of unlicensed Printing; They dealing with us as the Bishops of old did with the honest Puritan, who were exact in geting Laws made against the Papist, but really intended them against the Puritan, and made them feel the smart of them: Which also hath bin, and is dayly exercised most violently, whereby our Liberties have bin more deeply wounded, than since the begining of this Parliament; and that to the dislike of the Souldiery, as by their late Petition in that behalf plainly appeareth. Then whereas it was expected that the Chancery, and Courts of Justice in Westminster, and the Judges and Officers thereof should have bin surveyed, and for the present regulated, till a better and more equal way of deciding controversies could have bin constituted, that the trouble and charge of the people in their suits should have bin abated: Instead hereof, the old and advanced fees are continued, and new thousand pounds Annual stipends allotted; when in the corruptest times the ordinary fees were thought a great and a sore burden; in the mean time, and in lieu thereof, there is not one perplexity or absurdity in proceedings taken away. Those Petitioners that have moved in behalf of the people, how have they bin entertained? Somtimes with the complement of empty thanks, their desires in the mean time not at all considered; at other times meeting with Reproches and Threats for their constancy and publike affections, and with violent motions, that their Petitions be burnt by the common Hangman, whilst others are not taken in at all; to so small an account are the people brought, even while they are flattered with notions of being the Original of all just power. And lastly, for compleating this new kind of liberty, a Councel of State is hastily erected for

Guardians thereof, who to that end are possessed with power to order and dispose all the forces appertaining to England by Sea or Land, to dispose of the publike Treasure, to command any person whatsoever before them, to give oath for the discovering of Truth, to imprison any that shall dis-obey their commands, and such as they shall judge contumacious. What now is become of that liberty that no mans person shall be attached or imprisoned, or otherwise dis-eased of his Free-hold, or free Customs, but by lawful judgement of his equals? We entreat you give us leave to lay these things open to your view, and judge impartially of our [sig. A4^v] present condition, and of your own also, that by strong and powerfull influences of some persons, are put upon these and the like proceedings, which both you and we ere long (if we look not to it) shall be inforced to subject our selves unto; then we have further cause to complain, when we consider the persons: as first, the chief of the Army directly contrary to what themselves thought meet in their Agreement for the People. 2. Judges of the Law. and Treasurers for monies. Then 5. that were Members of the Lords House, and most of them such as have refused to approve of your Votes and proceedings, concerning the King and Lords. 2. of them Judges in the Star-chamber, and approvers of the bloody and tyrannical sentences issuing from thence.

Some of your own House, forward men in the Treaty, and decliners of your last proceedings; all which do cleerly manifest to our understandings that the secret contrivers of those things doe think themselves now so surely guarded by the strength of an Army, by their dayly Acts and Stratagems, to their ends inclined, and the captivation of this House, that they may now take off the Vail and Cloak of their designes as dreadlesse of what ever can be done against them. By this Councel of State, all power is got into their own hands, a project which hath been long and industriously laboured for; and which being once firmly and to their liking established their next motions may be upon pretense of ease to the People, for the dissolution of this Parliament, half of whose time is already swallowed up by the said Councel now, because no obstacle lies in their way, to the full establishment of these their ends, but the uncorrupted part of the Souldiery, that have their eyes fixed upon their engagements and promises of good to the People, and resolve by no threats or allurements to decline the same; together with that part of the people in Citie and Countries, that remain constant in their motions for Common good, and still persist to run their utmost hazards for procurement of the same, by whom all evil mens designes both have, and are still likely to find a check

and discovery. Hereupon the grand contrivers fore-mentioned, whom we can particular by name, do begin to raise their spleen, and manifest a more violent enmitie against Souldiers and People, disposed as afore-said, than ever heretofore, as appeareth by what lately past, at a meeting of Officers, on Feb. 22. last, at White-Hall, where after expressions of much bit-[sig. B1] ternesse against the most Conscientious part of the Souldiery, and others, it was insisted upon, (as we are from very credible hands certainly informed) that a motion should be made to this House for the procurement of a Law enabling them to put to death all such as they should judge by Petitions or otherwise to disturbe the present proceedings; and upon urging that the Civil Magistrate should do it, It was answered, that they could hang twenty ere the Magistrate one. It was likewise urged that Orders might be given to seize upon the Petitioners, Souldiers, or others, at their meetings, with much exclamation against some of greatest integritie to your just Authority, whereof they have given continual and undenyable assurances. A Proclamation was likewise appointed, forbidding the Souldiers to Petition you, or any but their Officers, prohibiting their correspondencies: And private Orders to be given out for seizing upon Citizens and Souldiers at their meetings. And thus after these fair blossoms of hopefull liberty, breaks forth this bitter fruit, of the vilest and basest bondage that ever English men groan'd under: whereby this notwithstanding is gained (viz.) an evident and (we hope) a timely discovery of the instruments, from whence all the evils, contrivances, and designs (which for above these eighteen moneths have been strongly suspected) took their rise and original, even ever since the first breach of their Promises and engagements made at New Market, Triploe Heath, with the Agitators and People. It being for these ends that they have so violently opposed all such as manifested any zeal for Common Right, or any regard to the Faith of the Army, sentencing some to death, others to reproachfull punishments, placing and dis-placing Officers according as they shewed themselves serviceable or opposite to their designs, listing as many as they thought good, even of such as have served in Arms against you: And then again upon pretence of easing the charge of the People, disbanding Supernumeraries, by advantage thereof picking out, such as were most cordial and active for Common good; thereby moulding the Army (as far as they could) to their own bent and ends premised; exercising Martial Law with much cruelty, thereby to debase their spirits, and make them subservient to their wils and pleasures; extending likewise their power (in many cases) over persons not Members of the Army.

And when in case of opposition and difficult services, they have [sig. B1^r] by their creatures desired a Reconciliation with such as at other times they reproached, vilified, and otherwise abased; and through fair promises of good, and dissembled repentance gained their association and assistance, to the great advantage of their proceedings: yet their necessities being over, and the Common enemy subdued, they have sleighted their former promises, and renewed their hate and bitterness against such their assistances, reproaching them with such appellations as they knew did most distaste the People, such as Levellers, Jesuites, Anarchists, Royalists, names both contradictory in themselves, and altogether groundlesse in relation to the men so reputed; meerly relying for releese thereof upon the easinesse and credulity of the People.

And though the better to insinuate themselves, and get repute with the People, as also to conquer their necessities, they have bin fane to make use of those very principles and productions, the men they have so much traduced, have brought to light: yet the producers themselves they have and doe still more eagerly maligne than ever, as such whom they know to bee acquainted to their deceipts, and deviations and best able to discover the same.

So that now at length, guessing all to be sure, and their own (the King being removed, the House of Lords nulled, their long plotted Council of State erected, and this House awed to their ends,) the edge of their mallice is turning against such as have yet so much courage left them as to appear for the well establishment of Englands Liberties: and because God hath preserved a great part of the Army untainted with the guilt of the designs afore-mentioned, who cannot without much danger to the designers themselves be suppressed, they have resolved to put this House upon raising more new forces, (notwithstanding the present necessities of the People, in maintaining those that are already) in doing whereof, though the pretence be danger, and opposition, yet the concealed end is like to be the over-ballancing those in the Army, who are resolved to stand for true Freedome, as the end of all their labours, the which (if they should be permitted to do) they would not then doubt of making themselves absolute seizures, Lords and Masters, both of Parliament and People; which when they have done we expect the utmost of misery, nor shall it grieve us to expire with the liberties of our native Country: for what good man can with any comfort to himself survive then? But [sig. B2] God hath hitherto preserved us, and the Justice of our desires, as integrity of our intentions are dayly more and more manifest to the im-

partial and unprejudiced part of men; insomuch that it is no smal comfort to us, that notwithstanding we are upon all these disadvantages that may be, having neither power nor preheminance, the Common Idols of the world; our Cause and principles, do through their own natural truth and lustre get ground in mens understandings, so that where there was one, twelve moneths since, that owned our principles, we beleeve there are now hundreds, so that though we fail, our Truths prosper.

And posterity we doubt not shall reap the benefit of our endeavours, what ever shall become of us. However though we have neither strength nor safety before us, we have discharged our Consciences, and emptied our breasts unto you, knowing well that if you will make use of your power, and take unto you that courage which becomes men of your Trust and condition, you may yet through the goodnesse of God prevent the danger and mischief intended, and be instrumental in restoring this long enthralled and betrayed Nation into a good and happy condition.

For which end we most earnestly desire and propose, as the main prop and support of the work, [1] that you will not dissolve this House, nor suffer your selves to be dissolved, until as aforesaid, you see a new Representative the next day ready to take your room; which you may confidently and safely insist upon, there being no considerable number in the Army or else-where, that will be so unworthy as to dare to disturb you therein.

2. That you will put in practise the self-denying Ordinance, the most just and useful that ever was made, and continually cryed out for by the people; whereby a great infamy that lies upon your cause will be removed, and men of powerful influences, and dangerous designes, deprived of those means and opportunities which now they have, to prejudice the publike.

3. That you will consider how dangerous it is for one and the same persons to be continued long in the highest commands of a Military power, especially acting so long distinct, and of themselves, as those now in being have done, and in such extraordinary waies whereunto they have accustomed themselves, which was [sig. B2^v] the original of most Regalities and Tyrannies in the world.

4. That you appoint a Committee of such of your own members, as have bin longest establishd upon those rules of Freedom upon which you now proceed; to hear, examine, and conclude all controversies between Officers and Officers, and between Officers and Souldiers; to consider and mitigate the Law-Martial; and to provide that it be not exercised at all upon persons not of the Army: Also to release and repair such as have thereby unduly suffered, as they shall see cause: To consider the condi-

tion of the private Souldiers, both Horse and Foot in these deer times, and to allow them such increase of pay, as wherewithal they may live comfortably, and honestly discharge their Quarters: That all disbanding be refered to the said Committee, and that such of the Army as have served the King, may be first disbanded.

5. That you will open the Press, whereby all trecherous and tyrannical designes may be the easier discovered, and so prevented, which is a liberty of greatest concernment to the Commonwealth, and which such only as intend a tyrannie are engaged to prohibit: The mouths of Adversaries being best stopped, by the sensible good which the people receive from the actions of such as are in Authority.

6. That you wil (whilst you have opportunity) abate the charge of the Law, and reduce the stipends of Judges, and all other Magistrates and Officers in the Common-wealth, to a less, but competent allowance, converting the over-plus to the publike Treasury, whereby the taxes of the people may be much eased.

7. But above all, that you will dissolve this present Councel of State, which upon the grounds fore-mentioned so much threatneth Tyrannie; and mannage your affairs by Committees of short continuance, and such as may be frequently and exactly accountable for the discharge of their Trusts.

8. That you will publish a strict prohibition, and severe penalty against all such, whether Committees, Magistrates, or Officers of what kind soever, as shall exceed the limits of their Commission, Rules, or Directions, and encourage all men in their informations and complaints against them.

9. That you will speedily satisfie the expectations of the Souldiers in point of Arrears, and of the people in point of Accounts, in such a manner, as that it may not as formerly, prove a snare to [sig. B3] such as have bin most faithful, and a protection to the most corrupt, in the discharge of their trust and duties.

10. That the so many times complained of Ordinance for Tyths upon treble damages, may be forthwith taken away; all which, together with due regard shewed to Petitioners, without respect to their number and strength, would so fasten you in the affections of the people, and of the honest Officers and Souldiers, as that you should not need to fear any opposite power whatsoever: and for the time to come, of your selves enjoy the exercise of your Supreme Authority, whereof you have yet but the name onely; and be inabled to vindicate your just undertakings; wherein we should not onely rejoyce to have occasion to manifest how ready we

should be to hazard our lives in your behalf, but should also bend all our studies and endeavours to render you Honorable to all future generations. [sig. B3^v]

Febr. 26. 1648. Being ushered in by the Sergeant at Arms, and called to the Bar, with all due respects given unto the House, Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburn, with divers others, coming to the Bar next the Mace, with the Address in his hand, spake these words, or to this effect, as followeth.

M. Speaker,

I am very glad that without any inconvenience unto my self, and those that are with me, I may freely and cheerfully address my self to this honorable House, as the Supreme Authority of England (time was when I could not) and it much refresheth my spirit, to live to see this day, that you have made such a step to the Peoples Liberties, as to own and declare your selves to be (as indeed you are) the Supreme Authority of this Nation.

M. Speaker, I am desired by a company of honest men, living in and about London, who in truth do rightly appropriate to themselves, the title of the Contrivers, Promoters, Presenters, and Approvers of the late Large London Petition of the 11. of Sept. last, (which was the first Petition I know of in England, that was presented to this honorable House against the late destructive Personal Treaty with the late King) to present you with their serious apprehensions; And give me leave (I beseech you) for my self and them, to say thus much; That for the most part of us, we are those that in the worst of times durst own our Liberties and Freedoms, in the face of the greatest of our adversaries; and from the beginning of these Wars, never shrunk from the owning of our Freedoms, in the most tempestuous times, nor changed our Principles: Nay Sir, let me with truth tell you, that to the most of us, our Wives, our Children, our Estates, our Relations, nay our Lives, and all that upon earth we can call Ours, have not bin so highly valued by us, as our Liberties and Freedoms; which our constant Actions (to the apparent hazard of our Blood and Lives) have bin a cleer and full demonstration of, for these many yeers together.

And M. Speaker, give me leave to tell you, that I am confident our Liberties and Freedoms (the true and just end of all the late [sig. B4] Wars) are so deer and precious to us, that we had rather our Lives should

breath out with them, than to live one moment after the expiration of them.

M. Speaker, I must confess I am to present you with a paper, something of a new kind, for we have had no longer time to consider of it, than from Thursday last, and Warrants (as we are informed) issuing out against us to take us, from those that have no power over us; we durst not well go our ordinary way to work, to get Subscriptions to it, lest we should be surprised before we could present it to this honorable House, and so be frustrated in that benefit or relief that we justly expect from you; and to present it with a few hands, we judged inconsiderable in your estimation, and therefore chuse in the third place (being in so much hast as we were to prevent our eminent and too apparent ruine) in person to bring it to your Bar, and avowedly to present it here: And therefore without any further question, give me leave to tell you, I own it, and I know so doth all the rest of my Friends present; and if any hazard should ensue thereby, Give me leave resolvedly to tell you, I am sorry I have but one life to lose, in maintaining the Truth, Justice, and Righteousness, of so gallant a piece.

M. Speaker, We own this honorable House (as of right) the true Guardian of our Liberties and Freedoms; and we wish and most heartily desire, you would rouse up your spirits (like men of gallantry) and now at last take unto your selves a magnanimous resolution, to acquit your selves (without fear or dread) like the chosen and betruſted Trustees of the People, from whom (as your selves acknowledge and declare) all just power is derived, to free us from all bondage and slavery, and really and truly invest us into the price of all our blood, hazards, and toys; Our Liberties and Freedoms, the true difference and distinction of men from beasts.

M. Speaker, Though my spirit is full in the sad apprehension of the dying condition of our Liberties and Freedoms: Yet at present I shall say no more, but in the behalf of my self and my friends, I shall earnestly entreat you to read these our serious Apprehensions seriously, and debate them deliberately.

Friends,

This we have adventured to publish for the timely information and benefit of all that adhere unto the common interest of the people, hoping that with such, upon due consideration, it will find as large an acceptance, as our late Petition of Sept. 11. 1648. And we thought good (in regard we

were not called in to receive an answer to the same) to acquaint you, that we intend to second it with a Petition sufficiently subscribed, we doubt not with many thousands, earnestly to solícite for an effectual Answer.

FINIS

THE SECOND PART OF ENGLANDS NEW-CHAINES DISCOVERED

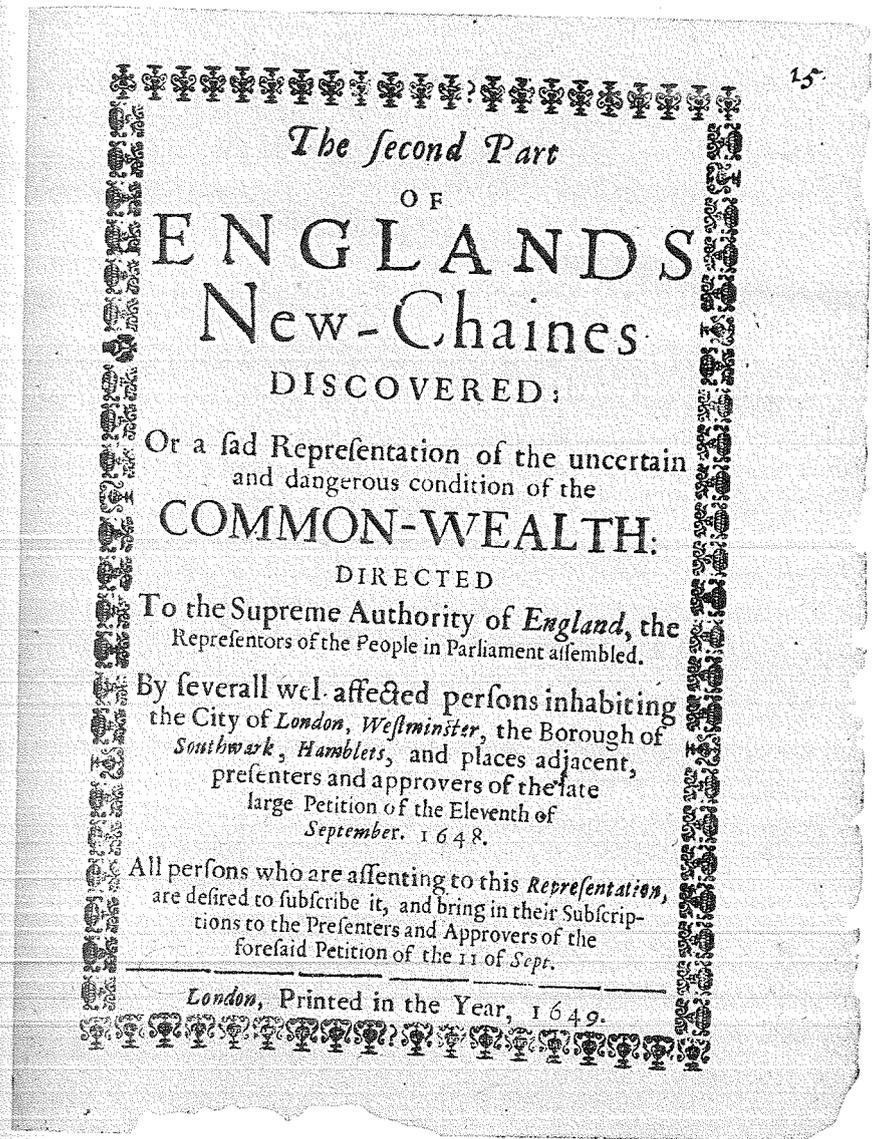
The second Part of Englands New-Chaines is reprinted from a copy in the Huntington Library. There are copies in the British Museum and the Union Theological Seminary. The pamphlet was probably published on March 24, 1649, when Thomason entered a copy in his collection. The Council of State was at the moment alarmed by the discontent among the soldiers, expressed in an attack on their commanders, dated by Thomason March 21 and called *The hunting of the Foxes* (reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, VI, 44-54). On March 26 the Council directed John Milton, one of its secretaries, "to make some observations on a paper lately printed, called Old and New Chains" (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1649-1650*). On March 27 the House of Commons voted that "the Authors, Contrivers, and Framers of the said Paper are guilty of High Treason; and shall be proceeded against as Traitors." On March 28, as the result of this order, Lilburne, Walwyn, Richard Overton, and Thomas Prince were arrested and committed to the Tower, in the circumstances described in *The Picture of the Council of State* and the excerpt, reprinted below, from *The Fountain of Slaunder*. The person responsible for the publication was Lilburne, assisted by Overton and Prince (see above, introductory note to *Englands New Chains*). A second title page has been added to the Thomason copy (*Catalogue of the Pamphlets . . . Collected by George Thomason* [1908], I, 372); it appears to be the same as the title page of the copy in the Union Theological Seminary. The latter title page is identical with the one in the Huntington Library copy, except that for the words, "All persons who . . . 11 of Sept.," has been substituted, "And as it is avowed by Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburn, Mr. Richard Overton, and Mr. Tho. Prince, upon perill of their Lives; and for which they are now committed to the Tower as Traytors." The two copies show no other significant difference. The change of title page was obviously made after the committal of the four men to the Tower on March 28. It was intended as a declaration of responsibility by Lilburne,

Overton, and Prince, and as a denial of any participation by Walwyn, who appears to have dropped out of the movement after the breakdown of negotiations with the officers, in the preceding December, for an "Agreement of the People." Lilburne, in *The Picture of the Council of State* (p. 2), expressed surprise at the arrest of Walwyn, "he having for some moneths by past (that ever I could see, or hear of) never bin at any of our meetings, where any such things were managed." Walwyn wrote in *The Fountain of Slaunder* (p. 18): "As for the booke called *The second part of Englands new chaines discovered*: . . . it concernes me nothing at all, farther then as the matter therein contained agreeth or disagreeeth with my judgement." The pamphlet was attacked, probably by John Canne and Walter Frost, in *The Discoverer* (1649). Milton wrote no "observations" upon it, and, though he disagreed with the Levellers, he never said anything in print against or even about them. *The second Part of Englands New-Chaines* is reprinted in Wolfe, *Milton in the Puritan Revolution*.

The second Part/ OF ENGLANDS/ New-Chaines/ DISCOVERED:/ Or a sad Representation of the uncertain/ and dangerous condition of the/ COMMON-WEALTH:/ DIRECTED/ To the Supreme Authority of England, the/ Representors of the People in Parliament assembled./ By severall wel-affected persons inhabiting/ the City of London, Westminster, the Borough of/ Southwark, Hamblets, and places adjacent,/ presenters and approvers of the late/ large Petition of the Eleventh of/ September. 1648./ All persons who are assenting to this Representation,/ are desired to subscribe it, and bring in their Subscrip-/ tions to the Presenters and Approvers of the/ foresaid Petition of the 11 of Sept./ London, Printed in the Year, 1649./

To the Supreme Authority of England, the Representors of the People, in Parliament Assembled. The Sad Representation of the uncertain and dangerous Condition of the Common-wealth: By the Presenters and Approvers of the Large Petition of the 11. of September, 1648.

IF OUR hearts were not over-charged with the sense of the present miseries and approaching dangers of the Nation, your smal regard to our late serious Apprehensions, would have kept us silent; but the misery,



danger, and bondage threatned is so great, imminent, and apparent, that whilst we have breath, and are not violently restrained, we cannot but speak, and even cry aloud, until you hear us, or God be pleased otherwise to relieve us.

Nor should you in reason be with-held from considering what we present you withal, through any strangeness that appeareth therein; For what was more incredible, than that a Parliament trusted by the people to deliver them from all kinds of oppression, and who made so liberal effusion of their blood, and waste of their estates (upon pretense of doing thereof) should yet so soon as they were in power, oppress with the same kind of oppressions, which yet was true in the time of Hollis and Stapletons faction, and who, (as the King and Bishops had done before) laboured for an Army to back and perpetuate them therein.

Nor were our Petitions then presented (wherein we justly complained of those oppressions, and fore-warned them of the danger ensuing) the less considerable for their burning them by the hand of the common hangman; Nor the Petitioners the more blame-worthy for being reproched with the names of Atheists, Hereticks, and seditious Sectaries (as now with Jesuite, and Leveller) Aspersions being the known marks of corrupt States-men, and usually working no other effect, but the discredit of the Aspersers. Yet were there then many who believed their reports of us, and they were as impatient with us, for our taxing them with their wicked and pernicious designs, as others are now for our presuming to detect them, who are so high in present power and reputation: But it is now evident, that it is possible for our Physicians to bring us into a more dangerous condition than they found us.

And though experience hath made us woefully sensible, that nothing is more dangerous to any people than their bearing with unjust, covetous, or ambitious practises in those they trust; Yet did we forbear to interpose our judgements, or to oppose those mens designs, until they had made a large progress toward our bondage, and endeavoured to grasp the power of the Army into their hands, thereby to enforce their Tyrannie upon us; insomuch that it was almost too late to give check to their wicked intentions: so unwilling were we to believe it possible for men who all along pretended liberty and redress of grievances, to degenerate so soon into the grossest Principles and practises of long settled Tyrannies.

And much more do our Consciences bear us witness of our backwardness to believe any evil intentions in those who not only were most vigorous and successful against the common enemy, but seemed so sensible

of the injustice and trechery of that prevalent faction in Parliament, as to engage with the utmost of their might, as if they had really intended to deliver the Nation from that dangerous thraldom, so that we both durst, and did many of us, venture our lives upon their fidelity; Yea so powerful, perswasive, and contentful were their first Engagements, Papers, and Remonstrances, so fraught with self-denying Doctrines, tender regard to the peace of the Nation, and satisfaction to all interests; as even lulled all peaceable People into a sound sleep of security, casting all their care upon the General Council of the Army, as upon a People they thought could never have the face to decline either those principles, or to neglect the performance of so many engagements, promises, and protestations, made as in the presence of the all-seeing God, frequently calling upon him, the searcher of all hearts, to bear witness to their integrity and sincerity therein: Insomuch that we (who alwaies with some warinesse observed them) many times denyed our own understandings rather than we would draw hasty conclusions from evident testimonies of their defection.

But when after they had once sleighted the Agitators, and discountenanced those Officers and Souldiers, who first engaged against the destructive Votes of Parliament; such as stood firm to their engagements at New-market, and Triploe Heath: when we saw they not only neglected them, but adhered to persons sent from Parliament and City, in those corrupted times, and fell immediately to plead for Negative Voyces in the King, and Lords; checking and controuling those that opposed: When we understood their General Councils (which according to their engagements ought to have consisted only of two select Commission Officers, and two private Souldiers, chosen by every Regiment, with such General Officers as assented to the Engagement, and no other) were nevertheless overgrown with Collonels, Lieut. Collonels, Majors, and others, not chosen; and many of them dissenters from the said Engagement; and that some few eminent persons presum'd above measure therein, and in effect over-awed and controuled those Councils: and that the contrivance of a Council of State, was the great engine which those Councils laboured to bring about: when we found them not only to Court the King, by kissing his hand, and the like, and that a correspondency was held between him and the General Officers, and Agents sent to and fro continually, whereby they came to so neer a close, as that their Proposals were not only received, but corrected and amended by the King, before they were sent to the House, till they became very consistent with his ends and

Prerogative: and those Officers so engaged thereby, as to be moved to impatience towards any that spake a sillable against this their trafique and intercourse with him: upon which likewise, they concluded an Agreement with the opposing Cittizens of London, without so much as calling the Agitators to advize thereupon. Seeing, Hearing, and Understanding these things, no marvel if we were staggered in our Beleefe of their integrity.

But that a person so deeply charged as the Earl of Manchester, and other grand self-seekers of this House should be entertained with so great respect, and guarded to their places in Parliament, [4] and that notwithstanding the prevailing power of the Army, those who had usurped the Authority of the House, and Voted a new warre, were nevertheless permitted to sit and Vote there, and that contrary to the importunate desires of the Agitators, and the Remonstrance of the Army: and then one of the first fruits of this their conjunction was the passing of an Ordinance for Tythes, upon trebble dammages, which the corrupt Clergy had presented (in the absence of the Speaker) to Pelhams Parliament; and the burning of Mr Biddles Book, by the Common Hangman; and imprisoning his person: and that notwithstanding their glorious March through London, the prerogative Prisoners in the Tower, New-gate, and elsewhere, were utterly neglected, and the Council of those friends sleighted, who had been instrumental, even to the losse of some, and the hazard of all their lives, to make an easie and unbloody passage for the Army into Southwark and the City. Upon observation of these and abundant more particulars, which we could enumerate, we concluded, that the Councils of the Army were not steered as at their first engagement, by the select persons chosen thereunto, nor for the ends in that engagement expressed; but by some other powerfull and over-ruling influences, that intended other matters then were pretended, and that laboured by all possible means to convert the honest endeavours of good men in the Army, and else-where, and the happy success God had blessed them withall, to the advantage of their Lusts, Pride, and Domination: And as time came on, it more and more appeared, that they intended meerly the establishment of themselves in power and greatnesse, without any regard at all to the performance of their promises and engagements, or any respect to the faith and credit of the Army, or to the peace and prosperity of the Common wealth, and that they walked by no rules or principles either of honesty or conscience; but (as meer pollititians) were governed altogether by occasion, and as they saw a possibility of making progress to

their designs, which course of theirs they ever termed a waiting upon providence, that with colour of Religion they might deceive the more securely.

Now that this may appear no slander, we entreat that without partiality, their after proceedings may be throughly scan'd: as first, at Kingston it was proposed by the Agitators, friends of London, Southwark, and the places adjacent, that the Tower, City, and [5] Borough, might be secured by the well-affected Inhabitants, and not by Souldiers, that so trade and traffique might be preserved, which otherwise would be driven away (as it soon after proved) And that it was hoped they intended not to secure any place by Souldiers, when the wel-affected Inhabitants were able to secure it. Which advise proceeded as well from our respects to the City and neighbour places, as upon fears of what we know to be the practise of other Tyrants (and therefore doubted would be exercised by those) namely, the garisoning great Towns, thereby to keep the people, as well in poverty, as in continual aw and subjection.

Which advise, though assented unto by the Agitators, was yet rejected by the grand Officers, and a new Regiment raised, to the further charge of the Common-wealth; the Proposers themselves being dismissed with reproches, and the Agitators thrust out, and not permitted to observe how they were dealt withal.

At which time also its very remarkable with how much height of State they observed the King at Hampton Court, visiting him themselves, and permitting thousands of people dayly to visit him, to kiss his hand, and to be healed by him, whereby his party in the City, and every where, were exceedingly animated, his Agents being as familiar at the head-quarters, as at the Court. Then on a sudden, when the House complied not with their purposes, in all hast it was to be purged, and thereupon they publish a large Remonstrance, Aug. 18. stuffed with publike reasons, to shew the justness and necessity thereof: but the House again complying, through the sight of their Remonstrance, though no whit changed in respect of its corruption; & they finding, if it were purged, it would not be for their design; they make nothing of their former resolution, but continue it in its corrupt condition, and sit with them themselves.

Then they fall to work again about the King, and send the propositions of New-castle to him, which they knew, and were agreed he should not sign; in the mean time, they so wrought the King by deep promises, and hopes of restauration, as that he inclined much to countenance the Army, gave out words in their favour, and in his answer to the House,

prefer'd their Proposals, before the Parliaments Propositions; in lieu thereof, the great ones of the Army themselves, endeavoured the revival of a Treaty, and some of them in the House, were very violent against motions of no more Address, and expressed it was the sense of the Army that further Address should be made, and that except they would make [6] Addresses of another nature to the King, they could not promise them the assistance of the Army; and accordingly they take pains to work every man at the head-quarters; upon which, petitions were attempted in the Army, in favour of a Treaty, and some conscientious, but weak people, were drawn to second their design, with a Petition for a Personal Treaty, which they had ready at the House dore.

These strange and mysterious proceedings, occasion'd a new face of things in the Army, many of the Officers being much distasted thereat, & whole Regiments chusing new Agents to look after the publike, as fearing things were runing head-long into a most dangerous condition: The far greater number of the Officers, would not by any means indure to hear of the Armies compliance with the King, and the Agents finding all former engagements, promises, and declarations broken, and utterly neglected, and the Common wealth in danger of utter dissolution, produce an Agreement of the People, upon grounds of Common Right, for uniting of all unprejudiced people therein; the great Officers very much oppose it a while, as having set up another Interest: but seing the same take with the Army, profes though at present their judgements could not so far close with it as to act for it, yet they would never oppose it. Hereupon the whole frame of the design alters, and the matters in projection with them, were how to dis-engage themselves, and be rid of the King, and how likewise to discountenance and keep under the discerning party in the Army. In order to the first, they cast about how to get the King into the Isle of Wight, where they might both easier keep others from him, and the more entirely possess him themselves; and that he might with willingness be hurried thither, they work upon his fear; suggesting to him, that there was an intention in some violent persons to murder him, and perswade him to leave that in a letter, as the cause of his remove. To make which the more credible, they wrought L. Col. Hen. Lilburn to asperse his brother John (who then stood in the way of the great men of the Army) with a base & abhorrid resolution of being one that intended to murder the King; to the proof whereof they would never suffer the Asperser to be brought (though solicited thereunto by a Petition from divers well-affected persons) but instead thereof, for that

perfidious service, they advanced him to the government of Tinmouth Castle, above his brother Robert, where [7] retaining the leven of his Apostacy, which the Gen. Officers had laid in him, he suffered the deserved reward of a perfidious traytor.

And though the General Officers enclined him to this revolt themselves, as well by their example, as by countenancing him in the beginning thereof; and though for the same he incurred the extreme displeasure of his Father, and Kindred, yet are both his Father and Kindred by the Officers themselves and their Associates aspersed with the fact, as if tainted with guilt and contammation thereof.

Thus did they kill two birds with one stone, framing a Name for them which of all others is most distastefull to the People, and was therefore most likely to beget a beleef of the pretended assassination.

Where (by the way) we desire it may be observed, that notwithstanding the word *Leveller* was framed and cast upon all those in the Army (or elsewhere) who are against any kind of Tyranny, whether in King, Parliament, Army, Council of State, &c. And though it was not so much as beleev'd to concern those upon whom they cast it, the inventers having often professed as much, yet have they both themselves and by their Instruments industriously propagated the same, and insinuated both this and other slanders of us into the hearts of all the easy and credulous people they could meet withall.

But to returne, The King thus removed, they judge themselves at good leisure to deal with the Agreers for the People, and so suddainly violent they became in that work, that at the first Ranzevous near Ware, they shot a Souldier to death, for pursuing the ends of the Engagement at New-market, and for insisting upon the Agreement for the People; unworthily abused Major Skott, a Member of this House, sent him up a prisoner, and accused him and Col. Rainsborough for appearing in behalf of the Agreement, and therewithall sent Col. Ayres, Major Cobbet, Capt. Bray, and many others after them prisoners to Windsor, where, as Parties, Judges, and Juries, the Officers did what they would against them, sentencing some to death, others to disgracefull punishments, restraining and releasing at pleasure, and with as much Arbitrarinesse as ever was in the world, and could not be diswaded though Mr Saltmarsh and others bore full testimony against the cruelty and injustice thereof. Hereupon at the House they procured at once the imprisonment of five cordial Citizens, for just-[8] fying the Agreement of the People, and requiring Justice for the blood of the Souldier that was shot at Ware, disfranchized them, and

under the notion of London Agents forbad their meetings. And when now they thought they had moulded and qualified the Army to their own bent, and had gratified their complying Officers, with the cruelty upon the Levellers, (for so they have stiled all who have manifested any sence of Common Right) and had found that they could be nothing so great, rich, and potent, upon a close with the King, and that it would be impossible for them to hold either Officer or Souldier firm to them, in case of such composure. Hereupon uterly to frustrate his hopes that way, they prevail with the House to Vote no more Addresses; and so vanisht away all their glorious flattery of the King and his Party, and their notorious dissimulation appeared, abusing thereby the Faith of the Army, and making it cleer to all discerning men, that such as could so break with one sort of men, will make no Conscience of keeping faith with any.

Their next work was to new-mould the City, and make it theirs, for which purpose they brought some Regiments of Horse and Foot, to White Hall and the Muse, to the extreme discontent of the City, and provoke them further by keeping their Lord Mayor, and some of their Aldermen in the Tower, without admitting them to a Legal Tryal, though upon Petitions and earnest Desires: at last they were referred to be tryed by the Lords, contrary to the known Law of the Land; but their jurisdiction being disclaimed, after a while they were released without any Tryal at all, their end being accomlisht, which was the terror of the City, and changing the Magistrates thereof, so as should best serve their designes.

About this time also they began to exercise their Marshal power over persons not of the Army, and did sentence Mr William Thomson to death at White Hall. And then also they began to new moddel the Army, and for that end, though the new raised Regiment for the Tower was thought no burthen, yet upon pretence of easing the charge of the Common wealth, the Life-Guard must be disbanded, because consisting of discerning men, faithfull to their Country and former promises, and many others of like principles were pickt out of every Regiment; the designe being by weeding the choisest and best resolved men, to make the Army wholly mercenary, slavish, and the Executioners of a few mens lusts and lawlesse Pleasures. [9]

All which those good men perceiving and resolving thereupon not to be disbanded according to the Agreement at New market, till the ends therein expressed were fully gained, they were enforced thereunto by Tyrannicall Sentences of Imprisonment and Death (though the Officers

themselves had formerly refused to disband upon command of Parliament upon the same grounds and strength of the same engagement:) By all which 'tis evident, that according to the maxime of Politicians, they judge themselves loose, where other men are bound; and that all obligations are to them Transitory and Ceremoniall, and that indeed every thing is good and just only, as it is conducing to their corrupt and ambitious interests.

And thus the most hopefull opportunity that ever England had for recovery of our Freedome, was spent and consumed, in such their uncertaine staggering motions, and arbitrary, irrationall Proceedings, whereby all partyes became extreemly exasperated, as People that had been meerly mock'd and cheated by faire promises, and under the most religious Pretextes, &c. Hereby the Army that had but few moneths before been the joy and hope of all sorts of Rationall People, was made a by-word, a hissing and a Reproach to the whole Nation: insomuch that those (in hope of their large good Promises, and protests in their Declarations) who thought nothing too precious for them, now grudged them bread & were ready to stone them in all places where they came; Trade fled, Poverty increased, and discontents abounded, till at length broke out such a flame as no time had ever seen before; and no doubt was the proper issue of such horrid delusion, ministring such matter for a generall Rising and Revolt, as all former policies could never attain to, and more threatning the ruine of the Nation then all the former forces and stratagems of the enemies; and which is rightly to be imputed to the unjust partiall and perfidious dealings of these men.

But when they saw what a strange predicament they had brought themselves into and which they would never beleve, till it was come upon them (no more then now they will) they had before manifested a greater obstinacy, then now they did a serious Repentance (which yet as the sequell proves, was but counterfeit) though (as God knoweth) we were overjoyed to beleve it reall: Acknowledging, with the greatest expressions of sorrow, that [10] they had walked by corrupt Pollitick Principles; That they had been to blame in Actings against honest men; That the name of *Leveller*, *Jesuite* or the like reproaches, should never be more heard amongst them, that if ever the Nation be happy, it must be by a conjunction in the Levellers Principles, calling upon all, to lay by all Discontents, to forget and forgive, and to unite all against the Common enemy and promising with greatest asseverations, That if God, upon our

joynt endeavors, should be pleased to deliver us out of this Sea of danger, that they would never divide from just Principles, nor in the least discountenance honest men as they have done, nor endeavor to set up a party, but cast themselves upon an agreement of the People for the future settlement of the Peace of the Nation: but how and what performance they have made, that we shall intreat, may be impartially observed in the ensuing story; And for a full and timely proofe of their Relapse, & Discovery of their dissimulation; No sooner had they (through Gods blessing and the assistance of their reconciled friends) finished their worke at Colechester, but presently they call to question certaine Persons, that had appeared at St. Albanes in behalf of Captaine Reynalds, chusing rather to forsake the Service, then to be commanded by Captaines, that had been violent against them, that had drunke the Kings Health upon their knees, and profest they could rather fight against the Levellers then Cavaliers, and these (according to their old wont) they sentenc'd to Death, and soon after releast them, as finding or supposing this kinde of Discipline most essentiall, to the breaking and debasing the spirits of the English.

And because Col. Rainsborough had ever opposed their unjust Proceedings, they withdraw him from the Army, by a plausible, but onely a Tittular command at sea, where by the straitness of his Commission, he not having thereby the command of the Shippes or Officers, he could neither restrain their Revolt, nor preserve himself from being expulsed at the Seamans pleasure out of that employment.

Then upon his return the ruling Officers finding him as inflexible to their ends as formerly, they put him upon that dangerous and unhappy Service before Pomfret (notwithstanding a Commander had been appointed thereunto by the Committee of Yorke) whether he went with much Reluctancy and discontent, as won-[11] dering at the Cause of his being Design'd thither, and expressing as much to his Friends, his sad soul presaging the misfortune, which after befell him. But that which gives greatest cause of grief and suspect to his friends, is, that his Brother receives no furtherance, but rather, all discouragement that may be in searching after, and prosecuting the causers of that so bloody and inhumane a Butchery.

In the North, though during the Service and Necessities of the Army, the Levellers (as they are call'd) were countenanc'd, and taken into the Bosome, who thereupon (forgetting all former affronts and disrespects)

did liberally hazard their lives, without suspicion of fraud and delusion; Yet the Necessities being over, and the enemies subdued, they renew fresh disgraces, and fall into a greater Odium, and contempt than ever.

First, divers Souldiers for Petitioning in the behalfe of Major Reynolds, that he might serve in the room of Major Huntington, were therefore rated, and threatned to have their skulles cutt, and some of them struck for so Petitioning; Major John Cobit, who with the extreamest hazard of his life, had regain'd Tinmouth Castle, where his Superiour Commander had through the dangers and Difficulties by storme, refused, and a Member of Parliament taken from his duty there & contrary to the self denying Ordinance, made Governor thereof. Major White, who in all the desperate services in the North, had performed the duty of Lieutenant Colonel, and Major both in the Generalls Regiment, yet because a constant man to his Promises and Principles, was refused the Lieftenant Colonelship, and a man of a more complying Spirit fetch'd from another Regiment to officiate therein.

And this was the usage not onely to these Gentlemen, but to all others whether Officers, or souldiers in North or South (for their Counsells were one in both) that did retaine a sense and Resolution to prosecute those good things intimated in their former Engagements.

And as before, upon their first great Successe against the City, when now again it justly was expected they should have made use of so notable and unexpected Blessings to the benefit & advantage of the Commonwealth, (as their late repentances, promises and Pretences gave men cause to hope) the event proved, they intended another use thereof, for (having now subdued all their enemies), they proceed with greater confidence to their former purposes, of making themselves absolute masters over the Commonwealth, wherein there yet appears one main obstacle, and that was an unanimous and universall Resolution in all Well-minded People (especially in that numerous People that concurred in the Petition [12] of the Eleventh of September) * to center in an Agreement of the People, which if not evaded, it would be impossible for them to goe through with their Worke: hereupon againe they cry out for Union, and imploy their Agents to get meetings, and Treaties with those that were most forward for an agreement & contract with them to center in an Agreement, and that the Matter of the Petition of the Eleventh of September (as was desired) should be the substance of that Agreement: There being no other way then by this yeelding in shew: to amaze this busie watchfull

* In the original text the parenthesis closes after "them" in the line below. *Editors' note.*

Party, and to keep them quiet, whilst they went on with other pieces of their worke.

For what else, hath all the time spent thereabouts produc'd, but a meer amusing, blinding and deluding all that cordially desired the same, it being (before they left it) so obscur'd and perplext in the sence thereof, so short of what was intended, and so corrupted in many perticulars, that those most loath'd it, that most desir'd it; in the mean time, whilst they had fixt good mens eyes and thoughts upon that Worke, they secretly and swiftly prosecute their other Designes as principall in their purposes, wherein questionlesse they had not had the assistance of good men, but that it was verily beleev'd in shew of driving on their owne Designe, they were really and cordially producing a perfect and complete Agreement of the People, as large both in grounds of Freedome, and redresse of grievances, as the Petition of the Eleventh of September, in the uttermost extent thereof did import.

Many of which Petitioners were not satisfy'd but that such an Agreement of the People might then have been obtained without any of those extraordinary sudden and violent Courses lately taken, neither in bringing the Army to the City, breaking the House in pieces, or removing the King by such an extra-judiciall Proceedings and Court of Justice, as had no place in the English Government, and did really foresee, there would be nothing but abuse in their pretence of an Agreement of the People: and that their own domination, in and by a Counsell of State, was the maine thing aimed at, and intended.

The Removing the King, the taking away the House of Lords, the overawing the House, and reducing it to that passe, that it is become but the Channell, through which is conveyed all the Decrees and Determinations of a private Counsell of some few Of-[13] ficers, the erecting of their Court of Justice, and their Counsell of State, The Voting of the People the Supream Power, and this House the Supream Authority: all these Particulars, (though many of them in order to good ends, have been desired by Welaffected People) are yet become, (as they have managed them) of sole conducement to their ends, and Intents, either by removing such as stood in the way between them and the Power, wealth, or command of the Common-Wealth; or by actually possessing and investing them in the same.

And though all this was foreseen by us, yet so perswasive were their insinuations in the ears of many good & well disposed People, both Souldiers and others, that they have been really carried away with be-

liefe of them, and reliance upon them, and have thought they could not better employ their time and abilities, then in affording them all furtherance, and assistance that might be.

So that their only Feares remaine upon our Discoveries, to prevent which they use means, that either we might not have opportunity to lay open their Treacheries, and Hypocrisies, or not be beleev'd if we did it.

In order to the first, They strictly stop the Presse; In order to the second; They blast us with all the Scandalls and false Reports their Witt or Malice could invent against us; and so monstrously wicked have they been in this particular, that they have pry'd into all our Actions, made use of all our acquaintances, and friendly intimacies, and in conclusion, have onely produced such scandalls, as have been customarily used by former Statesmen, and such when scan'd and examined, containe both contrariety in themselves, and have not the least ground of Truth, as concerning us.

By these Arts are they new fastened in their Power, till either by opposition from the enemy, which they may well expect God will raise against them, as the deserved Recompence of their vile Apostacy; or by the weight and Violence of their many Injustices which (in the wicked course they are in) must every day be multiplyed, till they be throwne downe from their usurped greatnesse.

They have already lost the Affections of all People, and are onely supported by their present strength; but when once those good men that hold them up, shall perceive how instrumentall [14] they are made, contrary to their intentions, in advancing a few lofty and imperious mens designes; and how easy it is for them to convert their abilities & power to better, and more common ends exprest in their former engagements, and with the complaints of the agrieved people, and their owne understandings can furnish them withall, they will then lament that they have so long been out of the way, and set themselves with the utmost courage & resolution to free their distressed Country from the fears and captivity it now groans under. They may talk of freedom, but what freedom indeed is there, so long as they stop the Presse, which is indeed and hath been so accounted in all free Nations, the most essentiall part thereof, employing an Apostate Judas for executioner therein who hath been twice burnt in the hand, a wretched fellow, that even the Bishops and Star-chamber would have sham'd to own. What freedom is there left, when honest & worthy Souldiers are sentenc'd and enforc'd to ryde the horse with their faces reverst, and their swords broken over their heads for but Petitioning and presenting a Letter in justification of their Liberty therein: if

this be not a new way of breaking the spirits of the English, which Strاتفord and Canterbury never dreamt of; we know no difference of things. A taste also of Liberty of Conscience they have given us in the Case of a worthy Member of your House; so as we may well judge what is like to follow, if their Reigne continue. And as for Peace, whilst the supream Officers of the Army are supream in your House, in the Council of State, and all in all in the generall Counsell of the Army, when the martiall power is indeed supream to the Civill Authority, what Peace can be expected; we professe we see no councells tending to it, but hereof mighty and vast sums of money to be taxed upon the People *per mensem*, as if warre were become the only trade, or as if the people were bound to maintain Armyes whether they have trade or no; yea, whether they have bread or no.

And as for the prosperity of the Nation; what one thing hath been done that tendeth to it? Nay, hath any thing been done since they were in power? but what increaseth the rancor, hatred, and malice, which our late unhappy differences have begotten amongst us, as if they had placed their happiness and security in the total division of the People, nothing being offered by them, that hath any face of reconcilment in it, nothing of cheerfulness or generall satisfaction, the mother of trade & plenty, that might take away the private remembrances and distinctions of partyes, nothing indeed, but what tendeth to implacable bitterness of spirit, the mother of confusion penry, and beggery. [15]

Nay what sence of the heavy burdens of the people have they manifested of late, hath it not been by their procurement that the Judges their creatures have a thousand a yeer allow'd to every one of them above the ordinary fees? which were ever esteemed a heavy oppression in themselves: is there any abridgement of the charge, or length of time, in triall of causes? are they touch'd with the generall burthen of Tithes, that canker of industry and tillage? or with that of Exize, which out of the bowells of labourers and poor people enriches the Usurers, and other Catterpillars of the Commonwealth: or what have they done to free Trade from the intolerable burden of Customs? except the setting fresh hungry flyes, upon the old sores of the People? What one matteriall thing did they offer unto you in their late Petition, which you gave them so many thanks for? terming their desires modest and descreet; when it's evident by the contents, they did it only to stop the mouths of their Souldiers, & to amuze them into a pleasing dream, whilst they go on with their designe of absolute domination & which should you in the least op-

pose, you would finde their modesty no more towards you, then towards your excluded members: In the mean time, where is their Charge against those Members? or why finde they not who amongst them have conferred offices upon each other, and upon their Creatures and relations? or who they were that gave so large Donations of thousands and hundreds per annum whilst the Publick Faith is broaken, and Families are ready to starve for emptying themselves to serve the publick necessities; or why discountenance not they all those who have betrayed the trust of Feoffees for Bishops, and Delinquents lands? and are become purchasers themselves of great Estates for very few yeers purchases, the due value rightly considered: or why blame they not the Lord chief Justice and Lord chief Baron, for keeping their places, which were conferred on them (and the like on others) by this House, when those Members sate there, they have excluded? or why finde they not out those perfidious persons, that have made no conscience of breaking the self-denying Ordinance, and persist therein? or is the reason visible why they have nothing to say against those sorts of men, namely, because these are their own, and their Creatures cases? Oh wretched England, that seeth, and yet suffereth such intollerable masters. What can be expected from such Officers, who frequently manifest a thirst after the blood of such People, and Souldiers, as are most active for the common Freedom, peace & prosperity of the Common wealth, and against whom they have nothing else to object: or what can be expected from such a Counsel in the Army, as shal agree that the supream authority should be moved to make a law, That that Counsel of Officers may [16] have Power to have and put to death all such persons, though not of the Army, as they should judge, were disturbers of the Army.

Certainly these things cannot but manifest unto you their very hearts, their inward purposes and Intentions, representing visibly before you and all the World, the most dangerous condition, that ever yet this Nation hath been in: And if there be any Conscience towards God or man to be found amongst you, the whole sinews and progresse of this our sad Representation, is so fully knowne, and fresh in memory, that it is impossible, but it must worke upon all amongst you that are not Co-partners with them in their Designe, or are not engaged (as the Lawyers are) in some corrupt Interest.

But though this long betrayed and miserable Nation should prove so unhappy as that there should not be one found amongst you to owne these known Trueths, which yet ring in every mans eares, throughout the

Land; but though feare, or other vile respects, should shut your eyes against the light: it shall be so farre from inducing us, to repent of what we have herein (or in our late Apprehensions) expressed, and set before you, that we shall rejoyce above measure, that we have witnessed to the Trueth; and against all those Delusions and perfidious Stratagems, lay'd by those men to betray and enslave the Common wealth, to their own Pride, Ambition, Lusts, Covetousnesse, and Domination, if not Duke-ship, or Kingship; their Creatures discoursing of late, That the Power must be reduced to one: what their meaning is, time (if they be not hindered) will manifest: but the Premises duly weighed, doth evidence, what ere it be, it will be as bad, as bad possibly can be.

And as we shall not altogether doubt of the appearance of some in this Honorable House, that will conscionably performe that Supream Trust which is really and essentially resident in your integrity; what ever may be suggested to the contrary: (it being not others treachery, nor anyes violence, that can divest you of that Authority:) but if you all should fayl therein, as God forbid, yet we shall not doubt, but that what we have here presented, and published, will open the eyes, and raise the hearts of so conscionable a number of the Souldiary and People in all places, and make them so sensible of the bondage and danger threatned, as that these men, this Faction of Officers, shall never be able to goe through with their wicked intentions. [17*]

It being an infinite shame that they should be suffered to proceed so farre therein, as they have done, there having beene no party hitherto so inexcusable for it is possible, if not probable that the King and his party might at first be induced to offend through error of breeding, long custome, and sway of times, (although that excuse neither him nor them) That Hollis, and that party, might at first be drawne into their violence, against people faithfull to the Common wealth through an erroneous zeale against supposed Sectaries, and for uniformity in Presbytery (though that also but little extenuates their offence) but neither the one nor the other can be imagined to have transgressed against so evident light, nor against so many and great obligations of love, and great respects from the people as this party hath done; So that the intentions, and endeavours of these men, to enslave the Common-wealth, or their continuing of burthens, without any remorse at the dearnessse of food, and the utter losse of trade, exceeds in the nature and measure of it, all the wickednesse of both the other parties put together.

* Pages 17 and 18 are unnumbered in the original. *Editors' note.*

And therefore upon due consideration of the premises and in utter detestation of their most perfidious and treacherous dealing with the Army, Parliament and Common-wealth; we do in behalf of our selves and all wel-minded people, here before this Honourable House, as in the presence of Almighty God, protest against their breaking the faith of the Army with all parties, their dissolving the Council of the Agitators, and usurping a power of giving forth the sence of the Army to the Parliament and people, also against the shooting of the Souldier to death at Ware, and their cruelties exercised on other persons, to the debasing of their spirits, and thereby new moulding of the Army to their owne designs, then playing fast and loose with the King and his party, till they brought a new and dangerous Warre upon the Nation.

We also protest against their dissembled repentances, as in no measure satisfactory for so abominable offences: we also protest against all their late extraordinary Proceedings, in bringing the Army upon the City, (to the ruine of trade) there breaking the House in pieces without charging the Members particularly: And then judging and taking away of mens lives in an extraordinary way, as done for no other end, but to make way for their owne absolute domination: we also protest against the Election and Establishment of those High-Courts of [18] Justice, as unjust in themselves, and of dangerous Presidence in time to come; as likewise against the Councell of State, and putting some of themselves therein contrary to their owne Agreement: we also protest against all other the like meetings of those officers, that on Thursday the 2. of February last, voted for so bloody a Law, as to hang whom they should judge, disturbed the Army, (as having no power either by such Councils, either to give the sence of the Army, or to judge any Person not of the Army, or to do any thing in reference to the Common-wealth, more then what any, so many [as] fifty Souldiers or persons not of the Army have power and may lawfully do: though all the Generall officers were continually present:) these we protest against, as things unjust abominable and dangerous and declare that our present not seeking for Justice or reliefe therein, shall be no bar against us for the future, when we shall see cause to seek for Justice and reliefe therein.

And for the truth of our Judgements herein: we should with gladnesse submit unto the determinations of this Honourable House, were not their High hand as yet held over you. And therefore we are enforced to appeale to a new Representative, equally chosen in such like manner, as is exprest in our serious apprehensions lately presented unto you, and do likewise

desire that you would encourage the Army in chusing a Representative, consisting of select Persons, chosen by every Regiment of the Army, as at the first at New-market: and shall humbly pray that you will not any more receive the result of a few officers, as the sence of the Army, the officers of an Army having no more power to make Laws for an Army, then the officers of the Common wealth to make Laws for the People; both of them being constituted only for the Discipline, and Government thereof. We hope you will proceed to further an Agreement of the People; according to our late desires in our serious Apprehensions, and also speedily take in hand and effect those other things therein desired, tending very much to the abrogation of the bondage intended.

Thus have we once more unburdened our hearts before you, and faithfully discharged our duties to our Country, giving timely warning of the most dangerous thraldom and misery that ever threatned this much wasted Nation, and much we doubt not, wil, by wisdom mixt with some honest resolutions, be timely prevented: which we shall exceedingly rejoyce to see, that so after so many yeers of sorrow, the people may at length be comforted, and the Land enjoy her rest; and that all the world may be enforced to confess, That There is a reward for the righteous, and that there is a God that judgeth the earth.

FINIS.

THE PICTURE OF THE COUNCEL OF STATE *and* THE FOUNTAIN OF SLAUNDER DISCOVERED (*excerpt*)

The Picture of the Council of State is reprinted from one of two copies of the original edition in the Huntington Library. The pamphlet consists of statements signed and dated, respectively, by John Lilburne, April 3 and 4, 1649; Richard Overton, April 4; and Thomas Prince, April 1. It was published not later than April 11, when Thomason entered a copy in his collection. In 1649 appeared a second edition, of which the Huntington Library and the Union Theological Seminary have each a copy. The title page of the Huntington Library copy, after "Tower of London," reads "For bearing testimony to the Liberties of England against the present Tyrants at White-hall, and their Associates," and, after "March 28 last," reads "The second Edition, with many large Additions by the Authours themselves." The second edition was issued by Lilburne shortly before his trial on October 24, 25, and 26, 1649. This is indicated by the nature of the changes appearing in it and by a reference in *The Triall of Lieut. Collonell John Lilburne* (p. 7), a publication to which he gave his approval in a note signed and dated November 28, 1649. Lilburne made copious marginal additions to his statement as it had first appeared and omitted the statements of Overton and Prince. He substituted what he describes as "my Outcryes against the Bishops, when they had like to have murdered me in the Fleet, being printed at Amsterdam 1639, intituled *A Cry for Justice: or; An Epistle written by John Lilburn, To all the grave and worthy Citizens of the famous City of London,*" signed and dated from the Fleet, May, 1639, and reprinted, below, from the Huntington Library copy. No earlier copy of *A Cry for Justice*, whether printed at Amsterdam or elsewhere, has come to light. Lilburne also prints "The Copy of a Letter written to the Generall, from Lieut. Col. Jo. Lilburn and M. Rich. Overton," written by Overton and himself on behalf of Robert Lockyer and other mutinous troopers, signed and dated April 27, 1649.

The excerpt from William Walwyn's *The Fountain of Slaunder Discovered*, appended, below, to *The Picture of the Council of State*, is reprinted from a copy in the Huntington Library. There are copies in the British Museum and the Union Theological Seminary. *The Picture* included no account of Walwyn's arrest and imprisonment for his supposed part in *The second Part of Englands New-Chaines*. The reason probably was that he wished to claim no share in the latter publication and that the group thought best to keep his name dissociated from it. He did, however, prepare such an account shortly after being sent to the Tower but forbore to print it until several weeks later. He published it as *The Fountain of Slaunder*, about May 30, 1649, when Thomason entered a copy in his collection. Since he is chiefly occupied in refuting charges of immorality and irreligion, to which he replied more fully and more illuminatingly in *Walwyns Just Defence* (reprinted below), only the narrative of his arrest and imprisonment is given here.

THE/ PICTURE/ OF THE/ Council of State,/ Held forth to
the/ Free people of England/ BY/ Lieut. Col. *John Lilburn*, M^r
Thomas Prince, and M^r *Richard Overton*,/ now Prisoners in the
Tower of/ LONDON,/ OR,/ A full Narrative of the late Extra-/ judi-
cial and Military Proceedings/ against them./ Together with the
Substance of their/ several Examinations, Answers and/ Departments
before them at *Darby*/ house, upon the 28. of *March* last./ Printed
in the Year, 1649./

*The Picture of the Council of State, Held forth to the Free People of
England, By Lieutenant Coll. John Lilburn, M. Thomas Prince,
and M. Richard Overton. The Narrative of the proceedings against
Lieut. Coll. John Lilburn, thus followeth.*

ON WEDNESDAY the 28. of March 1649. about foure or five a
clock in the morning, my Lodging at Winchester-house was beset
with about a hundred or two hundred armed men, Horse and Foot, one
of which knocking at my chamber doore, I rise and opened him the doore,
and asked him who he would speak with, and what he would have? He
replied, he was come to take me Prisoner, where upon I demanded of him
to see his Warrant, he told me he had one, but had it not here, but as
soon as I came to Pauls I should see it; I told him if he walked by the

rules of Justice, he ought to have brought his Warrant with him, and to have shewed it me, and given me leave to have coppied it out, if I had desired it; but divers of the foot Soldiers rushing into my roome at his heeles, I desired him to demeane himself like a Gentleman, and not with any incivilities affright my children & family, for if it were nothing but my person he would have, I would but make me ready and go along with him without any more a doe, whither he would carry me, for his power of armed men was beyond my present resisting, or power to dispute; so I desired him and another Gentleman with him to sit down, which they did, and when I was almost ready to go, I demanded of him whether it would not fully satisfie his end, in my going along with him and one or two more of his company in a boate, and I would ingage unto him as I was an Englishman, there [2] should be no disturbance to him by me, or any in my behalf, but I would quietly and peaceably go with him, wherever he would have me; but he told me no, I must march through the streets with the same Guard that came for me; I told him I could not now dispute, but it would be no great conquest to lead a single captive through the streets in the head of so many armed men, who neither had made resistance, nor was in any capacity to do it; and coming down staires into the great yard, I was commanded to stand till the men were marshalled in Rank and File, and two other Prisoners were brought unto me, viz. my Land-lord, Mr. Devennish's two sons, but for what they knew not, nor could imagine; So away through the streets the armed Victors carry us, like three conquered Slaves, making us often halt by the way, that so their men might draw up in good order, to incounter with an Army of Butter-flies, in case they should meet them in the way to rescue us their Captives from them; so coming to Pauls Church, I there meet with my Comrade Mr. Prince, and after imbraces each of other, and a little discourse, we see our acquaintance M. William Walwin marching at the head of another Partie as a captive, and having understood that our being seised as Prisoners was about a new addresse by way of Petition to the Parliament, intituled *the second part of Englands new chains discovered*; We could not but wonder at the apprehending of M. Walwin about that, he having for some moneths by past (that ever I could see, or hear of) never bin at any of our meetings, where any such things were managed; But Adjutant General Stubber that was the Commander of the Party coming then to view, I repaired to him, and desired to see his Warrant by vertue of which his men forced me out of my bed and habitation, from my wife and children, and his Warrant he produced, which I

read, he denying me a copy of it, though both there and at White-Hall I earnestly demanded it as my right, the substance of which so neere as I can remember, is from the Committee, commonly stiled the Council of State, to Authorise Sir Hardresse Waller, and Collonel Edward Whaley, or whom they shall appoint, to repaire to any place whatsoever, where they shal heare Lieut. Coll. John Lilburn, and M. Prince, M. Walwin, and M. Overton are, them to apprehend and bring before the Council of State, for suspition of high Treason, for compiling &c. a seditious and scandalous Pamphlet &c. And for so doing, that shal be their Warrant.

Signed JOHN BRADSHAW President. [3]

And in the same paper is contained Sir Hardress Wallers, and Col. Whaley's Commission or Deputation to Adjustant General Stubber, to apprehend M. Walwin, and my self; who with his Officers, dealt abundantly more fairly with us, then I understand Lieut. Col. Axestell dealt with M. Prince and M. Overton; From which Lieut. Col. if there had bin any harmony in his spirit to his profession, abundance more in point of civility, might have bin expected, than from the other, though he fell much short.

But when we were in Pauls Church-yard, I was very earnest with the Adjutant General, and his Ensigne that apprehended me (as I understood by the Adjutant he was) that we might go to some place to drink our mornings draughts, and accordingly we went to the next dore to the School-house, where we had a large discourse with the Officers, especially about M. Divinish sons; we understanding they had no warrant at all to meddle with them in the least, nor nothing to lay to their charge, but a private information of one Bull their fathers tenant, between which parties there is a private difference; we told them, we could not but stand amazed, that any Officer of an Army durst in such a case apprehend the persons of any Free-man of England, and of his own head and authority, drag him or them out of his house and habitation, like a Traytor, a Thief, or a Rogue; and they being ashamed of what they had done to them, at our importunity, let both the yong men go free. So away by water we three went to White-hall, with the Adjutant General, where we met with our friend M. Overton. And after we had staid at White-hall till about 4. or 5. of the clock in the afternoon, we were by the foresaid Adjutant carried to Darby house, where after about an hours stay, there were called in Lieu. Col. Goldegne, a Coalyard keeper in Southwark, and as some of

good quality of his neighbours do report him to have bin no small Personal Treaty man; and also Capt. Williams, and M. Saul Shoe-maker, both of Southwark, who are said to be the Divels 3. deputies, or informers against us; and after they were turned out, I was called in next, and the dore being opened, I marched into the Room with my hat on, and looking about me, I saw divers Members of the House of Commons present, and so I put it off; and by Sergeant Dendy I was directed to go neer M. Bradshaw, that sate as if he had bin Chairman to the Gentlemen that were there present; between whom, and my self, past to this following effect.

Lieut. Col. Lilburn (said he) here are some Votes of Parliament [4] that I am commanded by this Council to acquaint you with; which were accordingly read, and which did contain the late published and printed Proclamation or Declaration, against *the second Part of Englands New Chains discovered*, with divers instructions, and an unlimited power given unto the Council of State, to find out the Authors and Promoters thereof. After the reading of which, M. Bradshaw said unto me, Sir, You have heard what hath bin read unto you, and this Council having information that you have a principal hand in compiling and promoting this Book, (shewing me the Book it self,) therefore they have sent for you, and are willing to hear you speak for your self.

Well then M. Bradshaw, said I, If it please you and these Gentlemen to afford me the same liberty and priviledge that the Cavaliers did at Oxford, when I was arraigned before them for my life, for levying War in the quarrel of the Common-wealth, against the late King and his Party (which was liberty of speech, to speak my mind freely without interruption) I shall speak, and go on; but without the Grant of liberty of speech, I shall not say a word more to you.

To which he replied, That is already granted you, and therefore you may go on to speak what you can or will say for your self, if you please; or if you will not, you may hold your peace, and with draw.

Well then (said I) M. Bradshaw, with your favour, thus. I am an Englishman born, bred, and brought up, and England is a Nation Governed, Bounded, and Limited by Laws and Liberties: and for the Liberties of England, I have both fought and suffered much: but truly Sir, I judge it now infinitely below me, and the glory and excellency of my late actions, now to plead merit or desert unto you, as though I were forced to fly to the merit of my former actions, to lay in a counter-scale, to weigh down your indignation against me, for my pretended late offences: No, Sir, I scorn it, I abhor it: And therefore Sir, I now stand before you,

upon the bare, naked, and single account of an Englishman, as though I had never said, done, or acted any thing, that tended to the preservation of the Liberties thereof; but yet, have never done any act that did put me out of a Legal capacity to claim the utmost punctilio, benefit, and priviledge that the Laws and Liberties of England will afford to any of you here present, or any other man in the whole Nation: And the Laws and Liberties of England are my inheritance and birth-right. And in your late Declaration, published about four or five daies ago, wherein you [5] lay down the grounds and reasons (as I remember) of your doing Justice upon the late King, and why you have abolished Kingly Government, and the House of Lords, you declare in effect the same; and promise to maintain the Laws of England, in reference to the Peoples Liberties and Freedoms: And amongst other things therein contained, you highly commend and extol the Petition of Right, made in the third yeer of the late King, as one of the most excellent and gloriest Laws in reference to the Peoples Liberties that ever was made in this Nation; and you there very much blame, and cry out upon the King, for robing and denying the people of England the benefit of that Law; and sure I am (for I have read and studied it) there is one clause in it that saith expresly, That no Free-man of England ought to be adjudged for life, limb, liberty, or estate, but by the Laws already in being established and declared: And truly Sir, if this be good and sound Legal Doctrine (as undoubtedly it is, or else your own Declarations are false, and lyes) I wonder what you Gentlemen are; For the declared and known Laws of England knows you not, neither by names, nor qualifications, as persons endowed with any power either to imprison or try me, or the meanest Free-man of England; And truly, were it not that I know the faces of divers of you, and honour the persons of some of you, as Members of the House of Commons that have stood pretty firm in shaking times to the Interest of the Nation; I should wonder what you are, or before whom I am, and should not in the least honor or reverence you so much as with Civil Respect, especially considering the manner of my being brought before you, with armed men, and the manner of your close sitting, contrary to all Courts of Justice. M. Bradshaw, it may be the House of Commons hath past some Votes or Orders, to authorise you to sit here for such and such ends as in their Orders may be declared: But that they have made any such Votes or Orders, is legally unknown to me, I never saw them. Its true, by common Fame you are bruted abroad and stiled a Council of State, but its possible common Fame in this particular may as well tell me a ly as a truth; But admit

common Fame do in this tell me a truth, and no ly, but that the House of Commons in good earnest have made you a Council of State, yet I know not what that is, because the Law of England tells me nothing of such a thing; and surely if a Council of State were a Court of Justice, the Law would speak something of it: But I have read both old and new Laws, yea all of late that it [6] was possible to buy or hear of, and they tell me not one word of you, and therefore I scarce know what to make of you, or what to think of you, but as Gentlemen that I know, I give you civil respect, and out of no other consideration: But if you judge your selves to be a Council of State, and by vertue thereof think you have any power over me, I pray you shew me your Commission, that I may know the better how to behave my self before you. M. Bradshaw, I will not now question or dispute the Votes or Orders of the present single House of Commons, in reference to their power, as binding Laws to the people; yet admit them to be valid, legal, and good; their due circumstances accompanying them: yet Sir, by the Law of England let me tell you, what the House Votes, Orders, and Enacts within their walls, is nothing to me, I am not at all bound by them, nor in Law can take any cognisance of them as Laws, although 20. Members come out of the House, and tell me such things are done, till they be published and declared by sound of Trumpet, Proclamation, or the like, by a publike Officer or Magistrate, in the publike and open places of the Nation; But truly Sir, I never saw any Law in Print or writing, that declares your power so proclaim'd or published; and therefore Sir, I know not what more to make of you, then a company of private men, being neither able to own you as a Court of Justice, because the Law speaks nothing of you; nor as a Council of State, till I see, and read, or hear your Commission, which I desire (if you please) to be acquainted with.

But Sir, give me leave further to aver unto you, and upon this Principle or Averment I will venture my life and being, and all I have in the world; That if the House had by a Proclaimed and Declared Law, Vote, or Order, made this Council (as you call your selves) a Court of Justice, yet that proclaimed or declared Law, Vote, or Order, had bin unjust, and null, and void in it self; And my reason is, because the House it self was never (neither now, nor in any age before) betrusted with a Law executing power, but only with a Law making power.

And truly Sir, I should have lookt upon the people of this Nation as very fooles, if ever they had betrusted the Parliament with a law executing power, and my reason is, because, if they had so done, they had

then chosen and impowred a Parliament to have destroyed them, but not to have preserved them, (which is against the very nature and end of the very being of Parliaments, they being (by your own [7] declared doctrin) chosen to provide for the peoples weale, but not for their wo) And Sir, the reason of that reason is, because its possible if a Parliament should execute the Law they might doe palpable injustice, and male administer it, and so the people would be robd of their intended extraordinary benefit of appeales, for in such cases they must appeale to the Parliament, either against it self, or part of it self, and can it ever be imagined they will ever condemne themselves, or punish themselves; nay, will they not rather judge themselves bound in honour and safety to themselves, to vote that man a Traytor and destroy him that shall so much as question their actions, although formerly they have dealt never so unjustly with him; For this Sir I am sure is very commonly practised now a dayes, and therefore the honesty of former Parliaments in the discharge of their trust and duty in this particular was such, that they have declared, the power is not in them to judge or punish me, or the meanest free-man in England, being no Member of their House, although I should beat or wound one of their Members nigh unto their dore, going to the House to discharge his duty, but I am to be sent in all such cases to the Judge of the upper * Bench, unto whom by Law they have given declared rules, and direction in that particular how to behave himself, which are as evident for me to know as himself, now Sir, if reason and justice doe not judge it convenient that the Parliament shal not † be Judges in such particular cases, that is of so neere concernment to themselves, but yet hath others that are not of their House that are as well concerned as themselves, much lesse will reason or justice admit them to be judges in particular cases, that are farther remote from their particular selves, and doth meerly concern the common wealth, and sure I am Sir, this is the declared Statute Law of England, and doth stand in ful force at this houre, there being I am sure of it no law to repeale it, no not since the House of Commons set up their new Common-wealth. Now Sir from all this I argue thus, that which is not inherent in the whole, cannot by the whole be derived, or assigned to a part.

* See 5. H. 4. 6. 11. H. 6. Ch. 11. see also my plea against the Lords jurisdiction, before the Judges of the Kings Bench called the Laws Funeral. Pag. 8, 9. and my grand Plea against the Lords jurisdiction, made before M. Maynard of the house of Commons; and the foure imprisoned Aldermen of Londons plea against the Lords jurisdiction, published by M. Lionel Hurbin 1648.

† This sentence becomes more intelligible if the double negative is ignored. *Editors' note.*

But it is not inherent, neither in the power nor authority of the whole [8] House of Commons, primarily and originally to execute the Law, and therefore they cannot derive it to a part of themselves.

But yet Sir with your favour, for all this I would not be mistaken as though I maintained the Parliament had no power to make a Court of justice, for I do grant they may erect a Court of justice to administer the Law, provided that the Judges consist of persons that are not Members of their House, and provided that the power they give them be universal, that is to say, to administer the law to all the people of England indefinitely, and not to two or three particular persons solely, the last of which for them to do is unjust, and altogether out of their power: And therefore Sir, to conclude this point, It being not in the power of the whole Parliament to execute the Law, they can give no power to you their Members to meddle with me in the case before you; For an ordinary Court of Justice (the proper Administrator of the Law) is the onely and sole Judge in this particular; and not you Gentlemen, no nor your whole House it self.

For with your favour M. Bradshaw, the fact that you suppose I have committed (for till it be judicially proved (and that must be before a legal Judge that hath cognisance of the fact) or confessed by my self before the Judge; it is but a bare supposition) is either a crime, or no crime; A crime it cannot be, unless it be a Transgression of a Law in being, before it was committed, acted, or done; For where there is no Law,* there is no Transgression. And if it be a Transgression of a Law, that Law provides a punishment for it, and by the Rules and method of that Law am I to be tryed, and by no other whatsoever, made *ex post facto*.

And therefore Sir, If this be true, as undoubtedly it is; then I am sure you Gentlemen have no power in Law to convene me before you, for the pretended crime laid unto my charge; much less to fetch me by force out of my habitation by the power of armed men: For Sir, let me tell you, The Law of England never made Colonels, Lieut. Colonels, Captains, or Souldiers, either Bayliffs, Constables,† or Justi-[9] ces of the

* Rom. 4. 15. See the 4. part of the L. Cooks Instituts, Ch. 1. high Court of Parl. fol. 14. 35. 37. See also my printed Epistle to the Speaker, of the 4. of April, 1648. called The Prisoners plea for a Habeas Corpus, p. 5, 6. and Englands Birth-right, p. 1, 2, 3, 4. and the second edition of my Epistle to Judge Reeves, p. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. and M. John Wildmans Truths Tryumph, p. 11, 12, 13, 14. and Sir John Maynards Case truly stated, called The Laws Subversion, p. 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 38.

† See the Petition of Right, in the 3. C. R. and my Book, called the Peoples Prerogative, p. 67, 68, 69, 70.

Peace: And I cannot but wonder that you should attach me in such a manner as you have done, considering that I have all along adhered to the Interest of the Nation against the common enemy (as you call them) and never disputed, nor contemned any Order of Summons from Parliament, or the most irregularest of their Committees, but alwaies came to them when they sent for me, although their warrant of summons was never so illegal in the form of it; and I have of late in a manner *de die in diem*, waited at the House dore, and was there that day the Votes you have read, past, till almost twelve a clock; and I am sure there are some here present (whose conscience I believe tells them, they are very much concerned in the Book now before you) that saw me at the dore, and stared wishfully upon me as they went into the House; and I cannot but wonder there could be no Civil Officer found to summon me to appear; but that now, when there is no visible hostile enemy in the Nation, and all the Courts of Justice open, that you (that have no power at all over me) must send for me by an hundred or two hundred armed Horse and Foot, as though I were some monstrous man, that with the breath of my mouth were able to destroy all the Civil Officers that should come to apprehend me; Surely I had not endeavoured to fortifie my house against you, neither had I betaken my self to a Castle, or a defenced Garrison in hostility against you, that you need to send an hundred or two hundred armed men to force me out of my house, from my wife and children, by four or five a clock in the morning, to the distracting and frightening of my wife and children: Surely, I cannot but look upon this irregular, unjust, and illegal hostile action of yours, as one of the fruits and issues of your new created Tyranny, to amuse and debase my spirit, and the spirits of the People of this Free Nation, to fit me and them for bondage and slavery.* And Sir, give me leave further to tell you, that for divers hundreds of men that have often bin in the field with their swords in their hands, to encounter with hostile enemies, and in their engagements have acquitted themselves like men of valour, and come out of the field conquerors; for these very men to put themselves in Martial Array against four Mise or Butterflies, and take them captives, and as captives lead them through the streets, me-thinks is no great victory and conquest for them, but rather a diminution to their former Martial Atchievements and Trophies: And therefore to conclude this, I do here before you all, protest against your Power and Jurisdiction over me, in

* In 2d ed. is inserted, "This being the very practise of the Earl of Strafford before you, as M. Pym in his declaration against him, doth notably observe." *Editors' note.*

the case in con-[10] troversie; And do also protest against your Warrant you issued out to apprehend me; And against all your martial and hostile acts committed towards me, as illegal, unjust, and tyrannical, and no way in Law to be justified: Further telling you, that I saw most of the Lord of Straffords arraignment, and (if my memory fail me not) as little things as you have already done to me, were by your selves laid to his charge, as acts of Treason; For which I saw him lose his head upon Tower-hill as a Traytor: And I doubt not for all this that is done unto me, but I shall live to see the Laws and Liberties of England firmly settled, in despite of the present great opposers thereof, and to their shame and confusion: and so M. Bradshaw I have done with what I have now to say.

Upon which M. Bradshaw replied, Lieut. Col. Lilburn, you need not to have bin so earnest, and have spent so much time in making an Apologetical defence; for this Council doth not go about to try you, or challenge any jurisdiction to try you, neither do we so much as ask you a question in order to your tryal, and therefore you may correct your mistake in that particular.

Unto which I said, Sir, by your favour, if you challenge no Jurisdiction over me, no not so much as in order to a tryal, what do I here before you? or what do you in speaking to me? But Sir, seing I am now here, give me leave to say one word more, and that is this; I am not onely in time of peace (the Courts of Justice being all open) fetcht & forc't out of my house by multitudes of armed men, in an hostile manner, & carried as a captive up and down the streets, contrary to all Law and Justice, but I am by force of Arms still kept in their custody, and it may be, may be intended to be sent to them again, who are no Guardians of the Laws of England, no nor so much as the meanest Administrators or Executors of it, but ought to be subject to it themselves, and to the Administrators of it: And truly Sir, I had rather dy, than basely betray my liberties into their Martial fingers, (who after fighting for our Freedoms, would now destroy them, and tread them under their feet) that have nothing at all to do with me, nor any pretended or real civil offender in England: I know not what you intend to do with me, neither do I much care; having learned long since to dy, and rather for my Liberties, than in my bed: Its true, I am at present in no capacity effectually to dispute your power, because I am under Guards of armed muskettiers, but I entreat you, If you will continue me a prisoner, that you will free me [11] from the military Sword, and send me to some Civil Goal; and I will at present in peace and quietness obey your command, and go. And so I concluded,

and was commanded to with-draw; which I did, and then M. William Wallin was called in, and while he was within, I gave unto my comrades M. Prince, and M. Overton, and the rest of the people, a summary account of what had past between me and them: and within a little time after, M. Walwin came out again, and M. Overton was called in next: and at M. Walwins coming out, he acquainted us what they said to him, which was in a manner the same they said to me; and all that he said to them was but this, That he did not know why he was suspected. To which M. Bradshaw replied, Is that all you have to say? And M. Walwin answered, yes. So he was commanded to withdraw.

And after M. Overton was come out, M. Prince was called in, and after he had withdrawn, they spent some time of debate among themselves, and then I was called in again; So I marched in sutable to my first posture, and went close to M. Bradshaw, who said unto me to this effect: Lieut. Colonel Lilburn, This Council hath considered what you have said, and what they have bin informed of concerning you, and also of that duty that lies upon them by the command of the House, which enjoyns them to improve their utmost ability to find out the Author of this Book; and therefore to effect that end, they judge themselves bound to demand of you this question: Whether you made not this Book, or were privie to the making of it or no?

And after some pause, and wondering at the strangeness of the question, I answered and said, M. Bradshaw, I cannot but stand amazed that you should ask me such a question as this, at this time of the day, considering what you said unto me at my first being before you; and considering it is now about eight yeers ago since this very Parliament annihilated the Court of Star-Chamber, Council bord, and High Commission, and that for such proceedings as these.* And truly Sir, I have bin a contestor and sufferer for the Liberties of England these twelve yeers together, and I should now look upon my self as the basest fellow in the world, if now in one moment I should undo all that I have bin doing all this while, which I must of necessity do, if I should answer you to questions against my self; For in the first place, by answering this question against my self, I should [12] betray the Liberties of England, in acknowledging you to have a Legal Jurisdiction over me, to try and ad-judge me; which I have already proved to your faces you have not in the least: and if you have forgot what you said to me thereupon, yet I have

* See the Acts that abolished them, made in the 16. C. R. printed in my Book called The Peoples Prerogative, p. [page number lacking].

not forgot what I said to you. And secondly Sir, if I should answer to questions against my self, and to betray my self, I should do that which not onely Law, but Nature abhors: And therefore I cannot but wonder that you your selves are not ashamed to demand so illegal and unworthy a thing * of me as this is. And therefore in short, were it that I owned your power (which I do not in the least) I would be hanged, before I would do so base, and un-Englishman-like an Action, to betray my Liberty; which I must of necessity do, in answering questions to accuse my self: But Sir, This I will say to you, my late Actions have not bin done in a hole, or a corner, but on the house top, in the face of the Sun, before hundreds and some thousands of people; and therefore why ask you me any questions? Go to those that have heard me, and seen me, and it is possible you may find some hundreds of witnesses to tell you what I have said and done; for I hate holes and corners: My late Actions need no covers nor hidings, they have bin more honest than so, and I am not sorry for what I have done, for I did look well about me before I did what I did, and I am ready to lay down my life to justifie what I have done; and so much in answer to your question.

But now Sir, with your favour one word more, to mind you again of what I said before, in reference to my Martial imprisonment; and truly Sir, I must tell you, Circumstantial of my Liberty, at this time I shall not much dispute, but for the Essentials of them I shall dy: I am now in the Souldiers custody, where to continue in silence and patience, is absolutely to betray my Liberty; for they have no-[13] thing to do with me, nor the meanest Free-man of England in this case; and besides Sir, they have no rules to walk by, but their wills and their swords, which are two dangerous things; it may be I may be of an hasty cholerick temper, and not able nor willing to bear their affronts; and peradventure they may be as willing to put them upon me, as I am unwilling to bear them; and for you in this case to put fire and tinder together, to burn up one an other, will not be much commendable, nor tend much to the accomplishment

* And well might I, for M. John Cook, and M. Bradshaw himself were my Counsel at the Lords Bar, against the Star-Chamber, the 13. of Feb. 1645. where M. Bradshaw did most excellently open the Star-chamber injustice towards me; and at the reading of their first sentence, he observed to the Lords, that that sentence was *felo de se*, guilty of its own death; the ground wherof, being because M. Lilburn refused to take an oath to answer to all such questions as should be demanded of him, it being contrary to the Laws of God, Nature, and the Kingdom, for any man to be his own Accuser: Whose words you may more at large read in the Printed relation thereof, drawn up by M. John Cook, and my self, p. 3.

of your ends; But if for all this, you shall send me back to the Military sword again, either to White-hall, or any other such like garison'd place in England, I do solemnly protest before the Eternal God of Heaven and Earth, I will fire it, and burn it down to the ground, if possibly I can, although I be burnt to ashes with the flames thereof; for Sir, I say again, the souldiers have nothing to do to be my Goalers; and besides, it is a maxime among the souldiers, That they must obey (without dispute) all the Commands of their Officers, be they right or wrong; and it is also the maxime amongst the Officers, That if they do not do it, they must hang for it: therefore if the Officers command them to cut my throat, they must either do it, or hang for it. And truly Sir, (looking wishfully upon Cromwell, that sate just against me) I must be plain with you, I have not found so much Honour, Honesty, Justice, or Conscience, in any of the principal Officers of the Army, as to trust my life under their protection, or to think it can be * safe under their immediate fingers; and therefore not knowing, nor very much caring what you will do with me, I earnestly intreat you, if you will again imprison me; send me to a Civil Goal that the Law knows, as Newgate, the Fleet, or the Gate-house, [14] and although you send me to a Dungeon, thither I will go in Peace and quietness, without any further dispute of your authority; For when I come there, I know those Goalers have their bounds and limits set them by the Law, and I know how to carry my self towards them, and what to expect from them; and if they do abuse me, I know how in law to help my self. And so Sir, I have said what at present I have to say. Whereupon M. Bradshaw commanded the Sergeant to put me out at an other dore, that so I should no more go amongst the people; and immediatly M. Walwin was put out to me, and asking him what they said to him, I found it to be the same in effect they said to me, demanding the same fore-going question of him, that they did of me: to which question, (after some kind of pause) he answered to this effect, That he could not but very much wonder to be asked such a question, however that it was very much against his Judgement and Conscience to

* And truly I am more than afraid honest Capt. Bray hath too much experience of this at Windsor Castle, who though he be but barely committed thither into safe custody, yet (as I from very good hands am informed) the Tyrannical Governour Whichcock, Cromwels creature, doth keep him close prisoner, denying him the benefit of the Castle Ayre, keeping not onely pen and inke from him, but also his friends and necessaries; with which cruelty &c. he hath already almost murdered and destroyed the honest man; in whose place were I, and so illegally and unjustly used, a flame (if possibly I could) should be the portion of my chamber, although I perished in it.

answer to questions of that nature, which concerned himself; that if he should answer to it, he should not onely betray his own Liberty, but the Liberties of all Englishmen, which he could not do with a good Conscience; And he could not but exceedingly grieve at the dealing he had found that day; That being one who had alwaies bin so faithful to the Parliament, and so well known to most of the Gentlemen there present, that nevertheless he should be sent for with a party of Horse and Foot, to the affrighting of his Family, and ruine of his credit; And that he could not be satisfied, but that it was very hard measure, to be used thus upon suspicion onely; And that if they did hold him under restraint from following his business and occasions, it might be his undoing, which he conceived they ought seriously to consider of.

Then M. Bradshaw said, he was to answer the question, and that they did not ask it as in way of Tryal, so as to proceed in Judgement thereupon, but to report it to the House. To which M. Walwin said, That he had answered it so as he could with a good Conscience, and could make no other Answer, and so with-drew.

And after he came out to me, M. Overton was next called in againe, and then M. Prince, so after we were all come out, and all foure in a roome close by them, all alone, I laid my eare to their dore, and heard Lieutenant General Cromwel (I am sure of it) very loud, thumping his fist upon the Councel Table, til it rang againe, [15] and heard him speak in these very words, or to this effect; I tel you Sir, you have no other way to deale with these men, but to break them in pieces; and thumping upon the Councel Table againe, he said Sir, let me tel you that which is true, if you do not breake them, they will break you; yea, and bring all the guilt of the blood and treasure shed and spent in this Kingdom upon your heads and shoulders; and frustrate and make void all that worke, that with so many yeares industry, toile and paines you have done, and so render you to all rationall men in the world, as the most contemptiblest generation, of silly, low spirited men in the earth, to be broken and routed by such a despicable contemptible generation of men as they are; and therefore Sir I tel you againe, you are necessitated to break them. But being a little disturbed by the supposition of one of their Messengers coming into the roome, I could not so well heare the answer to him, which I think was Col. Ludlows voyce, who pressed to baile us, for I could very well heare him say, what would you have more than security for them? Upon which discourse of Cromwels, the blood run up and down my

veines, and I heartily wisht my self in againe amongst them (being scarce able to contain my self) that so I might have gone five, or six stories higher than I did before, yea, as high as I intended when I came to their dore, and to have particularly paid Cromwel and Hasleridge to the purpose, for their late venome not only against me in the House, but my whole family, Hasleridge saying (as I am informed) in the open House, there was never an one of the Lilburns family fit or worthy to be a Constable in England, though I am confident there is not the worst of us alive that have served the Parliament, but he is a hundred times more just honest and unspotted than he himself, as in due time I shal make it appeare by Gods assistance (I hope) to his shame: But the faire carriage of the Gentlemen of the supposed Councel to me at the first, tooke off the height of the edge of my spirit, and intended resolution; which it may be they shal have the next time to this effect. You your selves have already voted the People under God, the Fountain and Original of all just power; And if so, then none can make them Laws, but those that are chosen, impowred, and betruisted by them for that end; and if that be true, as undoubtedly it is, I desire to know how the present Gentlemen at Westminster can make it appeare they are the peo-[16] ples Representatives, being rather chosen by the wil of him, whose head as a Tyrant and Traytor, they have by their wills chopt off (I mean the King) then by the people: whose Will made the Borough Townes to chuse Parliament men, and there by rob'd above nineteen people of this Nation, of their undubitable and inherent right, to give to a single man in twenty for number (in reference to the whole Nation) a Monopoly to chuse Parliament men; disfranchising thereby the other nineteen, and if so in any measure than this; upon their own declared principles they are no Representative of the people, no nor was not at the first; Again, the King summoned them by his Writ, the issue of his will and pleasure, and by vertue of that they sit to this houre; Again, the King by his Will and pleasure combines with them by an Act to make them a perpetual Parliament (one of the worst and tyranicallest actions that ever he did in his life) to sit as long as they pleased, which he nor they had no power to do in the least, the very constitution of Parliaments in England, being to be once every yeare, or oftner if need require; Quere, Whether this act of perpetuating this Parliament by the Parliament men themselves beyond their Commission, was not an act in them of the highest Treason in the world against the People and their liberties, by setting up themselves an

arbitrary power over them for ever? Yea, and thereby razing the foundation and constitution of Parliament it self: And if so, then this is nul, if at the first it had bin any thing.

Again, if it should be granted this Parliament at the beginning had a legal constitution from the people (the original and fountaine of all just power) yet the Faction of a trayterous party of Officers of the Army, hath twice rebelled against the Parliament, and broke them to pieces, and by force of Armes culled out whom they please, and imprisoned divers of them and laid nothing to their charge, and have left only in a manner a few men, besides eleven of themselves, viz. the General, Cromwel, Ireton, Harrison, Fleetwood, Rich, Ingolsby, Hasleridge, Constable, Fenick, Walton and Allen, Treasurer; of their own Faction behind them that will like Spaniel-doggs serve their lusts and wills; yea some of the chiefest of them, viz. Ireton, Harrison, &c. yea, M. Holland himself, stiling them a mocke Parliament a mocke power at Windsor, yea, it is yet their expressions at London; And if this be true that [17] they are a mocke power and a mocke Parliament; then,

Quere, Whether in Law or Justice, especially considering they have fallen from al their many glorious promises, & have not done any one action that tends to the universal good of the People? Can those Gentlemen siting at Westminster in the House, called the House of Commons, be any other than a Factious company of men trayterously combined together with Crom. Ireton, and Harrison, to subdue the Laws, Liberties, and Freedomes of England; (for no one of them protest against the rest) and to set up an absolute and perfect Tyranny of the Sword, Will and pleasure, and absolutely intend the destroying the Trade of the Nation, and the absolute impoverishing the people thereof, to fit them to be their Vassals and Slaves; And if so, then,

Quere, Whether the Free People of England, as well Soldiers as others, ought not to contemne all these mens commands, as invalid and illegal in themselves, and as one man to rise up against them as so many professed traytors, theives, robbers and high way men, and apprehend and bring them to justice in a new Representative, chosen by vertue of a just Agreement among the People, there being no other way in the world to preserve the Nation but that alone; the three forementioned men, viz. Cromwel, Ireton, and Harrison, (the Generall being but their Stalking horse, and a Cifer) and there trayterous * faction, having by their wills

* For the greatest Traytors they are that ever were in this nation, as upon the losse

and Swords, got all the Swords of England under their command; and the disposing of all the great places in England by Sea and Land, and also the pretended Law making power, and the pretended law executing power, by making among themselves (contrary to the Laws and Liberties of England) all Judges, Justices of peace, Sherifes, Balifes, Committee men &c. to execute their wills and Tyranny, walking by no limits or bounds but their own wills and pleasures; And traytorously assume unto themselves a power to levy upon the people what money they please; and dispose of it as they please, yea even to buy knives to cut the peoples throats that pay the mony to them, and to give no account for it til Doomes Day in the afternoone; they having already in [18] their wills and power to dispose of the Kings, Queens, Princes, Dukes, and the rest of the childrens Revenue; Deans and Chapters lands, Bishops lands, sequestered Delinquents lands, sequestred Papists lands, Compositions of all sorts, amounting to millions of money; besides Excise, and Customes; yet this is not enough, although if rightly husbanded it would constantly pay above one hundred thousand men, and furnish an answerable Navy there unto: But the people must now after their trades are lost, and their estates spent to procure their liberties and freedoms, be cessed about 100000. pound a moneth, that so they may be able like so many cheaters and State theeves, to give 6. 8. 10. 12. 14. 16, thousand pounds a peice over again to one another, as they have done already to divers of themselves to buy the Common wealths lands one of another, (contrary to the duty of Trustees, who by law nor equity can neither give nor sel to one another) at two or three years purchase the true and valuable rate considered, as they have already done, and to give 4 or 5000 l *per annum* over again to King Cromwel, as they have done already out of the Earle of Worcesters estate, &c. Besides about four or five pounds a day he hath by his places of Lieut. General, and Collonel of Horse in the Army, although he were at the beginning of this Parliament but a poore man, yea, little better than a begger (to what he is now) as well as other of his neighbours.

But to return, those gentlemen that would have had us bailed lost the day, by one vote as we understood; and then about 12. at night they broke up, & we went into their pretended Secretary, & found our commitments made in these words, our names changed, viz.

of my head I John Lilburn will by law undertake to prove and make good, before the next free Parliament, to whom I hereby appeale.

These are to will and require you, to receive herewith into your custody, the person of Lieut. Col. John Lilburn, and him safely to keep in your Prison of the Tower of London, until you receive farther order, he being committed to you upon suspicion of high Treason, of which you are not to faile, and for which this shal be your sufficient Warrant; Given at the Council of State at Darbyhouse this 28. day of March, 1649.

Signed in the name, and by the
Order of the Council of State,
appointed by authority of
Parliament. JO. BRADSHAW.

President. [19]

To the Lieut. of the Tower
of London.

Note that we were committed upon Wednesday their fast day, being the best fruits that ever any of their fasts brought out amongst them, viz. To smite with the fist of wickedness. For the illegality of this Warrant, I shall not say much, because it is like all the rest of the Warrants of the present House of Commons, and their unjust Committees; whose Warrants are so sufficiently anatomised by my quondam Comrade, M. John Wildman, in his books, called *Truths Tryumph*, and *The Lawes subversion*, being Sir John Maynards case truly stated; and by my self, in my late Plea before the Judges of the Kings Bench, now in print, and intituled *The Lawes Funeral*, that it is needless to say any more of that particular, and therefore to them I refer the Reader. But to go on, when we had read our Warrants we told M. Frost we would not dispute the legality of them, because we were under the force of Guards of Armed musquettiers: So some time was spent to find a man that would go with us to prison, Capt. Jenkins (as I remember his name) being Capt. of the Guard, and my old and familiar acquaintance, was prevailed with by us, to take the charge upon him, who used us very Civilly, and gave us leave that night (it being so late) to go home to our wives, and took our words with some other of our friends then present, to meet him in the morning at the Angel Tavern neer the Tower; which we did accordingly, and so marched with him into the Tower; where coming up to the Lieut. house, and after salutes each of other with very much civility, the Lieut. read his Warrants: and M. Walwin as our appointed mouth, acquainted him that we were Englishmen, who had hazarded all we had for our Liberties & Freedoms for many yeers together, and were resolved (though Prisoners) not to part with an inch of our Freedoms, that with struggling for we could keep, and therefore we should neither pay fees nor chamber

rent, but what the Law did exactly require us; neither should we eate or drink of our own cost and charges so long as we could fast; telling him it was our unquestionable right by Law, and the custom of this place, to be provided for out of the publike Treasure, although we had never so much mony in our pockets of our own, which he granted to be true; and after some more debate I told him, we were not so irrational as to expect that he out of his own money should provide for us: but the principal end of our discourse with him was, to put words in his mouth from our selves, (he being now our Guardian) to move [20] the Parliament or Council of State about us, which he hath acquainted us he did to the Council of State, who he saith granted the King in former times used to provide for the Prisoners, but I say, they will not be so just as he was in that particular, although they have taken off his head for tyranny, yet they must and will be greater Tyrants than he, yea, and they have resolved upon the Question, that he shall be a Traytor that shall but tell them of their tyranny, although it be never so visible.

So now I have brought the Reader to my old and contented Lodging in the Tower, where within two, or three dayes of our arrival there, came one M. Richardson a Preacher amongst those unnatural, un-English-like men, that would now help to destroy the innocent, and the first promoters in England (as Cromwels beagles to do his pleasure) of the first Petition for a Personal Treaty almost 2. yeers ago, and commonly stile themselves the Preachers to the 7. Churches of Anabaptists, which Richardson pretending a great deal of affection to the Common wealth to Cromwel, & to us, prest very hard for union and peace, (and yet by his petition since this, endeavors to hang us) teling us, men cryed mightily out upon us abroad for grand disturbers, that sought Crom. bloud for al his good service to the Nation, and that would center no where, but meerly laboured to pul down those in power, to set up our selves: And after a little discourse with him, being all 4. present, and retorting all he said back upon those he seemed to plead for, before several witnesses, we appealed to his own conscience, whether those could intend any hurt or tyrannie to the people, that desires, and earnestly endeavours for many yeers together, that all Magistrates hands might be bound and limited by a just law and rule, with a penalty annexed unto it, that in case they outstrip their rule, they might forfeit life & estate, and that al Magistrates might be chosen by the free people of this Nation by common consent, according to their undubitable right, & often removed, that so they might not be like standing waters, subject to corruption; and that the people might

have a plain, easie, short, and known Rule amongst themselves to walk by; but such men were all we; and therefore justly could not be stiled disturbers of any, but onely such as sought to rule over the people by their absolute Wills and pleasures, and would have no bounds or limits but their lusts, and so sought to set up a perfect tyranny, which we absolutely did, and stil do charge [21] upon the great men in the Army, and are ready before indifferent Judges to make it good. And as for seeking our selves, we need no other witnesses but some of our present adversaries in the House, whose great proffered places, and courtship by themselves and their Agents some of us have from time to time slighted, scorned, and contemned, till they would conclude to come to a declared and resolved center, by a just Agreement of the People; there being no other way now in the World to make this Nation free, happy, or safe, but that alone. And as for Cromwels bloud, although he had dealt basely enough with some of us in times by-past, by thirsting after ours, without cause; of whom (if revenge had bin our desire) we could have had it the last yeer to the purpose, especially when his quondam Darling, Maj. Huntington, (Maj. to his own Regiment) impeached him of Treason to both Houses: yet so deer was the good of our native Country to us, to whom we judged him then a serviceable Instrument to ballance the Scots, that we laid all revenge aside, hoping his often dissembled Repentances was real indeed; and M. Holland himself (now his favorite) if his 1000. or 1500. l. *per annum* of the Kings Lands, that now he enjoys, did not make him forget himself, can sufficiently testifie and witness our unwearied and hazardous Activity for Cromwels particular preservation the last yeer, when his great friends in the House durst not publikely speak for him.

And whereas it is said we will Center no where, we have too just cause to charge that upon them; the whole stream of all our Actions (as we told Richardson) being a continued Declaration of our earnest Desires to come to a determinate and fixed center: one of us making sufficient propositions to that purpose to the Council of State at our last being there and all our many and late proffers as to that particular, they have hitherto rejected, as no waies consistent with their tyranical and selfish ends and designs: and have given us no other answer in effect, but the sending our bodies prisoners to the Tower: and therefore we judged it infinitely below us (as we told him) and that glorious cause (the Peoples Liberties and Freedoms, that we are now in bonds for) & for which we suffer, to send any message but a defiance by him or any other to them. Yet to let him know (as one we judged honest, and our friend) we were men of reason,

moderation, and justice, and sought nothing particularly for our selves, more than our common share in the common freedom, tranquility, and peace [22] of the land of our Nativity: We would let him know, we had a two fold Center, and if he pleased of and from himself to let our Adversaries know, we were willing our adversaries should have their choise to which of the two they would hold us to.

And therefore said we in the first place, The Officers of the Army have already compiled, and published to the view of the Nation, an Agreement of the people, which they have presented to the present Parliament; against which we make some exceptions, which exceptions are contained in our Addresses: Now let them but mend their Agreement according to our exceptions, and so far as all our interest extends in the whole Nation, we wil acquiesce and rest there, and be at peace with them, & live and dy with them in the pursuance of those ends; and be content for Cromwel and Iretons security, &c. for the bloud of war shed in time of peace at Ware, or any thing else; and to free our selves that we thirst after none of their bloud, but onely our just Liberties (without which we can never sit down in peace) That there shall be a clause, to bury all things in oblivion, as to life and liberty, excepting onely estate; that so the Common-wealth may have an account of their monies in Treasurers hands, &c.

Or secondly, if they judge our exceptions against their Agreement (or any one of them) irrational, let them chuse any 4. men in England, and let Cromwel and Ireton be 2. of them, and take the other 2. where they please, in the whole nation, and we 4. now in prison, will argue the case in reason with them, and if we can agree, there is an end, as to us, and all our interest, but in case we cannot, let them (said we all) chuse any 2. members of the House of Commons, and we will chuse 2. more, viz. Col. Alex. Rigby, and Col. Henry Martin, to be final umpires betwixt us, and what they, or the major part of them determine, as to us (in relation to an Agreement) and all our interest in the whole land, we will acquiesce in, be content with, and stand to without wavering: and this we conceive to be as rational, just, and fair, as can be offered by any men upon earth: and I for my part, say and protest before the Almighty, I will yet stand to this, and if this will content them, I have done; if not, fall back, fall edge, let them do their worst, I for my part bid defiance to them, assuredly knowing, they can do no more to me, than the divel did to Job: for resolved by Gods assistance I am, to spend my heart bloud against them, if they will not condescend to a just Agreement that may be [23] good

for the whole Nation; that so we may have a new and as equal a Representative as may be, chosen by those that have not fought against their freedoms, although I am as desirous the Cavaliers should enjoy the benefit of the Law, for the protection of their persons and estates, as well as my self. I know they have an Army at command, but if every hair on the head of that Officer or Souldier they have at their command, were a legion of men, I would fear them no more than so many straws, for the Lord Jehovah is my rock and defence, under the assured shelter of whose wings, I am safe and secure, and therefore will sing and be merry; and do hereby sound an eternal trumpet of defiance to all the men and divels in earth and hell, but only those men that have the image of God in them, and demonstrate it among men, by their just, honest, merciful, and righteous actions. And as for all those vile Actions their saint-like Agents have fixed upon me of late, I know before God none is righteous no not one, but only he that is clothed with the glorious righteousness of Jesus Christ, which I assuredly know my soul hath bin, and now is clothed with, in the strength of which I have walked for above 12 yeeres together, and through the strength of which, I have bin able at any time in al that time, to lay down my life in a quarter of an hours warning. But as to man, I bid defiance to all my Adversaries upon earth, to search my waies and goings with a candle, and to lay any one base Action to my charge in any kind whatsoever, since the first day that I visible made profession of the fear of God, which is now above twelve yeeres; yea, I bid defiance to him or them, to proclaim it upon the house tops, provided he will set his hand to it, and proclaim a publique place, where before indifferent men, in the face of the Sun, his accusation may be scand; yea, I here declare, that if any man or woman in England, either in reference to my publique actions, to the States money, or in reference to my private dealings in the world shal come in and prove against me, that ever I defrauded him, or her of twelve pence, and for every twelve pence that I have so done, I will make him or her twenty shillings worth of amends, so far as all the estate I have in the world will extend.

Curteous Reader, and deer Countryman, excuse I beseech thee my boasting and glorying, for I am necessitated to it, my adversaries base and lying calumniation putting me upon it, and Paul and Samuel did it before me: and so I am thine, if thou art for the just Freedoms and Liberties of the land of thy Nativity.

JOHN LILBURN, that never yet changed his principles from better to worse, nor

could never be threatned out of them, nor courted from them, that never feared the rich nor mighty, nor never despised the poor nor needy, but alwaies hath, and hopes by Gods goodness to continue, *semper idem*.

From the Tower of London April 3, 1649. [24]

Postscript.

Curteous Reader, I have much wondered with my self, what should make most of the Preachers in the Anabaptist Congregations so mad at us foure, as this day to deliver so base a Petition, in the intention of it against us all four; (who have bin as hazardous Sticklers for their particular liberties, as any be in England) and never put a provocation upon them that I know of, especially, considering the most, if not all their Congregations (as from divers of their own members I am informed) protested against their intentions openly in their Congregations, upon the Lords day last, and I am further certainly informed that the aforesaid Petition the Preachers delivered, is not that which was read by themselves amongst the people; but another of their own framing since, which I cannot hear was ever read in any one of their Congregations: So that for the Preachers viz. M. Kiffin, M. Spilsbury, M. Patience, M. Draps, M. Richardson, M. Constant, M. Wayd, the Schoolemaster, &c. to deliver it to the Parliament in the name of their Congregations; they have delivered it a lye and a falshood, and are a pack of fauning daubing knaves for so doing, but as I understand from one of M. Kiffins members, Kiffin himself did ingenuously confesse upon Lords day last, in his open Congregation, that he was put upon the doing of what he did by some Parliament men, who he perceived were willing and desirous to be rid of us four, so they might come off handsomely without too much losse of credit to themselves: and therefore intended to take a rise from their Petition to free us, and for that end it was, that in their Petition read in the Congregations, after they had sufficiently bespattered us, yet in the conclusion they beg mercy for us; because we had bin formerly active for the Publique. Secondly, I have bin lately told, some of the Congregationall Preachers are very mad, at a late published and licensed booke sold in Popes head Alley and Cornhill, intituled, *The vanity of the present Churches*; supposing it to be the Pen of some of our friends, and therefore out of revenge might Petition against us; I confesse I have

within a few houres seen and read the booke, and not before, and must ingenuously confesse, it is one of the shrewdest bookes that ever I read in my life, and do believe it may be possible they may be netled to the purpose at it; but I wish every honest unbyased man in England would seriously read it over.

April 4. 1649.

JOHN LILBURN. [25]

*The Proceedings of the Council of State against Richard Overton,
now prisoner in the Tower of London.*

Upon the twenty eighth of March 1649, a partie of Horse and Foot commanded by Lieut. Colonel Axtel (a man highly pretending to religion,) came betwixt five and six of the morning to the house where I then lodged, in that hostile manner to apprehend me, as by the sequel appeared.

But now, to give an account of the particular circumstances attending that action, may seem frivolous, as to the Publick; but in regard the Lieutenant Colonel was pleased so far to out-strip the capacity of a Saint, as to betake himself to the venomd Arrows of lying calumnies and reproaches, to wound (through my sides) the too much forsaken cause of the poor oppressed people of this long wasted Common-wealth: like as it hath been the practice of all perfidious Tyrants in all ages. I shall therefore trouble the Reader with the rehearsall of all the occurrent circumstances which attended his apprehension of me, that the world may cleerly judge betwixt us. And what I here deliver from my pen as touching this matter, I do deliver it to be set upon the Record of my account, as I will answer it at the dreadfull day of judgment, when the secrets of all hearts shall be opened, and every one receive according to his deeds done in the flesh: and God so deal with me at that day, as in this thing I speak the truth: And if the rankorous spirits of men will not be satisfied therewith, I have no more to say but this, to commit my self to God in the joyful rest of a good conscience, and not value what insatiable envie can suggest against me. Thus then to the businesse it self.

In the House where I then lodged that night there lived three families, one of the Gentlemen being my very good friend, with [26] whom all that night hee and I onely lay in bed together, and his Wife and childe lay in another bed by themselves: and when they knock'd at the door, the Gentleman was up and ready, and his Wife also, for she rose before him, and was suckling her childe: and I was also up, but was not completely

drest; And of this the Gentleman himself (her Husband) hath taken his oath before one of the Masters of the Chancery. And we three were together in a Chamber discoursing, he and I intending about our businesse immediately to go abroad, and hearing them knock, I said, Yonder they are come for me. Whereupon, some books that lay upon the table in the room, were thrown into the beds betwixt the sheets (and the books were all the persons he found there in the beds, except he took us for printed papers, and then there were many;) and the Gentleman went down to go to the door; and as soon as the books were cast a toside,* I went to put on my boots; and before the Gentleman could get down the stairs, a girl of the house had opened the door, and let them in, and so meeting the Gentleman upon the stairs, Axtel commanded some of the souldiers to seize upon him, and take him into custodie, and not suffer him to come up: And I hearing a voice from below, that one would speak with me, I went to the chamber door (it being open) and immediatly appeared a Musketier (Corporal Neaves, as I take it) and he asked me if my name were not Mr. Overton: I answered, it was Overton; and so I sat me down upon the bed side to pull on my other boot, as if I had but new risen, the better to shelter the books; and that Corporal was the first man that entered into the chamber, and after him one or two more, and then followed the Lieutenant Colonel; and the Corporal told me, I was the man they were come for, and bade me make me ready: and the Lieutenant Colonel when he came in, asked me how I did, and told me, they would use me civilly, and bid me put on my boots, and I should have time enough to make me ready: And immediatly upon this the Lieutenant Colonel began to abuse me with scandalous language, and asked me, if the Gentlewoman who then sate suckling her childe, were not one of my wives, and averred that she and I lay together that night. Then the Gentleman hearing his Wife call'd Whore, and abused so shamefully, got from the souldiers, and ran up stairs; and coming into the room where we were, he taxed the Lieutenant Colonel for abusing of his Wife and [27] me, and told him, that he and I lay together that night: But the Lieutenant Colonel, out of that little discretion he had about him, took the Gentleman by the hand, saying, How dost thou, brother Cuckcold? using other shamefull ignorant and abusive language, not worthy repeating. Well, upon this his attempt thus to make me his prisoner, I demanded his Warrant; and he shewed me a Warrant from the Councell of State, with Mr. Bradshaw's hand to it, and with the Broad Seal of

* Meaning "to a side or aside." *Editors' note.*

England to it, (as he call'd it) to apprehend Lieutenant Colonel Lilburn, Mr. Walwine, Mr. Prince, and my self, where-ever they could finde us. And as soon as I was drest, he commanded the Muskietiers to take me away; and as soon as I was down stairs, he remanded me back again into the chamber where he took me, and then told me, he must search the house, and commanded the trunks to be opened, or they should be broken open: and commanded one of the souldiers to search my pockets. I demanded his Warrant for that: He told me, he had a Warrant, I had seen it. I answered, That was for the apprehension of my person; and bid him shew his Warrant for searching my pockets, and the house: and according to my best remembrance, he replied, He should have a Warrant. So little respect had he to Law, Justice, and Reason; and *vi & armis*, right or wrong, they fell to work, (inconsiderately devolving all law, right, and freedom betwixt man and man into their Sword; for the consequence of it extends from one to all) and his party of armed Horse and Foot (joynd to his over-hasty exorbitant will) was his irresistible Warrant: And so they searched my pockets, and took all they found in them, my mony excepted, and searched the trunks, chests, beds, &c. And the Lieutenant Colonel went into the next chamber, where lived an honest Souldier (one of the Lieutenant Generals Regiment) and his wife, and took away his sword, and vilified the Gentleman and his wife, as if she had been his whore, and took him prisoner for lying with a woman, as he said. He also went up to the Gentleman who lets out the rooms, and cast the like imputations upon his wife, as also upon a Maid that lives in the house, and gave it out in the Court and Street, amongst the souldiers and neighbours that it was a Bawdy-house, and that all the women that lived in it were whores, and that he had taken me in bed with another mans Wife. Well, he having ransack'd the house, found many books in the beds, and [28] taken away all such writings, papers, and books, of what sort or kind soever, that he could finde, and given them to the souldiers, (amongst which he took away certain papers which were my former Meditations upon the works of the Creation, intituled, *Gods Word confirmed by his Works*; wherein I endeavoured the probation of a God, a Creation, a State of Innocencie, a Fall, a Resurrection, a Restorer, a Day of Judgment, &c. barely from the consideration of things visible and created: and these papers I reserved to perfect and publish as soon as I could have any rest from the turmoils of this troubled Common-wealth: and for the loss of those papers I am only troubled: all that I desire of my enemies hands, is but the restitution of those papers, that what-ever be-

comes of me, they may not be buried in oblivion, for they may prove usefull to many.) Well, when the Lieutenant Colonel had thus far mistaken himself, his Religion and Reason thus unworthily to abuse me and the houshold in that scandalous nature, unbeseeming the part of a Gentleman, a Souldier, or a Christian (all which titles he claimeth) and had transgressed the limits of his Authority, by searching, ransacking, plundering, and taking away what he pleased, he march'd me in the head of his party to Pauls Church-yard, and by the way commanded the souldiers to lead me by the arm; and from thence, with a guard of three Companies of Foot, and a party of Horse, they forced me to Whitehall; and the souldiers carried the books some upon their Muskets, some under their arms: but by the way (upon our march) the Corporall that first entred the room (whose word in that respect is more valuable then Axtels) confess'd unto me (in the audience of the Souldier they took also with them from the place of my lodging) that the Lieutenant Colonel had dealt uncivilly and unworthily with me, and that there was no such matter of taking me in bed with an other woman, &c. And this the said souldier will depose upon his oath.

When I came to White-hall, I was delivered into the hands of Adjutant General Stubber, where I found my worthy friends Lieutenant Collonel John Lilburn, Mr. Wallwin, and Mr. Prince in the same captivity under the Martiall usurpation: and after I had been there a while, upon the motion of Lieutenant Collonell Lilburne, that Lieutenant Collonell Axtell, and I might be brought [29] face to face about the matter of scandall that was raised, he coming there unto us, and questioned about the report he had given out, there averd, that he took me a bed with an other mans wife; and being asked if he saw us actually in bed together, he answered, we were both in the Chamber together, and the woman had scarce got on her coates, (which was a notorious untruth) and she sate suckling of her child, and from these circumstances he did believe we did lie together, and that he spake according to his conscience what he beleaved: These were his words, or to the like effect, to which I replied, as aforementioned. But how short this was of a man pretending so much conscience and sanctity as he doth I leave to all unprejudiced people to judge: it is no point of Christian faith (to which [he] is so great a pretender) to foment a lye for a wicked end, and then to plead it his beleif and conscience, for the easier credence of his malicious aspertion: but though the words belief and Conscience be too specious Evangelicall tearms, no truely consciencious person will say they are to be used, or

rather abused to such evill ends. Well in that company I having taxed him for searching my pockets, and without warrant, he answered; that because I was so base a fellow, he did what he could to destroy me. And then the better to make up the measure of the reproach he had raised, he told us, it was now an opinion amongst us to have community of women; I desired him to name one of that opinion, he answered me, It may be I was of that opinion, and I told him, it may be he was of that opinion, and that my may be was as good as his May be: whereupon he replied, that I was a sawsy fellow. Surely the Lieutenant Collonel at that instant had forgot the Bugget from whence he dropt, I presume when he was a pedler in Harford-shire he had not so lofty an esteem of himself, but now the case is altered, the Gentleman is become one of the Grandees of the Royall palace: one of the (mock-) Saints in season, now judging the Earth, inspired with providence and oppertunities at pleasure of their own invention as quick and as nimble as an Hocas Spocas, or a Fiend in a Juglers Box, they are not flesh and bloud, as are the wicked, they are all spirituall, all heavenly, the pure Camelions of the time, they are this or that or what you please, in a trice, in a twinkling of an eye; there is no form, no shape that you can fancy among men, into which their Spiritualli- [30] ties are not changeable at pleasure; but for the most part, these holy men present themselves in the perfect figure of Angels of light, of so artificiall resemblance, enough to deceive the very Elect if possible, that when they are entered their Sanctum Sanctorum, their holy convocation at White-hall, they then seem no other than a quire of Arch-Angels, of Cherubins and Seraphims, chanting their fals-holy Halelujaes of victory over the people, having put all principalities and powers under their feet, and the Kingdom and dominion and the greatness of the Kingdom is theirs, and all Dominions, even all the people shall serve and obey them, [excuse me, it is but their own Counterfeit Dialect, under which their pernicious hipocrisy is veiled that I retort into their bosoms, that you may know them within and without, not that I have any intention of reflection upon holy writ] * and now these men of Jerusalem (as I may terme them) those painted Sepulchers of Sion after their long conjuring together of providences, oppertunities and seasons one after another, drest out to the people in the sacred shape of Gods Time, (as after the language of their new fangled Saint-ships I may speak it) they have brought their seasons to perfection, even to the Season of Seasons, now to rest themselves in the large and full enjoyment of the creature for a time, two

* The brackets appear in the original text. *Editors' note.*

times and half a time, resolving now to ware out the true asserters of the peoples freedom, and to change the time and laws to their exorbitant ambition and will; while all their promises, declarations and engagements to the people must be null'd and made Cyphers, and cast aside as wast paper, as unworthy the fulfilment, or once the remembrance of those Gentlemen, those magnificent stems of our new upstart Nobillity, for now it is not with them as in the dayes of their engagement at New-market and Triploe heath, but as it was in the days of old with corrupt persons, so is it in ours, *Tempora mutantur*—.

But to proceed to the story: the Lieutenant Collonel did not only shew his weakness, (or rather his iniquity) in his dealing with me, but he convents the aforesaid Souldier of Leiutenant Generalls Regiment before divers of the Officers at White-hall, and there he renders the reason wherefore he made him a prisoner, because said he, he takes Overtons part, for he came and asked him how he did, and bid him be of good comfort, and he lay last night [31] with a woman: To which he answered It is true, but the woman was my wife. Then they proceeded to ask, when they were married, and how they should know shee was his wife, and he told them where and when, but that was not enough, they told him, he must get a Certificate from his Captain that he was married to her and then he should have his liberty.

Friends and Country-men, where are you now? what shall you do that have no Captains to give you Certificates? sure you must have the banes of Matrimony re-asked at the Conventicle of Gallants at White-hall, or at least you must thence have a Congregationall Licence, (without offence be it spoken to true Churches) to lye with your wives, else how shall your wives be chaste or the children Legitimate? they have now taken Cognizance over your wives and beds, whether will they next? Judgment is now come into the hand of the armed-fury Saints. My Masters have a care what you do, or how you look upon your wives, for the new-Saints Millitant are paramount [to] all Laws, King, Parliament, husbands, wives, beds, &c. But to let that passe.

Towards the evening we were sent for, to go before the Counsell of State at Darby-house, and after Lieutenant Collonel John Lilburne, and Mr. Wallwine had been before them, then I was called in, and Mr. Bradshaw spake to me, to this effect.

Master Overton, the Parliament hath seen a Book, Intituled, *The Second Part of Englands New-Chains Discovered*, and hath past several Votes thereupon, and hath given Order to this Council to make inquiry

after the Authors and Publishers thereof, and proceed upon them as they see Cause, and to make a return thereof unto the House: And thereupon he Commanded Mr. Frost their Secretary to read over the said Votes unto me, which were to this purpose, as hath since been publickly proclaimed:

Die Martis, 27 Martii, 1649.

The House being informed of a Scandalous and Seditious Book Printed, entituled, *The Second Part of Englands New-Chains Discovered.*

The said Book was this day read.

Resolved upon the Question by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That this printed Paper, entituled, *The Second Part of [32] Englands New-Chains Discovered* &c. doth contain most false, scandalous, and reproachful matter, and is highly Seditious and Destructive to the present Government, as it is now Declared and settled by Parliament, tends to Division and Mutiny in the Army, and the raising of a New War in the Common-wealth, and to hinder the present Relief of Ireland, and to the continuing of Free-Quarter: And this House doth further Declare, That the Authors, Contrivers, and Framers of the said Papers, are guilty of High Treason, and shall be proceeded against as Traytors; And that all Persons whatsoever, that shall joyn with, or adhere unto, and hereafter voluntarily Ayd or Assist the Authors, Framers, and Contrivers of the aforesaid Paper, in the prosecution thereof, shall be esteemed as Traytors to the Common-wealth, and be proceeded against accordingly.

Then Mr. Bradshaw spake to me much after this effect;

Master Overton, this Councel having received Information, That you had a hand in the Contriving and Publishing of this Book, sent for you by their Warrant to come before them; Besides, they are informed of other Circumstances at your Apprehension against you, That there were divers of the Books found about you. Now Mr. Overton, if you will make any Answer thereunto, you have your Liberty.

To which I answered in these words, or to the like effect:

Sir, what Title to give you, or distinguish you by, I know not; Indeed, I confesse I have heard by common report, that you go under the name of a Councel of State; but for my part, what you are I cannot well tell; but this I know, that had you (as you pretend) a just authority from the Parliament, yet were not your Authority valuable or binding, till solemnly proclaimed to the people: so that for my part, in regard you were pleased thus violently to bring me before you, I shall

humbly crave at your hands, the production of your Authority, that I may know what it is, for my better information how to demean my self.

Presid.] Mr. Overton, We are satisfied in our Authority.

Ric. Overt.] Sir, if I may not know it, however I humbly desire, that I may be delivered from under the force of the Military power; for having a naturall and legall title to the Rights of an Englishman, I shall desire that I may have the benefit of the Law of England, (which Law taketh no cognizance of the Sword). And in [33] case you or any man pretend matter of crime against me, in order to a tryall, I desire I may be resigned up to the Civil Magistrate, and receive a free and legall tryall in some ordinary Court of Justice, according to the known Law of the Land; that if I be found a transgressor of any established declared Law of England, on Gods name let me suffer the penalty of that Law.

Further, Sir, In case I must still be detained a prisoner, it is my earnest desire, that I may be disposed to some prison under the jurisdiction and custody of the Civill Authority: For, as for my own part, I cannot in conscience (to the common right of the people) submit my self in any wise to the tryall or custody of the Sword; for I am no Souldier, neither hath the Army any Authoritie over me, I owe them neither dutie nor obedience, they are no Sheriffs, Justices, Bailiffs, Constables, or other Civil Magistrates: So that I cannot, neither will I submit unto their power, but must take the boldnesse to protest against it.

Presid. Mr. Overton, If this be your Answer, you may withdraw.

R. Overt. Sir, I humbly desire a word or two more.

Lieut. Gen. Let him have liberty.

Presid. Mr. Overton, You may speak on.

R. Over. Gentlemen, for future peace and securitie sake, I shall humbly desire to offer this unto your consideration; namely, that if you think it meet: That you would chuse any four men in England, pick and chuse where you please; and we (for my part, I speak it freely in my own behalf, and I think I may say as much in theirs) shall endeavour to the utmost of our power by a fair and moderate Discourse, to give the best account and satisfaction concerning the matter of difference betwixt us, that we can, that if possible, peace and agreement may be made: And this, after the weaknesse of my small understanding, I judge to be a fair and reasonable way: if you shall be pleased to accept of it, you may; if not, you may use your pleasure; I am in your hand, do with me as you think good, I am not able to hinder you.

Presid. Mr. Overton, If this be all you have to say, withdraw.

R. Overt. Sir, I have said.

So I was commanded into a little withdrawing room close by the Council; and I supposed they would have taken my motion into consideration: But after I had been there a while, I was or-[34] dered to the Room again, where Lieut. Col. Lilburn, Mr. Walwine, &c. were.

And now that it may be clear unto the whole world, that we heartily desire the prevention and cessation of all differences and divisions that may be bred and break forth in the Land, to the hazard, if not actually imbroilment thereof in a new exundation of blood in the prosecution of this controversie, wee do freely from the heart (that heaven and earth may bear witness betwixt our integrity to the peace of the Commonwealth, and their dealings with us) make this proffer as to be known to the whole world; that wee (in the first place I may best speak for myself; and I so far know the minds of Lieutenant Col. John Lilburn, Mr. Walwine, and Mr. Prince, that I may as freely speak it in their behalves) wil, by the Assistance of God, give any four men in England that they shall chuse (although the Lieutenant General, and the Commissarie Generall be two of them) a free and moderate debate (if they shall think it no scorn) touching all matters of difference betwixt us, as to the businesse of the Common-wealth (for therein doth consist the controversie betwixt us) that if possibly, new flames and combustions may be quenched, and a thorow and an hearty composure be made betwixt us, upon the grounds of an equall and just Government. And that the businesse may be brought to a certain issue betwixt us, let them, if they please, chuse two Umpires out of the House, or else-where, and we will chuse two; and for our parts, we shall stand to the free determination or sentence, that these four, or any three of them shall passe betwixt us. Or else, if they please but to center upon *The Agreement of the People*, with amendments according to our late sad Apprehensions, presented to the House upon the 26 of February 1648, for our parts, we shall seal a Contract of Oblivion for all by-past matters, relating either to good name, life, libertie or estate; saving, of making Account for the publick Monies of the Common-wealth: And in such an Agreement we will center, to live and die with them in the prosecution thereof. And if this be not a fair and peaceable motion, let all well-minded people judge.

But if nothing will satisfie them but our blood, we shall not (through the might of God) be sparing of that, to give witness to the Right and Freedom of this Common wealth against their Usurpation and Tyr-

anny; but let them know this, That Building hath a bad [35] Foundation that is laid in the blood of honest men, such as their own knowledge and consciences bear them record, are faithfull to the common interest and safety of the People: out of our ashes may possibly arise their destruction. This I know, God is just, and he will repay the blood of the innocent upon the head of the Tyrant. But to return to the Narrative.

After some small space that we had all been before them, we were called in again; first, Lieut. Col. John Lilburn, then Mr. Walwine, and then my self: And coming before them the second time, Mr. Bradshaw, spake to this effect:

Presid. Mr. Overton, The Council hath taken your Answer into consideration, and they are to discharge their dutie to the Parliament, who hath ordered them to make enquiry after the Book, intituled, *The second part of England's new Chains*, &c. and thereof they are to give an account to the House: And the Council hath ordered me to put this question unto you, Whether you had an hand in the contriving or publishing this Book, or no?

R. Overt. Sir, I well remember, that since you cut off the King's head, you declared (or at least the Parliament, from whence you pretend the derivation of your Authoritie) that you would maintain the known fundamentall Laws of the Land, and preserve them inviolable, that the meanest member of this Common-wealth, with the greatest, might freely and fully enjoy the absolute benefit thereof. Now Gentlemen, it is well known, and that unto your selves, that in cases criminall, as now you pretend against me, it is against the fundamentall Laws of this Common-wealth to proceed against any man by way of Interrogatories against himself, as you do against me: and I beleeve (Gentlemen) were you in our cases, you would not be willing to be so served your selves; (what you would have other men do unto you, that do you unto them.) So that for my part, Gentlemen, I do utterly refuse to make answer unto any thing in relation to my own person, or any man or men under heaven; but do humbly desire, that if you intend by way of Charge to proceed to any Triall of me, that it may be (as before I desired at your hands) by the known established Law of England, in some ordinary Court of Justice appointed for such cases (extraordinary waies being never to be used, but abominated, where ordinarie waies may be had) and I shall freely submit to what can be legally made good against me. [36]

But I desire that in the mean time you would be pleased to take

notice, that though in your eye I seem so highly criminal, as by those Votes you pretend; yet am I guiltie of nothing, not of this paper, intituled, *The second part of England's new Chains*, in case I had never so much an hand in it, till it be legally proved: for the Law looketh upon no man to be guiltie of any crime, till by law he be convicted; so that, I cannot esteem my self guiltie of any thing, till by the Law you have made the same good against me.

And further Sir, I desire you to take notice, that I cannot be guiltie of the transgression of any Law, before that Law be in being: it is impossible to offend that which is not; Where there is no Law there is no Transgression: Now, those Votes on which you proceed against me are but of yesterdaies being; so that, had I an hand in that Book whereof you accuse me, provided it were before those Votes, you cannot render me guiltie by those Votes: If I had done any thing in it, since the Votes (provided you had solemnly proclaimed the same) then you might have had some colour to have proceeded against me: but I have but newly heard the Votes, and since that you know I could do nothing.

Presid. Mr. Overton, I would correct your judgment in one thing: We are not upon any Triall of you; we are onely upon the discharge of our dutie, and that trust committed unto us by the Parliament, to make enquiry after the authors, contrivers and framers of the Book; and having information against your self and your Comrades, we sent for you, and are to return your Answer to the House, howsoever you dispute their Authority.

R. Overt. Dispute their Authoritie, Sir! That's but your supposition, and supposition is no proof. And Sir, as you say you are to discharge your dutie, so must I discharge mine. And as for matter of triall, I am sure you taxe me in a criminall way, and proceed to question me thereupon. But Sir, I conceive it my dutie to answer to none of your Questions in that nature, and therefore shall utterly refuse.

Now Gentlemen, I desire you to take notice, that I do not oppose you as you are members of the Common-wealth; for it is well known, and I think to some here, that I have ever been an opposer of oppression and tyrannie, even from the daies of the Bishops to this present time; and the *Books that I have writ and published do in some [37] measure bear witness thereof, and it is well known, that my practice hath ever been answerable thereunto. I suppose no man can accuse me,

* viz. *Arraignment of Persecution. Ordinance of Tythes Dismounted. The Game at Scotch and English, &c.*

but that I have opposed Tyrannie where-ever I found it: It is all one to me under what name or title soever oppression be exercised, whether under the name of King, Parliament, Council of State, under the name of this, or that, or any thing else; For tyrannie and oppression is tyrannie and oppression to me where-ever I finde it, and where-ever I finde it I shall oppose it, without respect of persons.

I know I am mortall and finite, and by the course of nature my daies must have a period, how soon I know not; and the most you can do, it is but to proceed to life; and for my part, I had rather die in the just vindication of the cause of the poor oppressed people of this Commonwealth, then to die in my bed; and the sooner it is, the welcomer, I care not if it were at this instant, for I value not what you can doe unto me.

But Gentlemen, I humbly desire yet a word or two. I confesse, I did not expect so much civilitie at your hands as I have found, and for the same I return you hearty thanks.

Now whereas you commonly say, That we will have no Bottom, center no where, and do taxe us by the Votes you read unto me, of destruction to the present Government, division and mutinie in the Armie, &c. But here I do professe unto you, as in the presence of the all-seeing God, before whom one day I must give an account of all my actions, That in case you will but conclude upon an equall and just Government by way of an Agreement of the People, as was honourably begun by the Generall Officers of the Army; and but free that Article in it which concerns the liberty of Gods Worship from the vexatious entanglements and contradictions that are in it, that so consciencious people might freely (without any fear of an insulting Clergie) live quietly and peaceably in the enjoyment of their consciences; As also to add unto it a Barr against Regalitie, and the House of Lords; As also to make provision in it against the most weighty oppressions of the Land; that thereby they may be utterly removed, and for the future prevented, and the people settled in freedom and safetie: And then, for my part, neither hand, foot, pen, tongue, mouth or breath of mine shall move against you; but I shall with my utmost power, [38] with hand, heart, life and bloud, assist you in the prosecution thereof, and therein center. Try me, and if I fail of my word, then let me suffer.

Presid. Mr. Overton, If you have no more to say, you may withdraw.

R. Overt. Sir, I humbly crave the further addition of a word or two. Gentlemen, I desire (as I did before) that I may (according to the

common right of the people of England) be forthwith freed from under the power of the Sword, and be delivered into the hands of the Civil Magistrate, in case I shall be still detained a prisoner; for I am so much against the intrusion of the Military power into the seat of the Magistrate, that I had rather you would fetter me legs and hands, and tie me neck and heels together, and throw me into a Dungeon, and not allow me so much as the benefit of bread and water till I be starved to death, then I would accept of the best Down-bed in England, with sutable accomodation, under the custody of the Sword.

President. Mr. Overton, I would correct your Judgment a litle, you are not under the Military power, but under the Civil authority; for by the Authority of Parliament this Counsel by their Warrant hath sent for you.

R. Overton. Sir, it is confest, that *pro forma tantum*, for matter of Forme, inke or paper, I am under the Civil Authoritie, but essentiallie and reallie, I am under the Martial power; for that Warrant by which I was taken, was executed upon me by the Military power, by a Partie of Horse, and divers Companies of Foot in Arms, and in that Hostile manner (like a prisoner of War) I was led Captive to White-hal, and there ever since, till commanded hither, I was kept amongst the Souldiers, and I am still under the same force: Besides, Sir, these men are meer Souldiers, no Officers of the Magistracie of England, they brought no Warrant to me from anie Justice of Peace, neither did carrie me before anie Justice of Peace, but seised on me, and kept me by their own force: Therefore it is evident and cleer to me, That I am not under the Civil, but the Martial power.

President. Master Overton, If this be your Answer, you may withdraw. [39]

R. Overton. Sir, I have said.

And so I was conducted to the Room where they had disposed Lieutenant Col. Lilburne and Mr. Walwine: And the next news we heard from them, was, of our Commitment to the Tower, and Master Prince and I were joyned as yoak-fellows in one Warrant; a Copie whereof is as followeth;

These are to will and require you, to receive herewith into your Custody the Persons of Master Richard Overton, and Master Thomas Prince, and them safely to keep in your prison of the Tower of London, until you receive further Order: They being Committed to you upon suspicion of High Treason; of which you are not to fail; and for which

this shall be your Warrant: Given at the Council of State at Darby-House this Twentie eighth day of March, 1649.

Signed in the Name, and by the Order of the Council of State, appointed by Authority of Parliament.

To the Lieutenant of the Tower.

JO. BRADSHAW President.

Thus all un-interested, unprejudiced persons, (who measure things as they are in themselves, having nothing in admiration with respect of persons, who simply and sincerely mind the freedom and prosperity of the Common-wealth) may clearly see, as in a Glass, by this tast of Aristocraticall Tyranny towards us, a perfect and lively resemblance of the Councill of State; *Ex pede Leonem*, you may know a Lion by his foot, or a Bear by his paw: by this you may see their nature and kind, what and from whence they are, and whether they tend, by this line you may measure the height depth and breadth of their new Architecture of State, and by making our case but yours, you will find your selves new fettered in chaines, such as never England knew or tasted before; that you may (truly if you will but measure it in the consequence thereof,) break forth and cry out, Their little finger is thicker then our Fathers loines; our Fathers made our yoke heavie, but these adde unto our yoake; our Fathers chastised us with whips, but these chastise us with Scorpions. Who would have thought in the daies of their glorious [40] pretences for Freedom, in the daies of their Engagements, Declarations and Remonstrances, while they were the hope of the oppressed, the joy of the righteous, and had the mighty confluence of all the afflicted and well-minded people of the Land about them, (I principally reflect upon the Victors of the times) I say, who would have thought to have heard, seen, or felt such things from their hands as we have done? Who would have thought such glorious and hopefull beginnings should have vanished into Tyrannie? Who would have thought to have seen those men end in the persecution and imprisonment of persons whom their own Consciences tell them, to be men of known integritie to the Common-wealth; and which is so evident and demonstrative, that thousands in this Nation can bear Record thereof; and that those men should be so devillish, so tyrannicall and arbitrary, as after their imprisonment, to rake hell, and skim the Devill, to conjure out matter of Charge or accusation against them, that they might

have their blood, as in our case they have done, sending abroad their blood-hounds to search and pry out in every corner, what could be made out against us, going up and down like roaring Lions seeking how they might devour us; one offering Mistris Prince her Husbands libertie, and the 1000 l. they owe him, if he will but discover what he knoweth (as they are pleased to imagine) against us; and not onely so, but some Members of the House (as Mr. Kiffin confess'd in respect of himself) negotiate with the principall Leaders of severall Congregations of religious people about the Town, to promote a petition, which was no other but in order to their bloody designe against us; that those conscientious people (surprised by their fraudulent suggestions and craft) might (not truly understanding the business) appear in the disownment and discountenance of us; and in the approbation and furtherance of the prosecuters of their bloody Votes of High-Treason, intentionally breathed out against us: for could they by their delusions overwhelm us once in the odium of religious people; with the venomous contagion of their malicious clamours, bug-bears, reproaches and lies, beget us under the Anathema of the Churches, then they think they may with ease and applause cut us off; for that's the venome lieth under the leafe, how finely soever they zeal it over; that so our friends and bre-[41] thren (thus surprised and overtaken) may become our Butchers, and think they do God and their Country good service while they slay us; but let them beware how they contract the guilt of our blood upon their heads; for assuredly the blood of the Innocent will be upon them, and God will repay it; I speak not this to beg their mercy, I abhorre it, I bid defiance to what all the men and divels in earth or hell can do against me in the discharge of my understanding and Conscience for the good of this Common-wealth; for I know my Redeemer liveth, and that after this life I shall be restored to life and Immortality, and receive according to the innocency and uprightnesse of my heart: Otherwise, I tell you plainly, I would not thus put my life and wel-being in jeopardie, and expose my self to those extremities and necessities that I do; I would creaturize, be this or that or any thing else, as were the times, eat, drink, and take my pleasure; turn Judas or any thing to flatter great men for promotion: but blessed be the God of Heaven and Earth, he hath given me a better heart, and better understanding. But to proceed;

That which is most to our astonishment, we understand of a truth, That Master Kiffin (to whose Congregation my back-friend Axtel is a

retainer) Master Spilsbury, Master Patience (who vilified the Book intituled, *The Second Part of Englands New Chains*, and yet confest he never saw it or heard it read, as by evidence can be made good) Mr. Fountain, Mr. Drapes, Mr. Richardson, Mr. Couset, Mr. Tomlins, and Mr Wade the Schol-master became their Pursuevants or blood-hounds, to hunt us to the Bar of the House of Commons with a Petition (most evidently and cleerly in pursuance of our blood) Intituled, *The humble Petition and Representation of the severall Churches of God in London, commonly (though falsly) called Anabaptists*, April 2. 1649. tacitely and curiously in a most Religious vail pointing at, and reflecting upon us, as Interrupters of the Settlement of the Libertie and Freedom of this Common-wealth; headie, high-minded, unruly, disobedient, presumptuous, self-will'd, contemners of Rulers, Dignities and Civil Government, whoremasters, drunkares, cheaters, &c. as if it were not with those men, as with the Publican and Sinner, dis-owning the Book intituled, *The Second Part, &c.* which at that juncture of time, all circumstances duly weighed, was an [42] absolute justification of those Votes of High Treason, and of prosecution against us as Traytors, for the tendency of those Votes were vented at us, and that their own knowledge and Consciences tels them to be true, so that they could have done no more in Order to our blood, then what they did in that matter, so as to hand it off fairly and covertly preserving to themselves the reputation of the Churches of God: and to adde unto their impiety against us, they juggle with the Churches, present it in the name of the Churches of God in London called Anabaptists, and in their names Remonstrate that they (meaning the Churches, as by the title they speak) neither had nor have heart nor hand in the framing, contriving, abetting, or promoting of the said Paper, which though read in several of our publick Meetings, we do solemnly professe, it was without our consent, being there openly opposed by us. Notwithstanding it is notoriously evident, That the generality of the People Dissented from their Petition against us; and as upon good intelligence I am informed, They had scarce ten in some Congregations to sign it, in some not above 2 or 3, in some none; and in the main they had not the Tythe of the people; and yet those men like a Consistory of Bishops, a Synod of Presbyters, or a New-England Classis, presume upon the Assumption of the name of Several Churches of God, as if to themselves they had purchased the Monopolie or Pattent thereof, or as if the persons of Mr. Kiffin, Mr. Patience, &c. were so many several Churches, (hence

sprang the papal, Prelatical, and Presbyterial Supremacie over the Consciences of people) and therefore it behoveth the people to have a care of their Leaders.

We have had the name of King, the name of Parliament, the name of the Armie, &c. surprised, abused, and usurped against us by the hand of our exorbitant enemies; but never before, the name of Several Churches of God, and those stiled Anabaptists; Hear O Heavens, and judge O Earth! Was there ever the like Fact attempted or perpetrated amongst the Churches of God? such wickedness is not once to be named amongst them: And I do not doubt but the wel-minded Christian people of those several Churches presented by that Petition, will vindicate themselves from the Aspersion thereby laid upon them; For I cannot beleve till I see it, That those people would do any thing, or own any thing that might but so much as seemingly tend to our bloud, or our imprisonment; I am confi-[43] dent they abhorre it: And they cannot in Conscience do less then to disavow that Bloudy Petition (as to its tendency against us) and till they do it, they will be sharers in the publick guilt of our imprisonment, yea, and of our Bloud, for (however God may divert the wicked purposes of men,) that Petition is guiltie of our Bloud.

I confesse, for my part, I am a man full of Sin, and personal Infirmities, and in that Relation I will not take upon me to cleer or justifie my self; but as for my Integrity and uprightnesse to the Common wealth, to whatsoever my understanding tels me is for the good of mankind, for the safety, freedom, and tranquillity of my Country, happinesse and prosperity of my Neighbours, to do to my neighbor as I would be done by, and for the freedom and protection of Religious people: I say as to those things, (according to the weak measure of my understanding and judgment) I know my integrity to be such, that I shall freely (in the might of God) sacrifice my life to give witness thereunto; and upon that Accompt I am now in Bonds, a protestor against the Aristocratical Tyrannie of the Counsel of State, scorning their Mercy, and bidding defiance to their Crueltie, had they ten millions more of Armies, & Cromwels to perpetrate their inhumanities upon me; for I know they can pass but to this life; when they have done that, they can do no more; and in this case of mine, he that will save his life shall loose it; I know my life is hid in Christ, and if upon this accompt I must yeild it, Welcome, welcome, welcome by the grace of God.

And as for those reproaches and scandals like the smoke of the bot-

tomlesse pit, that are fomented against me; whereby too many zealous tender spirited people are prejudiced against my person, readie to abhorre the thing I do, though never so good, for my person sake; I desire such to remove their eies from persons to things: if the thing I do be good, it is of God; and so look upon it, and not upon me, and so they shall be sure not to mistake themselves, nor to wrong me: And I further desire such to consider, That tales, rumours, slanderings, backbitings, lyes, scandals &c. tost up and down like clouds with the wind, are not the fruits of the Spirit, neither are they weapons of Gods warfare, they are of the devil and corruption, and betray in the users of them an evil mind: It is a certain badge of a Deceiver to take up whisperings and tales of mens [44] personal failings to inflect them to the cause those persons maintain, by such means to gain advantages upon them.

Consider whether the things I hold forth and professe as in relation to the Common-wealth, be not for the good of mankinde, and the preservation of Gods people: and if they be, my personal failings are not to be reckoned as a counter-balance against them. As I am in my self in respect to my own personall sins and transgressions; so I am to my self and to God, and so I must give an account; the just must stand by his own faith: But as I am in relation to the Common-wealth, that all men have cognizance of, because it concerns their own particular lives, livelihoods and beings, as well as my own; and my failings and evils in that respect I yeeld up to the cognizance of all men, to be righteously used against me. So that the businesse is, not how great a sinner I am, but how faithfull and reall to the Common-wealth; that's the matter concerneth my neighbour, and whereof my neighbour is only in this publick Controversie to take notice; and for my personall sins that are not of Civill cognizance or wrong unto him, to leave them to God, whose judgment is righteous and just. And till persons professing Religion be brought to this sound temper, they fall far short of Christianity; the spirit of love, brotherly charity, doing to all men as they would be done by, is not in them; without which they are but as a sounding brass, and a tinkling cymball, a whited wall, rottenness and corruption, let their ceremonial formall practice of Religion be never so Angel-like or specious.

There is a great noise of my sins and iniquities: but which of my Aspersers Oxe or Asse have I stollen? which of them have I wronged the value of a farthing? They taxe me with filthinesse, and strange impieties; but which amongst them is innocent? he that is innocent, let

him throw the first stone; otherwise let him lay his hand on his mouth: I have heard of as odious failings, even of the same nature whereof they tax me (and it may be, upon better evidence) amongst them, laid open to me, even of the highest in present power, as well as amongst eminent persons in Churches; which I ever have counted unworthy to be used as an engine against them in the Controversie of the Commonwealth: But if they will not be quiet, I shall be forced, in honour to my own reputation, to open the Cabinet of my Aspersers infirmities, that the world may see what sort of men they are that say unto others, thou shalt not steal, and steal themselves: I shall be sorry to be forced to it; but if they will not be content, necessity hath no law, I shall (as Mr. John Goodwin said to Mr. Edwards, if he would not be quiet) make all their reputations as a stinking carcasse.

And although they think they have such firm matters against me, let them not be too hastie to pursue me with reproach any further, lest it recoil with a vengeance upon themselves: for it is an old and a true saying, One tale is good till another be told. Therefore let no man judge before the time, lest he be judged; for I am able to vindicate my self to all rationall men, as clear as the Sun at noon day, in what I have done.

Much I might have said as in relation to the illegality of our Apprehension, Commitment, &c. But for the present I shall omit it to further opportunity, or the engagement of some more abler pen: And so I shall commit my self and my wayes to God alone, with chearfulness and alacrity of spirit, rejoycing that he hath counted me worthy to bear witness once more against the Oppressours of the People, and to suffer for the sake of the poor, against the insulting tyrants of the times.

RICHARD OVERTON.

From my Aristocraticall
Captivity in the Tower
of London;
April 4,
1649.

Dulce est pro Patria mori. [46]

Postscript

Courteous Reader, for thy better satisfaction concerning the infamous scandal raised by Lieutenant Colonel Axtel upon me, I thought meet

to subjoin hereunto a Copie of an Affidavit concerning the Matter: But I have forbore the publishing of the Deponents name in print, upon his own desire; Yet those of my friends who are desirous, I shall be ready to shew unto them the Originall Copy: A transcript whereof is as followeth.

A. B. of the Parish of St. Anne Aldersgate, Citizen and Pewterer of London, aged thirty six years or thereabouts, maketh Oath, That whereas Lieutenant Colonel Axtel, upon his Apprehending of Mr. Richard Overton, upon Wednesday, between five and sixe of the clock in the morning, being the twenty ninth of March last past, 1649, by an Order from the Councell of State, did raise and make a Report, that he took the said Mr. Overton in bed with this Deponents Wife, that That Report was and is altogether false and scandalous; for that this Deponent and the said Mr. Overton, the Tuesday night next preceding the said Wednesday, did lie both together all that night in one and the self same bed; and this Deponents Wife and his little Childe in another bed of this Deponents house or lodgings. And that the next morning, before the said Lieutenant Colonel Axtel knocked at the door, this Deponent, with his Wife, with the said Mr. Overton, were all up and ready (saving that Mr. Overton had not put on his boots, band and cuffs) and were altogether in a [47] chamber of this Deponents house, where this Deponents Wife was then suckling of her childe: and this Deponent hearing some body knock at the door, went down to open it; which was readily done by a girl of the same house. Whereupon the said Lieutenant Colonel Axtel (meeting this Deponent upon the stairs, and asking him if he were Mr. Overton; to which this Deponent replying, No;) commanded the Musketers (who attended him) to take this Deponent into their custody, and he himself went directly up into the chamber with some Musketers attending him. All which this Deponent affirmeth upon his oath to be true.

A. B.

Jurat. 4 Aprilis,
1649.

Rob. Aylet.

FINIS.

[49 *] *The Narrative of the Proceedings against Mr Thomas Prince, Thus followeth.*

Upon Wednesday the 28. of March 1649. about four a Clock in the morning, my house was beset with about 200 Horse and Foot Souldiers with their Arms; one or more of them knocked at my door, my Wife being up with one of my Children (who was very sick) she hearing the knocking, speedily went and asked who was there? Some of them said, Is Mr Prince within? my wife said, yes: one of them said I would speak with him about some Butter and Cheese for Ireland: my wife told them, my husband is not stirring: they sayd, We must speak with him, it is not for his hurt: my wife presently comes running to my chamber and said to me, Husband, what have you done, here is a Troop of horse and many souldiers at the door for you? I gave my wife this Answer, I fear them not, if there were ten thousand Troops: presently my wife went and let them into my house, and being entred, [50] they searched my Cestern and Oven, and three beds, and asked who lay in this bed? and who in that bed? &c. and turned and tossed the bed cloaths: presently after they came to the chamber where I was, with a pistoll and muskets presented against me: I asked them what the matter was? Lieutenant Colonel Axtel told me, I was his Prisoner, and that he did apprehend me for High Treason; I desired to see his Warrant: He said, here is a Warrant from the Council of State, signed by the Lord President, and sealed with the great Seal: I took it of him, and read it over, and I found it was no Legal Warrant, and so I told the Lieutenant Colonel. Forthwith came my Wife unto me, and said unto the Souldiers, that she knew her Husband had done no harm, and that he cared not for the worst his Enemies could do unto him.

I was joyful to hear the cheerful words of my Wife; And my Wife further said, Is these the men my Husband hath stood for, and adventured his life, as he hath done, and trusted the Parliament in their necessities, above six years past, with above 1000 l. and is yet unpayd? I am sure my Husband is above 2000 l. the worse in his Estate, for assisting them. I said, Good sweet Heart be content, it is not for men I have stood, it is that the Commonwealth might be freed from Tyranny and Slavery, and I am not sorry for what I have done, for I have discharged a good Conscience therein.

I made me ready presently, took my leave of my dear and loving Wife, and went with the Lieutenant Colonel into my shop, where I

* Page 48 is blank. *Editors' note.*

found one of my servants and divers Souldiers with him; The Lieutenant Colonel asked me if I missed any thing, wished me to search the Souldiers.

I looked upon the Souldiers, and I told them, By their faces they seemed to me to be no such men: I told them, I had better thoughts of them; I, for my part, have done the Souldiers no wrong:

And I doubt not but these men and their fellow-Souldiers will stand for their own and the Peoples just Liberties against all Tyranny in whomsoever. [51]

And as I was going from my shop in the Lane which doth joyn to my house, there was another party of Souldiers which stood nigh unto my door; and perceiving them in the street and lane, I laught heartily to see so many armed men come for me: I told the Lieutenant Col. one man with a Legal Warrant had been sufficient: The Lieutenant said, they had special Order upon their peril to come: I told him, to come in that manner was suitable to his unjust Warrant: And I also told him, my name is Prince, and that it was usual for Princes to have great attendance.

The Lieutenant Collonel gave a Captain charge of me, to bring me to Paul's yard, which was performed with a strong Guard following close unto us; after a very little time, came my Friend Lieut. Col. John Lilburn, and Mr William Walwyn, after salutations betwixt us, we went from thence with Adjutant General Stubbard to White-Hall, and there with a very strong Guard of Soldiers was brought unto us our Friend Mr Richard Overton, and there we were kept prisoners until about five a Clock in the afternoon, at that time with a Guard of Souldiers we were brought to Darby-house; within two hours after we had been there, I was called for; I presently went, as was desired, into a room, where I see about ten or twelve men sitting about a large Table; after I had given them a full view, I put off my Hat: I was spoke unto to go nigh Mr Bradshaw, which I did; Mr Bradshaw said unto me, Here is the Votes of Parliament against that printed paper, entituled, *The second part of Englands new Chaims discovered*, which Mr Bradshaw gave unto Mr Frost to read it to me, which he did. Mr Bradshaw likewise told me, Here is an Order of Parliament, giving power to this Council of State to finde out and examine the Authors, Framers and Contrivers of the aforesaid paper, and to deal with them as they shall see cause; This Council is informed that you are one of the Authors, Framers or Contrivers of the aforesaid Paper, and you are required to give your Answer. [52]

After a little silence, I said these words, or to this effect;

Sir, I am an Englishman, and therefore lay claim to all the Rights and Liberties which belongeth unto an Englishman; and God gave me such knowledg, that in the very first beginning of the late Wars I gave my cheerful assistance against those that would rule over the people by their own wills, and upon that account, I adventured my life, and lost much blood in defence of the Common-wealth, and all along to this day have assisted in person and purse, to my utmost abilities, and I am the same man still to withstand Tyranny in any whomsoever.

Sir, I hate no man in the world, only the evil in any man I hate.

Sir, all those good things which my conscience and my actions will witness, I have done in behalf of the Common-wealth; I desire they may be all layd aside, and not come in the ballance, as to hinder any punishment that can be afflicted upon me for breaking any known Law.

Sir, that which makes a man an offender, is for breach of a Law, and that Law ought to be made before the offence is committed. Sir, Although I have fought and assisted against the wills and tyranny of men, yet I have not fought to overthrow the known Laws of the Land; for if there be no Law to protect my Estate, Liberty and Life, but to be left to the will of men, to the power of the Sword, to be abused at pleasure, as I have been this day, contrary to Law, being fetcht from my wife and family. Sir, by the same rule you may send for my wife, and children, and for all my estate, and the next time, if you please, to destroy all my neighbors; nay all in the City, and so from County to County, until you destroy as many as you please.

Sir, I have heard talk of Levellers, but I am sure this is levelling indeed, and I do here before you abhor such doings, and I do protest against them.

Sir, There is a known Law in this Land: if I have wronged any man, let him take his course in Law against me, I fear not what any man in England can do to me by Law; and, Sir, the Law I lay claim unto, as my right, to protect me from violence. [53]

Sir, the Parliament hath lately declared, they would maintain the Law; but I am sure their and your dealing by me declares to the contrary.

Mr Bradshaw said, Is this your Answer? I said, Yes; then I was commanded to withdraw.

After some space I was called in again, Mr Bradshaw asked me, if I did own or deny that Paper, entituled, *The second part of Englands*

new Chains discovered; and to this I was required by that Council to give my Answer. To which I replied:

Sir, At the beginning of the Parliament it was declared, how destructive it was for any man to be examined upon Interrogatories; and Sir, if they had not Declared it, it is my right not to be examined against my self; Sir, God hath given me this understanding, not to wrong my Neighbour nor my Self; if my right hand should take away and betray the liberty of my left, I would cut it off: Sir, the people who is the Originall of all Just Power, hath not given any such power to the Parliament, as to examine men against themselves in criminall Causes; the Parliament cannot give that to others they have not.

Sir, as I said before, if any man in England hath any thing against me, let them take their course by Law; Sir, the Law doth prescribe Rules for the Offender to be brought before a Justice of Peace, and after the Justice hath examined witnesses upon Oath, before the party apprehended, if the offence (although proved upon oath) be Bayleable, the Justice is to take Bayle, if the Justice refuse, the party may arrest the Justice, and have his cost by Law against him; if not Bayleable the party is to be sent to prison, and there to be kept untill the next Session or Assises, and not during pleasure.

Sir, I never heard of any Law that gives you, or any of these Gentlemen that sit here, any just Authoritie to call me here in this manner before you.

Master Bradshaw said, Is this your Answer? I answered yes; then I was bid withdraw.

About an hour after, news was brought unto us, That we [54] were to be sent Prisoners to the Tower, upon suspition of High Treason; we disputed with the Officer, and shewed he had no Legall Warrant to carry us thither as prisoners; notwithstanding (by the power of the sword) we were brought Prisoners to the Tower of London, where we are Rejoycing that we are counted worthy to suffer in bearing Testimony for the Freedom of the People, against their Usurpation and Tyrannie.

From the Tower of
London this 1.
day of April

1649.

FINIS.

THO: PRINCE.

[From the second edition. See Introductory Note, p. 190.]

[21] I shall desire to acquaint the Reader, that when the Title page of the fore-going Book was first set, there was an absolute determination to have re-printed all our Examinations together; but for some weighty reasons the intentions are altered; and because I understand that the fury, rage and bloud-thirstinesse of Cromwell, Ireton, Haslerig, and Harrison is most at me, right or wrong to destroy me and have my bloud, I am determined, by Gods assistance, to fill their hands as full with my own pen, as all the brains I have can fill them; and to make them pay a valuable price, if possibly I can, for every hair of my head. And in order to my future intentions, I shall here annex my Outcryes against the Bishops, when they had like to have murdered me in the Fleet, being printed at Amsterdam 1639, intituled

A Cry for Justice: or; An Epistle written by John Lilburn, To all the grave and worthy Citizens of the famous City of London, but especially to the Right honorable Maurice Abbot, Lord Maior thereof,

The most miserable and lamentable complaint of that inhumane, barbarous, savage and unparalell'd cruelty and tyranny, that is causelesly, unjustly, and wrongfully exercised upon me John Lilburn a faithfull Subject to my Prince, Country, and a Prentise of this Honorable City, though now a most deplorable close prisoner in the common Gaol of the Fleet. 1639.

Most Honorable and Noble Lord, The chief cause wherefore God the wise Governour of Heaven and Earth, did appoint Magistrates, was for the good of the sons of men, and that they should do Justice betwixt a man and his neighbour, and that they should hear the grievances of the oppressed, and deliver them from the cruelty of their oppressors. [22]

That wrong, violence and injustice that I have suffered, would be now too long to relate in particular: but it being so insupportable, made me to publish it abroad unto the view of the world, to the perpetuall infamy of my tormentors, the chief of which are the traiterous, bloody, murdering Prelates.

The story of my former misery and wrongs you may, if you please, read at large in three severall Books of mine now in print, and published to the view of England, Scotland, Ireland and Holland. They are called My unjust Censure in the Star-chamber, My Speech at the

Pillory, and My mournfull Lamentations. I have not seen them since they were put in print, because the Prelate of Canterbury wrongfully detains well nigh two thousand of them from me: but there are still many thousands of them behinde; and I doubt not but some, who pities my afflicted estate, will convey some of them unto your Lordships hands: In the last of which I have proved, that I am more cruelly dealt with, then bloody Bonner dealt with the poor Saints and Martyrs in Queen Marys dayes, and that I am denied that which in England was never yet denied to any Traytor that ever I read of. And in it I accuse William Laud the Prelate of Canterbury for High Treason; the which I did a yeer agoe before Sir John Banks Knight, and will still venture my life upon the proof thereof, if I may have a Legall proceeding. One ground of my accusation is this; the Parliament Laws and Statutes of this Land, as the 25 and 37 of Hen. 8. and the first of Edw. 6. and the first and 27 of Elizabeth, doth enact to this effect, That whosoever goes about to set up or challenge any forrain or domestick Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, but what doth immediatly flow and come from the Imperiall Crown, is (*ipso facto*) a Traitor, and ought to die without the benefit of Clergie, as more at large in them you may read. Now the Bishop of Canterbury and the rest of his merciless brethren, about four yeers agoe, in the Censure of the Noble Doctor Bastwick, (now of late much degenerate) there in their open Court at Lambeth, renounced the King and his Authority, and said, They were not beholding to him for their Episcopall Jurisdiction; for they were made Bishops by Jesus Christ, and consecrated by the holy Ghost, and they had their thrones, and were before Christian Kings, and they held the Crowns of Kings upon their heads; and their Maxime was, No Bishop, no King. And if this be not treason, then I think there was never any committed: And this, with much more to this effect, Doctor Bastwick doth declare in his answer to Sir John Banks his Information (as you may read in the tenth and eleventh pages thereof.) And for this (most Noble Lord) was I, against all Law and Justice, laid in irons for a long time together, in a most inhumane manner, and lock'd up close prisoner for these twelve months together, against all Law, and to the violating of the Subjects Libertie: for by Magna Charta, and other Statutes of this Land, which are still in force, but onely the execution of them is thrown in the kennell, neither the Lord Keeper, nor any others ought to commit any of the Kings Subjects close prisoners, unless either for Felony or Treason, and onely in case of an extraordinary crime; and then they

must forthwith bring them to their tryall: But by close imprisonment the Law doth not mean that the Kings Subjects should be locked up in rooms; much lesse, that their friends should not be suffered to come to speak with them, and bring them victuals to preserve their lives, as grave Judge Crook, not long since, in his Speech at Westminster-Hall did prove, when he pleaded for the Subjects Liberty. But contrary to the Parliament Laws, yea, and the practice of Heathens and Pagans, I am lockt up close all alone, and cannot be suffered to come to a just tryall; but am kept up so close, that my friends and acquaintance that bring me relief (I being long since deserted of my Kindred) are not suffered to come at me, but are sent away with that they bring me, with all the abuses, reproaches, and revilings that possible may be, by my Keeper. And one that came unto me he hath beaten, and others he hath [23] threatned to kick if they come any more to me; and to others of them he hath most falsly and slanderously reviled me, calling me Rebell and Traytor, telling them that no victuals should come at me: so that I am forced daily, in regard of barbarous cruelty, to cry out aloud at my iron grate, to the prisoners and strangers, to let them know the height of my misery wherein I live: and yet no redresse can I have, but daily more and more cruelty is exercised upon me, and many grievous threats from bloody murdering Morry my keeper, who threatens to hamper me, and lock my head and legs together for my complaining: This he did the last Lords day at night, and also offered to beat me with his keys, in so much, that at ten a clock at night I was forced to cry out to the prisoners of it. And in this most miserable condition do I remain, though I have been dangerously sick almost these eleven months, which many times hath brought me even unto deaths door; and in regard of my exceeding extremity of pain in my head, by reason of my long closenesse ever since Candlemass Term was twelve months, and my cruell torments besides, I have been constrained (for to get a little ease of my extream pain, which in sudden fits takes me for two or three hours together) to be tied to a constant course of Physick usually once in fourteen dayes, and sometimes oftner: And though of late I had a little liberty to walk once a day in the common prison yard; yet I am now deprived of it by the Warden for complaining of my keepers cruelty, and his shamefull abusing me, and my friends which did but come to look upon me; with whom this was my greatest discourse, that I had tied my self by promise, before I could get that little liberty of walking, that I would not talk with any

Friends; therefore I desired them not to be offended, for I durst not talk with them: Yet because they came but to see me, I was deprived of it; and also they that looked to me in my sicknesse and weaknesse kept from me; so that now in my weakness I have none to look to me. In my Grievous and mournfull Complaint already published, I have a little touched the Wardens galled conscience for his cruell oppressions: wherefore he in revenge (it seems) intends to murther me, lest I should by my just complaints make it cost him as dear as the salving up of his wickednesse did, when he was last called to an account; for I have heard the prisoners with open mouth proclaim it, that for making his peace, he gave to the Earl of Bohon ten thousand pounds, and to the fore-man of the Jury one thousand pounds; for which his conscience being troubled, he revealed it upon his death bed: And also to an Officer five hundred pounds to rase out some things which were upon record: yea, I have heard the poor Prisoners proclaim it aloud, that he cozens them of above seven hundred pounds a yeer which belongs to them; and allows them but a small pittance, upon which they are not able to live; and some of them have severall times in the open Chappel cryed out to the Gentlemen prisoners, that they are ready to starve and perish for want of food; yea, so great hath been the barbarous cruelty of the Warden to the poor, that (if the Prisoners reports may be beleaved) poor men here have been forced, for want of food, to eat their own dung: And this had been my own condition, in likelihood, had not God raised up some compassionate Friends, that were meer strangers unto me before my sufferings; some of which, through all difficulties and reproaches from my Keeper, have brought me food. And though the poor have not by the Wardens means the tenth part of their due, yet to lessen that small means which the poor hitherto hath had (some of which have nothing else in the world to live upon) he hath of late added unto them so many more, (some of which are men of able estates) which he hath put upon the charity, contrary to their Orders, purposely to starve the poor indeed: yea, he hath by force put upon the charity Henry the Hangman, who is under-Turnkey, and hath forty pound land a yeer, as he himself confesseth; and [24] whose vailes besides, as I have heard the prisoners say, are some times better worth then three shillings a day; and this the warden hath done for him, because he is so officious and ready in beating and abusing the poor distressed prisoners, that cry out of the wardens cruelty; and not only the poor prisoners, but also some of those that come to

visit and relieve them, some of which he hath beat, and threatned to kick others.

I have heard the prisoners affirm that the revenues of the Fleet hath been cast up to be above threescore thousand pounds a yeer; oh therefore the height of cruelty not to be paralell'd, I think amongst the savage, and barbarous Heathens and Pagans, and which mightily crys unto your Honor, now in our Sovereigns absence, for the wellfare of the City, betimes to be looked unto, and with the assistance of the Noble Lord Protector, to examine out the truth of things, that poor oppressed men may have speedy redress of their wrongs; the greatest part of which, ariseth by reason of the wardens greatnesse with the Bishop of Canterbury and the Lord Keeper, so that they dare not for fear (as I have heard some of them say) complain of him.

Besides my Lord it is notoriously known, that John Morry my upper keeper hath been arraigned at Newgate for murthuring a prisoner here in former times, and I think here are other fresh things against him, if poor prisoners might be heard and have justice, which would bear another inditement, and at least manifest him to be too too bloody a man to have the keeping of poor innocent men; for some in this prison, as it is here reported have been secretly poysoned and lost their lives upon it, and others with eating garlike, and like antidotes have expelled it, and are yet living here to justifie the same; and my dogged under keeper hath been a hangman; whereupon the prisoners at their fallings out with him, do say this verse to his face (viz) Morry the Irish pedler, and Harry the hangman of Cambridge-Shiere, and by these two bloody men, from both of which I have received unsufferable wrongs, my Adversaries intend I shall be killed in a corner.

Because of my untainted innocency, they dare not bring me to a legall publike tryal to the view of the Kingdom; wherefore I am forced by reason of intolerable cruelty injustice and wrong, to cry out unto your Honour, as I have often done at my grate, murther, murther, murther; therefore hear O Heavens, and give eare O Earth, and all ye that hear or read this my just complaint and lamentation, bear witness to future generations, that I cry out of violence, wrong, injustice, cruelty, and inhumanity, that I suffer from the trayterous Bishop, and the unjust Lord Keeper, old Sir Henry Vaine, and their bloody Jaylours, which do and will execute their commands, be they never so unjust and unlawful. And how that for my zeal and courage for my God and his truth and glory, and for my ardent love to my Prince and Coun-

try, and for my strong desire and indeavour for the prosperity and flourishing estate of this renowned City, the Metropolis of England, I am like to lose my life and blood by murthuring cruelty in close Imprisonment; Therefore, oh all ye brave and worthy Citizens, save, help and rescue me a poor distressed and greatly oppressed young man, from the devouring pawes of devouring Lionish men.

Now my Honorable Lord, I come to make my humble supplication unto your self, which is this; that you would be pleased to take my most deplorable condition into your grave and serious consideration, and after your consultation about it, with your worshipfull brethren the Aldermen of this City, acquaint the honourable Lord protector that noble and courteous Earl of Northumberland, with it (who in part knows it already) but alas alas, I am long since deserted of my kindred and friends, so that I have none that dare follow my business for me; wherefore I am like shortly to perish in my [25] great distress unless your Lorships be pleased in this particular to do something for me.

I desire from your Honours neither silver nor gold, for alas at present it would do me no pleasure; for had I all treasure in the world to buy me victuals, and want a stomack when I should have them, they would nothing avail me: and yet so lamentable is my condition, by reason of my long close and painfull sickness; so that all the favour I desire is but the one of these two things. First that if I be thought to be an offender; that then I may be forthwith brought to a publick tryal, and suffered with freedom to pleade my own just cause again the Bishops, and the Lord Keeper, and old Sir Henry Vaine's illegall and unjust censure of me which was onely upon this ground: because I refused to take an illegall and unlawfull inquisition oath, which he the Lord Keeper tendred to me, which as I told him to his face in the Star-chamber is against the Statute Lawes of this land; yea against the petition of right, enacted in the 3 yeer of our Sovereign King Charles; yea I told him and proved it to be against the Lawes of God and man, and contrary to the practise of the Heathens and Pagans; (as you may read in the Acts of the Apostles) yet this was the onely ground wherefore he and old Sir Henry Vane, &c. censured me to pay 500 pound, and to be whipt; for there was no witness brought against me face to face, onely there was read two false oaths made by one Edmond Chillington (now a Lieut. in Col. Whalyes Regiment, and one of the principal men that lately caused the Souldier to be shot to death at Pauls) whom the Bishop hired, by giving him his liberty out of New-gate

prison for swearing those two false oaths, and doing them other wicked service of the like nature.

My Lord for my own part I desire no mercy nor favour nor compassion from the greatest of my enemies, but onely the benefit of my Sovereignes Lawes, which as I am a faithful and loyal subject to my Prince and Contry, I do according to my priviledge earnestly crave and begg not fearing by reason of my unspotted Innocency the rigour of Justice; for my innocency is such that I fear neither death nor hell, men nor Devills, hanging nor burning; for I assuredly know that when this my miserable life is ended I shall go to my God of glory to be a possessor of an immortal Crowne of glory.

In the second place, if they will not let me have a speedy and legal tryall, then therefore in regard my keepers are such murthering, poysoning and starving fellowes, that I have just cause, in regard of their cruell bloody threats and inveterate malice at me, to fear that they will either secretly by poison, or else by other wicked cruelty put me to death. I humbly and earnestly desire, that I may be turned over to Bridwell, Newgate, either of the Countors, or any other prison about this City, where my friends may be suffered to come to me and relieve me, and look to me in my weaknesse and great distresse; for I am necessitated with speed to take physick again to ease the extremity of pain which I endure in my head; if my Friends according to law and humanity might be suffered to come to look to me. And for my safe imprisonment, if I may be removed I will put in sufficient security either to the L. Protector, or your self for my forth-coming at all times to answer whatsoever the greatest or capitallest of my enemies shall at any time object against me.

Now, my Lord, I have a little acquainted you with my grievous and just complaint, the particulars of which I offer to justifie and prove, it being such an example of cruelty which is lawlesly and unjustly exercised upon me, which I think cannot be parallell'd in any Nation in the world, where morality and humanity are professed.

Oh therefore, as you are the Noble Governour of this Renowned City, and a Magistrate of good report, make me some powerfull and speedy help against the cruel Warden, whose lawless, unjust, and uncontrollable oppressions are so great (not only to me, but also to many other poor prisoners) that I think no Prison in the world is able to parallel those just complaints that poor distressed men are able justly to make against him; the chief of which arise from the Bishop, old Sir Henry Vane, and the Lord Keeper's bearing up the Warden in all his

cruelty, for executing with tyranny and rigour their unjust and un-law-[26] full Commands upon those they commit hither to be tormented in our cruel Fleet Purgatory; which if any of the oppressed do but offer to speak of, the Warden and his Officers do labour by lawlesse cruelty to murther them.

Therefore it behoves you, my Lord, and my Lord Protector, now in our Sovereignes absence [being then gone against the Scots] * to hear the cries of poor distressed, and too too much oppressed prisoners, and to ease them according to justice and right, of their intolerable burthens.

For my own part, my distresses and miseries are so great, that I protest before the God of heaven and earth, that I had rather imbrace present death, then still endure the piercing bitterness of my oppressing torments: yea, I had rather chuse to be banished into the howling and dolesom wilderness, and left among the Lions, Dragons, Bears and Wolves, those devouring and ramping wilde beasts, then to be as I am, in the custody of the lawlesse, murthering Bishop and Jaylors.

O therefore, if there be any bowels of mercy and compassion in you, most Noble Lord, pity the deplorable condition of me a poor distressed innocent young man, and a Prentice of this Honourable City: And with you, my Lord, I have had occasion to speak face to face about my Masters businesse; and the last piece of service that I did him was in your Honours House. O that I were with you again, that I might with mournfull sollicitations sollicite you for some speedy redresse; which for our Christ his sake I beseech you let me shortly have, lest the continuance in my present and constant misery, cause me to publish this in print, proclaiming it aloud to other Nations, to the publick view of all men, that so they may know my miserable condition. But if I can but have any redresse I shall be ready at your Honours command to do you any service that I am able; and in the interim, I shall with willingnesse sit down in peace and silence. So committing you and all your brave Citizins to the keeping of the Almighty Protector, desiring him to guide your Noble heart uprightly to execute Justice and Judgment in your great place, in these tormenting, oppressing and bloody times; that so your good name for equity and justice may be had in perpetuity in future generations. So for the present I humbly take my leave, and rest,

* Your most miserable distressed, and cruelly oppressed poor Suppliant,

JOHN LILBURN.

* The brackets appear in the original text. *Editors' note.*

All of this I subscribe with my own blood, which is already almost shed with cruelty: And for the safety of my life, since I was whipt, to the number of above 500 stripes with knotten whip-cords in lesse then an hours space, I have been forced to be let blood four times.

And because in my most cruell condition I am not suffered to have either pen or ink, neither of which I make use of in the writing of this, I am forced to send it very ruggedly to your Honour, and to crave pardon for those literal faults that you shall finde in it.

From the Fleet, the oppressingest and cruellest prison (I think) that is in the world; the middle of this fifth Month, called May, 1639.

JOHN LILBURN.

THE/ FOUNTAIN/ OF/ SLAUNDER/ Discovered./ By *William Walwyn*, Merchant./ WITH/ Some passages concerning his present/ Imprisonment in the Tower of LONDON./ *Published for satisfaction of Friends/ and Enemies.*/ [Ornament]/ LONDON,/ Printed by *H. Hills*, and are to be sold by *W. Larnar*, at the sign of the *Blackmore*, near *Bishops-gate.*/ M. DC. XLIX./

[Excerpt. See Introductory Note, p. 191.]

[10] I never proposed any man for my enemy, but injustice, oppression, innovation, arbitrary power, and cruelty; where I found them, I ever opposed my self against them; but so, as to destroy the evil, but to preserve the person: And therefore all the war I have made, other than what my voluntary and necessary contributions hath maintained, which I have wisht ten thousand times more then my ability; so really am I affected with the Parliaments just cause for the common freedom of this Nation. I say, all the war I have made, hath been to get victory over the understandings of men, accounting it a more worthy and profitable labour to beget friends to the Cause I loved, rather then to molest mens persons, or confiscate mens estates: and how many reall Converts have been made through my endeavours, reproaches might tempt me to boast, were I not better pleased with the conscience of so doing.

Of this mind I was in the year, 1646. and long before; and of the same mind I am at this present; and, I trust, shall ever but be so.

And hence it is, that I have pursued the settlement of the Government of this Nation by an Agreement of the People; as firmly hoping thereby, to see the Commonwealth past all possibility of returning into

a slavish condition; though in pursuite thereof, I have met with very hard and froward measure from [11] some that pretended to be really for it: So that do what I will for the good of my native Country, I receive still nothing but evil for my labour; all I speak, or purpose, is construed to the worst; and though never so good, fares the worse for my proposing; and all by reason of those many aspersions cast upon me.

If any thing be displeasing, or judged dangerous, or thought worthy of punishment, then Walwyn's the Author; and no matter, saies one, if Walwyn had been destroyed long ago: Saies another, Let's get a law to have power our selves to hang all such: and this openly, and yet un-reproved; affronted in open Court; asperst in every corner; threatened wherever I passe; and within this last month of March, was twice advertised by Letters, of secret contrivances and resolutions to imprison me.

And so accordingly (sutable to such prejudgings and threatnings) upon the 28th of March last, by Warrant of the Council of State; I that might have been fetcht by the least intimation of their desire to speak with me, was sent for by Warrant under Sergeant Bradshaw's hand, backt with a strong party of horse and foot, commanded by Adjutant Generall Stubber (by deputation from Sir Hardresse Waller, and Colonel Whaley) who placing his souldiers in the allyes, houses, and gardens round about my house, knockt violently at my garden gate, between four and five in the morning; which being opened by my maid, the Adjutant Generall, with many souldiers, entred, and immediately disperst themselves about the garden, and in my house, to the great terror of my Family; my poor maid comming up to me, crying and shivering, with news that Souldiers were come for me, in such a sad distempered manner (for she could hardly speak) as was sufficient to have daunted one that had been used to such sudden surprisals; much more my Wife, who for two and twenty years we have lived together, never had known me under a minutes restraint by any Authority; she being also so weakly a woman, as in all that time, I cannot say she hath enjoyed a week together in good health; and certainly had been much more affrighted, but for her confidence of my innocence; which fright hath likewise made too deep an impression upon my eldest Daughter, who hath continued sick ever since, my Children and I having been very tender one of another: Nor were my neighbours lesse troubled for me, to whose love I am very much obliged.

The Adjutant Generall immediately followed my maid into my

Chamber, as I was putting on my clothes; telling me, that he was sent by the Council of State (an Authority which he did own) to bring me before them: I askt, for what cause? he answered me, he did not understand particularly, but in the notion of it, it was of a very high nature: I askt him, if he had any warrant? he answered, he had, and that being drest, I should see it.

The Souldiers I perceived very loud in the garden; and I not imagining then, there had been more disperst in my neighbours grounds and houses; and being willing to preserve my credit (a thing sooner bruised then made whole) desired him, to cause their silence, which he courteously did: Then I told him, if he had known me in any measure, he would have thought himself, without any souldiers, sufficient to bring me before them: That I could not but wonder (considering how well I was known) that I should be sent for by Souldiers, when there was not the meanest civil Officer but might command my appearance: That I thought it was a thing not agreeable to that freedom and liberty which had been pretended.

That now he saw what I was, I should take it as a favour, that he would command his Souldiers off, which he did very friendly, reserving some two very civil Gentlemen with him; so being ready, he shewed me the Warrant: the substance whereof was, for suspicion of treason, in being suspected to be the Author of a Book, entituled, *The second part of Englands new Chains discovered*: I desired him to take a Copy of it, which was denied, though then and afterwards by my self, and Lieut. Col. John Lilburn (who was likewise in the same Warrant) importuned very much for.

Then I went out with him into Moor-Fields, and there I saw, to my great wonder, a great party of souldiers, which he commanded to march before, and went with me, (only with another Gentleman, at a great distance) to Pauls; yet such people as were up, took so much notice of it, as it flew quickly all about the Town; which I knew would rebound much to my prejudice, in my credit; which was my only care, the times being not quallified for recovery of bruises in that kind.

In Pauls Church-yard was their rendezvous; where I was no sooner come, but I espied my Friends, Mr Lilburn and Mr Prince, both labouring to convince the souldiers of the injury done unto us, and to themselves, and to posterity, and the Nation in us: in that they, as souldiers, would obey and execute commands in seizing any Freeman

of England, not Members of the Army, before they evidently saw the civil Magistrates and Officers in the Common-wealth, were resisted by force, and not able to bring men to legall trials, with very much to that purpose; and in my judgment, prevailed very much amongst them; many looking, as if they repented and grieved to see such dealings.

Then they removed to a house for refreshment, where, after a little discourse, we perswaded them to release two of Mr Davenish his sons, whom a Captain had taken into custody without Warrant: but that kind of errour being laid fully open, they were enlarged with much civility, which I was glad to see, as perceiving no inclination in the present Officers or Souldiers, to defend any exorbitant proceedings, when they understood them to be such.

So the Adjutant Generall sent off the whole party, and with some very few, took us, by water, to his Quarters at Whitehall (where after a while, came in Mr Overton) the Adjutant intending about nine of the clock, to go with us to Darby house.

But the Council not sitting till five at night, we were kept in his Quarters all that time; where some, but not many of our friends that came to visit us, were permitted.

About five a clock, the Council sate; so he took us thither, where we continued about two houres, before any of us were called in; and then Mr Lilburn was called, and was there about a quarter of an hour, and then came out to us, and his Friends, declaring at large all that had past between him and them.

Then after a little while, I was called in, and directed up to Sergeant Bradshaw the President; who told me, that the Parliament had taken notice of a very dangerous Book, full of sedition and treason; and that the Council was informed, that I had a hand in the making or compiling thereof; that the Parliament had referred the enquiry and search after the Authors and Publishers, to that Council; and that I should hear the Order of Parliament read, for my better satisfaction: so the Order was read, containing the substance of what the President had delivered; and then he said, by this you understand the cause wherefore you are brought hither; and then was silent, expecting, as I thought, what I would say.

But the matter which had been spoken, being only a relation, I kept silence, expecting what further was intended; which being perceived, the President said, You are free to speak, if you have any thing to say

to it: to which I said only this, I do not know why I am suspected: Is that all, said he: To which I answered, Yes; and then he said, You may withdraw: So I went forth.

And then Mr Overton, and after him, Mr Prince, were called in; and after all four had been out a while, Mr Lilburn was called in again, and put forth another way; and then I was called in again:

And the President said to this effect, that the Parliament had reposed a great trust in them for finding out the Authors of that Book; and that the Council were carefull to give a good accompt of their trust; in order whereunto, I had been called in, and what I had said, they had considered; but they had now ordered him to ask me a question, which was this: Whether or no I had any hand in the making or compiling of this Book? holding the Book in his hand: To which, after a little while, I answered to this effect, That I could not but very much wonder to be asked such a question; howsoever, that it was very much against my judgment and conscience, to answer to questions of that nature which concern'd my self; that if I should answer to it, I should not only betray my own liberty, but the liberties of all English-men, which I could not do with a good conscience: And that I could not but exceedingly grieve at the dealing I had found that day; that being one who had been alwaies so faithfull to the Parliament, and so well known to most of the Gentlemen there present, that neverthelesse I should be sent for with a party of horse and foot, to the affrighting of my family, and ruine of my credit; and that I could not be satisfied, but that it was very hard measure to be used thus upon suspicion only; professing, that if they did hold me under restraint from following my businesse and occasions, it might be my undoing, which I intreated might be considered.

Then the President said, I was to answer the question; and that they did not ask it, as in way of triall, so as to proceed in judgment thereupon, but to report it to the House: To which I said, that I had answered it so as I could with a good conscience, and could make no other answer; so I was put forth a back way, as Mr Lilburn had been, and where he was.

After this, they cal'd in Mr Overton, and after him Mr Prince, using the very same expressions, and question to all alike; and so we were all four together; and after a long expectance, we found we were committed Prisoners to the Tower of London, for suspicion of high treason; where now we are, to the great rejoycing of all that hate us, whose

longing desires are so far satisfied: And to make good that face of danger, which by sending so many horse and foot was put upon it, a strong Guard hath ever since been continued at Darby house, when the Council sits.

THE VANITIE OF THE PRESENT CHURCHES

The Vanitie Of the present Churches is reprinted from a photostat of a copy in the British Museum. It was published some time between February 23, 1649, the date of the imprimatur by Theodore Jennings, and March 12, when Thomason entered his copy in his collection. The authorship is uncertain. In the postscript, dated April 4, to his part of *The Picture of the Councel of State* (p. 24), Lilburne says that he has heard that "some of the Congregationall Preachers are very mad, at a late published and licensed booke . . . intituled, *The vanity of the present Churches*; supposing it to be the Pen of some of our friends," and, though he says, "I have within a few houres seen and read the booke, and not before," he does not deny the attribution. An anonymous reply, *Church-Levellers, or, Vanity of Vanities and Certainty of Delusion*, entered by Thomason June 22, 1649, hints that John Wildman may have been the author—a not entirely convincing suggestion. Walwyn commends the work in *Walwyns Just Defence* (p. 23), and the style and point of view, except for the uncharacteristic use of Latin at one or two points, resemble those of his *Still and Soft Voyce* (1647).

To the Reader

Although I dissent from some things in this Treatise, and other things seeme dark and doubtfull to me, yet there are many plain, clear, and evident Truths, of great use to all Christians. Therefore that the Truth may be manifest to all, And that all Believers and Churches of the Saints may be of one mind and may edifie the whole body in love. And in all their Doctrines, and Conversations, hold forth the truth as it is contained in the written word, the perfect rule of the spirit to guide us into al Truth, and to make us wise unto Salvation through that (one necessary thing) Faith, which is in Christ Jesus: which is by the Gospel, (the power of God to salvation) preached unto us. And that errorr may be discovered, reprov'd, and corrected, and if possible, that the guilty may be convinced, and reformed.

Therefore I say to this Epistle, and the ensuing Treatise.

February 23.
1648-49.

Imprimatur
THEODORE JENNINGS.

THE/ VANITIE/ Of the present/ CHURCHES,/ AND/ Vncertainty of their Preach-/ ing, discovered./ WHEREIN/ The pretended immediate teach-/ ing of the Spirit, is denyed, and the all-/ sufficiency of the Scriptures/ teaching, is maintained./ WITH,/ A new and true Method of reading thereof,/ for the peace of the mind, and rule of life./ Gal. 6. 15, 16 For in Christ Jesus neither Circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new Creature. And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, &c./ London, Printed by J. Clows, and are to be sold/ in Cornhill, and Popes-Head-Alley, 1649./

The vanity of the present Churches, and uncertainty of their Preaching discovered, &c.

AS THERE is nothing more commendable amongst men, then a true correspondency between the heart, the tongue, & the hand: so no thing is more lovely amongst Christians, then that the Conscience, the profession and the practice do universally agree; & though something be allowable unto frailty, yet when the defect or discord is continued, and that to the reproach of Christianity in generall, and to the prejudice of humane society; then certainly a reproofe is not only requisite, but the neglect thereof, a sinne of an high nature.

And so those, whom this discourse now deemeth worthy of reproofe did seeme to [2] judge, when they condemned the persecuting practices, of the new rayseed Presbyters, whose positions and professions whilst they were persecuted by the Bishops, did clearly hold forth a full and compleat liberty of Conscience, in the exercise of Religion, and justly and truly did the Independants reprove them, as their many bookes, of that Subject, do sufficiently testifie: their reproofes were sharp, and their replies driven home; whereby they put the question of the utmost liberty of Conscience, out of all question, accompting nothing more base, or mis-beseeming a Christian, then to question, or vex, or reproach any man for his judgment or practice, touching matters of Religion, and inciting all men to peace, unity, love, and true friendship, though of never so many severall opinions, or different wayes in Religion.

By which their ingenuity, they, (as the Puritan Presbyter had done before them) gained abundance of love and respect from all men: their

Congregations multiplied, and in conclusion, obtained much countenance from authority: which they no sooner tasted but instantly, some of them began to pride themselves, and to dispise others; and to re-[3]proach and villifie all such, as upon tryall and examination of their Churches, their Pastors and Sermons, finding all to be but fained imitations, nothing reall or substantiall, forsooke their societies, and thereupon as the Presbyters had used them; so deale the Independant with these, and all that any wayes adhered unto these, raying nick-names and bitter invective reproaches against them, sparing neither art nor paines, to make them odious to others, and their lives (if it were possible) a burthen to themselves; and though reasons have been offered, and conferences desired, that they might see their error, and forbear to deale thus contrary to their positive, owned, and declared principles: yet have they persisted therein, and go on still without ceasing, manifesting a most destructive and persecuting disposition, not only towards these, but towards many others whom they now (as compleat Judges of other mens Consciences) judge to be erroneous, or heriticall, and seeme to have placed their felicity in the ruine of those whom their own Consciences cannot deny to have been instrumentall in their preservations, and who have not thought their lives too precious, to purchase them that freedom which now they enjoy. [4]

And therefore it hath been conceived not only just, but of absolute necessity, to publish to the judgments of all impartial people, both of the Congregationall way and others: this their hard measure and unthankful usage of a harmlesse well-meaning people, and withall, to discover to all those who are conscientious, the error of their wayes, and emptinesse of the things wherein they glory, and to let all those who are wilfull or meere polititians amongst them, beare their shame openly, and since they are prooffe against their Consciences, and can take up, and lay down principles, professions, and practices too, as stands most with their advantage, and like the Jewes in their worst estate, make no reckoning of oppressing all that are not of their tribes, it is but equall, that such should bear their mark in their forehead, that all men might be warned from conversing with such deceivers, and if any tartnesse appear herein, they are the occasion, it being no more than they deserve.

And not only so, but we have herein also indeavoured to support the weake, and by establishing them upon the sure foundation of the written word of God, (inclining them to give eare thereunto, as unto the only true infallible teacher of spirituall things in our [5] times) and

by directing them in a brief and plain method, in the reading thereof, how to attain to that one necessary Doctrine and main design intended therein unto man, for his temporall and eternall comfort.

To which end, that we may neither seeme to wrong the one sort, nor to delude the other, and for full satisfaction of all that are, or shall be concerned herein: we affirm it to be most palpably evident, That ye of the Independant Congregationall, or of any Church-way whatsoever, have not that true essentiall mark of a true Church to be found amongst you, which only can distinguish the true from the false, and without which a true Church cannot be:—A true Church in the Scripture sence; being such only, as wherein the very word of God is purely and infallibly preached: that's the mark.

Now though it have been usuall among you in your prayers, to desire of God that your auditors may give eare to the word that you preach, not as unto the word of a mortall man, but as unto the word of the ever living God: and this too, with such solemn countenances, lifted up eyes and earnestnesse of expression, as if it were the sin of sinnes, for men to doubt it: Though this hath been [6] your course: do ye not tremble when you consider it, to think that you should so frequently practice so grosse an imposture, as openly to pray unto God, that your eronious, doubtfull uncertain conceptions, (for what other are your Sermons) shall be heard and received, as the word of the ever living God; what greater impiety, nay blasphemy, then to call mans word, Gods word, to counterfeit a Preacher an Evangelist, an Ambasadour of Christs, and to deliver a Word, a Message, a Gospel, mixt and made up of opinions and conjectures, as if it were the true reall word of the ever living God.

What is this but even to debase, belye, and offer despite to the spirit of God himself, for advancing your own false Honour and repute amongst men.

Consider this seriously, all ye that are captivated with the charmings of these Sophisters, that are intangled in their formes of godlinessse, that are drawn into their imaginary Churches, that are deluded into an opinion, that they are pastors, feeders, preachers of the word of God, and be so true to God, (whose honour lyes at stake) to your selves whose peace and comfort lyes at stake, and to your Neighbours, whose good name lye [7] at stake also: as to make a clear examination whether these pretended pastors, & Churches are taught immediately by the spirit of God, or not, as they pretend; try them by the word they preach.

And you shall find, however they have prepossessed you to the contrary, that neither they, nor your selves, have any understanding at all of such divine or heavenly things, as bring peace of Conscience and joy in the Holy-ghost, by any other way or meanes, but only and solely by the Scriptures, and that neither they, nor your selves, are taught by the spirit, as they have long perswaded you, and whereby chiefly they delude you, into a belief that they are true pastors, and your Churches, true Churches of Christ. For Judge you, had they the spirit of God as you pretend? would they need, as they do; when they have resolved to speak to you from a Text of Scripture, to go sit in their Studies, three or four dayes together, turning over those authors, that have written thereupon; and beating their own braines, to find out the meaning and true intent thereof; no certainly, had they the spirit of God, it could in an instant, in the twinkling of an eye, inform them the meaning of his own writings; they [8] would not need to be studying, seven, ten, or twenty years, to understand the truth of the Gospel, and when they have done so too be as farre to seeke as they were at first for any expresse certainty therein; for do but observe, that when they have for some years preacht up a Doctrine, they are many times forst to preach it down again, as ye well know most of them have done, and that in very materiall points.

As for instance, are they not one while zealous for the baptizing of Infants, another while for the baptizing of Beleevers only, and then again for no Baptisme at all, for want of a true Ministry? do not the Pastors differ amongst themselves, and contentions arise not only between Church and Church, but in every Church within it self? are there not some that for many years have preacht up election and reprobation, and afterwards have as much preacht it down, and cryed up generall redemption, and, that man hath free will or a negative voice in his salvation, and this in a Church gathered and taught by the spirit, as they would make the world believe and those who by praying and preaching *ex tempore*, would be thought to have yet a more immediate teaching of the spirit; how [9] extreemly are they to seeke in the ready understanding of the Scriptures, what weake and indigested matter issueth from them, is too easily discerned, yea what contradictions, they huddle one in the neck of another, though through confidence in the speaker, and superstition in the hearer, all passeth for currant truth.

But consider, can it be of the true spirit to produce uncertain Doc-

trines; if the Trumpet give an uncertain sound, who can prepare himself to the battle; so if the preacher, preach uncertainly, how can he affirm his word to be the word of God; or how from such doubtfulness can true faith be begotten in the hearts of the hearers? is not a Church founded upon such uncertainty, founded upon the sand, and built up with hay & stubble, not able to stand the least blast of a reasonable opposition; and will ye that have Consciences towards God, any longer be instrumented in this mocking of him, and by your countenance thereof partake with them in this strong delusion?

What doth the Pope and his Clergy more then belye themselves, and blasphem God, in saying, they have the true spirit of God, which leads them into all truth; whilst by [10] their lying miracles, by their art and sophistry, they lead the poor deluded people in the greatest errors, for maintenance of their own pride, covetousnesse, and luxury: The bishops they come, and by pretence of the true spirit, discover abundance of faults in the Pope and his Clergy, and make shew of great reformation; but advance only themselves and their uncertain Doctrines, for their own ambitious ends only, without any regard to the glory of God, or good of men: then comes the Presbyters, and they cry out against Common-Prayer (that was faulty enough) and studied Sermons, as stinters, and suppressors of the true Spirit of God in them; and they are no sooner in the Chaire, and their Prayers & preachings examined; but they also are found to differ one with another, to contradict themselves, & to mind only their own honour and profit; and to be possessed (as both the former) with a persecuting Spirit, which is abhorred of God, of Christ, and of all his true Ministers and Apostles.

Then comes the Independents and pretend to erect, a holy, pure and undefiled worship, according to the pattern, shewed unto them by the true Spirit indeed, pleading for generall liberty of conscience, void of all com-[11] pulsion or restriction, and professing the meeknes of the very Lambs of Christ, and humility towards all men; who now could have suspected what since hath been discovered? Namely, that they as the rest, belyed the Spirit of God, (pardon the harshnes of the expression, its for Gods cause and must be spoken) they being no more infallibly certain of the truth they raise from Scriptures then any of those whom they so much condemn; they as the rest, pray, preach, and do all for mony, and without it they do nothing, taking mony for that which is not bread, but flower, chaffe, and sand mixt together; that

did not people swallow it whole, without chewing, or examination, it would be as gravell between their teeth, and they would spit it out of their mouths.

And since, they are increased in numbers, and have as it were, scumm'd the Parish Congregations of most of their wealthy and zealous members. Do they not fully discover a serpentine disposition hankering after persecution? Do they not dayly spet their venom privatly and publickly, against any that either seperate from them, or joyne not with them, and that in as foul asperitions, as ever the Pope uttered against Luther, the Bishops against the [12] Puritan, or the Presbyter against the Independents, are they not high and skillfull in rayling? making whom they please Atheists, Anti-scripturists, Antinomians, Anti-magistrats, Polligamists, Seekers, or what they will: and can these proceed from the true Spirit of God, or from the Spirit of Antichrist? Judge impartially Yee that are yet untainted in your consciences (going on in this Church-way as deceived, and not deceivers) whether yee can offer more dispite to the Spirit of Grace, then by your presence and society, to justifie this delusion; or to uphold this new idoll, this Apple of Sodome, seeming onely faire to the eye, but touch it, and it falls to powder, to the very earth, being nought but earth, like Dagon before the Arke, having neither hands nor feet, but to (discerning eyes) is a meere uselesse lump, an Idoll, which as the Apostle saith, is nothing in the world, and therefore let none, who minde the things that are of God, uphold it any longer.

It being hardly to be beleevd, the infinite evils which comes to the world by this false supposition and assumption of these Churches of having the Spirit of God, or being taught immediatly thereby; for by occasion thereof, no sooner doth any one embrace any opinion [13] pretending to Religion, and beginnes to be fortified therein, and that after frequent hearing, prayer, fasting, or humiliation, he continues to be of the same minde, but presently he thinks himselfe bound to declare to all the world, what the Spirit of God (as he calles his owne imagination) hath made knowne unto him.

And hence it is, that at present, the World abounds with such variety of opinions, concerning life and salvation, that many a sincere heart, seeking for peace and rest therein, is kept in perpetuall suspence and doubtfullnesse, whereby their lives become a very burthen to them; and many sad, and wofull effects, follow thereupon.

Some by their confidence, and extreimity of zeale, and diligence, get

their opinions (how contrary to Scripture soever they are) into halfe the people of a Towne, Village and Parish; and then there is nothing but wrangling, envy, malice, and back-biting one another, to the extreme prejudice and unquietnesse of the place.

Some of them crying up their owne experiences, and the teachings of God within them, affirming that they speak not from Books, or Scriptures, written in Inke and Paper, and in [14] Letters and Sillables, but from the inward suggestion of the Spirit, induce multitudes to neglect the Scriptures, and to give credit onely to their wilde Notions and Opinions, and though they have no foundation in the plaine expression of the Scripture, or be contrary thereunto, yet are they satisfied, that they onely are in the truth, and all other Christians in errour, not examining their opinions by the Text, but urging that the Text is to be interpreted by their Opinions and experiences.

And hence it is, that in the esteeme of some, the Scriptures are of as small value as the Service Book: and to speak of a Christ crucified at Jerusalem, is carnall. Hence it is, that some, and those not a few, maintaine there is no sin, no evill, no difference of things, that all things are good, are one; and that all things are God, and that to see or judge any otherwise, is for want of the teaching of the Spirit; and this, though it quite contradict the whole tenour, and plaine open scope of the Scriptures, from the beginning of Genesis, to the end of the Revelation; yet passeth it for currant, and gets ground in all places.

Hence it is, that some men will neither stir, nor undertake any thing of any nature, Civill [15] or Naturall, but as they are prompted thereunto, (as they imagine) by the Spirit, or as some phrase it, by the drawings forth of the Father, taking all their inclinations, likings, or dislikings, to be immediatly from God, whereby grosse neglects and failings (to say no more) come to be excused; and not onely so, but expresly put upon Gods score.

Hence it is, that some after extreame fasting, and continuance in prayer, (beyond what their bodies could beare,) extent of minde, and intention of apprehension, have really beleevd, they have seen Christ standing by them, and heard him vocally speake unto them, that they have seene a light waving about their beds all the night long; at other times a black darkness intermixt: and in these extasies, as they call them, (but indeed feavourish distempers) they have been bid, as they thought, to doe such things as the holy Scriptures abhorre; and yet could never rest till they had done them.

And hence it is, that some presume to be so Goded with God, and Christed with Christ, as they affirme, they are in heaven, and upon the earth; that they are ever well, and that paine is not pain; that all things are nothing, and nothing all things, and glory that [16] they are contradictions; Prophetie of things to come, as the day of Judgment; name the time, the very day, see it false, and yet profess it true (in a sence,) and are beleev'd; write bookes of the Germans madde mans Divinity, of the occurrences and successe of the present distractions, in such unheard of expressions, concerning King, Parliament, and all Parties, that to a man that gives good heed to the Scriptures, nothing appeares more irreligious; yet through the generall supposition of the immediate teaching of the Spirit, the authors please not onely themselves, but others; and none speaks against it, or writes, or preaches against it to any purpose, least they should break the golden chaine of their own honour or profit; for whoever assumes, or maintaines himselfe to be taught by, or to have the Spirits mediate teaching, is lyable to hold any thing his Fancy presents to his Imagination, and dares not condemne the false assumption of Gods holy Spirit, in another, least he should thereby condemne himselfe; since they both have but their owne bare affirmations, for their foundation, neither being able to manifest, by any thing extraordinary, the reall possession thereof.

To this sad condition are men in these [17] times, brought by this fals presence of a Spirit, which once taken up, & insisted on, their credit becomes so ingag'd, and they are so exceedingly delighted, and lifted up, in being thought the darlings of God, that it is the hardest thing in the world, to make them see their mistake; offer but once to bring them into a doubt, or but desire them to examine how (amidst so many contradictory Opinionists, all affirming the Spirit of God for their leader in each) any one of them comes to know himselfe to be in the right, and they turne the head of one side, single [out] and condemn you as not enlightned, and pray not to trouble them; yet if you enquire, what at any time the Spirit immediatly hath made known unto them, they cannot tell one sillable, but recite some place of Scripture, which by serious intention hath imprinted it selfe in their minds.

If you demand a reall Demonstration of the Spirit, they can give you none, but (peradventure) will tell you, that you must awaite Gods time, and he will enlighten you. That their Spirit is as the White Stone in the Revelation, the name whereof no body knew, but he that received it; making use of false, darke, and misterious Scriptures (inten-

[18] ded for another end) to prove that they are unable by any sound argument, or sensible demonstration to manifest: Whereas, were they really endowed therewith, they could not conceale it, nor we be unconvinced of its devine and supernaturall Power, but must needs bend our knees, and hearts in acknowledgement thereof.

If we urge the Scriptures against them, they tell us the Letter killeth, abusing, and that so grosly that place of Scripture, to the upholding their own vain imagination; nothing being more evident, then that by Letter, in that place of the Romanes, is to be understood the Law: and by Spirit: the Gospel.

And if men did not too much Idolize their owne fancies, it would soone appear, That now in our times we have no Preacher of the Gospel but the Scriptures; which being the infallible Word of God, the Word of Truth, Eph. 1. 13. not the Word of man, but (as it is in truth) the Word of God. 1 Thes. 2. ver. 13. which was not yea, and nay, but yea, 2 Cor. 1. ver. 18, 19, 20. The Word of God that abideth for ever. Is it not strange, that our pretended Preachers of all sorts, should so far prevaile upon the minds of men, as to draw them from giving eare, to what this Word of truth plainly [19] and evidently holdeth forth, for the peace of their minds, and direction of their lives; and take up their time and thoughts wholly, or principally, with their uncertain & fallible Sermons, making them in effect, forsake these living fountains, and digg to themselves broken Cisterns, that can hold no water.

Nay, a wonderfull thing it is, that it should be received for a currant truth, That this, the greatest blessing the World knows, this word of the ever living God, should now come to be esteemed, but as a dead Letter; this sword of the Spirit, that forceth it selfe into our dead naturall understandings, plants it selfe there, makes us one with it: and forms us new; this regenerating word, this immortall seed, should be so undervalued, as to passe but as a dead Letter.

Time was, that it was otherwise in England, when our fore-Fathers would have given any thing in the world; yea, many of them gave up their lives, rather then they would part with the smalest part of this precious Word, translated into English, by the first sincere professors of true Christian doctrins; but then Godliness was esteemed the greatest gain, and the iniquity of Learning, was not arived to so much impudence, as to make a gain [20] of Godlynesse, to make a trade of Religion, and to become rich by pretended preaching. Nor weaned they the people from the Scriptures, to give eare to their notions, and opin-

ions; telling them they had the Spirit, and that the Scriptures were but a dead letter; but invited and perswaded all men, to a diligent consideration of the true scope and intent of them.

Neither did they preferre the understanding of men, with difficult points, or obscure doctriens; but (as Luther) insisted altogether upon the Doctrin of free Justification by Christ alone; and (in way of thankfulness for so great a benefit) invited all men, to live righteously, Godly, and soberly in this present world; therein following the example of the Apostles, and the very end, scope, and main design of the Scriptures; which is that *unum necessarium*, and which, if people did rightly and seriously mind, they would not so easily be drawn to follow such Teachers, or to give eare to such Sermons; whereby they are alwaies learning, but never come to the knowledge of this one necessary truth.

For, how long work soever, Ministers and pretended Preachers, make of it, to maintaine themselves, and families in wealth, plenty, and [21] honour, necessary Doctriens are not at all hard to be understood, nor require long time to learne them; and if it did not concerne their livelihood, and profession, to make men beleve, they were people who soone understand sufficiently for their establishment, and comfort, and would fall to practice, that so they might become an honour to their profession of Christianity; for the Scriptures, or word of God, having once planted this truth in the understanding, viz. That it is the blood of Christ, which cleanseth us from all sinne; this Evangelicall truth of its own nature, would instantly set man on work to do the will of him, that hath so loved him, and constrain him to walk in love as Christ hath loved: so that after this, all the care would be, how to advance the Gospel, by making our light to shine forth before men, that others seeing our good works, may glorifie our Father which is in Heaven.

But this is no profitable way, for any of our pretended Preachers, this Doctrin is to soone learned; for if men once come to know that this short lesson is sufficient; what will they regard? either printed discourses, or Sermons, and if once they find them also full of uncer-[22] tainty, contradiction, and unnecessary things, they'le not part with their mony for such trash, when they may go to the two breasts of Christ himself, freely at all times, to the Scriptures, and buy this sweet milk and hony, without mony and without price; and if men and women come once to understand this, they will not comber themselves with many things but possessing this unvalluable truth, will ever worship God in Spirit and in Truth; and declare unto others this blessed one necessary comfortable

way, and that not by preaching or long set speeches: which are apt to deceive; but by conferences, and mutuall debates, one with another, (the best way for attaining a right understanding) far excelling that which is called preaching. But then, how shall Demetrius and the Craftsmen live? even by some lawfull calling, this being the most palpably delusive [error] of any in the world, and it is very strange, that all men do not discern and avoid it.

It is so, as cunningly as it is carryed, & as high in repute as it is, & hath long time been, having no foundation but in the weake credulity of men; for if men but once consider it, their Sermons will appear to be but as common discourses, full of mistakes, errors, and at the [23] least altogether uncertaine: and that all their preachings and prayings are only for mony, and that their greatest skill and labour, is to hold men ever in suspence; and upon pretence of truth, to give them a bastard Scholastick knowledge, which only serve to make men proud, wrangling Sophisters, and Disputers, vain boasters, talkers, busie-bodies, censurers, Pharisees, wise in their own eyes, and despising others, void of all true piety or reall Christian vertue: and no marvaile.

For such as the tree is, such ever will be the fruit; they boast to have the Spirit of God, & you see it is but boasting, or their own imagination only: and in the mean time, take the Scriptures for a dead Letter; and either reject them, or make them speak according to the spirit of their own Imaginations; and so instead of being reall, are at best but fantastick Christians, uncertain (if not false) Teachers: and such are their fruits. The greatest part of their time, wherein they should be employed to feed the hungry, cloath the naked, or in visiting the fatherlesse & widdow, or in delivering the Captive, and setting the oppressed free, (all which are workes, so fully and plainly set forth in Scripture, as most pleasing to God) being spent in talking upon some hard texts [24] of Scripture, such are their Sermons, or in disputes & contests, upon some nice & difficult questions. And this exercising themselvs therein, week after week, and day after day, and in fastings and repetitions, and in writing of these doubtfull Sermons, is by them called a Religious exercise, and those who can but attain to so much boldnesse and utterance, as to speak and pray an howre, two or three, together, take upon them, and are reputed, guifted Christians, and principall religious persons, when as many of them get good estates by so doing, good benefices, and others who make not a trade of it, as many devout pastors do; yet gaine so much credit thereby, as doth much increase

their Trades, and advance their Custom and dealing in the world, and now and then helps to a good round Office. And whilst any of this strain of Christians, may live in this kind of devotion twenty years, preach for twenty or forty shillings a year, and have the repute, of a most religious knowing Christian, from the testimony of the most grave, learned, and solemn pastors of all Congregations, if but a part of their religious disbursments be spent upon them, it is not to be wondered at, that so few are found to serve God sincerely in the way of pure and undefi-[25] led Religion, which would plume their Peacocks feathers, and cost them more in one year, then all their lip-service, and Church-devotion, doth many of them in their whole life-time.

Nay, so impudent are many of these proud boasting Churches, (who glory to follow precisely the pattern shewed in the mount) that contrary to all example of the Apostles and first Christians; they can content themselves to be known usurers, and those that are not such themselves, can allow it in their fellow Members, their Pastors, Elders, and Deacons can tolerate it, and why not, as well as for their pastors to take monies from such, as are of lesse abilitie then themselves; nay, do not many of them spend the greatest part of their time, either in making, buying, and selling of baubles and toys, such as serve only to furnish out the pride, luxury, and fantasticalnesse of the world; yea, view them well in their apparell, from head to foote; consider them in their dyet and usuall feasting; in their furniture for their houses, even in these sad and miserable times; and then say, whether their silks, their fine and delicate linnen, their Laces, Beavers, Plushes; their Fancies, Plate, Rings, and Jewells; do not demonstrate [26] from what roote they are, that they are meere worldlings indeed, and Christians only in name and tongue, and not that neither, if they are well observed.

For there are many amongst them, for slandering and back-biting; for circumvention and an hipocriticall carriage, shall vie and compare with any sort of men in the world; they can play the part of Spies, Intelligencers, plot and betray, upon pretence of intimacy, of endeared friendship and familiarity, eat, drink, be merry with you, day after day, week after week, for months, yea for many years and after al: professe boldly, openly, confidently, before their Church, to Neighbors, friends, or strangers, that all this intimacy, friendship, familiarity, was only and meerely to deceive, and to discover what might be, to mischief the parties with whom they held it: shall we aske which of the Apostles was a slanderer, a spy, an Intelligencer, a betrayer; certainly none but

Judas, and the followers of Judas; let them henceforth professe themselves, at least, let all that know them, so account them, unles they manifest [by] their speech true repentance, for bringing such reproach to the profession of Christianity. [27]

But what will such men stick at, as have once dared to dissemble before God, to call themselves Preachers, and are not: to gather Churches, and to joyn and continue in the fellowship of meere mock-Churches, that dare attempt the Ordinances with prophane hands, without, and before Commission given from above, that dare pretend Commission, and yet can shew no seale, no letters of credit from Heaven, that dare affirm their own opinions and Sermons, to be the word of God: and all this after admonition, from such persons too, as out of Conscience have seperated from them, against whom also they persist to shoote their most sharp and poysoned Arrowes; even bitter words, false invectives, lyes, and slanders.

O therefore consider this! all ye whose Consciences are yet sound amongst them, or but a little taynted, and see into what a wretched condition ye may be led before ye are aware; there is no stop in wickednesse, but a progresse from one degree of evill to another, unlesse at first: therefore stop in time, and come out from amongst them, least ye soone partake with them in their sinnes; and neither approve, nor connive at what you see and know to be against the judgment of your [28] Consciences, least in time you become as the worst and vilest of them.

Study the Scriptures, that word of truth: blesse God for them, forsake them not for the vain traditions of men, for the uncertain notions, Doctrines, and comments of pretended Preachers; and be certain of this, that you may as soone as they themselves, come to a good and right understanding therein,—and that you may do so, Read them with these Considerations.

That although whatsoever is written, is written for our learning, and that we have great cause to be thankfull to God for vouchsaffing us the knowledge of the severall wayes of his dispensations to man, according to the severall times, and ages, which were from Adam, (which was the first) unto the time of the descending of the holy spirit, (which was the last:) yet are we seriously to know, that this last dispensation of the holy spirit, is that which principally concerneth us rightly to understand, and to apply to our selves, both for our comfort and rule of life; for unto this time and dispensation doth our blessed Saviour himselfe referre us, saying, I will send you another Comforter, he shall

lead you into all truth, he shall bring to remem-[29] brance the things that I have told you: and he performed his promise effectually to the Apostles, whose writings we have, containing what the same spirit taught unto them; the truth whereof, they were enabled, and did, confirm with miracles, so as it might be as truly said of them, as it was of Christ our Lord; that they taught as men having authority, and not as the Scribes, nor as the uncertain pharisaicall teachers of these times.

Unto which word of theirs, we are principally to give heed: but therein also, we are chiefly to discover and to mind, what that Doctrine was, which they by the spirit, were ordained to preach? because that being understood and believed, doth give the beleever thereof, the name and being of a Christian, how plain and brief soever it be; for we must note, that there are many things written by the Apostles upon occasions, that concerned only or chiefly, the times wherein they wrote, and the places and persons to whom they wrote, which is the true cause that many things are too hard for us to understand; but there was one universall Doctrine, which they were to preach to all Nations, [30] wherewith all their writings do abound, and which is very plain and easie to be understood.

And this is it, namely, that the same Jesus whom the Jewes crucified, was Lord and Christ: That he is the propitiation for our sins, and not only for ours, but for the sins of the whole world, That it is the blood of Christ which cleanseth us from all sinne, That his love is so exceeding towards us, that even when we were enemies, Christ dyed for us: This was the Doctrine which begot people unto the faith, and made them Beleivers: and they used no other inducement, unto Beleivers, to walk as becometh this Gospel (or glad tydings of peace and reconciliation between God and us,) but this, ye are bought with a price, therefore honour God, both in your bodies, and in your spirits: their strongest Argument to perswade, being this and the like: That the love of God which bringeth salvation unto all men hath appeared, teaching us, to deny all ungodlinesse & unrighteousnes of men, and to live righteously, godly, and soberly in this present world: that we should love as Christ hath loved, who gave himself an Offering [31] and a Sacrifice for us: so that if we would try each others Faith, we are to consider each others love; so much faith, so much love; so much love, so much pure and undefiled Religion; extending it self to the fatherles and to the Widdow; to the hungry, the naked, sick, and imprisoned; it being evident, that he who hath this worlds goods, and

suffereth his brother to lack, hath not the love of God in him, yea though he have never so great parts of knowledg, zeale, tongues, miracles, yet being void of love, he is nothing: plainly manifesting that all other Religions, are but as defiled and impure in comparison of this.

And these are the Doctrines, which make good the rejoyning of the Angels, bringing glory to God in the highest, in earth peace, good will towards men: These are sufficient, and in these do all sorts of Christians agree, and never had disagreed but for false Teachers, Wolves in sheepes Clothing; who crept in to devoure the flock: causing divers strifes and contentions, about genealogies, and about the Law, which made the Apostle abundance of trouble, crying out, O foolish Galathians who hath be-[32] witched you; telling them plainly, if righteousness came by the Law, then Christ dyed in vain; others, it should seem, fell to observe Dayes and Times, Sabaoths and Weeks, justifying themselves, and censuring others: provoking the Apostle to tell them, he was afraid of them, that he had bestowed labor in vain upon them, earnestly desiring them, to let no man deceive them, in respect of an holy day, or of the new Moon, or of the Sabaoth, &c.

The truth is, and upon experience it will be found a truth: that once exceed these plain indisputable Doctrines, and you will be ever to seeke; for though it be a kind of happinesse, to read in Genesis the proceedings of God towards our first Parents, to Abel, Cayne, Enoch, to Noah and the world that perished in the flood; to see his mighty power at the Confusion of Babell: his love to Abraham and Sarah, to Isaac, Jacob, and the twelve Patriarks, to see their way of worship, to observe his mighty wonders in Egypt, in the Wildernesse, and in the promised Land, under the Judges: Saul and David, Solomon, and the rest of the Kings of Judah and Israel: To know with what power he spake by his holy [33] Prophets in all times, even to John the Baptist.

Yet when we have done all, we must acknowledge, that very many things exceed our understandings, and that we draw no comfort like unto this, that unto Christ, do all these beare witness: and though we have great cause to blesse God, for those wonderfull things we read of the life of Christ, of his wisdom, goodnesse, and power; by which he beat down the wisdom, craft, and policy of the Scribes and Pharices, of the high Priest and great ones of the world: and whereby he made it manifest, that he was indeed the Christ, yet draw we no comfort like unto that, which the Apostles publish't by the power of the holy spirit, the comforter promised by Christ before his Assention: because by this

dispensation of God, only, do we come to know the benefits of Christs death, and that he is the end of the Law for righteousness, and the propitiation for our sinnes; whereby we have peace of Conscience, and joy in the Holy-Ghost.

We Read, with thankfulness to God, the Acts of the Apostles, all the Epistles of Paul, of Peter, James, Jude, and the Epistles [34] of John, & the Revelat. to St. John: But we must still acknowledge, that there are very many things in them all, which wee apprehend not fully. We Read of Apostles, Evangelists, Prophets, Pastors, and Teachers, and of the ordering and regulating of Churches, and of gifts given to all these from on high; but not so plainly exprest, as to leave the Conscientious without dispute, and difference thereupon: nor so collected into any one Book, as to convince, that God now under the Gospel, so exactly enjoyed Church Government, as he did under the Law; where Moses was expressly commanded to write particularly all that was required, not leaving out so much as Candlesticks, Snuffers, or Besomes. And when we come to compare the Churches, or their Pastors, and their abilities of our times, with those we read of: or the infallible power by which they spake, with the uncertaine Doctrines of ours, alas we must lay our hands upon our mouths, and hide our faces, as children use to doe, when they are discovered by people of understanding, at their childish imitations, of Christnings and Feastings; where, in a low and miserable weake forme [35] they counterfeit things reall: so that if we shall deale plainely with our selves, we must confesse, wee are at a losse in these things, and that hence onely is our rejoycing. That wee undoubtedly know Jesus Christ and him Crucified, and knowing him, accompt all things as losse and dung in Comparison of him: and that we may be found in him, not having our owne righteousness which is of the Law, but the righteousness which is of God in him: so that the whole Scriptures to us, is as the Field mentioned in the Gospel, and this the Jewell, for which the wise Merchant, sould all that ever he had to purchase it.

And truely, if the Traders in Divine things, truely consider this, how learned soever they are in Arts and Sciences, in all kinds of Readings and Languages, and how mighty and skilfull soever they would be thought in the Exposition, opening, and interpretation of all places of Scripture, when they come to cast up their account, possibly; nay, certainly, (if they are serious therein) they will accompt all as nothing for this Pearle, which passeth value, they will sell All to purchase it;

and rejoyce ex-[36] ceedingly in the exchange, as the most profitable that ever they made.

And this certainly would be done frequently by all who with honest and good hearts Read the Scriptures; were they not kept from it by false Teachers, who hold them in suspence for their own advantage, ever raising, and starting new Questions, and new Opinions, whereby men are ever learning, but never at rest in the knowledge of this one necessary truth: but are tost too and fro, with every winde of Doctrine: and all by giving eare to those that call themselves Preachers, but are not: that pretend to expound the Scriptures, when as they raise nothing but doubts, and darken them; that say they Interpret, when they are to seeke for the meaning; being altogether doubtfull and uncertaine in all they doe.

And therefore much more happy are they, who read with honest and good hearts, and only Read, and considerately lay to heart; giving no eare to these charmers: these doubtfull Expositors, these mocke-Preachers, with their trumpery Sermons, stuf with naught but uncertainty and fantasticke doctrines, which in the day of the [37] necessity of mans Conscience, prove like a broken Reed, that instead of help, further wounds.

Nor let any man henceforth wonder, whence so many severall and strange opinions should arise, by which the world becomes even rent and torne in peeces? It is from this kind of Preaching, and false Exposition of the Holy Scriptures. It being so, in more ancient times, with the Law and the old Testament, as Petrus Cunaeus, (*de Republ. Lib. 2. chap. 17.*) brings to light: affirming, That howsoever the Law was Read amongst them in the former times, either in publicke or in private, yet the bare Text was onely Read, without glosse or descant, *Interpretatio Magistrorum nulla, commentatio nulla*; but in the second Temple, when there were no Prophets, then did the Scribes and Doctors (mock Prophets, as our mock Preachers) begin to Comment, and make their severall Expositions on the holy Text: *Ex quo natae disputationes & sententiae contrariae*; from whence (saith he) sprung up debates, and doubtfull disputations: and most probable it is (saith another upon him) that from this liberty of Interpretation sprung [38] up diversity of judgements, from whence arose the severall Sects of Pharises, Essees and Saduces; who by their difference of Opinions, did distract the multitude, and condemne one another.

Even so in these times, when as there are no true Apostles, Evange-

lists, Prophets, Pastors, or Teachers, endowed with power from on high, as all true ones are; by which, they are enabled to divide the word of God aright, to stop the mouths of gainsayers, and to say, thus saith the Lord, thus speakes the Lord, and not I, And if an Angell from Heaven, preach any other doctrine, let him be accursed. In the absence of these, are crept in swarmes of Locusts, false Teachers, men of corrupt minds, making Marchandize of the blessed Word of Truth, and for that wicked end, dress it up in what shape their Art or Rhetoric can devise; and upon pretence of exposition, raise thousands of doubts and disputes, write millions of books, and preach innumerable Sermons; whereby the people are divided, and subdivided into Factions, Sects and parties; and whereby the end of the Gospel, which directs only to peace and love, is most un-[39] thankfully made use of, as a fire-brand of quarrells and dissentions.

In the mean time, the poor innocent Dove, that desirs to enjoy the peace of his mind in this *Unum necessarium*, that little Doctrin of Christ crucified, and to walke in love, ever worshiping God in Sprit, and in the Truth, dis-intangled from all formes, as things he finds uncertain, dis-ingaged from all false Churches (and cannot find a true one) that in all things gives thanks, and dares not pray, but for what he needs, nor joyn with any, where he is not before agreed what to aske; This innocent dove findes not a place to rest his foot in, but is become the game of these birds of prey, these Ravens, Vultures, and Harpies.

O that all ingenious men would lay these things to heart! that they would looke more exactly into these Churches, more boldly & firmly, trying, examining & weighing them in the ballance: that they would shake off that vaile of superstition, and reverend respect to mens persons; whereby they are over-awed into a high esteeme of meer vanities, empty shels without kernells, empty clouds that hold no water. That they would consider, how extreemly partial they are in judging of things; For, who is [40] he, that doth not exceedingly condemn the impudence of Simon Magus, in offering to buy the holy Spirit of God with money, purposely to have made a gain thereof; and yet can daily see men counterfeit the having of the Spirit, and pretend to preach and to pray by it; when as it is evident, they have it not, and yet are no whit troubled at this, though they see it done also, even for filthy luchre, vain glory, or other vile respects, as he intended.

But all are not alike guilty, many through weaknesse, and a pre-

posterous zeale, being carryed with the stream and current of the times; and many there are, who have run themselves quite out of breath, in searching after peace, and rest, in the various waies of these Churches, and from one Church way to another; but find none to comfort them, nothing to establish them; confessing, that instead of reall ordinances, they find only names; instead of power in them, they find only formes, fashions, likenesses and imitations, meere pictures, and Images without life, altogether dead and comfortlesse; and are held up meerely by the power of Art, craft, and pollicy of men, not without the counte-[41] nance of corrupt authorities, & oppressive States-men; who find it (as it hath ever proved) a notable means to devide the people, making use thereof, to their wicked and tyrannous ends; But God in these times hath had instruments, to lay all kinds of delusion open: so that henceforth, if men continue in these evill waies, they are altogether inexcusable.

Neither will men ever live in peace, and quietnes one with another, so long as this vaile of false counterfeit preaching, remaineth before their eyes, nor untill the mocke Churches are overturned and laid flat; For so long as men flatter themselves in those vaine waies, and puffe themselves up with vaine thoughts, that they are in a way well pleasing to God, because they are in a Church way, as they call it, or because they are able to speak long together (which they call preaching) they are for the most part regardles of storing their minds with truths reall Christian virtue, little or nothing caring, either for publick Justice, Peace, or freedom amongst men; but spend their time in endlesse disputes, in condemning and censuring those that are contrary minded; whereby nothing but heats and dis-[42] contents are ingendred, backbiting and snarling at all that oppose them, will neither buy, nor sell with them, if they can chuse, nor give them so much as a good looke; but on all occasions are ready to Censure, one to be carnall, another erronious; one an Atheist, another an Heretick, a Sectary, Scismatick, a Blasphemer, a man not worthy to live, though they have nothing whereof to accuse him; which in the true Scripture sence, will beare the title of an offence, but are stirred in their spirits against him, because happily he speaketh against their Church-way, and frequently sheweth the vanity and emptinesse of those things wherein they glory, and by which they distinguish themselves from other men.

So that it were much better for the Common-wealth, that all mens mindes were set at Liberty, from these entanglements, that so there

might be an end of wrangling about shaddows; for if men were once free from this Church-bondage, they would by reading the Scriptures with such like considerations, as are before expressed, soone come to be able to understand the intent, & substantiall scope there-[43] of; and become substantiall Christians; full fraught with true Christian virtue, and reall godlinesse, which would incline them to a tendernesse of spirit towards all those they saw in any error; make them to compassionate mens failings, and infirmities; and be ready to help the distressed, and any waies afflicted: it would enlarge their hearts toward all men, making them like unto our heavenly Father, who causeth his Sun to shine on the just, and unjust: that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth no man.

Certainely, were we all busied onely in those short necessary truths, we should soon become practicall Christians; and take more pleasure in Feeding the hungry, Cloathing the naked, visiting and comforting of the sicke, relieving the aged, weake and impotent; in delivering of Prisoners, supporting of poore families, or in freeing a Common wealth from all Tyrants, oppressors, and deceivers, (the authors and promoters of all corruption and superstition) thereby manifesting our universal love to all mankind, without respect of persons, Opinions, Societies, or Churches; doubtlesse there were no way like unto this, to adorne the Go-[44] spel of Christ; men and women so exercising themselves, and persevering therein, might possibly deserve the name of Saints; but for men to assume that title for being a Presbyter, an Independent, Brownist, Anabaptist, or for being of this or that opinion, or of this or that forme of Worship, or for being able to Pray, and Preach (as they call it) three or foure houres together, venting their own uncertain notions, and conjectures, or for looking more sadly, and solemnly then other people, or for dressing themselves after a peculiar manner: or for pretending to have the Spirit of God, though they are ever to seeke about the meaning of the Scriptures: or for sucking in, and sighing out reproaches, and slanders against their neighbours: proceeds from meer pride and vanity of mind; when as the best of these put altogether, amount not to so much, towards the making of a true Saint, as one mercifull tender hearted compassionate act, for Christs sake doth.

And therefore those who would truly honour God, let them not think, that he will be flattered with words, or be served with lip service, with that which costeth [45] little or nothing; but let them resolve that he expecteth to be served with no lesse then with all our heart,

with all our might, and with all our strength, to be honoured both in our bodies, and in our spirits, for they are his.

It is most certain, that men are first to know and understand, before they can become practicall Christians, and though the Scriptures are very plain and full, as to necessary knowledge, yet the errors of weake and perverse teachers do so abound, that it is a difficult thing to escape them, and to fall into a profitable method of reading, and meditation of the word of God: wherein may the considerations aforementioned, prove as profitable, as they are conscionably intended; but doubtlesse the best way to perfect knowledge, is, and will be, by endeavouring after meetings of people to conferre and discourse together (in a discreet, quiet, and well ordered way) upon necessary points only: the way of preaching or long set speeches, being subject to abundance of error, and inconvenience: and therefore it would be happy, that all well-meaning people would seriously set themselves to procure frequent [46] and full meetings, for increase of knowledg in all sorts of people, and no longer to depend, either on the publique, or congregationall Sermons, for information of their understandings: it being evident, that they serve rather to dignifie the Speakers, and to sway the hearers into what they please, then to any just or necessary end.

And as every one increaseth in knowledge, let them know, that God hath not vouchsafed his word unto us, to make us talkers, or discoursers only; as the manner of many knowing people is, who as soone as they arive to a good measure of understanding, and are thereby freed from the burthens and oppressions, which error and superstition had brought into their Consciences, instead of being thankfull to God for the same, by dilligence in the wayes of doing good; they become carelesse, turning the goodnesse and truth of God manifested in his word to Idlenesse, if not to wantonnesse, not caring what becommeth of the miseries of the times, or other mens sufferings, but ever after, live as in a pleasing dream; these who ever they are, are to be looked upon as the most unworthy of men, because the most ungrate-[47] full: the most opposite to the end of their being, the vilest of Creatures, because sloathfull Christians: the best things, being the worst, if once corrupted.

And therefore it will be very good, for every one to stir up the knowledg of God that is in him, and to keep it alive by continuall practice, upon all occasions: practice in good and just and charitable things being that wherein the Conscience is most delighted; so that if any propose to themselves any happines here in this life, it is to be found

only in doing of good: the more good, the better contented, and the greater the happinesse, man being in nothing like unto God, but in doing good, nothing is more acceptable to God, nothing is more pleasant to Conscience, his vicegerent in us; to do good therefore, and to distribute, forget not, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased: whilst we have time and oppertunity, let us do good unto all men.

Let us all strive to go on before another in love, and let there be no other strife at all amongst us; we wish with all our soules that all reproach, despites and envyings amongst men might for ever cease, and that difference in judgment, may no longer [48] occasion difference in affection; there being in our apprehension no cause at all; but that all men going in their severall wayes of serving God, whether publique or private, may neverthesse be free to communicate in all civill Offices of love and true friendship, and cordially joyne with any, for a publique good; but if notwithstanding all that hath been endeavoured, or hath been said: this Generation of congregationall men shall continue to puffe, and swell through pride of heart, & to lift themselves up into the Chayre of the scornfull, and as the man in Peters Chayre assume a power of life and death over all opinions and wayes not owned by them: as if they were infallible judges of all controversies, making no scruple of blasting mens good names and reputations, or of undoing of whose Families thereby: they must then expect to be told their own, and be made appear to the world—as they are,—not as they would be esteemed.

It being evident by what hath been said, that although they have boasted themselvs to be rich, and increased with goods, and to have need of nothing; yet, they are as the luke-warm Church of Laodicea, miserable, & [49] wretched, and poore, and blind, and naked—and for all their bigg and swelling conceipts of parts, of gifts, of Saint-ship, of the Spirit, & (in effect) pharisaically crying out, Lord we thank thee, we are not as other men, nor as those poore Publicans, that receive all their knowledge of Divine things from the Scriptures onely, and are taught onely thereby; Notwithstanding these bigg swelling words, their Peacocks feathers, being thus pluckt off, you see: and they, will they, nill they, must also see, that they must be content at last, to shake hands even with those poore Publicans; and acknowledge that they have no other infallible Teacher of Divine things, but the Scriptures; and that they partake no more of the Spirit, then what that blessed Word of the Spirit planteth in them.

And if their consciences are awakened, will be enforced to forsake their falling Churches: unlesse for politique ends, they shall stifle the power of these Truths within them; chusing rather to perish in the rubbish, then to seem to have bin so exceedingly mistaken; which will prove an unpardonable error; For, however the best of men may erre, yet they are the [50] worst of men, that persist in error, after the discovery.

And therefore, if there be any whose consciences shall be fully informed of the vanity of these Churches; and yet for any ends shall continue to support the reputation of them; let all such know, that those who dare be so impious, as to stop the continuall cry of their consciences, must necessarily desire in their hearts there were no God, whose Vicegerent Conscience is; which is the most sad and dangerous condition that man can fall into in this life.

And certainly they will find it far better to forsake their tottering immaginary structures: confess their emptines, & sinfull imitation, taking shame unto themselves and giving glory unto God, whose name and power they have much diminished, by affirming those to be Churches which are not, those Pastors and Preachers which are not, those Saints which are not: his blessed Word to be but a dead Letter: that to be his Word, which is but conjecturall Sermons; and in censuring those to be erronious and carnall Christians, who have more warrant for what they do then themselves; And then by a more considerate, [51] ingenious, and Christian-like carriage, to make amends for the future, which would very much rejoyce the hearts of all that love the Lord Jesus in sincerity, whose Truth and Glory will be advanced by the Scriptures; when all the roving, wild and wandring immaginations of mens spirits, shall vanish, and come to nought.

FINIS.

Feb. 23. 1648-49,

Imprimatur
THEODORE JENNINGS.

ton (now prisoners in the Tower of London) and others, commonly (though unjustly) stiled Levellers.

A MANIFESTATION

A Manifestation is reprinted from a copy in the Huntington Library. There are copies in the British Museum and the Union Theological Seminary. A copy in the Seligman Collection in Columbia University bears the imprimatur of Gilbert Mabbott. The text also appeared in *The Moderate* for April 10–17, 1649. *A Manifestation* was signed by Lilburne, Walwyn, Prince, and Overton, dated, from the Tower, April 14, and probably published directly thereafter. The author of *Walwins Wiles* asserts that the style “favours much of the sligh, cunning and close subtlety” of William Walwyn (p. 2). It does in fact resemble his manner of writing more than that of any of his three associates. Walwyn himself, however, calls the work “our joynt Manifestation,” in which “is to be seen all our very hearts, and wherein all our four heads, and hands were nigh equally employed,” and he denies that he himself is “all in all therein” (*Walwyns Just Defence*, p. 14). But his friend Brooke appears to concede the work “to be principally his” (*Charity of Churchmen*, p. 12). *A Manifestation* gave immediate provocation for the publication of *Walwins Wiles* (reprinted below).

A MANIFESTATION/ FROM/ Lieutenant Col. John Lilburn, M^r William/ Walwyn, M^r Thomas Prince, and/ M^r Richard Overton,/ (Now Prisoners in the TOWER of London)/ And others, commonly (though unjustly)/ STILED/ LEVELLERS./ Intended for their/ FULL VINDICATION/ FROM/ The many aspersions cast upon them, to/ render them odious to the World, and unse- viceable to the *Common-wealth*./ And to satisfie and ascertain all MEN/ where- unto all their Motions and Endeavours/ tend, and what is the ultimate Scope of/ their Engagement in the/ *PUBLICK AFFAIRES*./ They also that render evill for good, are *Our* adversaries: because *We* follow the thing that good is./ Printed in the year of our LORD, 1649./

A Manifestation from Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburn, Master William Walwyne, Master Thomas Prince, and Master Richard Over-

SINCE no man is born for himself only, but obliged by the Laws of Nature (which reaches all) of Christianity (which engages us as Christians) and of Publick Societie and Government, to employ our endeavours for the advancement of a communitive Happinesse, of equall concernment to others as our selves: here have we (according to that measure of understanding God hath dispensed unto us) laboured with much weaknesse indeed, but with integrity of heart, to produce out of the Common Calamities, such a proportion of Freedom and good to the Nation, as might somewhat compensate its many grievances and lasting sufferings: And although in doing thereof we have hitherto reaped only Reproach, and hatred for our good Will, and been faine to wrestle with the violent passions of Powers and Principalities; yet since it is nothing so much as our Blessed Master and his Followers suffered before us, and but what at first we reckoned upon, we cannot be thereby any whit dismayed in the performance of our duties, supported inwardly by the Innocency and evenesse of our Consciences.

'Tis a very great unhappinesse we well know, to be alwayes struggling and striving in the world, and does wholly keep us from the enjoyment of those contentments our severall Conditions reach unto: So that if we should consult only with our selves, and regard only our own ease, Wee should never enterpose as we have done, in behalfe of the Commonwealth: But when so much has been done for recovery of our Liberties, and seeing God hath so blest that which has been done, as thereby to cleer the way, and to afford an opportunity which these 600 years has been desired, but could never be attained, of making this a truly happy and wholly Free Nation; We think our selves bound by the greatest obligations that may be, to prevent the neglect of this opportunity, and to hinder as much as lyes in us, that the bloud which has been shed be not spilt like water upon the ground, nor that after the abundant Calamities, which have overspread all quarters of the Land, the change be onely Notionall, Nominall, Circumstantiall, whilst the reall Burdens, Grievances, and Bondages, be continued, even when the Monarchy is changed into a Republike.

We are no more concern'd indeed then other men, and could bear the Yoke we believe as easily as others; but since a Common Duty lyes upon every man to be cautious and circumspect in behalfe of his Country, es-

pecially while the Government thereof is setting, other mens neglect is so far we thinke from being a just motive to us of the like sloath and [4] inanimadvertency, as that it rather requires of us an increase of care and circumspection, which if it produces not so good a settlement as ought to be, yet certainly it will prevent its being so bad as otherwise it would be, if we should all only mind our particular callings and imployments.

So that although personally we may suffer, yet our solace is that the Common-wealth is therby some gainer, and we doubt not but that God in his due time wil so cleerly dispel the Clouds of Ignominy and Obloquy which now surround us by keeping our hearts upright and our spirits sincerely publike, that every good man will give us the right hand of fellowship, and be even sorry that they have been estranged, and so hardly opinionated against us: We question not but that in time the reason of such misprisions will appeare to be in their eyes and not in our Actions, in the false Representation of things to them and improper glosses that are put upon every thing we do or say: In our own behalvs we have as yet said nothing, trusting that either shame and Christian duty would restraine men from making so bold with others good Name and Reputation, or that the sincerity of our actions would evince the falshood of these scandals, and prevent the Peoples Beliefe of them; But we have found that with too much greedinesse they suck in Reports that tend to the discredit of others, and that our silence gives encouragement to bad Rumors of us; so that in all places they are spread, and industriously propagated as well amongst them that know us, as them that know us not, the first being fed with Jealousies that there is more in our designs then appeares, that there is something of danger in the bottom of our hearts, not yet discovered: that we are driven on by others, that we are even discontented and irresolved, that no body yet knowes what we would have, or where our desires will end; whilst they that know us not are made believe any strange conceit of us, that we would Levell all mens estates, that we would have no distinction of Orders and Dignities amongst men, that we are indeed for no government, but a Popular confusion; and then againe that we have bin Agents for the King, and now for the Queen; That we are Atheists, Antiscripturists, Jesuites and indeed any thing, that is hatefull and of evill repute amongst men.

All which we could without observance pass over, remembering what is promised to be the Portion of good men, were the damage only personall, but since the ends of such Rumors are purposely to make us uselesse and unserviceable to the Common-wealth, we are necessitated to

open our breasts and shew the world our insides, for removing of those scandalls that lye upon us, and likewise for manifesting plainly and particularly what our desires are, and in what we will center and acquies: all which we shall present to publike view and consideration, not pertinaciously or Magisterially, as concluding other mens judgements, but manifesting our own, for our further vindication, and for the procuring of a Bond and lasting establishment for the Commonwealth.

First, Then it will be requisite that we express our selves concerning Levelling, for which we suppose is commonly meant an equalling of mens estates, and taking away the proper right and Title that every man has to what is his own. This as we have formerly declared against, particularly in our petition of the 11 of Sept. so do we againe professe that to attempt an inducing the same is most injurious, unlesse there did precede an universall assent thereunto from all and every one of the People. Nor doe we, under favour, judge it within the Power of a Representative it selfe, because although their power is supream, yet it is but deputative and of trust, and consequently must be restrained expresly or tacitely, to some particulars essentiall as well to the Peoples safety and freedom as to the present Government.

The Community amongst the primitive Christians, was Voluntary, not Coactive; they [5] brought their goods and laid them at the Apostles feet, they were not enjoyned to bring them, it was the effect of their Charity and heavenly mindednesse, which the blessed Apostles begot in them, and not the Injunction of any Constitution, which as it was but for a short time done, and in but two or three places, that the Scripture makes mention of, so does the very doing of it there and the Apostles answer to him that detained a part, imply that it was not esteemed a duty, but reckoned a voluntary act occasioned by the abundant measure of faith that was in those Christians and Apostles.

We profess therefore that we never had it in our thoughts to Level mens estates, it being the utmost of our aime that the Common-wealth be reduced to such a passe that every man may with as much security as may be enjoy his propriety.

We know very well that in all Ages those men that engage themselves against Tyranny, unjust and Arbitrary proceedings in Magistrats, have suffered under such appellations, the People being purposely frighted from that wich is good by insinuations of imaginary evill.

But be it so, we must notwithstanding discharge our Duties, which being performed, the successe is in Gods hand to whose good pleasure we

must leave the clearing of mens spirits, our only certainty being Tranquillity of mind, and peace of Conscience.

For distinction of Orders and Dignities, We think them so far needfull, as they are animosities of vertue, or requisite for the maintenance of the Magistracy and Government, we thinke they were never intended for the nourishment of Ambition, or subjugation of the People but only to preserve the due respect and obedience in the People which is necessary for the better execution of the Laws.

That we are for Government and against Popular Confusion, we conceive all our actions declare, when rightly considered, our aim having bin all along to reduce it as near as might be to perfection, and certainly we know very well the pravity and corruption of mans heart is such that there could be no living without it; and that though Tyranny is so excessively bad, yet of the two extreames, Confusion is the worst: Tis somewhat a strange consequence to infer that because we have laboured so earnestly for a good Government, therefore we would have none at all, Because we would have the dead and exorbitant Branches pruned, and better sciens grafted, therefore we would pluck the Tree up by the roots.

Yet thus have we been misconceived, and misrepresented to the world, under which we must suffer, till God sees it fitting in his good time to cleer such harsh mistakes, by which many, even good men keep a distance from us.

For those weake suppositions of some of us being Agents for the King or Queen, we think it needful to say no more but this, That though we have not bin any way violent against the persons of them, or their Partie, as having aimed at the conversion of all, and the destruction of none, yet doe we verily beleeve that those Principles and Maxims of Government which are most fundamentally opposite to the Prerogative, and the Kings interest, take their first rise and originall from us, many whereof though at first startled at, and disown'd by those that professed the greatest opposition to him, have yet since been taken up by them and put in practise: and this we think is sufficient, though much more might be said to cleer us from any Agency for that Party.

It is likewise suggested that we are acted by others, who have other ends then appear to us; we answer, That that cannot be, since every thing has its rise amongst our selves, and since those things we bring to light cannot conduce to the ends of any but the publike weale of the Nation.

All our Desires, Petitions and Papers are directly opposite to all corrupt Interests; nor [6] have any credit with us but persons well known,

and of certain aboads, and such as have given sound and undeniable testimonies of the truth of their affection to their Country: Besides, the things we promote, are not good onely in appearance, but sensibly so: not moulded nor contrived by the subtill or politick Principles of the World, but plainly produced and nakedly sent, without any insinuating arts, relying wholly upon the apparent and universall beleefe they carry in themselves; and that is it which convinces and engages us in the promotion thereof. So that that suggestion has not indeed any foundation in it self, but is purposely framed, as we conceive, to make us afraid one of another, and to disable us in the promotion of those good things that tend to the freedom and happinesse of the Common-wealth.

For our being Jesuits, either in Order or Principles, as 'tis severally reported of us; Though the easiest Negative is hardly proved; yet we can say, That those on whom the first is principally fix'd, are married, and were never over Sea: and we think Marriage is never dispenc'd withall in that Order, and that none can be admitted into the Order but such as are personally present. 'Tis hard that we are put to expresse thus much; and haply we might better passe such reports over in silence; but that we beleeve the very mentioning of them publickly, will be an answer to them, and make such as foment them asham'd of such generally condemned wayes of discrediting and blasting the Reputation of other men. For the principles of Jesuits, we professe we know not what they are; but they are generally said to be full of craft and worldly policy; and therefore exceedingly different from that plainness and simplicity that is apparently visible in all our proceedings.

Whereas its said, we are Atheists and Antiscripturists, we professe that we beleeve there is one eternall and omnipotent God, the Author and Preserver of all things in the world. To whose will and directions, written first in our hearts, and afterwards in his blessed Word, we ought to square our actions and conversations. And though we are not so strict upon the formall and Ceremonial part of his Service, the method, manner, and personall injunction being not so clearly made out unto us, nor the necessary requisites which his Officers and Ministers ought to be furnished withall as yet appearing to us in any that pretend thereunto: yet for the manifestation of Gods love in Christ, it is cleerly assented unto by us; and the practicall and most reall part of Religion is as readily submitted unto by us, as being, in our apprehensions, the most eminent and the most excellent in the world, and as proceeding from no other but that God who is Goodnesse it self: and we humbly desire his Majesty daily more and

more to conform our hearts to a willing and sincere obedience thereunto.

For our not being preferred to Offices and Places of profit and credit, which is urged to be the ground of our dissatisfaction, we say, That although we know no reason why we should not be equally capable of them with other men, nor why our publick Affection should be any barr or hinderance thereunto: Yet on the other side, we suppose we can truly say of our selves, that we have not been so earnest and solicitous after them as others: and that in the Catalogue of Sutors, very few that are reckoned of us, are to be found. We are very sorry that so general a change of Officers is proposed, which we judge of no small disparagement to our Cause; and do think it best, that in removals of that kinde, the ground should not be difference in opinion, either in Religious or Civil Matters, but corruption or breach of Trust; considering the misery which befalls whole Families upon such Changes; and that discontents are thereby increased: Whereas we hold it necessary that all wayes of composure and acquieting those storms which the preceding differences and distractions have begotten, be with utmost care and prudence endeavoured. [7]

And whereas 'tis urged, That if we were in power, we would bear our selves as Tyrannically as others have done: We confess indeed, that the experimentall defections of so many men as have succeeded in Authority, and the exceeding difference we have hitherto found in the same men in a low, and in an exalted condition, makes us even mistrust our own hearts, and hardly beleve our own Resolutions of the contrary. And therefore we have proposed such an Establishment, as supposing men to be too flexible and yeelding to worldly Temptations, they should not yet have a means or opportunity either to injure particulars, or prejudice the Publick, without extreme hazard, and apparent danger to themselves. Besides, to the objection we have further to say, That we aim not at power in our selves, our Principles and Desires being in no measure of self-concernment: nor do we relie for obtaining the same upon strength, or a forcible obstruction; but solely upon that inbred and perswasive power that is in all good and just things, to make their own way in the hearts of men, and so to procure their own Establishment.

And that makes us at this time naked and defencelesse as we are, and amidst so many discouragements on all hands to persevere in our motions and desires of good to the Nation; although disowned therein at such a time when the doing thereof can be interpreted no other but a politick delivering us up to slaughter, by such as we took for Friends, our brethren of severall Churches; and for whom with truth of affection

we have even in the most difficult times done many Services: all which, and whatsoever else can be done against us, we shall reckon but as badges of our sincerity, and be no whit discouraged thereby from the discharge of our duties.

For the dis-satisfactions that be upon many good mens spirits, for that they are not ascertained whereunto all our motions tend, and in what they will center,

Though, we conceive, they may have received some general satisfaction from what we have formerly at severall times propounded; yet since they were not disposed into such a form and condition as to become practicable; we have, with the best care and abilities God hath afforded us, cast the same into a Modell and Platform, which we shall speedily present unto the view and consideration of all, as the Standard and ultimate scope of our Designes, that so (in case of approvall) it may be subscribed and returned as agreed upon by the People. And thus far, we conceive, we may without offence or prejudice to Authority, proceed; and which we the rather do, because we know no better, and indeed no other way or means (but by such an Agreement) to remove (as much as may be) all disgusts and heart-burnings, and to settle the Common-wealth upon the fairest probabilities of a lasting Peace, and contentfull Establishment.

The agreement of the People which was presented by his Excellency and the Officers of the Army to the Right Honourable the Commons in Parliament, although in many things short (according to our apprehensions) of what is necessary for the good of the Common-wealth, and satisfaction of the People; particularly, in that it containeth no provision for the certain removall of notorious and generally complained of grievances: And although it hath some things of much hazard to the Publick, —yet, had it been put in execution, we should scarcely have interrupted the proceedings thereof, since therein is contained many things of great and important concernment to the Common-wealth. But seeing the time proposed therein for reducing the same into practice, is now past, and that likewise the generality of the people have not, or do not approve of the same, for the reasons (as we suppose) fore-mentioned: We have thought fit to revise it, making onely such alterations therein as we conceive really necessary for the welfare, security and safety of the People, together with additionall Provisions for the [8] taking away of those Burdens and Grievances which may without reall prejudice to the Management of publick Affairs be removed.

And because it is essentiall to the nature of such an Agreement to take

its rise from the People, we have therefore purposely declined the presentment thereof to the Parliament: and conceive it may speedily proceed to Subscription, and so to further practice, without any interruption to this Representative, untill the season prefix'd in the Agreement, for the assembling another: By whose immediate succession, without any intervall, the Affairs of the Common-wealth may suffer no stop or intermission.

Lastly, We conceive we are much mistaken in being judged impatient, and over-violent in our motions for the publick Good. To which we answer, That could we have had any assurance that what is desired should have otherwise, or by any have been done; and had not had some taste of the relinquishment of many good things that were promised, we should not have been so earnest and urgent for the doing thereof.

Though we know likewise it hath been very customary in such heretofore as never intended any freedom to the Nation, to except only against the season, and to protract the time so long, till they became sufficiently impowred to justifie the totall denyall and refusall thereof. However, the main reason of our proceeding as we do, is, because we prefer the way of a settlement by an Agreement of the People before any other whatsoever.

And thus the world may clearly see what we are, and what we aym at: We are altogether ignorant, and do from our hearts abominate all designs and contrivances of dangerous consequence which we are said (but God knows, untruly) to be labouring withall. Peace and Freedom is our Designe; by War we were never gainers, nor ever wish to be; and under bondage we have been hitherto sufferers. We desire however, that what is past may be forgotten, provided the Common wealth may have amends made it for the time to come. And this from our soul we desire.

Having no mens persons in hatred, and judging it needfull that all other respects whatsoever are to give way to the good of the Common-wealth, and this is the very truth and inside of our hearts.

From the Tower
April 14. 1649.

JOHN LILBURNE
WILLIAM WALWYN
THOMAS PRINCE
RICHARD OVERTON.



WALWINS WILES

Walwins Wiles is reprinted from a copy of "The Second Edition, Corrected and amended" in the Huntington Library. There are copies in the British Museum and the Union Theological Seminary. The tract was provoked by the appearance of the Levellers' *Manifestation*, dated April 14, 1649, but it also took account, on its title page, of *Englands New Chains*, *The hunting of the Foxes*, and *The Picture of the Council of State*, and, in its text, of other Leveller publications. The denunciation of Walwyn's alleged opposition to the war for reconquest of Ireland, the allusions to preparations for the Irish expedition, and the dedication to the army suggest that the work was written about April 20, when regiments were selected for service in Ireland. The imprimatur of the licenser, Henry Whalley, is dated April 23. The first edition was probably published before *An Agreement of the Free People*, dated May 1, to which it makes no reference. Thomason entered a copy of this edition, now in the British Museum, in his collection on May 10. The second edition probably appeared shortly after the first, since it shows no significant changes or additions. The dedication is signed by seven Independent and Baptist ministers. The first name is that of William Kiffin, with whom Lilburne was closely associated before 1640 (*Legall Fundamentall Liberties*, p. 19). Another is that of Edmund Rozier, to whom Lilburne refers as an old friend, neighbor, and "fellow-professor of Religion," who in 1636 had introduced him to John Bastwick (*ibid.*, p. 21). The actual composer of *Walwins Wiles* was almost certainly John Price, John Goodwin's associate, the author of a number of vigorous tracts assailing the Presbyterians in the Independent interest, and the opponent of Walwyn in the negotiations for an "Agreement of the People" at the close of 1648 (*ibid.*, p. 30). Humphrey Brooke, in replying to *Walwins Wiles*, alludes to "Mr John Price, or whoever is the Author of the Pamphlet" (*The Charity of Church-men*, p. 6). Walwyn, in defending himself, directly addresses Price as his critic and refers to him as "this capritious author (Mr. John Price, its said)" (*Walwyns Just Defence*, p. 14). He also asserts that most of the tract's aspersions against him had been collected "three yeers since" by a self-appointed committee of John Goodwin's followers, including Price, whom Walwyn describes as one of "the violent party" against him (*ibid.*, p. 3). *Walwins Wiles* provoked

Humphrey Brooke to come to the defense of its victim in *The Charity of Church-men* (reprinted below) and brought Walwyn to his own defense in *The Fountain of Slaunder* (excerpt reprinted above) and *Walwyns Just Defence* (reprinted below).

Walwins Wiles:/ OR/ *The Manifestators Manifested/* viz./ Lieut. Col. *John Lilburn, M^r William/ Walwin, M^r Richard Overton,* and *M^r Tho. Prince.*/ Discovering themselves to be/ Englands new Chains/ AND/ Irelands back Friends./ OR/ *The hunting of the old Fox with his Cubs/* And the Picture of the Picturers of the/ COUNCEL of STATE./ Declaring the subtle and crafty Wiles the Atheisticall Blasphemous, foul-murthuring principles, and practises of *Mr William Walwin,* in plentifull instances, confirming the same with some advertisements to *Leiu. Col. John Lilburn,* and *Mr Tho. Prince.*/ By a Lover of the Present, and Eternall, interest of Man-kinde./ *The Second Edition, Corrected and amended./* April. 23. 1649. Imprimatur, *Henry Whalley./* LONDON, Printed for *H. C. and L. L.* 1649./

[Sig. A2] *To the Noble and Successful Englands Army, Under The Command of his Excellency Thomas Lord General Fairfax.*

Gentlemen Souldiers,

It is hard to say whether God hath appeared more gloriously with you in breaking the powers or blasting the policies of your enemies, as he hath been your strength unto the one, so your wisdom unto the other, by whose presence with you, neither wisdom nor weapon have prevailld against you: the great contention between Christ and the Devil, and the seed of either, is to destroy each others work in the world; and although the issue thereof shall be the mortal crushing of the head of the one; yet shall the heel of the other be bruised thereby.

Noble Sirs, the modelling and managing, making and maintaining, preserving and prospering your happy Army, is such a [sig. A2 v] transparent work of God in the world, that it dazels the eyes of all spectators: the presence of God and the prayers of his people have always attended your valiant attempts, by means whereof your ones have chased tens, and your hundreds have put thousands to flight: it is too true, you have met

with hardship abroad, and unkindness at home: but your honor it is that neither the one or the other hath made you bow unto a base unworthy and sinful deportment: God hath subdued the common Enemy by you, this he may do more for others then your own sakes; but when he subdues your enemies within you, it is more for your own then other mens sakes; that he doth in love to others; this in love to you: that as he makes you executioners of his fierce wrath; this as he makes you the objects of his free love: When you conquer men, you conquer flesh, and so one beast may conquer another: but when you conquer sin, you conquer spirit; and this is the work of none but Christ: the blood of your Enemies may feed the root of your present power, but the blood of your sins doth water the root of your eternal happiness; that an Army * should be humble under victories, meek under injuries, patient under provocations, fear no men, yet tremble before God, should be a terror to the wicked, and a tower to the Saints, should be Lions in fields, and Lambs in families; this imports your powerful hamering by the hand of the spirit upon the anvil of Truth into a blessed battle-ax, compleatly aptified for the hand of God unto the breaking in peeces the envious enemies of his Son and his Saints, according to the predict counsels of his holy Word, and hence it is, that the Antichristian whore is filld with fears that you are the men commission'd by God to execute upon her the Judgment written, to stain her glory and spoil her beauty, to dash her bastards brains against the stones, & to give her blood for blood to drink, to burn her flesh with fire, for the prevention whereof that you may not torment her before her time, she hath summon'd the Princes of the earth that have committed fornication with her, with their sons of whoredom to band their might and strength against you: but the Lord that raised you and called you to his foot (Isa. 41. 2) gave the Nations before you, making you Rulers over Kings and Princes, giving them as dust to your sword, and as driven stubble to your bow, making you to eat up the Na-[sig. A3] tions, your enemies, to break their bones, and pierce them through with your arrows, and then causing you to couch down like a Lion, none daring to stir you up; but this whorish Dalilah perceiving your might by breaking her forces like Sampsons coards, is trying her tricks to finde out your strength, and the seat thereof, and well perceiving that it lies in your hair, rooted together in your head, (we mean in your Union with Christ, and each with other,) she

* When we speak of the Army we would be understood of the honest party therein, which (we conceive) is of a greater number then there is the like in any Army in this world.

hath applyed her self in her several Instruments, by her enticing words to cut you from him, and then to divide you each from other, whose curious cunning in that unhappy work is here set forth in one of her supposed faithful factors, Mr William Walwyn, whose various manners in corrupting and dividing (by himself, and others,) the honest and true-hearted party to Religions, and the Kingdoms interest in the Army, City and Country, is truly declared; having received satisfaction touching the truth of those particular instances given concerning him, (though we know his profest principle is to say or do any thing whatsoever against him, whom he thought engaged against him to destroy him, yet) we cannot but subscribe our own Observations and Experiences of his general course in all his ways, as they are here set forth. As for Mr Richard Overton we know him not but by his Pen, the complexion whereof hath quit our desires of any further acquaintance with him. Mr Lilburn and Mr Prince (we verily hope) are far better in their ends and ayms, then in their game in hitting their marks (viz. the real Interest of their native Country,) though (we must confess) we look upon them as simple-hearted, so simple-headed, to be drawn, as they are, into such ways as they walk. For although in words they profess, yet in works they deny, and destroy the Interest of England; for one who seeth not that these clamorous Complaints, insinuated into the Army, and spread abroad in the City and Country, Viz. That the people assembled at Westminster are not a lawful Parliament, but there maintained by the power of the Sword to overawe and tyrannize over the free-born people of England, That it is against the Laws of the Land, that there should be any Martial Discipline over Souldiers in time of peace, (though there should be an Army under pay,) insinuating as if we were all in Peace, which we are not like to be while such coals of contention are [sig. A3^v] kindled by them, that the design of the House at Westminster, and Council of State, &c. is to keep down the people under Tyranny and Slavery by an Army, as if it was possible (as the case stands) to settle this Commonwealth without an Army, That the Commons of England (whom in their several Papers they have acknowledged to be the Supream Authority of the Nation) must be tyed to govern by the known Laws, not to alter the Government, viz. to establish a Counsel of State, and yet have power to take away the life of the King, and to abolish the House of Lords &c. That the sending over Forces to Ireland is for nothing else but to make way by the blood of the Army to enlarge their territories of power and Tyranny, That it is an unlawful War, a cruel and bloody work to go to destroy the Irish Natives for their Consciences, (though they have kill'd

many thousand Protestants for their Consciences,) and to drive them from their proper natural and native Rights, (though they have done the like to many thousand Protestants, who, though English, had as true natured and native right to their Lands and Inheritances as the Irish had: We say, who is so blind as not to see that the true design of all these chantings is to divide the Army, and break it in pieces by jealousies and discontents, to hinder the happy and hopeful relief of Ireland, to betray these poor Protestants that lie trembling and panting between hope and fear, (not knowing whether yet they shall live or dye,) break the Parliament and Council of State, and consequently by the utter and irrecoverable loss of Ireland, ruin of the Army, crushing the present Authority, dividing the honest party, the Irish Rebels may come with all their Powers from all parts abroad, and in this Nation, like a mighty Torrent, sweeping all befor them, and put themselves into a capacity of putting into execution their bloody, cruel, tyrannical and revengeful thoughts against the honest party in the Land. We have ever observed, that this Mr Walwyn in all viciscitudes, and turns of affairs, hath still withstood the present Government, yea, though model'd according to his former pretended desires, which argues a hidden design in all his pretences; Tis true, when Magisterial Power clasheth against Divine, and men in authority fight against God by oppression and tyranny, they shall be broken in pieces as a glass against a Rock; for though the fountain of Government springs from the People, [sig. A4] and the end thereof be their only benefit, yet while the Power in the People is uncontracted, and their own Authority is untransfer'd, it is like (shall we say a tallent hid in the earth without uses) nay rather as the inordinate heat in a stack of corn, firing it self with its own heat. Where all men are alike Rulers, none will be ruled, and then into what precipices should we run? To live together is the Law of Nature, and how can this be when every mans lust shall be every mans Law? For then every mans will shall be every mans wants, and no man will content himself with what he hath. While he hath not that which his neighbor hath, the best of Governments cannot secure each individual from oppression; but where there is no Government, so many men are so many Tyrants each to others. The worst of Governments is good for some, but no Government can be good for none: Where is no Government there can be no Agreement, and certain destruction attends division. Valiant Sirs, be not deceived by these Arch-deluders, neither be divided amongst your selves; Union hath preserved you, Division will destroy you; God hath made you terrible by Union, the Jesuite would make you contemptible by division: your enemies de-

spair to overcome you by Power, revive not their hopes to do it by policy; they could not cudgel you, let them not cajole you: you have wrested their swords, their spears, their trophies, their banners out of their hands, let them not cheat them out of your hands again; they tell you, your Officers would lift up themselves by your blood, but have not you better experiences of your Officers then they? Have not they stuck to you, as well as you to them, in the day of battel? What though men have not regarded you as you deserved, will not God be faithful, though men are not? Will not he be true when they are lyars? Are you afraid to receive your wages, your rewards from the immediate hand of God alone? That your honor shall be too great, your Crown too heavy at the great pay day? He hath made you famous in England, and famous in Scotland, and is it your fear, that he will honor you in Ireland, (that any of you should be dissuaded, from that happy work,) are you unwilling to be possessed of that good Land, that Land that floweth with milk and honey? Hath not God fed you with former Victories, to the amazement of all, that he might steel you against all future difficulties that you [sig. A4^v] meet withal. The people of God in England, in Scotland, have risen up and called you blessed for your help to them in the day of trouble, and shall your poor Brethren in Ireland receive no favour from you? We beseech you by the Womb that bare you, and the Paps that gave you suck, by the honor of English men, by all the experiences of the presence of God with you while you stuck to the Interest of God, his people and your native Country, that you pluck off the Vizors of those Jesuitical Whiffers, that (creeping in among you like the Serpents spawn under the green grass) spy out your liberty, envy your approaching happiness; and would now destroy you by your own selves; the just Liberties of the Nation, the Freedom of the Gospel, the Interest of England, the joy of all good men are in the fruitful Womb of your former faithfulness, which is now ready to bring forth, if you help in the hour of travel, howsoever, that the happy work of God, begun in these three Islands of England, Scotland and Ireland, shall go on and prosper by the honored Instruments of Gods own choice, is the faith and prayer of

Your faithful Friends and

Brethren your dayly Remem-

brancers at the Throne of Grace,

WILLIAM KIFFIN EDMUND ROSIER

DAVID LORDELL HENRY FOSTER

JOHN PRICE HENRY BURNET.

RICHARD ARNALD

[1] *Walwyns Wiles: or The Manifestators Manifested.*

The greatest Hypocrisie is often palliated with the most specious pretences of the plainest sincerity, and the chiefest use that some men make of Religion, and the language thereof is (after the similitude of Satan with our first Parents) to muffle the understandings of over-credulous and flexible men, and then to cheat them under a gilded bait of their seeming good into such actions that are most conducive to their certain misery: It is the great unhappiness of ingenious and plain-hearted people to be made instrumental to the disguising design of maskt enemies, and to have their Integrity imposed upon by the deceitful policy of those that dare not own their own actions, lest they should allurum them whom they dayly deceive, and hinder the increase of that party by which they expect the accomplishment of their secret projects; to open the windows of this dark Cabinet, and to discover the methods of these Imposters, is worthy the ingenuity and charity of a more able pen. It cannot be imagined that such *quondam* devout and publique spirits, as did seem to breath in two of these Manifestators, viz. Lieu. Col. John Lilburn, and Mr Thomas Prince, (with some other adhering to them) should be wrought upon (by their late Proceedings in print, and otherways) to serve the implicate Designs of the Kingdoms Adversaries, were they not deceived by the fine and plausible expressions of these cunning Imposters; and although the present distempers of their turbulent passions (like the raging Seas) and the perplext ebullitions of their discontented minds, have fomed out the dregs and dross of frail and sinful [2] flesh and blood (we mean) vented unworthy Callumnies, palpable falsities, and most notorious scandals against those (saviours of the Nation) men, that God hath made happy Instruments of the Kingdoms Freedom from apparent slavery and utter ruine, yet that ancient experience which we have had of the said persons (especially the first named thereof,) together with those fore-sufferings by him endured in his stout withstanding the Common Enemy in times past, though we confess we have not observed his sufferings to have produced that quiet fruit of Righteousness, nor him to have learnt that meekness and lowliness of spirit after Christs example in bearing his Cross; yet (well considering that oppression obnoxious even wise men to that madness which may not be so quickly recovered again,) we are furnished with a covering for his present nakedness, giving us to hope, that as heretofore (if we mistake not) in the like case he may discern it, and be ashamed. We have of late observed several

expresses from three of these Manifestators so qualified, as if written by the chief Secretaries of the Prince of Slanders, through whose lines, as through a prison-grate, such a distempered, furious, rayling and raging spirit doth stare and gaze their sober and judicious Readers in the face, spiting such venom, rankor and mallice against the most pious and deserving men of this Nation, that they cannot do such homage to Belzebub, the Prince of such Spirits, as to hear the sound of his revengeful and envious language, and to waste their time in reading such slanderous Declarations from his infernal Court; but behold a fresh appearance of these subscribers in a new dress of a latter date, as if that spirit would shew his master peece, in his crafty translation of himself into the form of an Angel of light, calling it self by the name of a *Manifestation* of L. C. John Lilburn, Mr William Walwyn, &c. bearing date the 14 of April, 1649. whose devout, specious, meek, self-denying, soft and pleasant lips favours much of the sligh, cunning and close subtlety of that additional Subscriber, Mr William Walwyn, who (as the Serpent that deceived our first Parents was more subtle then any beast of the field which the Lord God had made) is much more crafty then the rest of his brethren, of whose curious spinning we have several reasons to presume this piece, for here is not the licentious provoking daringness of L. Col. Lilburns pen, nor yet the notorious profanness of Mr Richard Overtons pen; as for Mr Prince, he is a younger brother lately drawn in, and no further accomplished in his brethrens art [3] then in the lesson of Conformity unto their proceedings and conscription unto their Expresses. Again, he that shall compare this *Manifestation*, subscribed by Mr. Walwyn, with *Englands new Chains*, the first and second part, the *Hunting of the Foxes*, and other scandalous Pamphlets, subscribed only by the rest, may easily perceive the well known subtlety and craftiness, phrase and stile of this new Subscriber above his Fellows, who of themselves are no more able to alter the complexion of their pen, then the Leopard his spots, or the Blackamoor his skin; these being Wolves in their own, but the other a Wolf in Sheeps clothing; and that simple and plain-hearted men may no longer be drawn aside from their publique Interest and personal Comforts, temporal and eternal, hear the voyce of several years experience and observation, exhibiting a true and impartial *Manifestation* chiefly and principally of this Manifestator, we mean this new and additional Subscriber, Mr William Walwyn, whom we shall consider not at all in reference to his Birth, Breeding, Trade, manner of life and conversation, any further then only relating to his wiles and ways, meth-

ods and modes, in deluding, cozening and deceiving a plain and honest generation of well-meaning men, into such paths practises and manners that are most destructive to their own Interest, and the publique good: And here consider,

First, His game hath always been the unhappy perversion of honest men generally observed to be forward on the Parliaments behalf against the King and the Royal party, for the effecting whereof his custom was to frame his Endeavors.

First, To discern and feel their temper, genius, natural constitution, and complexion, whether of meek, quiet and peaceable, or rash, hasty, and violent spirits; whether of quick, capacious and nimble, or of dull, injudicious and low apprehensions; whether of a more pure, heavenly and spiritual, or more gross, light and vain discourse; whether of a retentive, close, and tenacious capacity in keeping secrets, or a more open, free and liberal aptness in discovering; whether of a richer, or mean condition; whether popular, or how interested in the Parliament, Army, City, or Country.

Secondly, Having well understood his game, he prepares his baits, those whom he apprehends more solid, wise, moderate, judicious, of quick apprehensions, reaching brains, good parts, and language, and withall notorious for Religion and popular Interest, he first [4] entertains with much civility, candor, and curteous carriages, very good, rational, and acceptable discourse, fitting and framing the same after such a manner as may represent himself an excellent Common-wealths man, full of a publique spirit, and furnished with rich and plentiful observations and propositions, fairly comporting with publique good, and insinuating (with what freedom or tenderness, plainness or covertness, they are able to bear) the many pressures, burdens and grievances of the Common-wealth, and insisting (if at all) yet very slightly upon the Redresses, good and benefit received from men in present authority, backing his discourse of this nature either with some plausible stories of the cunning and crafty behaviour of Foreign Princes, or men in power, pretending good for the Common-wealth, and doing many things very promising thereunto, and at last exalting themselves in the oppressions and vexations of the people, or else with observations of Domestique Polititians, once very famous for their pretended zeal for their Country, but when advanced and lifted up, as infamous for their baseness in Oppression and Tyranny: and by this means he is still fomenting new and fresh jealousies against those that approve themselves most faithful in Authority and Trust, ever

observing what actions (if any such thing do fall out) have been done by such men which may possibly (by wringing and wresting, and malign interpretation) render them by his cunning art and skill (being very dexterous that way) to be suspected for Self-seekers, Juglers and Deceivers of the People.

Secondly, Having by this meanes crept into the good opinion, love and affections of his deceived friends, and new acquaintance (the result and issue of severall meetings and conferences in order thereunto,) and hereby wounded their respects, and abated their zeal towards those that have the management and steerage of publike affairs in their hands, that he may make sure work with them, with cunning and curious art he attempts the undermining of their principles of Religion, but with a soft foot, and with much slight of hand, and (Jugler-like) as if he had past his Apprentiship, and served Journey-man to the grand deceiver of the world; he employs his skill in casting a mist before them, and in blinding the eyes of their minds, that the great mysteries of Life and Salvation by Jesus Christ, and the Doctrines of Justification by his Death and Resurrection, Sancti-[5] fication, and Mortification by his Spirit, &c. may appear but meer fantasms, rediculous, irrational, ayry, vain, empty notions; but thus he attempts very artificially in these gradations.

First, (That he may raze the very Foundation, and lay his Ax at the very root of Religion,) he prepares his battery against the credit, honour and authority of the holy Scriptures, as presuming that to be (as indeed it is) the very Fort Royall of Religion, the credit whereof being once lost in the judgement, the conscience, will and affections, will quickly surrender, even upon Satans terms; but before he spends his Ammunition, viz. his Arguments and Reasons against the same, with no small subtlety parlies with them as in the very same case, and to the same end that envious one to the present and eternal Interest of mankind, did insinuate into a conference with our first parent by way of subtle and crafty questions, and hath God indeed said, ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden, &c. even so this most proficient Schollar, doth not use in a down-right maner to deny the authority of the Scriptures, but like master like man, he sets upon men quere-wise: How can you prove the Scriptures to be the Word of God? What security have you concerning the divine authority of the Scriptures, and consequently the articles of your belief, and the grounds of your faith, but from the testimony of men? What better grounds have you to beleieve the Scrip-

tures came from God, then the Turks have for their Alcharon, or the Jewes for their Talmud? not that he himself would seem to question it, but if you will beleieve him, it is to understand how men are settled in their faith, and to help them therein; he writ for the defence of the divine authority of the Scriptures, (as Satan himself, when he did tempt the Lord Christ to destroy the Scriptures, in effect, by doing contrary to the Tenor thereof, did quote the very Scripture, saying, It is written, he shall give his Angels charge, &c.

Secondly, If he cannot presently surprize their judgements by his subtile queries about the Scriptures, he waves the business for a season, and takes another course, then he insinuates the contradictious opinions of men about matters of Religion, their various judgements, how opposite and cross they are to themselves (declining distinctions, whereby they may be reconciled) leading his disciples upon the Lords [6] Days from one Church to another, and staying no longer then while somewhat drops from the mouth of the Minister, which he may through his art (not minding what went before, and what followed) render ridiculous and weak, and so by degrees comes at last to improve all against the validity of Religion, Preaching, and other Ordinances: this done,

Thirdly, He entertains them with as much excellency and strength of discourse, as his capacities have attained, in setting forth the famous Governments of such and such Common-wealths, the excellent readings of Phylosophers, their moral ingenuity, parts, and learning, how farre short the Government of this Kingdom comes of them? What kind of breeding such States and Common-wealths give their children in the study of martiall discipline, feats of activity, geometry, &c. by all which means he endeavours still to take off the minds of his Disciples from Religion, and the thoughts thereof, if he sees the desired fruits of his labours, and that he hath gotten the Venison which his soul doth so sorely long for, viz. the betraying of poor men into the same condemnation with himself into low and contemptible thoughts of God, of Jesus Christ, of the Spirit, of the Scriptures, of hearing the Word, Prayer, of Heaven, of Hell, &c. then they become his bosom friends, and are friendly received into his House, and partake of his more intimate thoughts, and familiery, as presuming, that having perverted them, and strengthened them in his most wretched wayes, they might be able to go and do likewise, viz. pervert and strengthen their brethren; and this is his method for the taking the more solid, able, judicious

and intelligent men, which are the first sort of men, whom he seeks to seduce from their faithfulness and integrity to God and man.

Before we come to shew his art in drawing aside the other sort of men, take some instances of his proceedings in the former kind, all which, with much more of this nature, shall be manifestly proved as occasion is required.

Having once upon a Fast day (as his usual manner was both upon those and the Lords days) gone from place to place, hearing here a little, and there a little what the Ministers said, making it the subject matter of his prophane scorning and jeering, came at last to his own house with one of his supposed Fast disciples, (though even at that time his heart did rise against Walwyns wickedness, but having got [7] within him, he did resolve, though with much reluctance of spirit, to fathom the deep devout hypocrisie of this man for a through detection of him,) being at home, he fetcht out that prophane scurrilous Lucians Dialogue, come (said he) let us go read that which hath something in it, Here is more wit in this (saith he) then in all the Bible.

And speaking of the book of Psalms, and the Proverbs, said, That there was no heed to be given to them; for, said he, they were pen'd by Kings in order only to their own advantage, and the promotion of their own interest, as they were Kings.

And another, a presumed sure friend, (having some familiarity with this worthy Champion for, and Assertor of the Divine Authority of the Scriptures Mr Walwyn) profest, that this wretched man, Walwyn, speaking of the book of Canticles, said, That it was nothing else but one of Solomons Epiphonema's or Rhetorical Songs upon one of his whores.

At another time speaking and discoursing of Hell, said, That it was a silly thing to think that there was any hell, or condemnation, which the Ministers keep such a noyse and prating about, and that all the hell that was, was that onely which was in an ill mans conscience in this life: and it being replyed, that the Scriptures speak expresly of hell, and eternal fire and damnation; he answered that is to be understood as the Scriptures also speak, they are condemned already, viz. in their own consciences, which is no more but this, they know they have not done well.

At another time speaking of hell, and everlasting fire, and eternal torments, used words to this purpose, Pish, do you think, can it enter into your heart to conceive, that God should cast a man into everlast-

ing burnings, where he should be tormented for ever without end, for a little time of sinning in this world?

Again, at another time speaking and discoursing of Prayer, (said he) What a silly thing it is for a man to drop down upon his knees, and hold up his hands, and lift up his eyes, and mumble over a few words for half an hour, or an hour together, as if this did please God, when all this while he might have been in doing that which is good in it self, relieving the poor and oppressed; there is no other Religion but that which the Apostle James speaks of, consisting in relieving the poor, judging the cause of the fatherless and widow, &c.

Again, speaking of keeping Sundays as we do, urged, That it was [8] better on such days to meet together, and spend our time in considering what is good for the Common-wealth, read some good moral things, as Plutarchs *Morals*, Ciceroes *Orations*, then reading the Scriptures, and hearing Sermons, glorying much of the notable witty things in these moral Writers, and of the manner of their governing of States.

Again, he did bemoan the simple practise of this Nation in bringing up their children in learning Latin (forsooth) and the original Tongues, and I know not what, it were far better to train them up in feats of Activity, Geomtry, riding Horses, exercising Arms, studying Fortifications, and in such things as may make them serviceable to the Common-wealth.

It would fill a Volume to declare the sad and miserable effects, which by this means have been brought to pass upon the judgments of some of very able, apt, and ingenious parts and abilities, corrupted by this English man-hunter; one of them, not long since (a man of very singular parts, and much ingenuity, that might have been very useful for this Commonwealth,) having been but a little and lately acquainted with this wretch, speaking with others about the nature of God, his Grace, Mercy and Goodness, most prophanely and lightly replyed, Yea, I hope God is a merry old man, and will make a good Companion when I am dead. And again, one speaking to him of the Sweetness and Excellency of Jesus Christ; replyed, Yea, indeed Jesus Christ is very sweet, I love him better then Capons. But I shall rather insist onely upon his own expressions.

Mr Walwyn being asked by one of his intimate Friends, what he seriously thought concerning the Scriptures, whether they were the Word of God or no? Replyed thus, I'le open my heart plainly unto you, said he, I beleeve it is not the Word of God, and I beleeve again

it is the Word of God: I pray expound your self, said his friend; why, said he, the Scripture is so plainly and directly contradictory to it self, that makes me beleeve it is not the Word of God; and yet again, all those passages therein that declare the nature of God, viz. his Grace and Goodness to men, I beleeve are the Word of God, and so you have my meaning; oftentimes declaring, that he did not beleeve that God would punish men for ever for a little time of sinning.

There was a Gentlewoman (a Citizens wife, of very good quality, and well known,) formerly very famous in the profession of [9] Religion, and of very great repute amongst honest people, a woman of parts and abilities above the common standard of her sex, whose sad and heavy condition it was to fall into acquaintance with this unhappy factor for the Region of darknesse, who (as her selfe declared unto some very neerly relating unto her) was unhappily seduced by this wretched man, who having improved his skill (with too much success) in poisoning her judgement touching the truth of the Scriptures, and the precious concernments of her soul, did frequently vent his most Atheisticall and blasphemous opprobries, scorns, and scoffs against Religion, and the holy Scriptures, as these passages do abundantly witness.

Upon a time speaking of King David, said to this purpose and effect, That King James and King David were a couple of crafty Foxes, and cunning Knaves, that by their subtilty and policy, under religious pretences, acted all things with a design of abusing and cozening their people over whom they were set, and that they were as like as ever he read of any two men in all his life.

Another time speaking to the same woman, demanded, why she did not come and see his wife? and most jeeringly and scoffingly added, I protest, said he, thou hast sin'd the sin against the Holy Ghost, for not visiting my wife; or to that effect.

At other times visiting the same woman, and finding her in somewhat a melancholy and sad condition, (for indeed she was a woman of quick and ripe apprehensions in spiritual things, and could not likely degenerate from, and decline the waies of God without regret of spirit, and trouble of conscience.) Come, said he, we shall have you return to your religious mood again, you will never do well so long as these thoughts prevail with you; or to that purpose.

Oftentimes did this wretched man suggest unto her to this purpose, That it was a base and ignoble thing for any one to lie under such

trouble, anguish, and perplexity, as could not well be indured, having so easie and speedy a way of riddance out of it, as is before every man, and that it was an honorable and valiant thing, for a man in such a case to put an end to his life by laying violent hands upon himself, being a far shorter way of ease, then any other way, Which Atheisticall principle was so nourished by this poor woman in her distresse and trouble, that she often attempted to destroy her self, and at last, she did most wofully bring it to passe, by strangling her self, to the great grief and trouble of her hus-[10] band, children and dear relations; Now let impartiall and judicious men judge, of the frame, temper, and spirit of this man touching Religion, the Scriptures, the nature and mysteries of the Gospel, of heaven, of hell, &c. and whether these instances compared with his writing, for the divine authority of the Scriptures, as also with the late manifestation, do not manifest him to be a cunning hypocriticall Jugler, abuser, and deceiver of poor men and women that lend their ear unto him: he that can jeere at the Word of God, at the sin against the Holy Ghost, preferre scurrillous, base Pamphlets above the Scriptures, &c. can notwithstanding in this *Manifestation*, with a very devout and religious pen (as if he had been the most pious assertor of the things of God) pretend to build his comfort upon the Scriptures, as he doth pag. 4. of this *Manifestation*, where he saith, that he could pass over the many wrongs done unto him, upon this consideration, Remembring what is promised to be the portion of good men. Again, pag. 5. We must suffer till God sees fitting in good time to clear, &c. With severall other strains of this nature, as if Religion, and the affairs of the other world, God, and Christ, and the Spirit, were the main things that guide him in all his waies; wherein both L. Col. John Lilburn, and others, know in their owne consciences, and have declared it, that they could never perceive him a man in the least acquainted with the concernments of Religion, and the work of the Spirit.

Having declared the crafty and subtle wiles and methods of this artificiall and great Impostor, in his Satanicall work of seducing and deceiving the more able sort of men, I shall now proceed in setting forth his Mountebankisme in his Jesuiticall betraying of the weaker, more injudicious, and plainer sort of people, and these likewise being of severall tempers, constitutions, and conditions, he hath variety of art to deceive them all.

If they be of a low, needy, indigent, and wanty condition, as many of them are, he deals with them after this method.

First, (that he might hit the white of the mark in all his aimes, viz. wound the credit and authority of Religion) he is ever and anon harping upon the hard-heartednesse and uncharitablenesse of Professors (and I wish that he had not straw enough to make this Brick) and those that are religious men, how grinding they are in bargains, how penurious, base, and backward in works of charity and mercy, how undermining, and over-reaching they are in buying, in selling, [11] how having and craving in the things of this life, how hardly any work of mercy and charity comes off with them, how they let their brethren starve, and die, and perish, rather then help them, and how bountifull, free, and liberrall, the very Heathens have been, and how beneficiall even Papists, and many that do not so much as pretend to Religion, are to the poore; and therein I confesse, he spake too true, but the Devill himself speaks truth, to wound and destroy it, not to promote and propagate it; by this means he cunningly insinuates the discredit and disparagement of that, that is called Religion amongs us, and the Professors thereof.

Secondly, that he might likewise procure the second grand design, and desire of his soul, viz. the trouble, misery, and ruin of this Common-wealth, in respect of those that now have, and formerly of late had the government thereof in their hands, he takes notice of the neglect of the Parliament in regarding and incouraging their friends, how they do not at all consider the pressures of those that have stuck unto them in their straights and difficulties, how they bestow places of profit upon the rich, and prefer themselves and their children, and kinsmen in places of greatest profit and advantage; how the great things that have been done for the Parliament, have been done by the meaner sort of men, and that by helping them they are now become low and poor, and not at all regarded, &c. by this means he raiseth up and increaseth discontents and ebullitions of spirit, heart-burnings, and repinings against the present Governors.

Thirdly, having somewhat heated them by the meanes aforesaid, then he insists upon the unworthinesse of our times, in making riches, and estates, and the things of this world, the great badge of distinction between man and man; the Characteristicall token of mens fitnessse for Government, and that it will not be well, untill such time as men shall be eligible into places of trust, that are vertuous and able, though poor and low in this world; and that Butchers and Coblers be chosen into the places of Magistracy and Government, as well as others that are rich in this world: These kinds of plausible discourses are very pleas-

ing, and take much with discontented men that are poore and weak in estate, and withall shallow and injudicious; now they begin a little to swell, and be much conceited in, and of themselves: this done,

Fourthly, he is very frequent and diligent, in fomenting the consideration of the disproportion and inequality of the distribution of the things of this life. What an inequitable thing it is for one man to have thousands, & another want bread, & that the pleasure of God is, that all men should have enough, and not that one man should abound in this worlds good, spending it upon his lusts, and another man of far better deserts, not to be worth two pence, and that it is no such difficulty as men make it to be, to alter the course of the world in this thing, and that a very few diligent and valiant spirits may turn the world upside down, if they observe their seasons, and shall with life and courage engage accordingly.

These are his methods in seducing the indigent and poorer sort of men.

Againe, those whom he apprehends of passionate, cholerike, froward, and peevish dispositions, of putting forth bold and daring language, and withall weak, shallow, and injudicious, and yet men that are honest-hearted in the maine, true to the interest of the Common-wealth, and zealous against tyranny and oppression, he handles after this manner.

First, he is ever blowing up their spirits by daily discourses of the pressures, burthens, rates, & taxes of the poor people of this Nation; Excize, Free-Quarter, Customes, &c. are the subject-matter of his daily talk.

Secondly, the next thing, is the consideration of the Cause hereof, and they are still those that are in places of Trust and Authority, and this is one of his most constant, certain and uniform customes, to foment jealousies against the most active, prosperous, and succesfull persons of the Nation; urging, that it was ever known, that men, under pretence of zeal for Religion, and the interest of good people, have gotten into credit, and thereby lifted up themselves, endeavouring to destroy others under a pretence of Justice, and doing righteous things, that they may exalt themselves, and set up their own faction, and promote their sons and their daughters, their nephews, and their kindred, ever blemishing the repute and credit of the most famous and deserving men of the times.

Thirdly, this done, the Remedy is to be considered of, and this must

be by remove (by some means or other) of those persons, adjudged the cause of all our troubles, and miseries, and because he knows that they cannot bear the thoughts of assassinations, murdering and killing of them, (especially at first) therefore the pretended miscarriages of [13] these men must be printed and published to the world, and these books must be dispersed among especially the known well-affected and forward party in all places, to which end it must be so ordered and managed, that these books may be upon free cost abroad in the Countries, and all those places and Counties especially that are adjacent to the City of London, and do most abound with honest and well-affected men, as Hertford-shire, Buckingham-shire, Cambridge-shire, &c. that so there may be a generall distaste and dis-affection among that sort of men against them.

Fourthly, when he hath by this means wounded the repute and credit of the most faithfull and succesfull Patriots of the Common-wealth, representing them as the chief and only cause of the pressures, troubles and perplexities of the times, &c. and by this means raised the heat, fury and passion of this sort of men under present consideration, then (as if all the bonds of piety, civility, modesty, education and discretion were broken) scornfull, scandalous, opprobrious, false and clamorous reports are suggested and raised against these men, and happy would it be for this Nation that these men were rid out of the way.

For a further confirmation of the truth of these things, take some few instances which follow.

This Mr. Walwyn, to work upon the indigent and poorer sort of people, and to raise up their spirits in discontents and clamours, &c. did one time professe, he could wish with all his heart that there was neither Pale, Hedge nor Ditch in the whole Nation, and that it was an unconscionable thing that one man should have ten thousand pounds, and another more deserving and usefull to the Common-wealth, should not be worth two pence, or to that purpose.

At another time discoursing of the inequality and disproportion of the estates and conditions of men in the world, had words to this purpose, That it was a sad and miserable thing that it should so continue, and that it would never be well untill all things were common; and it being replied, will that be ever? Answered, we must endeavour it: It being said, That this would destroy all Government; Answered, That then there would be lesse need of Government, for then there would be no theeves, no covetous persons, no deceiving and abusing of one

another, and so no need of Government, &c. but if in such a case they have a form and rule of government to determine cases, as may fall out, yet there will be no [14] need of standing Officers in a Commonwealth, no need of Judges, &c. but if any difference fall out, or any criminall fact be committed, take a Cobler from his Seat, or a Butcher from his Shop, or any other Tradesman that is an honest and just man, and let him hear the case, and determine the same, and then betake himself to his work again.

At another time, discoursing of Printing, and educating Children, &c.: Wisht that Printing had never been known, adding, that since this practice and custome of teaching of Children, and bringing up of youth in learning Tongues and Arts, the world hath been more troubled with suits and quarrells, discontents and divisions, and that one man having more abilities of this kind then another, men have got into great places, and this hath made such distinctions and divisions in the world, which otherwaies had never been known; or to this purpose.

Again, to ratifie the truth of his proceedings, in raising up the spirits of the violent, furious, and passionate sort of people, against well deserving men, take these instances.

In the beginning of our troubles, he hath frequently vented base and unworthy jealousies against that honored Col. Hambden, Mr. Pim and others, whom God made happy Instruments of the good of this Nation, envie' it self not being able to blemish them; yet did he insinuate, that there was no trusting them, for they might be dispenced withall, to serve the Kings interest, &c.

What his invectives have been again L. Gen. Cromwell, Commissary Gen. Ireton, Col. Harrison, &c. is notorious to all that have had intimate acquaintance with him.

That he might stirr up the passionate and froward spirited people to work mischief, having raised up their heat and distemper, speaking of the obstructions of the good of the Nation by the house of Lords; Pish, said he, here is a great deal of stirr indeed, about Lords, the Switzers did cut the throats of about forty of them in a night, and had peace ever afterwards.

One of his presumed intimate friends assures of the truth of this story following, which was indeed the cause of his deserting this Walwin, and some others, with whom he had formerly some familiarity, the story is this, viz.

That there was an absolute design by some Agitators at Ware, to

murther the Lieut. Gen. Cromwell, concluded upon, and the manner thereof agreed upon, to be thus, the Agreement then concluded upon [15] should be worn in the hats of their Party, and a short Petition of about six lines should be presented to the Lord Generall, Petitioning him to joyn with them, in declaring that they were the Supreme Authority of this Nation; and that upon this ground, the People made the Parliament, the Parliament made the Lord Generall, and the Army, the severall Regiments of the Army made the Agitators, and so they were the supreme Authority; and if the Lord Generall did refuse to joyn with them, they were presently to unhorse him, resolving to destroy and cut the throats of all that did oppose them; and that night, with a Party of Horse, at 12. of the clock, they were to seize upon L. Generall Cromwell, and to shoot him to death, adding, that he should never know who hurt him; and that then they had a Charge ready fram'd against the King, which they would effectually prosecute, and require the Parliament to joyn with them, resolving to cut the throats of those that should refuse the same. The same Party assures also, that that very night when this should have been done at Ware, the private Committee did meet, with an expectation of the news of the successe of this bloody project; but news came unto them before it was expected, that the whole design was broken, and the manner thereof, viz. L. Gen. Cromwells carriages, with his naked waved Sword, daunted the Soldiers that had the paper in their hats, made them pluck it out, and subjected to commands, &c. to their great dejection and trouble.

The Party informing of this cursed design, was not a member of the private Committee, being a man (known) of more tender conscience, then fit to be admitted into such secrecies, but being of a more common meeting, he had the businesse discovered unto him by another, as he is ready to assert.

Having spoken of the particular wiles and waies of this deceiver, touching the subject matter of his attempts, viz. the seducing of the honest and well-affected Party, the manner thereof, viz. his cunning, crafty, and politique observation of their severall tempers, constitutions, complexions, qualifications, and conditions, and his various and suitable application of himself, to gain upon them accordingly, having wrought upon them all to a free and voluntary disposition and inclination to hearken to his counsells, and to stand (as it were) at his right hand to receive his impressions, and orders, which you must still believe, are in order only to the publique good, common free-[16] dom, & safety

of freeborn people of England, to the pulling down of Oppressors and Tyrants, he hath his severall works and employments for them all; according to every mans aptnesse & fitnessse for the same.

Those whom he observes men of parts, witty and good language, quick apprehensions, able to bridle passions, free from heat and choler, of a compos'd deportment and behaviour, and withall retensive in keeping secrets, &c. these are of his intimate society, commerse and familiarity, and shall be employed in observing the fitnessse and aptnesse of men for their proper employments, these shall be of the whispering house, close Cabinet, and privie Councill, and their work shall be the encreasing of that Party in the City and Country, whose Letters by the advantage of a politique and crafty Pen may propagate and help on their work in the severall Counties.

Those that are of more bold, peremptory, pertinacious conceived Spirits, of fierce, daring, and provoking language, apt to heat, choler and passion, and withall shallow, weak, and injudicious, not able to see skin-deep into state affairs, and presuming themselves the best Common-wealths men, the greatest Statists, the onely lovers of their Countries Liberties, the freest men from self-interest, and therefore the fittest for places of authority and trust: These shall trumpet out matter of discontents, jealousies, and pretended miscarriages of those that are in Authority, how basely things go; what oppressions, taxations, and vexations the poor people do endure? how this poor betrayed Nation is bought and sold? how the cutting off of some Tyrants do alwaies make way for more and worse to succeed them? how nothing is done for the Common-wealth? how basely the Treasure of the Kingdom is imbezeled? how Parliament men vote monies out of the purses of the poor ridden people into their own? how they share the riches of the Nation amongst themselves? how to day they vote this Parliament-man into a great Office, and to morrow another! and how they do nothing for the Common-wealth, but vote one another into places of power and profit! how that though to abuse and cast a mist before the eies of the people, they make a self-denying Ordinance, yet suffer no man to put it in execution! how they promote their kindred and allies into great places every where; if any use be for men in Custom-house, in Excise-office, or in any other places of profit, this and that Parliament-mans friends, or brothers, or sons, or nephews must be the men; nay, Parliament men and their Allies [17] have place upon place, and office upon office, as if they had severall bodies to be employed at one and the same

time? What's become of the infinite sums, the unconceivable treasure of the Nation? the late Kings Customes, Ship-money, Coat and Conduct-monies, Monopolies, &c. were nothing to the Customes, Excize, Taxations, Free-quarter, Sequestrations, Papists moneyes, Bishops Lands, Revenues of the Crowne, besides all the Plate and Monies lent freely by the people, and yet nothing done; nay, how many for their zeal and good will to the State have lent freely and bountifully, thereby beggering and undoing themselves, and now cannot receive one penny to buy them bread, but may lie begging, petitioning, and starving at their doors, and cannot be heard? nay, it may be have nothing, but course, hard and cruell language from them; how one faction tears the Common-wealth, and share it among themselves one while, and another, another while, neither of them regarding the ease or greivances of the poor people all this while, and what have they done since this purge and that purge? they have voted the continuance of Tythes, the laying of more Taxes and Rates, they imprison honest men, &c. these and the like charges are belched out from day to day by these men: this is the main matter of their discourse, writing, printing, &c. never considering how far true or false, what may be said in answer to any of these things, but blowing and blazing these clamours and complaints in all companies and places where they come, and where they can by writings, or otherwaies spread them abroad, and for this purpose they have a very singular advantage of the good will and affection of our weekly news-mongers, the Tuesday-Moderate, the Friday-Occurrences, who were easily intreated to spread abroad their late Manifestation, that their simplicity, piety, and innocency, and the Parliaments oppression, cruelty and tyranny might be the better known to the whole Kingdom, and Malignants hopes revived again, that at last these may restore them, &c. This raiseth up a spirit of contempt, envy, and malice, anger & discontent, against the Parliament, & all that they do.

For those that are poor, indigent, and low in the world, these likewise must spread abroad their complaints, the deadnesse of Trading, the dearth of the times, the great burthens, assessments, and taxations; These are all through the neglect and by means of the Parliament, all burthens, rates, and services are laid upon them, they beare the heat and burthen of the day: but they are trampled upon, and is [18] a peece of policy in men of great places, to keep the poor low, and needy in the world, and that this course must not be suffered, &c.

These and the like have been the particular ways of this cunning Artist, in abusing simple-hearted honest men; briefly the seeming tendency,

drift, and scope of all his Agitations have carried the face of many fould design.

First, to root out Religion and the principles and power thereof, out of the judgments and consciences of those that hearken unto him; witnesse those former Methods & Instances given in order thereunto.

Secondly, to root out the generation of honest, godly, religious and consciencious sort of people, whom he pretends to love above others, by putting them upon such waies and projects, which if they take place, would render them the most unsufferable generation in the world, not fit indeed to live in a Common-wealth: and what can his design herein be, but to precipitate them into their own ruine and destruction! and these are his Methods to that purpose.

First, to propose singular good things, and very promising, to the Common-wealth: And indeed, either he receives his instructions in some underhand way from others, (for we are not without ground, to suspect such a thing, as shall be declared as occasion serves,) or else he hath a politique and crafty head in contriving, pretending, ordering and manning Propositions of that kind; This advanceth and magnifieth him in the thoughts and opinions of his seduced Disciples, for a man of admirable and good affections to the Common-wealth, to publique liberty and universall good: and withall, of admirable parts, capacities, and abilities, and therefore very fit for places of government, and worthy to be listned and hearkned unto.

Secondly, for the effecting of those things, and bringing them to passe, they must be tendered to the Parliament by the well-affected in Petitions; For what way is so meet for the people as petitioning, and what can those that are in Authority do lesse, then grant them just things, that every mans judgement calleth good? And here is one of the great Master-peece of his craft and subtilty, viz. in the framing, ordering and managing their Petitions.

First, the Phrase, Stile and Dialect of these Petitions must be always harsh, unpleasant, and in case if denied, menacing and provoking, representing the Petitioners, froward, imperious, passionate, furious, positive and implacable, men of low and mean birth, breeding and [19] quality, proud, heady, high-minded, vain-glorious, giving out themselves to be alwaies the well-affected party, by whom, chiefly and mainly, if not only the Parliament have been chosen, maintained, preserved: as if the whole burthen of the charges, and service of the Warrs, was undergone by them, and by none else.

Secondly, The matter of those Petitions must not contain apparent good things in themselves only, but alwaies mingled with some things very doubtfull and questionable; causing many disputes, debates and meetings hereabout.

Thirdly, They must alwaies be clog'd and filld with such things, which though in themselves desireable, and (were they attained) hopefull and promising to the well-being of honest men, and the interest of the Nation: yet unseasonable, being of the greatest and remotest probability (as things stand) to be procured: insisting with most importunities in plainnesse and peremptorinesse of words, upon such things: not contenting themselves with those which are directly previous and infallibly conducing thereunto: but having a speciall eye, either at the present incapacity of the House, (by reason of diversities of judgements amongst themselves, the inabilities of the Nation in generall, the variety of the providences of God, in ordering the affairs of the Common-wealth) to grant such things, though happily they themselves desire it, yet with much impetuoussesse, they commandingly pray, and proudly petition for the same, now his game is started and he merily pursues it.

First, He hath divided the *quondam* united petitioning party, by the framing, phrasifying and ordering these Petitions, some being for, others against the same; now heat, jealousies, differences arise, one party censuring the other (with hard words) for cowardice, dastardlinesse, and basenesse of spirit, these are our prudentialists, our wise, moderate men, that can never find a season to do good for their Countrey; Is it not time to speak out? shall we always be meal-mouth'd, and never speak plain? If this be not a season? when will it be? are not the things just we desire? if they will not grant them, we may see what to expect from them: Again, the other party looks upon them as rash, heady, incogitant, fiery, furious spirited men that are like to bring all to ruine and confusion, &c.

Secondly, the House is hereby unwillingly precipitated and hurried upon one of these inevitable rocks: either by granting their Petitions [20] they must obnoxious themselves to the disgust, displeasure, and irritation of the generality of all sorts of the people of the Land, as also to the dangerous consequences of the pride and ambition of these men, puft up with their vain and vapouring conceits, that they must not be denied, though their Petitions be never so peremptory, positive and commanding; or else,

Secondly, by denying them, they must undergo the hard, uncivill and unworthy Censures of these hot spirited Petitioners, viz. the Parliament,

what is it? a company of base self-seeking fellows, a pack of knaves, as reall Tyrants as the King and his Patentees, a generation that will never do good to this Nation, that deserve no better at the hands of the people, then Weezils, or Polecats: this Mr. Walwyn himself, discoursing with others about modelling & framing Petitions, so as to induce the Parliament to give a gracious answer, profest to this purpose, that it would be better for the people, that the Parliament should deny, then grant their Petitions, for then they would discover themselves what they are, and what the people must expect from them; if any man shall revise all those Petitions, whose modell was the birth of his brain, he shall find them spirited with such provocations, as have the greatest extention to all considerable Parties throughout the Nation; that the Magistrates may be provoked, their power must be taken away, the rigour of the Lawes abated, as inconsistent with the liberties of a free people, they must have no power to impresse or constrain the people to arms by Sea or Land, &c. in short, leaving them nothing but the bare ayrie empty title of a Magistrate without power, and this pleaseth the rude and vicious sort of people; again, the Ministers must be provoked, and thereby the Pulpits fiered, by taking away their maintenance under the name of Tythes, no other way or means propounded, to encourage the preaching of the Gospell, whereby this ayery, vain empty thing (so reputed by this man) called Religion, may be exploded and expell'd the Nation; this pleaseth the ignorant, simple and covetous Party; the Lawyers they must be provoked, by pretending the uselessnessse of them in a Common-wealth, which pleaseth the irregular, quarrellous and offensive part of the people: The Merchants must be provoked by complaining against their Monopolizing of Trade in their own hands, and not admitting a free people to a free trade; it would be no hard matter clearly to discern an exasperating irritating & irascifying spirit in all their Petitions whose apt, natural & genuine tendencies are to kindle flames distem[21] pers, divisions, jealousies, & discontents amongst all sorts whatsoever.

Whether these former considerations do not meerly demonstrate his design of mischief to the honest and well-affected party, let any mans reason determine; as for the interest of the people, the freedom and Liberties of the Nation, (the great desire of his soul, and the travell of all his conceptions, if you will beleve him) when any man shall seriously observe that the bent and naturall genius of all his solicitations are the division of the honest party, the alienation of their hearts from, and malignifying of their opinions against, yea, the utter ruine and de-

struction of the succesfull and faithfull instruments of deliverance and safety to the Nation, his uniform hindering and obstructing, by his manifold wiles, the happy progresse of the compleat interest, deliverance and freedom of the people, when the Parl. and Army are in a hopefull capacity thereunto, his constant retarding and endeavours of preventing the execution of those very things, when in a hopefull way thereunto, which he formerly seem'd most eagerly, and with all his soul and might to pursue, his constant quarrelling with, and exciting his followers against, those that at any time, since this Parliament began, have the publike rule in their hands: he, I say, that shall impartially and in the exercise of his reason, observe these and many the like uniform, certain, and constant proceedings of this man, needs not be to seek how to make a most probable, if not indubitable judgment upon him in that point.

I shall only in a word adde one thing more, and leave him, and that is his constant endeavour to hinder the relief of Ireland, by exhibiting arguments and reasons in justification of that bloody rebellion, and in puzzling the judgements and Consciences of those that otherways would promote that happy work, arguing that the cause of the Irish Natives in seeking their just freedoms, immunities, and liberties, was the very same with our cause here, in indeavouring our own rescue and freedom from the power of oppressors, waving the consideration of that damnable, bloody, and unparallel'd massacring, murthuring, and starving so many thousands of poor Protestants, whose blood, it seems, this devout Manifestator, Mr. Walwyn judgeth not worthy, so much as to be enquired after; but God, I hope, hath, and will so discover the folly, falsenesse, and deceits of this man, that he shall proceed no further in seducing and deceiving the honest and plain hearted people, that have been apt to hearken to him.

As for L. C. Jo. Lilburn, I am very apt to beleeve, and hope, that [22] there are yet some seeds of God remaining in him, which (though for the present very strangely subdued, and kept under the clouds of ambition, heat, and choller, passion, frowardnesse, and heighth of spirit, pride, vain-glory, and affectation, rendring him for the present fierce, heady, high-minded, lofty, peevish, revengefull, implacable, very unlovely, and unlike our Lord Jesus, to whose service he doth pretend,) will (notwithstanding all this) at last break forth in beauty & strength, in much sorrow, repentance, and humiliation, in much humility, meekness, and sweetness of spirit, in much gentlenesse, patience and long-suffering, in much wisdom, prudence, and lowlinesse of mind, which will at last grow up and ripen unto

a rich and plentiful harvest of honour and praise unto God, of much complacency, satisfaction and contentment to his grieved and offended brethren, of much inward, comfortable, and contentfull communion and fellowship with the holy Spirit, and of his eternall peace, life, and salvation with God, hereafter, which (the Judge of all hearts doth know) is the longing of my soul in his behalf.

As for Mr. Prince I have no acquaintance at all with him, but have heard a good report of him, and am very apt to believe the same; for he is not the first good man that hath been seduced by the sleights of men, and therefore the cognizance that I have of M. Lilburn, and the reports I hear of M. Prince, have encouraged me (as presuming if I am not deceived in the one and the other) to render to them some few considerations, confidently believing, that the serious and Christian contemplation therof, by vertue of that *Spiritualis tactus*, that, I hope, is upon their hearts, will prove through the blessing of God, a means of meekning, softning, and framing their spirits, unto a peaceable, quiet, and amiable disposition, life, and conversation.

Omitting then the consideration of the violent, furious, and fiery language, especially of M. Lilburn, together with the roughnesse, rigidnesse, and licentiousness of his tongue and pen, in abusing, knaving, and rascallizing (after a most furious and unchristian manner) those that have given as ample testimony of their integrity and faithfulness to this Nation, as ever any that was bred therein, as also of their innocency in those very things (viz. self-seeking, self-interest, &c.) whereof they are accused, having as great advantages, seasons, and oportunities hereunto, as ever men had, by the many and great victories, successes, and forces vouchsafed unto them, and under their command, whereby [23] they have (through the presence of the Lord with them) pull'd down the pride and power of the enemy, and might have had what terms they pleased, for the particular advantage of themselves and families, would they thereby have been wooed, perswaded and wrought upon to a base and unworthy compliance, the lustre, brightnesse, and glory whereof, doth most powerfully break through all those clouds, fogs, and mists, ascending from the rankor, malice, and discontents; clamors, falsities, and scandalous tongues and pens of these men, to the generall satisfaction of wise observing and considering men, having not only the testimony of God and their own consciences, but even of those, whose occasions, condition, and conversation, have given them an oportunity of a peculiar, daily, and constant inspection and observation of their wayes, by means

whereof they can laugh to scorn those irrationall accusations against them from day to day. I say, omitting these things which may be insisted upon, consider, (whereas you are still complaining of oppressions, sorrows and troubles of the Nation) that we cannot upon any rational & Scriptural ground, expect a compleat, full, absolute, and perfect freedome from all kind of pressures and grievances in the Land, surely a naturall and compleat freedome from all sorrows and troubles, was fit for man only before he had sinned, and not since, let them look for their portion in this life, that know no better, and their Kingdome in this world, that believe no other; to what end are the graces of faith, patience, and self-deniall, vouchsafed unto us? what need would there be of the ordinances of prayer, of the promises of the comforts of the Holy Ghost? what should we make of those sayings of Christ? asserting, That in the world we shall have tribulation; That through many afflictions we must enter into the Kingdom of God; That here we have no continuing City, but we look for one that is to come, &c. if we might expect perfect freedom here below.

Again, consider whether your tongues, your pens, your bookes, should not as well savour of the sence of mercy received, as of complaints of what is wanting; though the sorrows, troubles, and grievances of the Nation be great, yet have we no cause of thankfulness to God and men for his mercy, and their assistance? what had become of this Nation, had not God stirr'd up those very men, which are the men of your complaint, to interpose between it, and the power, wrath, and malice of the contrary party? and is it not hard measure, when for all [24] their hazarding and jeoparding their lives in the high places, under all disadvantages of numbers, powers, and strength, as you know they did, that you, even you, brethren of their own party, should reward them as now you do, could you bear it your selves?

Again, consider, that the best of men, are but men at best, and will you give no allowance for flesh and blood? doubtlesse, these men of your anger have their spots, for they are but men; but have not you yours? if they are such as you give them out to be, viz. base, tyrannicall, false and rotten-hearted men, will not God find them out, as he hath done in our eyes? yes verily: and so will he find you out, if you be like them, but if you think they are upright in the maine, pity them, pardon them, counsell them, and pray for them, as the like measure is meted out for you: can you presume that perfection and temptation can dwell together on this side the grave? Have you no covering for infirmities? Make it

your own case; was there no tang of pride, vain-glory, tyranny and oppression in your L. Col. John Lilburne, when you were lifted but some few degrees above your brethren, and fellow-Souldiers in the Army? Will all men give testimony of your meekness, wisdom, goodness, gentleness, that you were free from self-seeking, using no Lordliness over your poor souldiers, not the least tincture of fingering their dues, rights, liberties? can you think that had you that power, place, & authority in the Parliament, Army, &c. which these men have, that you would do better for the Common-wealth then they do? if so be such vain conceits do swel within you, recollect your self, & bear the language of a friend, what means then the imperious Magisterial Dialect of your tongue & pen, that you cannot bear the least dissent from your opinion or judgement without flying beyond the bounds of your present station, yea, and civility, and good manners, but your tongue let flie: Knave, Rascal, Ile have his ears, Ile have his blood, &c? could you bear contradictions having power in your hands, & cannot indure the same, no, though it be in matter of opinion about State-affairs, when you stand upon the lower ground? Have not men hereby cause to presume you as full of tyrannicall principles, as a fish is full of spawne? Can you tread upon the necks of Princes and Rulers, while you are upon the dunghill, and would not doe the like even to Peasants if you sate upon the Throne? though you seem to blesse your selfe from day to day in that you can steal away the hearts of the people from the Parliament and Army, as Absa-[25] lom did from David by your pretended zeal for the Liberties of the poor oppressed people; saying to the disturbed and grieved thereof for want of just administrations, as he did, 2 Sam. 15. 2, 3, 4, Of what City are you? of one of the Tribes of Israel: your matters are good and right, but there is no man to hear you: O that I were made a Judg in the Land, that every man that hath any suit, or cause, might come unto me, and I would do him right: The Free-born People of England, how are they oppressed, wrong'd and abused? No man judgeth their cause. This must be mended; we will have this, and that, and the other thing done, that will ease and please the people; and may happily gather together such a number as he did, about 4 hundred silly, shallow, heady, hasty and simple-hearted men to the Kingdoms trouble and their own ruine; yet be perswaded in time, for you cannot prosper; surely your spirit, your language, your dialect, stand at such palpable, plain, and open defiance to that spirit, which breatheth in the Scriptures, & in the hearts of those that fear God (out of whose number I do not exclude you, though as I said before, very strangely

are the symptoms of godliness kept down in you) that you cannot, you shal not thus go on, and prosper, notwithstanding your crafty methods & art, which you use to incense and stir up the poor ignorant Country, by sending your Papers, appointing this man to spread them abroad in this part, and that man in that part; this man in this parish, and another in that, exercising the like skill for infection of several Regiments, Troops, and Companies of the Army, by means whereof you boast of your thousands and ten thousands to stand to you, swelling up your vain spirit to that height, making you forget what you are, yet let me tell you, that all this while you are but making matter of shame, sorrow, and repentance for your self, and however you may be puft up with the airy, empty, vain & flattering words of those that applaud you, and cry you up for a valiant & brave spirit that hath withstood Kings, Lords, Commons, Army, fearing neither men or devils in your Countries caus, the wind wherof may blow you up & down as a cloud without water, and make your sails swel beyond your vessel; yet wise judicious & seeing men do evidently perceive you vainly hurried to the very brink of an inevitable precipice, from whence (if not [26] prevented by a gracious hand of mercy from on high) you will certainly fall into shameful issues, as Absalom did, to the grief & trouble of your real, though not flattering friends: if therefore you have any bowels of compassion to your native Country, in whose behalf you would seem even to be eaten up with zeal, do not hinder the happines therof, by gratifying Malignants, whose only hope is you and your party, who rejoyce in your mad and furious proceedings, and take pleasure in your folly, and do boie you up with vain, empty, and windy words, seeking your own, and your brethrens ruin, & would rejoyce to see us all destroy'd and hang'd together: Do you think your Manifestation (wherein you would make them beleve that you never have been any way violent against the persons of the King and Queen, or their party, though I confess I wonder with what face you could so speak) doth satisfie them? no doubtless they know you well enough, and you shall know it, if an opportunity serves them. Are you indeed lovers of your Country? why then do you hinder the peace & happiness thereof by your present Commotions? Are you indeed the servants of the most high God? where is his image? Are you the Disciples of Christ? where is his meekness, patience, gentleness, long-suffering goodness? Are you flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone? where then is your love to his people? Can you make wise and judicious men to believe your great profest zeal of your love to good men, while you hinder the relief of Ireland, (though

I now speak not to M. Walwyn and M. Overton, because I fear they have not hearing ears in matters of this nature,) yet, can you M. Lilburn and M. Prince bear the thoughts of so many thousand Protestants (amongst whom who can tell how many faithful servants of God) murdered & massacred without any inquisition made for their blood? nay, that all that remain of that generation must give up themselves to be butcherd and slaughterd by those sons of violence, and shal have no assistance? Could it enter into any mans heart, that L. Col. Lilburn the grand Zealot for honest mens interest should ever be so baffled with vain glosses, jesuitical, notorious and cunning Sophistry, as to be perswaded to hinder the relief of Ireland? Do not the screeches and cries of those slaughtered men, women and children fill your ears, their sprawlings and gaspings appear [27] in your eyes, while you hinder the just vengeance upon those barbarous murtherers? What's become of those wonted bowels of love and affection to the honest party that did sound in you? are they restrained? can you resolve not only to deafen your ears to the cry of the dead for Justice, but will you stop them also against the cry of the living for mercy that are like to be slaughtered for want of relief? What Malignant, what Papist, what Jesuit, nay, what Devil, under the notion of an Angel of light, hath thus bewicht you, that you cannot see the crafty jugglism and jesuitism of your present transactions? Do you not perceive, nor yet understand that under the pretence, shape, and vizard of zeal for your Countries good, you are furiously hurried and blindly cheated into such actions that threaten its ruine? Will the raising up of a third War, the utter extirpation of the Protestants in Ireland, the dividing, rending, and breaking Englands Army, the heating, fiering and enflaming the spirits of the honest and united party, the raising, increasing and multiplying difficulties and troubles in this very juncture of time, when all contrivances, plots and projects that malice it self can study and invent by Sea or Land to prevent and hinder the hopeful change of the late Government for the happy promotion of the Liberties and Freedom of the people? Will these things, I say (the proper tendencies of your present practises) promote the Peace and Interest of England? Or can they be any other then the unhappy birth of the Romish, Malignant, Jesuitical and Satanical Faction? And shall L. Col. John Lilburn, and Mr Prince, profest friends to Englands Interest, adjutate, help and promote the same? Or speak plainly, Have you quitted the tents of Israel, and struk hands with the Philistins? Is your *quondam* Religion and profest experiences thereof like salt that hath lost its savour? Is it

now fit for nothing but the dunghil? Do you make no other use of your old profession then to retain your credit with your *quondam* companions for your more easie & quick dispatch of their utter ruine, by the course you take; that so you may do their grand Enemy and his party the greater work in a little time; if these things be the abhorring of your souls, what means your present practises? Destroy the Parliament and Council of State, break the Army in pieces, set the Souldiers against the Officers, tell them 'tis Tyranny to be under the martial Discipline, (though under [28] pay) hinder the relief of Ireland, make way for the Rebels to come over hither, let French, & Danes and Devils come with them; do not you think that all this will promote Englands interest, the Gospels through-fare, and happy successe, the peace and prosperity of Honest men? and have not your present ways, a direct face, yea, and a swift foot after these things? or hath the spirit of Tinmouth Lilburne, possessed you, that you have resolved to betray the interest of the whole Nation into the hands of the revengefull Enemy. Well, if it be so, you are about a work which will devour the workman. For all they that hate Sion shall be turned backward and perish.

Postscript

Reader,

The foolish, vain, inconsistent, malicious, and contradictious Scandals, falsities and absurdities of the late Pamphlets, subscribed by these men, are so plain, clear and obvious, that it would reflect disparagement upon thy judgment, and difficiency upon thy observation to insist upon the same, nevertheless because they are a high-flown generation, presuming that unanswerable which others judg intolerable, and mens discretion in slighting their folly insufficiency to refute the same, thou shalt (as occasion is offered, if thy nostrils can bear it) see the boyls and botches of their ulcerous pens lancht before thee, wherein thou mayst expect such heighth of confidence, and depths of ignorance, such impudence and arrogance, such substantial vapors, such true falsities, such shallow deeps, such real vanities, such irrational reasonings, such dividing propositions for the settlement of peace, such reedy pillars for the establishment of the State, such warring principles for the Peoples Agreement, as it is hard to say, whether will move thy pity or laughter; but when men turn apostates from God, scoffers of Religion, deny the Scriptures, neglect, contemn, and despise the means of Sanctification, grow haughty, proud, vain-glorious, passionate, froward, fierce, fiery, &c. they'l at last make

nothing to strike hands with the Devil and his party, Atheists and Papists, and prophane Malignants, no longer help the Lord against the mighty, but the mighty against the Lord, betray Ireland, settle the Prince upon the English throne, ruine the honest interest of the Nation, and then

Farewel.

London, May/ the 1. 1649./ Matth. 5. verse 9. Blessed are the Peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God./

AN AGREEMENT OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND

An Agreement of the Free People is reprinted from a copy appended to a copy of *The Levellers (Falsly so called) Vindicated* in the possession of Godfrey Davies. It was signed by Lilburne, Walwyn, Prince, and Overton, with the date May 1, 1649, and issued as a separate publication before May 7, when the Council of State recommended (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1649-1650*) that the licenser, Gilbert Mabbott, who had given his imprimatur to the publication, be discharged from his post. A copy of this issue in the Huntington Library has Mabbott's imprimatur; a copy in the possession of Godfrey Davies lacks it. Probably the imprimatur was removed by the printer after the action of the Council against Mabbott. The proposals for reform set forth in *An Agreement*, without the prefatory matter, were reprinted by William Thompson in his *Englands Standard Advanced* (on which see Introduction, p. 28). *The Levellers (Falsly so called) Vindicated*, a defense of the Burford mutineers, was signed by John Wood and several other troopers, with the date August 20, 1649, and published not more than a day or so later. The writers said in conclusion, "We have hereunto annexed the fore-mentioned draught of the said Agreement of our 4. imprisoned Friends in the Tower of London." They appended *An Agreement*, with Mabbott's imprimatur, in what is clearly the original printing. The Huntington Library has two copies of *The Levellers (Falsly so called) Vindicated* with *An Agreement* attached. The Thomason Collection in the British Museum has two copies of *An Agreement* and a copy of *The Levellers (Falsly so called) Vindicated*, which have not been available for examination by the present editors. A copy of *An Agreement* in the Union Theological Seminary has also been inaccessible.

AN/ AGREEMENT/ OF THE/ Free People of England./ Tendered as a *Peace-Offering* to/ this distressed *Nation*./ BY/ Lieutenant Colonel *John Lilburne*, Master *William/ Walwyn*, Master *Thomas Prince*, and Master *Richard/ Overton*, Prisoners in the Tower of

A Preparative to all sorts of people.

IF AFFLICTIONS make men wise, and wisdom direct to happinesse, then certainly this Nation is not far from such a degree therof, as may compare if not far exceed, any part of the world: having for some yeares by-past, drunk deep of the Cup of misery and sorrow. We blesse God our consciences are cleer from adding affliction to affliction, having ever laboured from the beginning, of our publick distractions, to compose and reconcile them: & should esteem it the Crown of all our temporal felicity that yet we might be instrumentall in procuring the peace and prosperity of this Common-wealth the land of our Nativity.

And therefore according to our promise in our late *Manifestation* of the 14 of Aprill 1649. (being perswaded of the necessitie and justnesse thereof) as a Peace-Offering to the Free people of this Nation, we tender this ensuing Agreement, not knowing any more effectuell means to put a finall period to all our feares and troubles. [2]

It is a way of settlement, though at first much startled at by some in high authority; yet according to the nature of truth, it hath made its own way into the understanding, and taken root in most mens hearts and affections, so that we have reall ground to hope (what ever shall become of us) that our earnest desires and indeavours for good to the people will not altogether be null and frustrate.

The life of all things is in the right use and application, which is not our worke only, but every mans conscience must look to it selfe, and not dreame out more seasons and opportunities. And this we trust will satisfie all ingenuous people that we are not such wilde, irracionall, dangerous Creatures as we have been aspersed to be; This agreement being the ultimate end and full scope of all our desires and intentions concerning the Government of this Nation, and wherein we shall absolutely rest satisfied and acquiesce; nor did we ever give just cause for any to beleewe worse of us by any thing either said or done by us, and which would not in the least be doubted, but that men consider not the interest of those that have so unchristian-like made bold with our good names; but we must bear with men of such interests as are opposite to any part of this Agreement, when neither our Saviour nor his Apostles innocency could stop such mens mouthes whose interests their doctrines and practises did

extirpate; And therefore if friends at least would but consider what interest men relate to, whilst they are telling or whispering their aspersions against us, they would find the reason and save us a great deale of labour in clearing our selves, it being a remarkable signe of an ill cause when aspersions supply the place of Arguments.

We blesse God that he hath given us time and hearts to bring it to this issue, what further he hath for us to do is yet only knowne to his wisdom, to whose will and pleasure we shall willingly submit; we have if we look with the eyes of frailty, enemies like the sons of Anak, but if with the eyes of faith and confidence in a righteous God and a just cause, we see more with us then against us.

JOHN LILBURN.	WILLIAM WALWYN.
THOMAS PRINCE.	RICHARD OVERTON.

From our causelesse captivity
in the Tower of London, May
1. 1649.

The Agreement it selfe thus followeth.

After the long and tedious prosecution of a most unnaturall cruell, homebred war, occasioned by divisions and distempers amongst our selves, and those distempers arising from the uncertaintie of our Government, and the exercise of an unlimited or Arbitrary power, by such as have been trusted with Supreme and subordinate Authority, wherby multitudes of grievances and intolerable oppressions have been brought upon us. And finding after eight yeares experience and expectation all indeavours hitherto used, or remedies hitherto applyed, to have encreased rather then diminished our distractions, and that if not speedily prevented our falling againe into factions and divisions, will not only deprive us of the benefit of all those wonderful Victories God hath vouchsafed against such as sought our bondage, but expose us first to poverty and misery, and then to be destroyed by forraigne enemies.

And being earnestly desirous to make a right use of that opportunity God hath given us to make this Nation Free and Happy, to reconcile our differences, and beget a perfect amitie and friendship once more amongst us, that we may [3] stand clear in our consciences before Almighty God, as unbyassed by any corrupt Interest or particular advantages, and manifest to all the world that our indeavours have not proceeded from malice to the persons of any, or enmity against opinions; but in reference to the

peace and prosperity of the Common-wealth, and for prevention of like distractions, and removall of all grievances; We the free People of England, to whom God hath given hearts, means and opportunity to effect the same, do with submission to his wisdom, in his name, and desiring the equity thereof may be to his praise and glory; Agree to ascertain our Government, to abolish all arbitrary Power, and to set bounds and limits both to our Supreme, and all Subordinate Authority, and remove all known Grievances.

And accordingly do declare and publish to all the world, that we are agreed as followeth,

I. That the Supreme Authority of England and the Territories therewith incorporate, shall be and reside henceforward in a Representative of the People consisting of four hundred persons, but no more; in the choice of whom (according to naturall right) all men of the age of one and twenty yeers and upwards (not being servants, or receiving alms, or having served the late King in Arms or voluntary Contributions) shall have their voices; and be capable of being elected to that Supreme Trust, those who served the King being disabled for ten years onely. All things concerning the distribution of the said four hundred Members proportionable to the respective parts of the Nation, the severall places for Election, the manner of giving and taking of Voyces, with all Circumstances of like nature, tending to the compleating and equall proceedings in Elections, as also their Salary, is referred to be settled by this present Parliament, in such sort as the next Representative may be in a certain capacity to meet with safety at the time herein expressed: and such circumstances to be made more perfect by future Representatives.

II. That two hundred of the four hundred Members, and not lesse, shall be taken and esteemed for a competent Representative; and the major Voyces present shall be concluding to this Nation. The place of Session, and choice of a Speaker, with other circumstances of that nature, are referred to the care of this and future Representatives.

III. And to the end all publick Officers may be certainly accountable, and no Factions made to maintain corrupt Interests, no Officer of any salary, Forces in Army or Garison, nor any Treasurer or Receiver of publick monies, shall (while such) be elected a Member for any Representative; and if any Lawyer shall at any time be chosen, he shall be incapable of practice as a Lawyer, during the whole time of that Trust.

And for the same reason, and that all persons may be capable of subjection as well as rule.

III. That no Member of the present Parliament shall be capable of being elected of the next Representative, nor any Member of any future Representative shall be capable of being chosen for the Representative immediately succeeding: but are free to be chosen, one Representative having intervned: Nor shall any Member of any Representative be made either Receiver, Treasurer, or other Officer during that employment.

V. That for avoyding the many dangers and inconveniences apparantly arising from the long continuance of the same persons in Authority; We Agree, that this pre-[4] sent Parliament shall end the first Wednesday in August next 1649, and thenceforth be of no power or Authority: and in the mean time shall order and direct the Election of a new and equall Representative, according to the true intent of this our Agreement: and so as the next Representative may meet and sit in power and Authority as an effectuall Representative upon the day following; namely, the first Thursday of the same August, 1649.

VI. We agree, if the present Parliament shall omit to order such Election or Meeting of a new Representative; or shall by any means be hindered from performance of that Trust:

That in such case, we shall for the next Representative proceed in electing thereof in those places, & according to that manner & number formerly accustomed in the choice of Knights and Burgesses; observing onely the exceptions of such persons from being Electors or Elected, as are mentioned before in the first, third, and fourth Heads of this Agreement: It being most unreasonable that we should either be kept from new, frequent and successive Representatives, or that the supreme Authority should fall into the hands of such as have manifested disaffection to our common Freedom, and endeavoured the bondage of the Nation.

VII. And for preserving the supreme authority from falling into the hands of any whom the people have not, or shall not chuse,

We are resolved and agreed (God willing) that a new Representative shall be upon the first Thursday in August next aforesaid: the ordering and disposing of themselves, as to the choice of a speaker, and the like circumstances, is hereby left to their discretion: But are in the extent and exercise of Power, to follow the direction and rules of this agreement; and are hereby authorised and required according to their best judgements, to set rules for future equall distribution, and election of Members

as is herein intended and enjoyned to be done, by the present Parliament.

VIII. And for the preservation of the supreme Authority (in all times) entirely in the hands of such persons only as shal be chosen thereunto — we agree and declare: That the next & al future Representatives, shall continue in full power for the space of one whole year: and that the people shall of course, chuse a Parliament once every year, so as all the members thereof may be in a capacity to meet, and take place of the foregoing Representative: the first Thursday in every August for ever if God so please; Also (for the same reason) that the next or any future Representative being met, shall continue their Session day by day without intermission for four monthes at the least; and after that shall be at Liberty to adjourn from two monthes to two months, as they shall see cause untill their yeer be expired, but shall sit no longer then a yeer upon pain of treason to every member that shall exceed that time: and in times of adjurnment shall not erect a Council of State but refer the managing of affairs in the intervals to a Committee of their own members, giving such instructions, and publish them, as shall in no measure contradict this agreement.

IX. And that none henceforth may be ignorant or doubtful concerning the power of the Supreme authority, and of the affairs, about which the same is to be conversant and exercised: we agree and declare, that the power of Representatives shall extend without the consent or concurrence of any other person or persons,

- 1 To the conservation of Peace and commerce with forrain Nations.
- 2 To the preservation of those safe guards, and securities of our lives, limbes, liberties, properties, and estates, contained in the Petition of Right, made and enacted in the third year of the late King. [5]
- 3 To the raising of moneys, and generally to all things as shall be evidently conducing to those ends, or to the enlargement of our freedom, redress of grievances, and prosperity of the Common-wealth.

For security whereof, having by wofull experience found the prevalence of corrupt interests powerfully inclining most men once entrusted with authority, to pervert the same to their own domination, and to the prejudice of our Peace and Liberties, we therefore further agree and declare.

X. That we do not impower or entrust our said representatives to continue in force, or to make any Lawes, Oaths, or Covenants, whereby to compell by penalties or otherwise any person to any thing in or about matters of faith, Religion or Gods worship or to restrain any person from the profession of his faith, or exercise of Religion according to his

Conscience, nothing having caused more distractions, and heart burnings in all ages, then persecution and molestation for matters of Conscience in and about Religion:

XI. We doe not impower them to impresse or constrain any person to serve in war by Sea or Land every mans Conscience being to be satisfied in the justness of that cause wherein he hazards his own life, or may destroy an others.

And for the quieting of all differences, and abolishing of all enmity and rancour, as much as is now possible for us to effect.

XII. We agree, That after the end of this present Parliament, no person shall be questioned for any thing said or done in reference to the late Warres, or publike differences; otherwise then in pursuance of the determinations of the present Parliament, against such as have adhered to the King against the Liberties of the people: And saving that Accountants for publick moneys received, shall remain accomptable for the same.

XIII. That all priviledges or exemptions of any persons from the Lawes, or from the ordinary course of Legall proceedings, by vertue of any Tenure, Grant, Charter, Patent, Degree, or Birth, or of any place of residence, or refuge, or priviledge of Parliament, shall be henceforth void and null; and the like not to be made nor revived again.

XIII. We doe not impower them to give judgment upon any ones person or estate, where no Law hath been before provided, nor to give power to any other Court or Jurisdiction so to do, Because where there is no Law, there is no transgression, for men or Magistrates to take Cognisance of; neither doe we impower them to intermeddle with the execution of any Law whatsoever.

XV. And that we may remove all long settled Grievances, and thereby as farre as we are able, take away all cause of complaints, and no longer depend upon the uncertain inclination of Parliaments to remove them, nor trouble our selves or them with Petitions after Petitions, as hath been accustomed, without fruit or benefit; and knowing no cause why any should repine at our removall of them, except such as make advantage by their continuance, or are related to some corrupt Interests, which we are not to regard.

We agree and Declare,

XVI. That it shall not be in the power of any Representative, to punish, or cause to be punished, any person or persons for refusing to answer to questions against themselves in Criminall cases.

XVII. That it shall not be in their power, after the end of the next Representative, to continue or constitute any proceedings in Law that shall be longer then Six months in the final determination of any cause past all Appeal, nor to continue the Laws or proceedings therein in any other Language then English, nor to hinder any person or persons from [6] pleading their own Causes, or of making use of whom they please to plead for them.

The reducing of these and other the like provisions of this nature in this Agreement provided, and which could not now in all particulars be perfected by us, is intended by us to be the proper works of faithful Representatives.

XVIII. That it shall not be in their power to continue or make any Laws to abridge or hinder any person or persons, from trading or merchandizing into any place beyond the Seas, where any of this Nation are free to Trade.

XIX. That it shall not be in their power to continue Excise or Customs upon any sort of Food, or any other Goods, Wares, or Commodities, longer then four months after the beginning of the next Representative, being both of them extreme burthensome and oppressive to Trade, and so expensive in the Receipt, as the moneys expended therein (if collected as Subsidies have been) would extend very far towards defraying the publick Charges; and forasmuch as all Moneys to be raised are drawn from the People; such burthensome and chargeable wayes, shall never more be revived, nor shall they raise Moneys by any other ways (after the aforesaid time) but only by an equal rate in the pound upon every reall and personall estate in the Nation.

XX. That it shall not be in their power to make or continue any Law, whereby mens reall or personall estates, or any part thereof, shall be exempted from payment of their debts; or to imprison any person for debt of any nature, it being both unchristian in it self, and no advantage to the Creditors, and both a reproach and prejudice to the Commonwealth.

XXI. That it shall not be in their power to make or continue any Law, for taking away any mans life, except for murther, or other the like hainous offences destructive to humane Society, or for endeavouring by force to destroy this our Agreement, but shall use their uttermost endeavour to appoint punishments equall to offences: that so mens Lives, Limbs, Liberties, and estates, may not be liable to be taken away upon trivial or slight occasions as they have been; and shall have speciall care to preserve, all

sorts of people from wickedness misery and beggery: nor shall the estate of any capitall offendor be confiscate but in cases of treason only; and in all other capitall offences recompence shall be made to the parties damified, as well out of the estate of the Malifactor, as by loss of life, according to the conscience of his jury.

XXII. That it shall not be in their power to continue or make any Law, to deprive any person, in case of Tryals for Life, Limb, Liberty, or Estate, from the benefit of witnesses, on his, or their behalf; nor deprive any person of those priviledges, and liberties, contained in the Petition of Right, made in the third yeer of the late King Charls.

XXIII. That it shall not be in their power to continue the Grievance of Tithes, longer then to the end of the next Representative; in which time, they shall provide to give reasonable satisfaction to all Impropriators: neither shall they force by penalties or otherwise, any person to pay towards the maintenance of any Ministers, who out of conscience cannot submit thereunto.

XXIV. That it shall not be in their power to impose Ministers upon any the respective Parishes, but shall give free liberty to the parishioners of every particular parish, to chuse such as themselves shall approve; and upon such terms, and for such reward, as themselves shall be willing to contribute, or shall contract for. Provided, none be chusers but such as are capable of electing Representatives.

XXV. That it shall not be in their power, to continue or make a law, for any other way of Judgments, or Conviction of life, limb, liberty, or estate, but onely by twelve sworn men of the Neighborhood; to be chosen in some free way by the people; to be directed [7] before the end of the next Representative, and not picked and imposed, as hitherto in many places they have been.

XXVI. They shall not disable any person from bearing any office in the Common-wealth; for any opinion or practice in Religion, excepting such as maintain the Popes (or other forraign) Supremacy.

XXVII. That it shall not be in their power to impose any publike officer upon any Counties, Hundreds, Cities, Towns, or Borroughs; but the people capable by this Agreement to chuse Representatives, shall chuse all their publike Officers that are in any kinde to administer the Law for their respective places, for one whole yeer, and no longer, and so from yeer to yeer: and this as an especial means to avoyd Factions, and Parties.

And that no person may have just cause to complain, by reason of taking away the Excise and Customs, we agree,

XXVIII. That the next, and all future Representatives shall exactly keep the publike Faith, and give full satisfaction, for all securities, debts, arrears or damages, (justly chargeable) out of the publike Treasury; and shall confirm and make good all just publike Purchases and Contracts that have been, or shall be made; save that the next Representative may confirm or make null in part or in whole, all gifts of Lands, Moneys, Offices, or otherwise made by the present Parliament, to any Member of the House of Commons, or to any of the Lords, or to any of the attendants of either of them.

And for as much as nothing threateneth greater danger to the Common wealth, then that the Military power should by any means come to be superior to the Civil Authority,

XXIX. We declare and agree, That no Forces shall be raised, but by the Representatives, for the time being; and in raising thereof, that they exactly observe these Rules, namely, That they allot to each particular County, City, Town, and Borrough, the raising, furnishing, agreeing, and paying of a due proportion, according to the whole number to be levyed; and shall to the Electors of Representatives in each respective place, give Free liberty, to nominate and appoint all Officers appertaining to Regiments, Troops, and Companies, and to remove them as they shall see cause, Reserving to the Representative, the nominating, and appointing onely of the General, and all General-Officers; and the ordering, regulating, and commanding of them all, upon what service shall seem to them necessary for the Safety, Peace, and Freedom of the Common-wealth.

And in as much as we have found by sad experience, That generally men make little or nothing, to innovate in Government, to exceed their time and power in places of trust, to introduce an Arbitrary, and Tyrannical power, and to overturn all things into Anarchy and Confusion, where there are no penalties imposed for such destructive crimes and offences,

XXX. We therefore agree and declare, That it shall not be in the power of any Representative, in any wise, to render up, or give, or take away any part of this Agreement, nor level mens Estates, destroy Propriety, or make all things Common: And if any Representative shall endeavor, as a Representative, to destroy this Agreement, every Member present in the House, not entering or immediately publishing his dissent, shall incur the pain due for High Treason, and be proceeded against accordingly; and if any person or persons, shall by force endeavor or contrive, the destruction thereof, each person so doing, shall likewise be dealt withal as in cases of Treason.

And if any person shal by force of Arms disturb Elections of Representatives, he shall incurr the penalty of a Riot; and if any person not capable of being an Elector, or Elected, shal intrude themselves amongst those that are, or any persons shall behave themselves rudely and disorderly, such persons shal be liable to a presentment by a grand Inquest [8] and to an indictment upon misdemeanor; and be fined and otherwise punish'd according to the discretion and verdict of a Jury. And all Laws made, or that shall be made contrary to any part of this Agreement, are hereby made null and void.

Thus, as becometh a free People, thankfull unto God for this blessed opportunity, and desirous to make use thereof to his glory, in taking off every yoaik, and removing every burthen, in delivering the captive, and setting the oppressed free; we have in all the particular Heads forementioned, done as we would be done unto, and as we trust in God will abolish all occasion of offence and discord, and produce the lasting Peace and Prosperity of this Common wealth: and accordingly do in the sincerity of our hearts and consciences, as in the presence of Almighty God, give cleer testimony of our absolute agreement to all and every part hereof by subscribing our hands thereunto. Dated the first day of May, in the Yeer of our Lord 1649.

JOHN LILBURN.
WILLIAM WALWYN.
THOMAS PRINCE.
RICHARD OVERTON.

April 30. 1649.
Imprimatur.

GILBERT MABBOT
finis.

London, Printed for Gyles Calvert at the black spread-Eagle at the West end of Pauls.

THE CHARITY OF CHURCH-MEN

The Charity of Church-men is reprinted from a copy in the possession of Godfrey Davies. There are copies in the British Museum and the Union Theological Seminary. Thomason entered a copy in his collection on May 28, 1649. This tract is a direct reply to *Walwims Wiles* (reprinted above). The author, "H. B. Med.," was almost certainly the physician Humphrey Brooke (William Munk, *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians*, I [1861]; Anthony Wood, *Fasti*, II, 221, in *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss [1815]), mistakenly referred to as Robert Brook in Pease, *Leveller Movement*, p. 248n, and in C. R. Gillett, *Catalogue of the McAlpin Collection* (1928), and as Henry Brooke in *Tracts on Liberty*, ed. Haller, *passim*. Lilburne refers to "Doct. Brooks in his late Book entituled the *Charity of Churchmen*" (*Legall Fundamentall Liberties*, p. 20). Brooke was also the author of *The Crafts-mens Craft*, a reply in defense of the Levellers, particularly Walwyn, to the accusations contained in *The Discoverer . . . The First Part*. Brooke refers the reader especially to *A Manifestation, The Fountain of Slaunder*, and his own *Charity of Church-men*.

THE/ CHARITY OF CHURCH-MEN:/ OR,/ A VINDICATION/ OF/ Mr *William Walwyn* Merchant, from the asper-/ sions plentifully cast upon him in a Pamphlet, Intituled,/ WALWYN'S WILES./ By H. B. Med. a friend to Truth, his Country/ and Mr Walwyn./ Prov. 29. 26. *Many seek the Rulers favour, but every mans judgement commeth of the Lord.* Mark 3. 6. *And the Pharisees departed, and straightway gathered a Councell with the Herodians against him, that they might destroy him.* Luke 23. 2. *And they began to accuse him, saying, we have found this man perverting the Nation.* 2 Tim. 3. 9. *But they shall proceed no further, for their folly shall be manifest to all men, as theirs also was.* LONDON,/ Printed by H. Hils, and are to be sold by W. Larnar, at the sign of the Blackmore, near Bishops-gate./ M. DC. XLIX./

The Charity of Church-men.

THE WORLD cannot choose but take notice, of a strangely malicious and scandalous Pamphlet, Intituled, (*Walwyn's Wiles, &c.*) the particular slanders whereof, though heretofore privately, yet industriously disperst, accompanied with many more of a lighter nature, but more easily discoverable, which are therefore in this book left out, yet have the pollitick Authors not thought fit to collect and publish the same, till they knew Mr Walwyn was much straitned from the means and opportunity of Vindicating himself; and till they judg'd by such slanders, they should render him odious to all Religious people, and so fit him for that destruction, they do secretly, but most laboriously endeavour to bring upon him.

He has been hitherto silent, and when importuned to clear himself; he has argued, That it was not the way of Christ or his Apostles; that we read of no Apologies of theirs, though in the same manner with himselfe, but in a more plentiful measure loaded with obloquies and reproaches: That the best use he could make of such hard speeches, was to be more circumspect in his waies, and not to deviate from the path of righteousness, that so by the innocence of his life, and unblamableness of his conversation, he might give check to such rumours and evil reports. That he knew very well what was the root from whence such bitter fruits proceeded: viz. his engaging for the people, and discovering a resolution in himself to persevere in the same. Indeed neither he nor his friends did ever thinke they would have proceeded so far in these crosse and rugged paths, as to prosecute him to the very death; for who could but suppose that either the precepts of Christianity that are in direct opposition to such courses, or at least (if nothing else is prevalent with them) that the outward reputation of their Religion would have restrained them. But when once the innocent and harmelesse path is forsaken, whether then? but into a sea of evil, where one bad action necessarily drawes on another; and one injustice enforces the committing of another, for support and protection of the first? When Religious men become spies, and make use of friendship to betray; when they shall hunt their Brethren like Partridges, ransack their whole lives, insinuate themselves into their acquaintance purposely to ensnare them, and justifie themselves in so doing: wrest mens sayings to the worst, forge and fix upon them things of greatest antipathy to their spirits; what is this but to blast the name of Christianity, and the profession of Religion, and to make it evil spoken of all the world

over? yet this hath been the practice of the Authors of that Pamphlet towards Mr. Walwyn, who has patiently bore all hitherto, and is now undergoing the highest proof of his vertue (which his Adversaries make his crime and disadvantage) and of his Christian fortitude (with which I well know he is amply endowed) as in these latter times I thinke any man has undergon. They have seasoned this project of theirs to the purpose; took a course for restraining him, and then they revile him; knowing well that other men, though of never so great acquaintance and intimacy with him, cannot so clearly discover the mistakes and fallacious delivery of those speeches that are fathered upon him, as he himself could.

However I judge my selfe bound to do my best (though weak) in-deavour for his Vindication; out of my hearty respects to that Innocency and reall Goodnesse that is so visible in his life and conversation, as one would thinke should answer all objections.

Indeed I judge that Pamphlet more properly a designe, then a discourse; the politick contrivance (most of it) of other kind of adversaries then have subscri- [2] bed their names to it, for that the end cannot be out of conscience to prevent the perversion of honest men; for then they would have published it when those speeches are pretended to be spoken; but to fit the people to bear his destruction patiently, and to make him (if possible) so odious as that they may cry out for it themselves, and urge, as the deluded Jews did against Paul, away with him, 'tis not fit such a man should live upon the Earth.

And that which the more confirmes me therein is, because one maine drift of the book is to take off the People from complaining of their Burdens and pressures, and rendring all them as suspicious of some dangerous designe, that shall give advice for the doing thereof; fixing an evil sence upon all the motions of theirs to that end, especially upon such as give them Council, or are most able amongst them, to thinke of wayes and means for getting relief, or deliverance. Now because Mr. Walwyn has been alwayes a ready friend to all sorts of people unjustly suffering in any kind; and is stil putting such as are in Authority in remembrance of their duty, and has been a most unwearied solicitour these 8. years, for the just rights and liberties of People: hence is it that as heretofore he was made the marke of bad mens displeasure: so even now, when we hope to see better times, is become the common Butt against which all harsh censures are directed; and all this to over-awe mens spirits, and, by frightening him and others from doing their duties, make them submit to any yokes that shall be brought upon them.

Henceforward to Petition will be rendred a matter dangerous to the State, and he that shall set himself to frame and manage such things, may in like manner as Mr. Walwyn, be said to insinuate into, and mislead the people; to study their tempers and complexions, the qualifications of their spirits, their humours and passionate inclinations, their externall quality and estate, purposely to deceive them: he that shall urge the pressures and excessive burthens we groane under, and insist upon the causes and remedies thereof, must by this way of judging, be a seditious person, an incenser of the people against Authority; a politick perverter of man-kind, which is such a machiavilian way of stopping our mouthes and making us stoop under every yোক that may be laid upon us, as no sort of men hitherto arriv'd unto.

'Tis well the Author of that Pamphlet and his accomplices are so well pleased with the present sad and deplorable condition of the Commonwealth: the world goes well with them it seems, so they enjoy the care and favour of Authority; and have faire hopes of advancing such of themselves as are not already advanc'd into places of profit; what care they though the poor starve, though all kinds of oppression be trebled and centupled upon the Commonwealth: the fish is caught and therefore away with the nets, there must be Tyranny (so they now argue) and why not in these rather than in any else? changes are dangerous, and in time all that is desirable shall be established; and therefore let us as it becomes Christians, waite with patience upon Authority and see what they will doe: Thus they perswade most to a yeilding contentfull submission to the yোক, who once taken off, are ingaged for justification of themselves, to plead and argue against those who see through the subtiltie of such deceptions, and continue notwithstanding all hazards, watchful and industrious as well to manifest and bring to light what is behooful, as to discover what is pernicious to their Country.

'Gainst such as these, what means more effectually then scandals? and what scandals more odious then Atheism and Communitie? By the first, all that are religious are incens'd, by the last, all that are rich. And though the whole progresse of Mr Walwyns life and conversation doth clearly evince the false imputation both of the [3] one and the other; yet having happily scattered in familiar discourses, some words, that by the extremity of wresting and mis-application, for want of observation of the coherence, by taking a piece only, or part of his speech; all which, such as came purposely to betray, must needs be supposed to be very much inclin'd unto; 'tis no wonder, if in so many years watching and way-laying him,

some words be not gathered, which in a perverted sense may look that way.

Our blessed Saviour, notwithstanding the Divinity of his Nature, was frequently so mis-apprehended; and though his design in this world was only to do good, and die for mankind; yet was he rendred by the policies of the Jews, a Subverter of the Law, an enemy to Moses and Cesar: When a liberty shall be taken to scrutiny and comment upon other mens lives, and to judge of their ends and intentions, what man of parts and businesse in the world, but may be rendred odious? Who is there but may have such a glosse put upon his actions, as to make him appear a man of wicked designs? 'Tis a course, indeed, that if we should retaliate in the like kind, would in time heighten us to the extremest acts of violence one towards another, and beget everlasting feuds and enmity amongst us. If they suppose we want matter; we answer, that 'tis not good for them to trust to it, for we have a Bedrole of such enormities in some of the chief of them, that had we not great respects to peace, and reluctancy within us to discover the weaknesses of other men, we could make them ashamed of themselves: But suppose we did want matter, we answer, so also do they; and we, as well as they, may make it, and no lesse plausibly: If we would take upon us to judge Mr John Goodwin, might we not say, he is a Time-server, and visibly so? That his Doctrines are contradictory, not framed by the Line of Truth, but the probability of successe in each Party? That therefore when there was hopes of the Kings Restauration, he argued him to be unaccountable to any earthly Tribunall, and, as the consecrated corn, to be cut only by the hand of God: That he abhorred both the Jesuiticall Doctrine and Practice of taking away Kings; and yet afterwards, when the hopes of his return was over, and that he knew not only the prosecution of his Person, but also an abolition of the Kingly Office intended; who then became a more stout Arguer for the same then he? And though these things in a candid sense may be said to proceed from a further discussion and consideration of the point, and the appearance of light in him, yet allowing every man the liberty that the Author of the Pamphlet takes: how easie is it to fix such a censure upon him?

So in like manner Mr Goodwin having said, That no Translation of the Bible, nor yet no Copy in the Originall Languages, can be truly called the Word of God: how clearly does it follow, that then we have no Word of God amongst us, since we have nothing that can in any sense be called Gods Word, but either the Copies or Translations, the Originall being kept from us? Neither doth he, when he comes to explain himself, much

mend the matter, since the spirituall sense, and Divine interpretation, which only in his judgment deserves the name of Gods Word, is divers in every man; and that opinion the way to make our apprehensions the Judge of the Scriptures, and not the Scriptures the rule of our apprehensions. Hereupon, if, as the Author of the Pamphlet, a man may take liberty to assert, that when those things were spoken, it was Mr J. Goodwins intention, to subvert the very Foundations of other Divines, and of the Scriptures themselves, because the Liberty of Conscience was then denied him; how obvious would the inference be? And though he hath since evinced the Divine Authority of the Scriptures in writing, yet since Mr Walwyn hath done the like, and never said so much, nor so clearly to the contrary: what reason is there, but that he may stand as fair in the opinion of mankind, as Mr John Goodwin in that point? [4]

For the scandalous speeches that in the Book are Father'd upon Mr Walwyn, though I cannot expressly and circumstantially manifest, that they are all false and forged, yet for the chief of them, which are of the foulest savour, I shall: For the rest, I shall either passe them over, and leave them to Mr Walwyn's own confutation; or from my knowledge of his opposite judgment in the particulars, evince the improbability of his ever speaking them.

For the first, 'tis thus far true, That Mr Walwyn, and a Member of Mr Goodwin's Congregation, together with my self, did upon a Fast day (as it hath been the usuall manner of many of his Members) (an eie witness may speak it, and as Mr John Price's Pulpit Incendiary doth abundantly evidence) go to hear Mr Cranford, and some others, it being the time when the contests about Conformity and Toleration were very high: 'Tis likewise true, that we did all agree, comming afterwards home to Mr Walwyns, that the Ministers did generally spend their time either upon uselesse subjects, such as did little tend to edification; or about advancing their own interests and reputation with the people; and that Gentleman was as forward in such expressions as we. 'Tis true, that Lucian was taken off a shelf either by me, or Mr Walwyn, I can't say which, and that we read one of his Dialogues, which was the Tyrant, or Megapenthes; and afterwards commended it as very usefull in the time he lived; when by setting forth the foulness and deformity of Tyrannie in a third person, he informed the people of the wickednesse of such under whom they lived: but that any comparison was made between that and the Bible, is as false as in it self ridiculous.

'Tis at least 4 or 5 years that the Gentleman hath charg'd his memory

with this; in all which time, his hatred and enmity against Mr Walwyn being in its growth, (for he is of the Council and Faction) 'tis no wonder if he be biass'd thereby to find that which he came purposely to look for, whether it were really there, or no.

Besides, Mr Walwyn prefer'd Lucian (as the Pamphlet saies) for wit, before the Bible: 'Tis well known, that Mr Walwyn hath the lowest esteem of wit that may be, counting it the lightest, volatile and superficial part of a man; whence his observation is, that commonly those that have most wit, have most wickednesse: He distinguishes between Wit and Wisdom, and prizes only the latter, as of reall behoof and benefit to mankind; it being that, which through the concomitant blessing of the Almighty, bears a man through all the straits and exigencies of this life: whereas Wit is but the exuberance of light and unsteady minds; which since he in all other matters dislikes; for the truth whereof, I appeal to all that know him: What ground is there for the least supposall that he should for that prefer Lucian before the Bible?

For his opinion concerning Hell, 'tis clearly thus: Though he judges every wicked man to have, *intus Gehennam*, a Hell in his own Conscience; as on the contrary, every good man to have the Kingdom of God within him; yet upon strict search, which we together have made into the Scripture, we have concluded, that there is another Hel succeeding judgment, convinced by those places of Scripture, Psal. 6. 8. Mat. 25. 41. 2 Thess. c. 1. So that the mistake is, that because he said, there is a Hel within man, therefore he concludes, there's none without him: And though it seems contrary to reason, that a man should be punished everlastingly for a little sinning in this world, in which sense only he spoke it: yet have we both submitted our Reasons to Gods Word, the places fore mentioned being expresse for the same.

For Books of Morality and History, though Mr Walwyn gives them their due esteem, and judges that the peoples reading them would very much advance their knowledge, and enable them to preserve themselves in freedom, by seeing through [5] the policies of bad men and their many sleights by which they abuse and enslave the people which are plentifully described in those Books: And thus far the Author speaks truth of him. Yet hath Mr Walwyn never elevated them beyond their proper sphere, or desert, nor made comparisons between them, and that Book which he ever hath accounted, *Βιβλίον τῶν Βιβλίων*, the Book of Books, and truly deserving the name of Bible, or the Book; in comparison to which, all others, though good and usefull in themselves, do not yet

deserve any esteem: This I do as truly know to be his judgment in this particular, as I know 'tis day when the Sun shines amongst us.

That he hath blamed the simple practice of this Nation, in bringing up their Children to learn Latin and Originall Languages, is most false; but that he hath and doth condemn the tedious and tiresome way that is taken in doing the same, is most true; his judgment in this particular being, that Children may be taught Latin, Greek and Hebrew, in a fourth part of the time that is now spent therein, and that purposely for the gain of the Schoolmaster.

It is as true, that he dislikes in the education of Children, that the Languages only are proposed, and not the principles of Divinity, and the precepts of Morality, in such a manner, as that their understandings may be possessed therewith, whereby they may be made both religious and true Common-wealths-men. And that also some Art, Mechanick or Manufacture, be taught according as their genius and disposition of body shall encline them; that so they may be both able to provide for themselves, and serviceable to the Common-wealth.

How easie in these particulars it is for other men to mistake him, that continually lie upon the catch, and are ready to interpret every thing he speaks to the worst, let the world judge. And consider likewise, how exceedingly it doth mis-become those that professe Christianity, especially a more pure and refined way then other men, to lie lurking privily to destroy the innocent. That the Scribes, Pharisees and Lawyers should ask questions, and insinuate themselves into good mens company to betray them, is no wonder: but that it should be done, and professedly done by such as would be thought of a near relation to God, such as separate from others because they will not have a profane person among them, doth to my understanding call in question the sincerity of their assembling, and import the end thereof to be, not the edification one of another, but the undermining of all other men and waies, that are in any opposition to them. I speak not this of the generality of the Members, who questionlesse have good and Religious ends in congregating together; but of that Vestry or Conclave of them, that sit as Judgés of every mans fame and reputation, and have for that purpose their Emissaries to bring them in matter to raise Batteries against any mans good name, they would make hatefull: They have indeed too exactly learn'd Machiavel's rule, to spare not to scandalize and traduce their adversaries; for that though some of the dirt may be wiped off, yet part of it will stick, and they shall be sure not altogether to lose their labours.

Where by the way, let every good man consider, whether their mixing with other men, under the notion of Friends, their getting into familiar acquaintance, eating and drinking together, and all this to betray, be not like Judas, kissing our Saviour, and in effect the dissolving of all society and friendship: For how should I, or any man know, but that every man, though seemingly a bosome Friend, is indeed a Traitor? How can this choose but take away the sweetnesse of friendship, and make us every one jealous one of another? Seriously I think they could not have done an action so discordant to Religion, nor of so evil consequence to mankind.

For the Objection in the generall, That Mr Walwyn labours, and makes it his main businesse to bring people out of love with Religion and the Scriptures, is a thing in it self so absurd, as I think nothing can be more; For what can be the end of a man in doing so? And [6] certainly every wise mans actions are directed to some end: What would mens Atheism advantage him, since 'tis clear as day, and all his endeavours manifest it, that he strives to have every man good? And since he knows, that Religion doth restrain men from committing those evils, that otherwise they would rush upon, were that necessary Tie of Conscience taken off. Besides, I professe as in the presence of Almighty God, that I know no man that endeavours with more exactnesse to square his life according to the rule of Scripture, then Mr Walwyn doth; which is the clearest argument in the world, that they are dear and precious in his eies; and all those I know, that are observers of his life and conversation, will give testimony thereunto.

The true ground of this bitterness of spirit against him may well be supposed to be, because he cannot associate into a Church way, upon their grounds; as not knowing any persons to be so quallified as Ministers of the Gospel ought to be; which he thinks is essentiall to such an association, and is in expectance that in time it will be so. In the mean time, he approves Congregationall Assemblies for instructing the people, and for the consideration and right understanding of the Scriptures; as also, for the making every man in love with true piety and virtue, and to loath whatsoever is evil: But because he can no more approve the Divine Authority and Saintship of the Independent Pastours then of others before them; and reckons, that they are such but in pretence and shew only, and is esteemed able to manifest and evince the same: Hence have they drawn out their sharpest arrows, even bitter words, and let them fly at him, hoping thereby to make invalid whatsoever he shall say in order thereunto.

And this indeed appears to be the true ground of their persecuting him, and making use of all means, direct or indirect, to blast his spotlesse reputation, and which hath made them gather up that heap of forgeries and calumnies which in that Book are contained.

For these speeches which are said to be other mens whom he hath perverted; although I very much question, whether they were ever spoken by any man, they are so abominably profane and wicked: yet 'tis most clear, that for Mr John Price, or whoever is the Author of the Pamphlet, to suggest that which he cannot know, namely, that such wicked speeches have proceeded from the mans acquaintance with Mr Walwyn, doth clearly discover the maliciousnesse of his heart, and the Un-Christian spirit that is within him: which indeed is more evident by these bitter expressions that are scattered through his Book, as, English man Hunter, Factor for the Devil, Cunning and Hypocriticall Jugler, Wretched man, Journey-man, and Apprentice to the Prince of darknesse, Artificiall and great Imposter, &c. all which comming from within him, do clearly manifest the defilements of his soul, and from what rancour all the rest hath proceeded.

But the height of his bitterness is discovered in a story concerning a Gentlewoman, whom he is said in her great paine and distemper to advise to make away with her selfe: a thing so false and scandalous, as I know not what can be more; For Mr. Walwyn hearing of her distemper, and melancholly resolutions, did out of the respects he bore unto her (being a Woman of so much goodnesse, and with whom and her husband, he had been of long intimate acquaintance) frequently visit her, and advised me to do the like purposely to fortifie her spirit against so harsh and sinful a resolve, which we both did; and as her husband knowes to good purpose, that she was often much more chearful and better dispos'd after our being with her then at other times: Insomuch that he has often desired both Mr. Walwyns and my frequent visitation of her. For a fuller testimony thereof, I intended that the Gentleman himself should have attested so much: but he being very sick in the Country, and his Sister and servants urging to me the danger of bringing to his remembrance his Wives sad disaster, and telling me, that probably it might be his sudden death, I have forborn for a time, till God shall give him more strength and health.

But forasmuch as Mr Walwyn hath been often with him since his Wives death, and been as [7] fairly accepted as ever (as his Son and servants know) What cleerer Argument can there be, but that he does

acquitt M. Walwyn of any such horrid action, as perswading his wife to make away with her self?

Besides, if M. Walwyn had bin so wicked as to urge her, can he be supposed to do it before I know not what stranger that told them the business; when the Gentle-woman that was alwaies with her, her Sisters and servants, do none of them know any thing of the business, but are ready to attest his frequent perswading her to the contrary.

By the falshood of this particular slander, a man may guess at the truth of all the rest; for they that will be so forward to divulge a Forgery so exceedingly tending to the discredit of another, and make expostulations thereupon, and appeals to the People; advising them to judge of the Frame, Temper, and Spirit of the man by this action; where will they stick? Or what will they not do to take away his life, which when a mans good name is gone, is not at all to be valued? For a good Name, what is it, but the life of a mans life? I am very sorry for Religions sake, which I fear will very much suffer by this demeanor of men, whom I wish I could alwaies have accounted Religious. But I see, it is not an habit of Speaking, gained by Study and Custom, nor an Ability to Dispute or Discuss a point in Controversie, that truly denominates a man such; but the inward sweetness and calmness of Spirit, that Christianity prescribes; and which indeed, is more eminent in M. Walwyn, then I have known it in any man; whose way hath alwaies bin, to take the injur'd mans part, to diminish the aggravations of an accuser, slowly and unwillingly to hear any thing that tends to the prejudice or dis-repute of another: as knowing well the aptness and propension in most men, to give credence when they hear others ill spoken of. I cannot chuse but upon occasion break out into these Speeches concerning M. Walwyn (and I question not but good men will excuse me for it) because I am so experimentally sensible of the Truth thereof: Indeed, if I were to chuse a true Friend, a vertuous and Religious Associate, addicted to no vice or extravagancy, the most averse from contention, the most cheerful and pleasant (but for the disturbance of his Spirit to see the Common-wealth still in so sad a condition) If I would chuse a man to be readily assistant to his power in any distress, and that makes Conscience of his duty to God and man: It should be M. Walwyn: And I heartily bless God, that he hath afforded me the enjoyment of his Society for these eight yeers together, and upward; which I do reckon among the prime blessings of this life, and which I would not utterly leave, for any worldly Temptation whatso-

ever. God knows, I flatter not, for what need have I to flatter? but speak the truth of my heart, being inwardly conscious both of his innocence and goodness, of the many pressures that undeservedly ly upon him; out of which I hope God almighty will shortly free him, by cleering all Scruples, and false Apprehensions concerning him. But to proceed.

What M. Walwyn has said concerning Professors, I know not; but sure there is much to be said, and much in them to be amended; haply in this particular he has bin more earnest than ordinary; because he sees so large a disproportion between the Rule and their Practise: and since this is true, and acknowledged so by the Author, how uncharitable must he needs appear, in judging M. Walwyns urging the same, to proceed from a designe to disparage Religion, and the Professors thereof? Sure I am, that if any man could be so wicked as to propose such a designe to himself, as the disparagement of Religion and its Professors, he would [8] not check, but countenance their wickedness; then which, nothing can be more discreditably to Religion.

M. Walwyns next drift is said to be, to procure the trouble, misery, and ruine of this Common-wealth: A goodly work indeed, and which is likely, that a man which hath spent himself for the Parliament, and in endeavouring a good and happy settlement of the Common-wealth, should ever admit into his thoughts. For what end should he attempt any such thing? If for wealth or greatness, what an improbable way is that to get either? Besides, he has hitherto bin regardless of both: and certainly, if they had bin his end, he has brain and ability enough to have compassed them both, by striking in with any party that has had the dispensation thereof. But in this the calumination of M. Walwyn is not so principally intended, as to startle the people from finding fault with any thing that is amiss, or from complaining of the failings and undue management of things, by such as are, or may be in Authority; for this he cries out upon, as the means to carry on his private designe, which will questionless, be extended to any who sit not down contented with whatsoever happens, but appear in never so moderate desires for the rectification of what is amiss. How has he by this means, fitted every man with a way how to find fault with Petitioners; to stile them of Walwyns gang, deceived by his Wiles and Impostures; and so to take away that last human Refuge which good men have left them, viz. of making their Grievances known, and desiring Redress? For the waies which he is said to use to seduce the poor and indigent, as by telling them that vertue and ability for discharge of a Publike trust, ought to be the characteristical

tokens of fitness to bear Office, and places of Government, and that it is a most unfitting thing that one man should have thousands to spend upon his lusts, and another want necessaries; though neither of these I think have so much irrationality or unchristianity in them, as to deserve to be cryed down by a Member of a Church, and are as uncharitably urged as supposed weapons M. Walwyn fights withal, in order to an imagined design, their either weak or wicked thoughts have invented. Yet can I truly say of M. Walwyn, as from my own knowledge, that he hath ever profest and proposed not to supply poor men by injuring the Rich, but by reducing the Common-wealth to so good a pass, that every man by care and easie labour, might have wherewithal to maintain himself and his Family in some comfortable manner.

To take away from any man what is his by inheritance, or by his trade or industry, or any other way, is so visibly contrary to the equity which he hath ever (according to his understanding) held forth, not onely in the front, but in the very heart of his designes (or what you please to call them) which makes me think that book was compiled by some-body that knows him not, but has had a heap of matter at random, gathered up and given him by such as knew him able to make inferences, and contrive a subtle Pamphlet thereupon; not onely to caluminate M. Walwyn, but to stop the mouths of all the aggrieved and discontented people of the land, and for that end has he marshal'd all the several oppressions and burdens of the Common-wealth, into several ranks; as if they were not real things, but inventions of M. Walwyn, to irritate by some of them, the poor; by others, the rich; by some, the rash and choleric; by others, the discreet and apprehensive; to discontent and dis-affection against such as are in Authority. So that questionless they hope by this means to terrifie all now from opening their mouths, be they under what oppression soever; though for my part, I think it [9] will work a contrary effect, when men shall see the Arts and Stratagems that are used to make them stoop under their burdens Issachar-like; and that the private Churchmen are become the Sluggards of their fair and lawful endeavors, to redeem themselves from those pressures that ly upon them.

Did not in like manner the King and Bishops make the Scots odious, and the Puritan Party in England, a by-word, urging such like slanders of them, and saying that it was the designe of some discontented spirits, to alienate mens affections from their Governors, and that by private discourses, by printing and publishing Books, sending into several Counties, and flinging them into mens houses, as this Author imposeth upon

Mr Walwyn? Nay, did not the Presbyter Party, in particular Mr Edwards, Mr Jenkins, and others, do the like upon the Independents, Sectaries, Seekers, &c. inventing strange Designs, like these father'd upon Mr Walwin, and casting them upon any that they had a mind to make odious? And did not Mr Goodwin himself bear an ample share of these Calumnies, being stiled by them, The Grand Heretick of England, a plucker up (presumptuously) of the Fundamental Priviledges of Parliament by the roots: and is not this work of our Author the very same in effect, manner, and design? the tide being now turn'd, and the stream of profit runing into a new Channel; the only difference being a more subtle contrivance in this pageant of scandals, then hath yet by any of them been produced.

It will be needless for me to run over more particulars, the Principal having been already cleered, and the Remainder being but of the same batch and leven with the other; and if true, as in the rankness of their expression they are not, they cannot beget that abomination against him, which they expect.

For the Ware business, it is so base and abominable a Fiction, so apparently the wicked offspring of a Politick brain, that little needs to be said to it, only thus, That if there had been any such design of the Agitators at Ware of the Outing the Lord General, destroying the Lieut. General, and forcing the Parliament to prosecute the King, and Mr Walwin privie to it; the whole town should certainly have rung of it before now, and not only so, but the Designers should have been prosecuted for it, since there is Law sufficient for that; (Civil Law I mean, without the help of Martial) and since neither Power nor Authority hath been wanting to see so plain a piece of Justice executed; what therefore doth the not doing thereof more cleerly argue, then the present forgery of this present fable, for their friend Mr Walwins sake, whose spotless innocence leaves them without any ground to raise their batteries against him, but with what comes out of the Mint of their own inventions.

Besides, the Author saies not that Mr Walwin was of, or privie to that Design, but only laves it upon certain Agitators at Ware; and yet he craftily and maliciously inserts it amongst other things he hath fram'd and fatherd upon Mr Walwin, of purpose to make the world believe that this is also his.

If People knew how fertile their brains have been with Fictions of this nature, they would say all were not Christian that took that name upon them, and seem'd so zealous for the honor of God and dignity of

the Scriptures: There is indeed scarce any thing that concerns a mans life, but Mr Walwin hath been abused in, by foul Reports: to some he is said to paint his face, having been hitherto of a ruddy complexion; and the Reporters have been trac'd from one to another, till one would go no further, but only told him, That he heard it of credible men. [10]

Others report him loose in his Life, and one Mr Woollastone meeting Major Cobet, bid him beware of Mr Walwyn, for he was a dangerous man, a Jesuite, an Anti-scripturist; and to make the last good, said, That a Woman being tempted by him to lewdness, she replying that it was against Gods Word which saies, that Whoremongers and Adulterers God will judge: Mr Walwyn (as this bad man reported) made answer, What telst thou me of that idle Book? Whereupon Major Cobet told Mr Woollastone that he would tell Mr Walwyn of this, and that he should look to be called to an account for it: Within a while after, a Meeting being at the Windmill in Lothbury about a Petition, Major Cobet told Mr Walwyn of it before six or seven other men, at which M Walwyn wondered he should be so abused, having no other way left to cleer himself but by a denyal and abomination of the thing: But it so fell out, that imediatly after Mr Woollastone came into the Room, and being urged by Major Cobet to make good what he had reported to him concerning Mr Walwyn before those six that were present; Mr Woollaston Answered, That he confest he had injured Mr Walwyn in the Report, and desired his Pardon, for the words were true of another, but not of him: In Witness of the truth of what is here Related, I Subscribe my name.

Notwithstanding all which, both this and other scandals of the like nature are still scattered against him, so that if he would cleer himself, he must be ever writing in his own Vindication; this sinck filling with such ditch-water faster then any one man can pumpe it out. In the mean time, what are they? or what do they deserve? or for what end can all this be supposed to be done? but to villifie and render contemptible a man, that in his heart abominates all unjust wayes, which they know they are deeply engaged in.

Then again, there are divers that make it their business about the Town, to close with such as they have any hopes will be flexible, and to advise them that they be cautious concerning Mr Walwyn, for knowing men say he is a Jesuit, and 'tis probable enough say they, for no body knows where he was born, or how he maintains himself; and that 'tis verily thought he was born in Spain: Some six or seven men that have

been thus Accosted I know, and can produce, which shews that these things are not Casual, but proceed from Design and Pre-meditation.

How many are mis-led into a belief hereof, and of the former Scandals already, I know not, but that no more may, and that such as are, may be better informed: I hope without offence to any, I may give a brief and cursory Description of Mr Walwyns Life and Disposition, which is as follows:

Mr Walwyn was born at Newland in Worcester-shire, of Mr Robert Walwyn Esquire, a man of good Life and Repute in his Country, and of between three and four hundred pounds Annual Estate, that his Mother is still living and was Daughter to Doctor Westphaling Bishop of Hereford: his Brothers and Sisters are likewise in that Country; But he being a yonger Brother, was bound Apprentize in London, and served out his Time with a Silk-man in Pater-noster-Row: A while after, he was made Free of the Merchant Adventurers Company, and hath since traded as Merchant about seventeen or eighteen yeers; during all which time, his aboads have bin known and certain, and his residence in London constant, except two or three journeys into his owne Country, and one or two to the Army, before its first comming to London. That he was never over Sea in any Country whatsoever. That he has from the [111] profits of his Trade, maintained his Family in a middle and moderate but contentful condition; having bin much wasted, but never gained one penny by these eight yeers distractions, nor ever desired it; his only end, being that the Common-wealth might be so settled, that men might with comfort and alacrity set themselves about their particular Callings and employments. That he is most strictly abstemious, and though of an open hand, and a large heart to his ability, yet did I never observe in any man so cautious and constant a Temperance.

That I never observed in him the least unseemly gesture towards women, being a man noted by such as intimately know him, for a most precise and exemplary modesty, naturally expressing it self (even at his yeers, which are almost fifty) at any obscene word or behaviour, by a blush: which is an outward manifestation of the inward distast and reluctancy of the mind, against the evil of the present object. That he has lived 21 yeers and upward with one woman, and she a truly good one; between whom I have observed so constant, so growing an affection, as that I have not known in my 8 yeers aboad with them, a hasty word pass from one to the other: By her he has had almost twenty children; that before the Parliament, he informed himself of all the extravagancies

and oppressions of the King; and out of dislike thereof, and in hope that his Country should by the endeavors of the Parliament be freed from them, he engaged with them; that he has continued so doing till this day; and though he hath bin much dissuaded by his friends from crossing the stream, and advised to swim in it; yet could he never bring his mind to it; the light of his own Conscience guiding him otherwise. In this case, Charity (he thinks) ought not to begin at home, but at his Country; for though a mans self may be allowed to be deerer then another, yet not then all. For the publike Liberties, he hath not onely constantly appeared, but rescued most of them out of a heap of contrary Doctrines, and Politick concealments. And for Liberty of Conscience, there is a book (the first that was brought to light upon that Subject, since these Troubles) doth ow much to his Industry: And though he is not so much concern'd in the point as other men, especially his Adversaries (he having never bin of any private Congregation) yet did he one of the first break the Ice in that point, since this Parliament, and to the utmost of his power, both by writing, and by frequent and very hazardable Addresses to Authority, labored both to evince the equity of the thing in it self, and procure a Liberty for the Exercise thereof; as judging it a mans duty to move not onely for those things that are of immediate concernment, but in those also, which being good and just, conduce to the more immediate benefit of his Brethren.

If I should reckon up all the good things he hath engaged in, I should haply be too tiresome to the Reader. I will therefore say onely this, that I never knew him engage in any thing that could (except in a wrested sense) be said to advantage a corrupt interest: He hath studied the Peoples Freedoms so radically, and hath brought to light Principles so supportive thereof, and so essential thereunto, that no other Designe but their good, can with any pretense be fixt upon him; except for the mis-leading those that know him not, or do not well know him. I wish with all my heart, the necessity of writing thus much, had not bin enforced upon me: For there is not any man I think, which loves retirement, and the not being seen in this kind, more then I do. [12]

Neither doth M. Walwyn take the least pleasure in applause, or the worlds good opinion of him, which no man hath more slighted; but expects his recompense from Gods love to him (which certainly he will amply find, if not here, hereafter;) from the calmness of his own Conscience, and the respects of truly godly and ingenuous men; who not by hear-say, a casual expression, or slip of his tongue, do suppose they know

him; but of such as are neer and narrow observers of his Discourses, Life, and Conversation.

I have let pass many expressions of the lightest nature in the Book, that are not within the reach of my knowledge to disprove. Some of them I have heard of from them, and that 5. or 6. yeers ago (which shews that the Timber for this Structure has bin long cut down, and that they have had time enough to shape it to their own purposes). I suppose they will, if there be further need, receive answer by M. Walwyn himself.

For the particulars that concern Levelling mens Estates, &c. M. Walwyn has given such ample satisfaction, I conceive, in the Manifestation, which the Author too conceives to be principally his, that I wonder old expressions in heat of Discourses (who knows how long ago) dropt from him (as who knows too how slightly and mistakingly since reported) should be now urged upon him: But in order to a Design, what must not be done? But 'tis talkt abroad, they can be proved; that is, that credible people have heard them, and will attest the same. To that I shall say,

1. That M. Edwards had witnesses for attestation of many strange matters he reported of pious and honest people, and yet how deservedly were his slanders slighted, upon this ground, that men of different spirits do very familiarly hear with too open ears, and report with such additions as their spleen and dis-affection suggests against him they maligne? And as M. John Goodwin (whose hap it hath bin to suffer much in this kind with M. Walwyn) well expresses himself in his answer to M. Edwards *Gangreen*, p. 2. Sect. 3. There is no reasonable man but will abate and deduct, and that to a good proportion, from such Reckonings and Accompts, which are drawn up and given into him by the hand of envie.

2. That in many particulars urged upon M Walwyn, the offence lies not in the things, but in the end for which they were done; which the Author takes upon him to judge; and does he not thereby (as M. Goodwin saies of M. Edwards in his *Innocencies Tryumph*, p. 3.) claim part or priviledge with God himself, in his Omniscience or heart-searching, which is (as he goes on) to magnifie himself above all that is called man, and to set himself down in Gods chair.

3. Of what credit pray is the testimony of an enemy in matters of obloquy and reproach, tending to the disparagement of another; M. John Goodwin frequently tells you in his *Hagiomastix*, and his *Cretenses*, or answer to M. Edwards ulcerous Treatise, especially (I may add) when

the memory is long charged therewith, and when discontents and new enmities do in the intervalls arise.

4. Let it be considered how unlike it is to the way of Christ and his Apostles, to have Eve-droppers, Agents, or Factors, to gather up, and furnish themselves with the sins and infirmities of good men, who never took a report into their lips against any man, upon loose or malicious suggestions, that pleaded the cause even of an Adultrous, and stopt the mouths of her Accusers: yet here hath our Author ransackt all corners, sifted every mans knowledge of M. Walwyn, and then, taking onely the bran or dregs of his life, hath with the unworthy addition of the slime of his brain, [13] made up a dish for his own and his friends eating; and hopes that by the large commendations he gives of it, it will find acceptance among all other good people.

Whereas the Author makes a difference between Mr Walwyn and the rest of his Fellow Prisoners, judging him to be the Principal, and they the Accessaries to the Chimerical Crimes, our Authors brains have fancied: to this I say, That they who do know, or do not conceal their knowledge of Lieut. Col. John Lilburn, must needs confess him to be a man the least liable to be moulded or bowed by others, of any man in the world. Who biaz'd him I pray in all his sufferings before in the Fleet, Oxford, Newgate, the Fleet again, the Tower, &c? whose Counsel hath he taken in writing those many Discoveries of bad mens wayes, but God and his own? But our Author writes not so much his knowledge as his guesse, and not so much his guess neither as his Design either to make difference between these Friends, or by laying the whole burden upon Mr Walwyn, to single him out thereby for destruction. For Mr Prince, as he is a man of a single heart, and lamb-like innocence; so is he far from pining his Faith upon another mans sleive, and professes himself guided in the present dislikes he hath manifested, not by other mens discourses, but by real and sensible sufferings: By what his eyes see, his eares hear of the Peoples sad and deplorable Condition: by apparent contradictions in actions and Engagements, by the benefit of Law taken away, and by abundance of other instances and experimental proofs of things, by which, and the sense of his own duty, thereupon he is engaged, he sayes, to shew himself as he doth. But I shall forbear to speak further to this, since I hear they both intend to write something in Vindication of themselves: for Mr Walwyn in the supposition the world hath of him of being a Politick man; he is as much mistaken as may be; Policy being taken in the worst sense, for an ability to do things good or bad, just or

unjust for advantage, and the accomplishment of an evil end. He is the most precisely tyed as to good in the end, so in all the means in Order to that end, that I have often told him of the impossibility of procuring that for the people his honest heart intended, against powers otherwaies resolved; and here upon I have often perswaded him to decline the Engaging as too difficult for him. To which he hath answered, That his thoughts did not so much insist upon the success, as his duty: the one he was bound to perform, the other was without him, not in his power; and therefore though he should rejoyce at the good event of things, yet should he not be dismayed, when they fall out otherways, for that was at the good pleasure of him, to whom he was to submit.

'Tis observable that some of those that Subscribed the Epistle Dedicatory, are his most deadly Enemies; and of those, one hath very busily spread abroad that most malicious suggestion of Mr Walwyns being a Jesuit, although I suppose he himself knows the contrary: othersome, namely the two last, have been very scarcely known unto him, or he of them; and yet they tell you too, that they therein Subscribed their own experiences and observations of his general Course in all his wayes, as they are in the Book set forth. If this be the Course that must be expected from these Church-men, whose fame or reputation can be safe? though never so carefully guarded by innocence, and a diligent eschewing of evil? For as Mr Walwyn hath suffer'd, so who may not? or who is not likely to suffer, that stands in the way at least of their prospect? Every head must vaile, and every heart must stoop to the Glory and Sanctity of these Saintly men, that have already suckt in large hopes of being Possessors of the Earth, and begin to stretch them-[14] selves, and justle out other men as profane, worldly irreligious, and what Titles else they please to defame them withal: Still must it be that new men rise up, and tread in the same steps of reviling with their fore fathers. Was M. Walwyn a Traytor, Heretick, and Rebel in the Bishops esteem? Was he the Presbyters Schismatick, Atheist, Anarchist, and what not thats bad and monstrous, because his Conscience could not stoop to them? And must the sink of every mans malice be still thrown upon him, and his tender back prest down with all the obloquies that men of more copious and refin'd imaginations can invent and throw upon him: Must he ever be the man of infamy and disgrace? whither then shall he appeal for relief and vindication, but at thy sacred throne, almighty God, to whose Omniscience the secret thoughts and inmost corners of every heart are like a Text in great Letters, visible and transparent? Thy Majesty hast

true and certain knowledge of every thing done and imagined in the world, thou knewest the innocence of thy servant Stephen, and the maliciousness of the Jews that stoned him; the purpose of Tertullus in accusing Paul, and of the forty Jews combin'd to destroy him. There is nothing at present that is hid from thee, no dark purpose or designe (though never so speciously vaild over with good or Religious pretences), but is perspicable by the eye of thy All-seeing Wisdom.

The frailty and dimnesse of our sight cannot distinguish between things that are and but seem to be, between Truth and Falshood: insomuch that this vain world frequently mis-calls Good, Evil; and Evil Good: and upon confidence of this common frailty, bad men endowed with craft and vain policy, impose upon the weak and credulous what shapes and imaginations of things their wicked ends suggest unto them. Forasmuch as therefore O Lord, thou art the protectour of all the Innocent, and detector of the false accusers, give some real manifestation to the World, both of the one and of the other; open the breasts of Mr Walwyn and his Accusers: Let their thoughts be manifest, the secret purposes and designements of their hearts written as in their fore-heads; that so thy Name may have the glory in a plain and visible discovery of them both, and the innocence of the one shine more bright by this fiery Tryal it is now undergoing; and the secret ends and contrivances of the other be no longer conceal'd under the painted garment of zeal towards thee and thy Word, which thou knowest O God, is by many of them put on purposely to enable them to destroy innocent men, and to persecute thy Christ in his Members.

But if O Lord thou hast decreed that bad men shall run on in the course of their wickednesse, till their measure be full, and wilt suffer them to be chastizing instruments in thy hand, for the many frailties and sinnes of thy servants, thy will be done, only support us we beseech thee with the strength of thy inward consolations, with patience to drink of that Cup thou hast provided for thy servants, and to submit all we are or have, to thy hand, thy wisdom, thy will, our Lord, our God, our Father.

WALWYNS JUST DEFENCE

Walwyns Just Defence is reprinted from a photostat of a copy in the Union Theological Seminary. There are copies in the Sutro Collection in the San Francisco Public Library and in the Newberry Library in Chicago. This important and comparatively rare pamphlet, which throws light on Cromwell as well as on Walwyn and the Levellers, was unknown to historians before 1916, when it was noted by Pease, in his *Leveller Movement*. The precise dates of composition and publication are somewhat uncertain. Walwyn was replying to the printed attack made upon him in *Walwyns Wiles* and also to the aspersions which John Price and others had been circulating against him. He asserts that, "some three yeers since" (that is, the middle of 1646), certain of John Goodwin's people appointed themselves a committee to gather whatever information they could find to his disparagement (*Walwyns Just Defence*, p. 3). In *The Fountain of Slaunder* (p. 9) he says that, "about 16 monthes since or somewhat more" (that is, in 1647), he defended himself in writing, "but deferred the publishing, because it was once denied the Licencing," and because he thought that time would vindicate him. According to his friend Brooke he had since continued to keep silence (*Charity of Churchmen*, p. 1). After he was sent to the Tower on March 28, he wrote in self-defense the tract called *The Fountain of Slaunder* (p. 24), but did not publish it until the end of May (Thomason's copy is dated May 30). From these facts, it would seem apparent that Walwyn had compiled at least the substance of *Walwyns Just Defence* before his imprisonment in the Tower but put what he had to say into final form and committed it to the press shortly after May 30, 1649.

WALWYNS/ JUST DEFENCE/ AGAINST THE/ ASPER-
TIONS/ CAST UPON HIM,/ IN/ A late un-christian Pamphlet
entituled,/ WALWYNS WILES./ By *William Walwyn*, Merchant./
Proverbs 12. ver. 6. *The words of the wicked are to lie in waite for
blood, but the mouth of the upright shall deliver them.*/ [Orna-
ment]/ LONDON,/ Printed by *H. Hils*, for *W. Larnar*, and are to
be sold at the sign of the *Blackmore*, near *Bishops-gate*./ M.DC.-
XLIX./

Walwyns just defence against the Aspersions cast upon him, &c.

I SHOULD be glad for the good of humane society, that those seven men whose names are subscribed to the Epistle of that Book, would set down a certain rule, or declare what rule theirs is, wherby in civil Communication, a man may know, when those he keeps company withall are reall; and when deceivers, when they mean as they seem, and when they carry two faces under one hood, which amongst honest men is called double-dealing; and this not so much in respect of themselves, for I have not had much familiarity with any of these seven; but in respect of those from whom they seem to have had their false informations concerning me; there being not one of them that ever reproved me to my face for any thing that I ever said or did, or that ever applied themselves to me with Friends in a Christian way, to shew me wherein I walked erroneously or scandalously: but all they have done or spoken to my disparagement, hath been behind my back; whil'st, wheresoever they met me, they nevertheless saluted me as a Friend: How this kind of behaviour can be justified, I professe I understand not.

And upon what grounds these seven men subscribe this Epistle, I do not apprehend; for, as for Mr Kiffin, I never had an unfriendly word or countenance from him; nor from Mr Rosier, but kind respects wherever I met them: for Mr Foster, and Mr Burnet, I know them not by name, nor can't ghesse who they are: Mr Lordall, and Mr Price have been somewhat shy a good while, about our different judgment for seasons of petitioning; but especially, since at Kingston, before his Excellency, I gave my reasons against the raising of a new Regiment for the Tower of London; proposing the place to be guarded with Citizens, as a means to preserve trade, and the affection of the City to the Army; which I still judge was honest and good counsel: but their Friends pursued the contrary, and prevailed; and ever since, these have cast an ill eie upon me, and as I have heard, have reproacht me much behind my back.

And for Mr Arnald, just before the New Model, he groundlesly reported to the Lieutenant Generall Cromwel, that I held correspondence with Oxford, though at the same time I held daily meetings, and intimate Discourse with Mr John Goodwin, Mr Henry Burton, Mr Peters, Mr Hilsly, Mr Lilburn, and others, and continued so after with the best respect; but I could never get so much satisfaction among them for so grosse an injury, as to know his Author, I only was answered, that I saw none of them had an ill thought of me: but since he understood

I knew of this his injury to me, [2] he hath ever hated me, and sought to do me mischief; giving out confidently, that I am a Jesuite; and he now fixes his name, I fear, maliciously, to things I am sure it is impossible for him to know or for any man in the world: for what is false hath no essence or reality; but it is sutable to his practise towards me, and so I wonder not to finde his name there: though at others, I cannot sufficiently wonder:

In the year 1646, whilst the army was victorious abroad, through the union and concurrence of conscientious people, of all judgments, and opinions in religion; there brake forth here about London a spirit of persecution; whereby private meetings were molested, & divers pastors of congregations imprisoned, & all threatned; Mr Edwards, and others, fell foule upon them, with his Gangreen after Gangreen, slander upon slander, to make them odious, and so to fit them for destruction, whether by pretence of law, or open violence he seemed not to regard; and amongst the rest, abused me, which drew from me *a whisper in his ear*, and some other discourses, tending to my own vindication, and the defence of all conscientious people: and for which I had then much respect from these very men, that now asperse me themselves, with the very same, and some other like asperitions, as he then did.

Persecution increased in all quarters of the land, sad stories coming dayly from all parts, which at length were by divers of the Churches, my self, and other friends, drawn into a large petition; which I professe was so lamentable, considering the time, that I could hardly read it without tears: and though most of those that are called Anabaptists and Brownists congregations, were for the presenting of it; yet Master Goodwins people, and some other of the Independent Churches being against the season, it was never delivered.

But troubles still increasing, another petition, not so large, was prepared, and at length agreed to by all sorts of conscientious people, that were opposite to persecution: and all this while I was acceptable among them; only some grudgings I perceived in Master John Price, which I imputed to some weaknes, inclyning to emulation: and all the strife about this petition also, was the season: multitudes with me being for the presenting, and the Independents against it: in conclusion, a finall meeting there was, where before I came was disperst the most shamefull asperition of me, that ever was uttered of man: and which did render me so obnoxious to that meeting, that all I spake was construed to the worst; and caused so great a clamour and discontent, that he who had the peti-

tion and hands in keeping, rent it in peeces; and so the meeting ended.

Towards the conclusion whereof, Major Robert Cobet pulls me by the arm to speak with me, so I took Master Davis, and Master Antrobus and others with me; and master Cobet told me before them, that one master Husbands a linnen draper in Corn-hill, being at Lieutenant Generalls house, there openly avouched that I was an Atheist and denier of Scriptures, a loose and vitious man, and that abusing my self with a lewd woman, she puting me in mind of that place of Scripture, that whore-mongers and adulterers God would judge, that I should make answer, what do ye tell me of that Idle book?

Telling me withall, that this report was gone all about the town, and was the cause I was so ill resented by the present meeting; I confess, I was amazed to hear this, but whilst he was telling me this foule story, he espies master Husbands, and calls him to us; telling him he was declaring to master Walwyn here, pointing to me, what he heard him declare at the Lieutenant Generalls; says master Husbands, I wish you had not spoken of it, for I find it is a mistake, the thing is not true of master Walwyn, it is another; so he suffered himself to be thorowly reprovved by those pre-[3] sent, and he seemed then to be sorry for it; but aspersions fly faster, then any man can fetch them back, and so did this, to my extream disparagement: and it served their turn at that meeting to blast all the reason I spake, and to destroy that petition:

And those who had made use of this reproach, and so made themselves guilty, as the manner of men is, resolved to disparage me to purpose, and thereupon some leading people of master John Goodwins, set themselves down as a Committee, calling before them, all they could finde had ever conversed with me, to inform whatsoever I had said, that might tend to my disparagement: this is some three yeers since: and so by way of articles, most of the aspersions now in this book, were then collected, which I had continuall notice of as they came in, and who did inform: and who would not, but declared confidently they were perswaded from long and much familiarity, that I was really honest and conscientious; amongst which Mr. Henry Brandriff, Captain Chaplain, Mr. Weekes and others;

Neverthelesse the violent party, as Mr. John Price, and others, would go on with their articles: me thoughts it was a strange work, for a people who called themselves the people of God: but so they did; and at length had possest divers, who formerly had well respected me, that I was a dangerous man and not fit for society; whereupon it was desired by my

friends, and agreed unto by theirs, that a meeting should be on both parties; and their articles should be heard, and I have freedom to make my defence, and the place appointed was the Dolphin in Corn-hill, where I and my friends kept our time and continued there, but on their parts none came.

And Mr. Brandriff, my then intimate friend, perswaded me it was not fit, things should come to such a height, that it would make but rejoicing for our enemies; that he was confident, there was no real enmity, but only causes doubts and jealousies, and that if I would but vindicate my judgement concerning the Scriptures, and my owning of them, I should find they had nothing to object against me, and that they and I should be as good and as loving friends as ever.

Whereunto I was very inclinable, as having never born any man a grudge for any injury ever done me, esteeming the doer by wounding his own conscience, to be punished sufficiently; nor do I relate these things in way of revenge, but only as to do my self right, and to free my wife and children from the reproach of having so unworthy a husband and Father, and the cause I honour, from having so vile a servant as these would make me; I told him my whisper to Mr. Edwards and my other writings did sufficiently testify I owned the Scriptures, and he confessed it, but yet wisht me to do something particularly, to that end:

About this time upon occasion of Mr. Edwards' writings (I take it) came forth Mr. John Goodwins *Haggio-Mastix*, wherein to the apprehension of some eminent men: he in effect denied the scriptures to be the word of God, and much discourse, and great complaint there was about it, in so much as Collonel Leighs Committee had it brought before them, where it was my lot to be, when the passage concerning the Scriptures was read openly by one, that amongst others, informed against it: and where it was called a most impious, blasphemous Book, and ordered to be seized, all of them immediatly;

That Committee was of a most persecuting disposition, and dealt most frowardly with divers conscientious people; with whom, and in whose behalf, I continually appeared; as for Mr. Kiffin, Mr. Patience, and many others, I cannot now remember: and Henry, Mr. Overtons man the book-seller, that, as I am told, prints this unchristian book, called, *Walwyns Wiles*, might remember who it was that gave timely [4] notice of the order for seizing his Master's Books (for he printed *Haggio Mastix*) and in thankfulness for the courtesie done to his dead Master, might

have forborn to have done me such a discourtesie: but it hath been my usuall payment for all my services to that sort of men.

Divers did observe a strange providence, that those who had so scandalized me for a denier of Scriptures, should from a pen, wherein they were all concerned, receive occasion of so great suspicion, and be put themselves upon a work of vindication on his behalf: And though they called it, *a Candle to light the Sun* (as esteeming it altogether superfluous) yet many still say, it needs to be more cleared.

And hence some of my Friends perswaded me I needed not to publish my Vindication concerning the Scriptures, for satisfaction of those, who had enough to do for their own Vindication: yet because I was willing to stand clear in the sight of all men, I published my *Still and soft voyce*, against which I never yet heard any objection: And one of Mr Goodwin's People, namely, Mr Davenish, meeting me a few daies after in the Court of Requests, saluted me kindly, and gave me thanks for publishing that Book; I told him, I was glad understanding men approved it, and did hope it would be profitable to the publique: he replied, it would be so, and that he should make it his rule.

And so a good while after this, I had much respect from many of them, and not an ill look from any: but though Mr Leigh's Committee extremely perplexed honest people about their private meetings and doctrines, yet did this sort of men that traduce me appear very slenderly in comparison of others, that were thought to be lesse concerned.

In conclusion, that Committee and their Favourers in both Houses grew to so great a height, that the Generality of Congregations, and others, resolved to bear testimony openly against the same, as being contrary to the many Declarations of Parliament, and as doing the very same things they had condemned in the high Commission: and thereupon drew up a Petition, wherein they did parallel all the former practises complained of in the Star Chamber and high Commission, with the present proceedings; which Petition was drawn and debated by many persons chosen purposely thereunto, and indeed was the most serious of any that was presented (which the Author of this Pamphlet, I perceive, tearms sharpnesse and provoking and imputes it unto me).

This Petition was taken before it was handed, and questioned as a scandalous and seditious paper, and committed to Mr Leigh's Committee to enquire after the Authors and Promoters; and Mr Lamb, at whose meeting place it was taken, ordered to appear there: this occasioned a

very great appearance in the owning of it, by abundance of consciencious honest people, and that occasioned some discontent in the Committee, which begot the commitment of Major Tulidah, and Mr Tue; and that occasioned another Petition to the House, and that another, untill the last and the first large one were ordered to be burnt by the common Hangman; in all which time of motion and trouble, most of the uppermost Independents stood aloof, and look'd on: whil'st Mr Stasmore, Mr Highland, Mr Davis, Mr Cooper, Mr Thomas Lamb of the Spittle, and very many more, for many weeks continually plied the House.

The Petition is yet to be seen, and is fraught with abundance of good things, such as I really desired the House would have granted; and I think it had been happy for them that burnt it, rather to have granted it, and most happy for the Common-[5] wealth: So that it's an extreme mistake to imagine, that I, or any that I ever knew, petitioned for such things as we did hope the Parliament would not grant: Indeed, we had cause to doubt they would not, but we conceived they ought, the things being evidently just; and we conceived if they would not, 'twas more then we knew before we ask'd; and we knew it was our duty to ask, and that upon such evidence of reason and equity which that Petition holds forth, as should leave a testimony to the world, that we understood our rights, and did in an humble petitioning way demand them.

But this bustling unkind dealing with Petitioners for many weeks together, and the burning of a Petition so just and necessary, so opened the eyes of the people in all places, that it was both grieved and wondred at; all men evidently seeing, that we were likely, though the Common Enemy was vanquish'd, to be liable to the same, or worse bondage, notwithstanding all the bloud and misery it had cost to be delivered there from.

And when this was discerned, then some of my now Adversaries began to approve of our motions, and they and I began to come a little nearer together, and had joynt meetings and debates; and Mr John Price may, and cannot but remember an evenings journey he and I made into Drury-lane to the Lieutenant Generall, and what satisfaction we received; what abundance of friendly discourse we had all the way going and coming, and parted in a most kind and cordiall manner; rejoicing on my part, as having no grain of rancour remaining in me, and thought it had been so on his; if it were not, God forgive him.

But the effect was, we all, both his Friends and mine, joyned in a Petition, the last and most sharp of any, as is yet to be seen; wherein he knows was not only his and mine advice, but many others: so that to

say, I delight or design provocations to Authority, is a grosse abuse; if there were any, it is, he knows, to be shared amongst he knows whom, as well as us.

And, as unadvised, it is to lay to my charge the opposing of all Authority that ever was: for let them tell me what Authority they opposed not; the Kings and Bishops they cannot deny; and the Parliament and Presbyterian, I think, they will confesse; and truly I never opposed since, except to insist for such just things as were promised, when the Army first disputed, be called an opposition: and such as are not only fix'd in my mind, but in the minds of thousands more that then owned the proceedings of the Army, and venterd their lives for them, when these that now revile me, stood aloof, seeing it neither just nor seasonable.

And truly, that they have sate themselves down on this side Jordan, the reason is somewhat too evident, for men that would not be thought men of this world; it is but a promised land, a promised good that I and my Friends seek, it is neither offices, honours nor preferments, it is only promised Freedom, and exemption from burdens for the whole Nation, not only for our selves; we wish them peace, we repine not at any mans honour, preferment or advantage; give us but Common Right, some foundations, some boundaries, some certainty of Law, and a good Government; that now, when there is so high discourse of Freedom, we may be delivered from will, power, and meer arbitrary discretion, and we shall be satisfied: if to insist for this, be to oppose Authority, what a case are we in? Certainly were these men in our case, or were they sensible of the price it hath cost this Nation to purchase Freedom, they would think it deserved more then the meer name thereof. [6]

And how I can be charged to make it my work to divide the Army, I cannot see; I only pursue the establishment of Freedom, and redresse of Grievances, I have ever pursued, and which are not yet obtained; so also have done many in the Army. It is in the Army, as it is between these mens Friends and mine; some content themselves with present enjoyments, others with the Commonwealth at more certainty in the foundations of Freedom; and for my part, I ever most earnestly desired their union, so it were in good, and for that Freedom and good to the Nation, for which, I believe, most of them have fought; and if they divide for want of it, they divide them that keep them from it, and not I, that wish with all my heart that cause of division were not.

The Lieutenant Generall well knows (for I visited him often in Drury-lane about that time that Mr Price was there with me) how much

I desired the union of the Army; and though it then divided, it was not esteemed a fault in those that seperated themselves for good, but blame-worthy in those that would not unite, except for evil: So that to unite, or divide, is not the thing; but whether in good, or evil, is the main of all; and by which, my Adversaries and I shall one day be judged, though now they have taken the Chair, and most uncharitably judge me of evil in every thing wherein I move, or but open my mouth.

And the Lieutenant Generall also knows, upon what grounds I then perswaded him to divide from that Body, to which he was united; that if he did not, it would be his ruine, and the ruine of the Generall, and of all those Worthyes that had preserved us; that if he did do it in time, he should not only preserve himself and them, and all consciencious people, but he should do it without spilling one drop of blood; professing, that if it were not evident to me that it would be so, I would not perswade him; and that I would undertake to demonstrate to him that it would be so; and so, through God's goodnesse, and the zeal and affections of these mens now despised Friends, it came to passe: so far was I ever from advising unto blood: whereas these men would suppose me to be delighted with nothing more then slaughter and confusion.

Well, I had no shew of enmity from them all the time the Army disputed with the Parliament, but they would, divers of them, come home to my house day by day, and sit and discourse friendly, and chearfully, and seriously, of the present affairs, and refresh themselves in my Garden with that simple entertainment I use unto my Friends; and when they had done, I would bring them on their way, and they as kindly bring me back; and so joy'd was I really with this (as I thought) renewed affection, that I would often say within my self, and to some others, I now see, The falling out of Lovers is the renewing of Love.

Nay, so great a testimony I then had, from my continued Friend Mr Brandriffe, that greater could not be; for it was his lot to discourse with one Major West, a Gentleman, I take it, of Cambridge-shire, who was to have gone for Ireland: this Gentleman told him divers secret things, that rightly ordered, were very usefull at that time: Mr Brandriffe thinks me the fittest man to be acquainted therewith, tels me of it, and brings him to my house, to whom I was not altogether a Stranger, so he opens his breast to me in such things, that as the times were, if I had been base, or false-hearted, might have cost him his life; I say, as the times were: but I proved as Mr Brandriffe had reported me to him, and kept his counsel.

Well, very good Friends we were all; and I was by very eminent persons of the Army, sent for to Reading, to be advised withall touching the good of the people, a study my Conscience had much addicted me to; and after this, no jarr appeared [7] amongst us till the Army had past through the City, nor untill the businesse of the Tower aforementioned befell: But then, instead of Arguments against mine, and my Friends Reason, aspersions were produced; and then afresh, we were Atheists, Non-Scripturists, Jesuites and any thing to render us odious. This, whil'st I remained there, begot a great falling out amongst our Friends and theirs in London; which upon my comming (looking upon it as a thing of very ill consequence) I prevailed for a reconciliation: so far have I ever been from dividing, that I believe all those with whom I have most converst, judge no man more deserves the name of a Reconciler.

But about this time I met with that Gentleman, Major West, in the street, and he looks upon me somewhat ghastly, saying, what are you here? yes, said I, why not? why, saies he, being at my Lord Mayors, you were there said to be the most dangerous, ill-conditioned man alive; that you seek to have the City destroyed; that you would have no Government, and all things common, and drive on dangerous designs: saies I, who is it that avouches this? why, saies he, Henry Brandriffe, who saies, he knows it to be true, and that he hath kept you company these seven years, of purpose to discover you: I professe, I was so astonisht to hear this from Mr Brandriffe, that I had no thought (nor did not then call to mind) how upon intimate intire friendship, he had brought this Mr West to unbosome himself unto me, in a matter of so great concernment; so I past it over, and parted with him.

But in a little ruminating of the strangenesse and horribleness of this dealing, the businesse of Major Wests comming to me with Mr Brandriffe, with all circumstances came fresh into my mind; and about a week after, I met with Major West in Bishops-gate-street, and after a salute, askt him, if he had seen Mr Brandriffe: he told me, he had, and that he was of the same mind, and would justifie it, for he had kept me company seven years to discover me: upon this I askt him, whether he did not remember, that Mr Brandriffe (upon pre-discourse) did bring him to my house to discover such and such things to me, as the fittest Friend he had? he answered me, yes: and were they not such things, said I, that if I had been base and deceitfull, might have been much to your prejudice, as the times then were? yes, saies he: said I, did he then know

me to be base, and to carry on dangerous designs, and had kept me company seven years to discover me, and would he bring you to discover such things, and to un-bosome your self to me? said I, whether was he most false to you, or to me? he makes a stand a little while; truly, saies he, he must be very false and unworthy to one of us: So I wisht him to consider, what strange kind of men these were, and how a man might come to know when they meant good faith in their discourse and society amongst men.

This Discourse I have set down thus punctually, because a person of so good credit as this Major West is, is ready, as he told me lately, to avouch this that Mr Brandriffe said of me; and because it is their usuall way to beget credit in the foulest aspersions they cast upon me, by saying, this is certain, I kept him company so long of purpose to discover him, and will rather injure their own conscience then want of belief; for I am confident Mr Brandriffe in all his society with me, had not an ill thought of me; if he did keep me company so long for ill and unworthy ends, to entrap and make the worst of every thing I said (which I cannot believe) he was the more unworthy; and cannot but lament his condition, or any mans else that useth it: I blesse God, I never was a minute in his company, but upon tearms of true hearty love and friendship; nor ever circumvented him, or any man else; nor have used to carry tales, or to make the worst of mens discourses, but have set my house [8] and heart open at all times to honest men, where they have had a most sincere and hearty welcome; and if any have turned my freedom and kindnesse to my prejudice, God forgive them.

Yea, so far hath it been from being my principle, or practice (as the uncharitable Subscribers of the Epistle Dedicatory to this vain Book, infer) to say or do any thing against him whom I thought engaged to destroy me; that both to those of the Kings Party, with whom I had some acquaintance, and those my old and many Friends of the Presbyterian judgment, in all times; I ever spake and advised them what I thought in my conscience was for their good; perswading with all men to place their happinesse so, as it might be consistent with the freedom, peace and prosperity of the Common-wealth; and, I believe, many will acknowledge they have found my counsell good, and wish they had taken it; some having since confest, I have told them truth, when they did not believe it; nor can any of them justly say, and I believe will not say, that ever I abated one sillable of my principle of Common Freedom, nor ever

discovered a thought to the prejudice of the Parliament or Common-wealth.

But would these men turn their sight inward, and look into their own hearts, there they would find such a latitude of dissimulation, as is hardly to be found in any sort of men pretending to Religion; as may not only appear by these mens fair carriages outwardly alwaies to me, and Mr Brandriffe's strange discovery of himself, but in others also of the same people, as Mr Richard Price the Scrivener, the Author of one of the most notorious false scandals contained in the Book.

My first acquaintance with this Mr Richard Price, was by occasion of our Parish businesse, in his trade, and that about our Ward; and after that, about a Remonstrance presented to the Common Councel, in all which I found him ingenuous, and so grew to intimacy with him: this was when Alderman Pennington was Lord Mayor, and before Mr John Goodwin had gathered his Church, or at least, before this Mr Price was a Member of it; and I took so much content in his company, that I brought such as I loved most entirely, acquainted with him.

I, through God's goodnesse, had long before been established in that part of doctrine (called then, Antinomian) of free justification by Christ alone; and so my heart was at much more ease and freedom, then others, who were entangled with those yokes of bondage, unto which Sermons and Doctrines mixt of Law and Gospel, do subject distressed consciences: upon which point, I was frequent in discourse with him, and he would frequently come home to my house, and took much delight in that company he found there; insomuch, as we fell to practice arms in my Garden: and whither he brought his Friends; and Lords daies, and Fast daies he spent usually with us: As for Fasts then, some circumstances of the times and proceedings considered, neither he nor we were satisfied therein, nor hardly any of those that we called Sectaries (or Antinomians, which was then the beam in the eie) about the Town.

It fell out upon a Fast day in the morning, my Friend and I thought fit to give him a visit, to manifest our joy in his society: so comming to his house, he seemed to be exceeding glad, and hastned abroad with us, and we went at last to Basing-shaw Church, it being where my Lord Mayor was to be, as expecting to hear some excellent man there; being there some time, we found the matter so lamentable, as we were all three weary of it: For the truth is, whosoever is clearly possest with this one Doctrine of Free Justification, hath such a touchstone as presently dis-

covers the least contradiction either in Praiers, or Sermons, and what is gold, silver, drosse, [9] hay or stubble: so we all at once together went away, but so as we could give no offence to the congregation, being not in the body of the Church; (so that the relaters, in saying we had been from Church to Church [are mistaken]) Mr. Cranfords being all we were at before, though he know it hath not been more usuall with any then with themselves, passing to and fro from place to place on the Lords, and Fasts dayes, 4 and 6 of a company spying, watching, and censuring of doctrines (as he that wrote the Book called the *Pulpit incendiary*, me thinks should be asham'd to seeme ignorant of).

Being come out of the Church, we past the way home-wards; much lamenting the condition of a people under such teachers, being taught scarce any thing to make them either knowing Christians, or good and usefull men; imputing much of the misery of the times to the ignorance or preversnesse of preachers; the greatest part of their time being spent to uphold their interest against Antinomians, Anabaptists, and others, that fell off from their congregations, seldom upon any necessary or usefull doctrine, or if they did, before they had done with it, they contradicted themselves much or little, sufficient to spoil all they had done.

So in short time, we came to my house, where we went on discoursing, from one thing to another, and amongst other things, of the wisdom of the heathen, how wise and able they were in those things, unto which their knowledge did extend; and what pains they took to make men wise, vertuous, and good common-wealths men; how pertinent they were in the things they undertook, to the shame of such Christians, as took upon them to be teachers of others, when they were to seeke in the main principle of their science, with which kinde of discourse, he was very much affected, though it did not appear he had been accustomed to the reading of humane authors; which for twenty yeers before I had been, but I used them alwayes in their due place; being very studious all that time in the Scriptures, and other divine authors, as some of Mr. Perkins works, Mr. Downhams divinity, I had, as it were, without book, also Doctor Halls meditations, and vowes, and his heaven upon earth, and those peeces annexed to Mr. Hookers *Ecclesiasticall pollicy*; hearing, and reading continually; using Seneca, Plutarchs *Lives*, and Charon of *humane wisdom*, as things of recreation, wherein I was both pleased, and profited; and truly, I do not see I have cause to repent me of taking liberty in this kinde, having never in my life, I blesse God; made an ill use thereof, amongst which Lucian for his good ends, in discovering the

vanity of things in worldly esteem, I like very well, whereof I can read only such as are translated into English; such a wise Jesuite I am, that with all my skill, I cannot construe three lines of any Latin author, nor do understand any, except such common proverbs, as are more familiar in Latine then in English, which sometimes I use not to dignifie my selfe, but because of the pertinency of them in some occasions.

For as this author would infer of me, I do not think any man much the wiser for having many languages, or for having more then one, & though I wish I had the Latin, yet I think it not worth that paines, and time, as is commonly spent in learning; and do beleieve, I had been furnisht with it, (for my parents, I thank them, were not wanting) but for the tediousnesse, and impertinency of my teachers; which since I understand, I often blame in them, which is all I have to say against Latin, or any kind of learning; except that part of it, which puffeth up, and makes men scornfull pedants, despisers of unlearned and illiterate men, a humour, if I mistake not puffeth my present Antagonist:

I see wise, and inconsiderate men too, skillfull in languages, and in arts, and science; I have not much to do with them; my care is rightly to understand my self in my native language, being troubled with no other; and of all I chiefly thank these that [10] employ there charity in translation of well meaning authors, which I hope I may read without asking leave of these that through scrupulosity dare not.

Moses was skilfull in all the learning of the Egyptians, which the Scriptures testifie without reproof, and S. Paul certainly read the poets, and was not abasht to recite one of them; and I am certain most of the university men in England, and most of the libraries are not without all Lucians works, some whereof, as I am informed, are much more offensive to Christianity then these in English.

And why then I might not without blemish read one of his dialogues to this Mr. Richard Price, I cannot yet perceive? as I take it we read that which is called his tyrant; a discourse, though possibly not in all things justifiable, yet such as he might have made a better use of, being so pointed against ambition, pride and coveteousnesse as he might have been the better for it whilst he lived: as for me I count him a very weak man, that takes harm by reading it or any such like things.

The truth is, for many yeers my books, and teachers were masters in a great measure of me; I durst scarce undertake to judge of the things I either Read, or heard: but having digested that *unum necessarium*, that pearle in the field, free justification by Christ alone; I became master

of what I heard, or read, in divinity: and this doctrine working by love; I became also, much more master of my affections, and of what ever I read in humane authors, which I speak not as Glorifying in my self, but in the author of that blessed principle; which I did long before, and then (and do still) prize at so inestimable a value; that I was far from any such thought of impious blasphemy, as to say, here is more wit in this (meaning Lucian) then in all the bible: all our discourse was before my wife and children, and my friend, and a maid servant that had dwelt with us then three years, and since hath made them up nine yeers; I dare appeale to them all if ever they heard me value any, or all the Books, or Sermons either, in the world Comparable to the Bible; so as, but that I have since had some experience of the easinesse of Mr. Price his conscience? I should even expire with wonder, at his impudence, and at his uncharitableness, that he and his friends, people of a Church, that call themselves Saints, and a people of God, should harbour this wretched slander six yeeres amongst them, and be bringing it forth this time, and that time, but finde no time their season but when I was violently taken out of my bed, and house, and made a prisoner: if this be their way of visiting of prisoners, would not it make men think they had forgot the Scriptures; nay, might they not go to the heathens to learn some Charity.

Where is Charity? Where is love? that true Christian love, which covereth a multitude of sins; but that there should be malice, inventive, inveterate malice, in place thereof: certainly were your Church truly a Church of Christs making, it would deserve a heavy Censure.

Our Saviour sends the sluggard to the Ant: the over carefull and distrustfull to the lilies of the field, and may not I send these to heathens, to get some charity?

Mr. Price, I blush not to say, I have been long accustomed to read Montaigns *Essaies*, an author perhaps youle startle at; nor do I approve of him in all things, but ile read you a peece or two, that will be worth your study; though he be an author scarce so modest as our Lucian.

Speaking in his 12 chap. page. 244. Of Christian religion, he saith thus,

“If this ray of Divinity, did in any sort touch us, it would every where appear: not only our words, but our actions, would bear some shew, & lustre of it. Whatsoever should proceed from us, might be seen in-lightned, with this noble and matchlesse brightness. We should blush for shame that in humane sects, there was never any [11] so factious, what difficulty or strangenesse soever his Doctrine maintained; but would in some sort conform his behaviour, and square his life unto it; whereas

so divine and heavenly an institution, never marks Christians but by the tongue: And will you see whether it be so? Compare but our manners unto a Turk, or a Pagan, and we must needs yeild unto them: whereas in respect of our religious superiority, we ought by much, yea, by an incomparable distance out-shine them in excellency, And well might a man say, Are they so just, so charitable, and so good, then must they be Christians. All other outward shows, and exterior appearances, are common to all Religions, as hope, affiance, events, ceremonies, penitence, and Martyrdom; the peculiar badg of our truth should be virtue, as it is the heavenlyest, and most difficult mark, and worthyest production of verity it self: And in his twentieth Chapter, pag: 102. he saies, speaking of the Cannibals, the very words that import lying, falshood, treason, dissimulation, covetousnesse, envy, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of amongst them.”

These, and the like flowers, I think it lawfull to gather out of his Wildernesse, and to give them room in my Garden; yet this worthy Montaign was but a Romish Catholique: yet to observe with what contentment and full swoln joy he recites these cogitations, is wonderfull to consideration: And what now shall I say? Go to this honest Papist, or to these innocent Cannibals, ye Independent Churches, to learn civility, humanity, simplicity of heart; yea, charity and Christianity.

This hath been an old long-rooted slander, and hath therefore cost me thus much labour to stock it up: As for my breach of the Fast, one would think Mr John Goodwin's playing at Bowls upon a Fast day in the afternoon, a while after this, and which he did not seem to judge a fault, but as it was an offence against the reputation of his faculty, might have stopt these mens mouths in that particular: Nor would I ever have revived the memory of it, but their triumphing thus in slanders against me, deserves their abasement and humiliation.

Of whom this Mr Richard Price receives instruction, I know not; but this is he that with knowledge, if not direction of their Church, undertook to betray the King into the hands of the Governour of Alisbury under pretence of giving up Alisbury unto him, in lieu of Liberty of Conscience (that was the gold upon the bait) and did go, and spake with him; and how many untruths in such a case he was forc'd to utter with confidence, may easily be judg'd; and where he had a rule for this being a Christian, for my part I am to seek; the Apostle thought himself injured, that it was reported, he maintained that evil might be done, that good might come thereof.

And since treachery seems so slight a matter, with these Church-men, I shall make bold to send them again to this Lord Montaign, in his third Book, and first Chapter, pag: 443. he saith thus;

“To whom should not treachery be detestable, when Tiberius refused it on such great interest? One sent him word out of Germany, that if he thought good, Arminius should be made away by poyson; he was the mightiest enemy the Romans had, who had so vilely used them under Varus, and who only impeached the increase of his Dominion in that Country; his answer was, That the People of Rome were accustomed to be revenged on their enemies by open courses, with weapons in hand, not by subtilties, nor in hugger-mugger: thus left he the profitable for the honest, in 447. As for my part (saith Montaign) both my word and my faith are as the rest, pieces of this common body, their best effect is the publique service; that’s ever pre-supposed with me: But as if one should com-[12] mand me to take charge of the Rols or Records of the Pallace, I would answer, I have no skill in them, or to be a Leader of Pioners; I would say, I am called to a worthier office: Even so, who would go about to employ me not to murther, or poyson? but to lye, betray, or forswear my self, I would tell him, if I have rob’d or stoln any thing from any man, send me rather to the Gallies; for a Gentleman may lawfully speak, as did the Lacedemonians, defeated by Antipater, upon the points of their Agreement: You may impose as heavy burthens, and harmfull taxes upon us, as you please; but you lose your time to command us any shamefull or dishonest thing. Every man should give himself the oath which the Egyptian Kings solemnly and usually presented to their Judges, Not to swerve from their Consciences, what command soever they should receive from themselves to the contrary. In 448. he saith thus, What is lesse possible for him to do, then what he cannot effect without charge unto his faith.”

It will, I know, be wondred at, that I thus enlarge my self; but these things are so rich and excellent, that I cannot but insist upon them, and am in some hope to convert my Adversaries, which hath ever been my aim, equall to my own vindication; for I recite these passages, because I am in love with them, wishing them also of the same mind, for I wish them no worse then I wish to my self: or if I fail of this, yet I am desirous and hopefull to better other men by the things I write.

These are the plainnesses wherein I have ever delighted; so far am I from that politique, crafty, subtil and hidden reservednesse, which this Author would perswade the world I abound withall; exercising his wit so

exquisitly in decyphering me out to be a man of so large capacity and ability, as for my part I do not believe there is any man in the world so; much lesse my self, who setting aside a little consideration and experience, united to an upright conscience, have nothing to please my self withall: Nor do I much desire those extraordinary parts, which are seldom employed to their right end, being commonly tempted, to serve some Politicians ends, as may be seen rather in the abilities and application of them, in this Author; for he hath drawn such a picture of mans ability, as shews only his own parts in so doing; and applyes them to me, that have no part of them, of purpose to make me vile, lifts me up to the top of the pinnacle, that he may cast me down to my greater ruine.

Truly, I never thought a good cause ever needed such workings as he exalts himself (not me) withall: and I dare appeal to those many my Friends, that I daily and hourly conversed withall for some years now in publique businesses, whether ever they saw more plainnesse and openheartednesse in man: Indeed, if I suspected any man inclinable to ensnare me, as these mens practises, made me of late somewhat wary; I had reason to be carefull. And whereas he taxes me of heightening mens discontents, I believe till now, they are pleased (not without particular morsels) none were more apt thereto then themselves: but the world is well amended with them, and every other mans mouth must be stopt on pain of Treason.

I am not more pleased with the former sayings of Montaign, then with what he saies in pag: 449.

“I have therefore placed Epaminondas in the first rank of virtuous men, and now recant it not: unto what a high pitch raised he the consideration of his particular duty? Who never slew man he had vanquished; Who for the invaluable good of restoring his Country her liberty, made it a matter of Conscience to take away any mans life, without a due and formall course of Law; and who judged him a bad man (how good a Citizen soever) that amongst his enemies, and in the fury of a [13] battail, spared not his friend, or his honor, lo here a mind of a rich composition.”

And truly, I boast not, but these things have long since made so deep impression in me, that I have been extreamly mistaken by those, that gave out, there was a plot amongst us to murther the King, when he was at Hampton Court, and as much these that now start that other as base, of an intention to murther the Lieutenant Generall, they are wayes neither justifiable nor profitable; for where should such courses end, or

what could more disparage that side that began it; I wish you would be but as carefull to preserve intirely, the due and formall course of Law to every man, without exception, friend, or foe, as we have been: and though at present you may please your selves with the sufferings of your adversaries (as you fancy them) yet you do therein but tread down your own hedges, and pluck up that Bank that lets in the sea of will, and power, overwhelming your own liberties.

But before I part with this Mr. Richard Price; I have another thing to lay to his charge, and that is; That he should say, I had a hand in that plot where Read, and Sir Basil-brook were in question: in so much as my friends came running to me with tears in their eyes, and all from his unadvised speeches: was this like a friend, with whom you had eaten, and drunk, and discoursed familiarly, and from whom you had taken some small tokens of sincere affection; as the books entituled *Luthers Christian liberty*, *The benefits of Christs death*, *Freemans meditations*, and as I remember; *Christs Councell to Loadicea*; and since I was so far from retorting this injury upon you, as that after it, I chose rather to convince you by love, and as a testimony of my good respects to you, sent you the *Hystory* of Thucidides, wherewith I was much delighted, truly I wonder nothing could keep you from bearing me rancour thus long, and to watch this time of any, to slay me with your unjust report.

And truly, upon occasion lately, making my moan of this kinde of usage to one of their own people, that had received extream prejudice against me upon these, & the like false reports, which upon some discourse with a friend of mine first, and afterwards with my friend, and I together, he did professe much greef, for my hard usage; and told me that he did impute most of all this to pride, and emulation, from this Mr. Price, and in that my pen in Petitions (which otherwise was his work and trade) was many times accepted; if it be so it is a sad story indeed, his own conscience only knows whether it be so or not.

Yet I cannot but fear most of all the injuries of this nature I have received, have proceeded from this ground, for otherwise I am certain, I have given no occasion to that Congregation, whereas most of my reproaches come from them. And since I am thus fallen upon Mr. Richard Price, there is yet another of that name of this congregation, and is this Mr. Richard Price his unckle, and Mr. Hilleslyes son in law: from this Mr. Price I heard the first aspersion, that ever I heard of my self, and it was thus,

Standing in Cornhill, at a Book-sellers shop, a man comes and looks me

very earnestly in my face, I took little regard to it and went away, I was no sooner gone, but sayes he to the Book seller, You are acquainted with all the sparcks in the town; sparcks saies he, the man seemes to be a rational man: I, but, replied the party, I am told he is a notorious drunkard, and a whoremaster, and that he painted his face, but I see thats false: whereupon the Book-seller having some knowledge of me, became troubled on my behalf; and fell to be very serious with him, to know his author, and he honestly tells him, naming this Mr. Price a mercer; and the Book-seller soon after tells me the whole story, and the authors name, saying, he had been [14] abused himself with base reports; and a man might be undone by them, and never know it, till t'was too late, and therefore had resolved to hear no evil of any man, but if he could he would learn the author, and tell the party concernd of it: this Book seller is Mr. Peter Cole at the sign of the Printing presse, and I esteem my self obliged to him, ever since for his plain dealing:

So away went I to this Mr. Price, for I was somewhat troubled having never heard evil of my self till then: and I found him at Mr. Hilslies, and in a friendly manner made him acquainted with my busnesse; he did not deny but he had spoken as much; and that walking in Westminster hall, he was called from me, and bid beware of me for I was supposed to be a Papist, and a dangerous man: but he had not spoken any evil of me, as beleeving any of it to be true? so I told him he and I had come acquainted upon a very honest busnesse, about the remonstrance presented to the Common-councel, and therefore why he should suffer such words to passe from him concerning me, I did wonder at it; I told him how with very little enquiry he might soon have been satisfied, that I was no such man; askt him if he knew any at Garlick-hill, where I had lived fifteen yeers together, in good and honest repute; and where he ought to have informed himself; and not so unadvisedly to disparage me: he seemed to be sorry for it: so I only desired him to let me know his author, he told me I must excuse him; he might not do it: nor could I ever get him to tell me: so being familiar with my then friend Mr. Brandiff, I askt, whether they had not some rule, or method in their Church, to give a man some satisfaction, that had received palpable injury by a member; come said he I know whereabouts you mean; trouble not your self, nobody beleeves it: and this was all I could get in this case: wherein I yet stand injured, and since they are so desirous, more then truth should be beleevd of me: I think it fit this which is certainly true, should be known of their dealing with me.

Nor can any ingenious people now blame me, for being thus open, and particuler, since this sort of independents have made thus bold with my good name so long a time; and since it is evident [from] that manifestation dated the 14 of April 1649. published by my self, and my other three fellow sufferers, that I was willing to have vindicated my self, from those common reproaches, they had asperst me withall, without naming or reflecting upon any person, or any sort of men whatsoever, so carefull have I ever been, as much as in me is to have peace with all men; bearing, and forbearing to my own losse, rather then I would return evil for evil.

But their mallice breaking thus fouly out upon me, in this vile book; I should be unjust to my self, if I should not do my best endeavour to manifest so detestable falsenesse, uttered to so bad an end, in so unseemly a time (the time of my affliction) which I shall do with as much truth, as I can remember, professing withall from my very heart, and conscience, that I take no more pleasure in doing of it, then I should do in gathering up, and throwing away Snakes, and Vermin scattered in my Garden; and do wish with all my soul they had not necessitated me, nor my other fellow-prisoners, to have exceeded our joynt *Manifestation*; but that we might all have been good friends thereupon.

In which *Manifestation*, is to be seen all our very hearts, and wherein all our four heads, and hands were nigh equally employed, though this capritious author (Mr. John Price, its said) be pleased to suppose me to be all in all therein; yet I must, and truly professe the contrary: and must be bold to tell them, where my friend Lieutenant Collonel John Lillburn, appeares otherwise in any of his wri-[15] tings; I do not impute it to passion, as his adversaries politiquely are accustomed; to take weak people off from the consideration of what he says: but unto his zeal against that injustice, cruelty, hypocrisie, arrogancy, and flattery, which he hath found amongst a sort of men, from whom of any men in the world, he expected the contrary virtues; being otherwise to my knowledge, and upon experience, a very lamb in conversation; and whom goodnesse, and love, and piety, justice, and compassion, shall as soon melt, and that into tears (I hope he will pardon my blabbing) as any man in the world: but he hates all kinde of basenesse, with a perfect hatred: especially that of ingratitude, which he hath found, I have heard him say, so exceeding all measure, in some of the subscribers of this pamphlet, that it loathes him to think of it.

And as for my friend, Mr. Prince, whom this self-conceited author,

would make so weak in judgment, as to have no abillity towards such a work; it is his unhappinesse to be so exceedingly mistaken; yet I must tell him, he hath given him so true a character, for honesty, and sincerity of heart, towards the publick, which in my esteem, doth more commend him, then if he had attributed to him, all those parts & abilities, he falsly, and for an ill end, doth unto me: lifting me up to heaven, that he might cast me down to hell: making me an Angel, that he might make me a Devil: which parts are more abounding in himself, as is to be seen in this his unhappy Book, and for which he will one day sigh and groan, except he make a better use of them.

But Mr. John Price, Mr. Prince hath not a congregation to cry up his parts; amongst whom there is such a humor of flattery, as is not to be found the like again amongst any sort of men; Oh such a Sermon, such a discourse, such arguments, as never was heard of; when oftentimes 'tis meer lamp-work, and ink-horn termes, such as the three first yeers in the University, or the first yeer of a sound consideration, with a sincere conscience, would be ashamed of.

But were Mr. Prince of one of your congregation, & had but run with the stream, and turned with the times, as most of you have done; could he but have changed his principles with his condition; would he (as he was tempted by some of you) have belyed his friends, & betrayed his cause, Oh what a man of parts Mr. Prince had been; what could Mr. Prince have wanted, that those men had to give: but to their shame, let them know, Mr. Prince values the integrity of his conscience above his life, or any thing in this world; and for which he deserveth the love of all sound hearted men.

But Mr. John Price, you that make it so strange a thing for any man, to own in the substance, what another hath penn'd; there is a book with Mr. John Prices name at it, of no long date; and the subject of it is about the King-ship of the People: to me it seems not to be the stile of Mr. John Price: I am against examining you, upon questions against your self; but there are (Knaves and Fools in Folio, a book so called) that seems to claim kindred of Mr. John Price in that peice; and if you be but a God-father; (and it be now against your judgement to be such) yet since the childe beares your name, and tis a pretty handsome one, be not ashamed still to own it; but if you be, the childe shall not want, P'le undertake to finde the right Father: so much for Mr. Prince.

And for the complexion of my Friend Mr Overtons pen, truly it commonly carries so much truth and reason in it, though sometimes in a

Comick, and otherwhiles in a Satyrick stile, that I do not wonder you shun its acquaintance; and you did wisely by this touch and glance, think to passe him by without provoking of him: [16] But look to your selves, and say, I gave you lawfull warning; for he, I assure ye, knows when, and when not, to answer such as you according to your folly: And truly, but that it is against the nature of impudence to blush, the complexion of the pen engaged in this your unseemly discourse, might well turn Cowler, in correction of his: but he is old enough, let him answer for himself.

But why come their lines from them, as through a Prison-gate, Mr Price? Are Prisons, in your Divinity, such ominous things? The Primitive Christians, and the Martyrs in Queen Maries daies, did not esteem them so. But it seems your Congregation is of a near relation to those that hold prosperity a mark of the true Church; and it will be good for those amongst you, that are yet sincere in their Consciences, in time to consider it, and to enquire amongst all those Churches the Apostles wrote to, where they find a Warrant for such slanderous and backbiting practises as you are accustomed unto, licking up the very foam and dregs of Mr Edwards his *Gangrena*; yea, your own vomit and poyson which then you cast out upon him.

But, I confesse, you have notable waies to escape imprisonments; you can be for a Kingly Government, and publish to all the world, that Kings are, as the Consecrated Corn, not to be reapt by any humane sickle; and when occasion serves, you can change your copy, and say, you are not bound to declare why your judgment altered: But pray, Mr Goodwin, are you not bound to undeceive those whom by your error you deceived, as soon as you saw your error? Sometime your strength is not in an arm of flesh, nor in the power of the Sword, but you no sooner get, as you think, the least hold of it, but the power of the Sword is then the power of God, and then the Saints (meaning no body but your selves) must judge and rule the earth. Indeed Friends, you manifest to all the world, that your waies are the waies rather to good Offices and Benefices too (for else, why are ye now so high for tyths, that some years since were so much against them?) and led to honours, and preferments, and greetings in the market places, rather then to prisons.

Yet are ye furnisht with waies enough to send other men thither; you have one way, is called, Ah Lord! we thank thee we are not as other men: A way to make them first odious, by vindicating your selves in those things whereof no man suspected you, that others might be thought guilty; as you endeavoured by your Declaration, wherein you vindicated

your selves from being against Magistracy, or liberty of Conscience, nor for Poligamy, or Community; and this in a time when you had freshly & falsely asperst us, to be opposite to you in all these, purposely to get your Guard into the Tower: and for your abatement, it will not be amisse to let you know how a weak woman answered your strength spent in this elaborate Declaration, at first and in the reading of it; but it was my Wife, and she having been (as you will have it) a Jesuit's wife this two and twenty years, may have more wit then ordinary.

Saies she, They against Magistracy? Who can suspect them, that hunt and seek for Offices as they do? (now I am sure the City and Customhouse will cry, *probatum est*); and where you argued your selves to be for liberty of Conscience, saies she, Who have more need? I am sure none use so great a liberty, to raise such vile and false reports as they do (for she hears all you say of me, and about that time, that some of your tribe should report I used her very hardly, and used to beat her; whereas we both know and believe in our consciences, never two in the world lived more comfortably together then we have done, nor have more delighted in one another). And where you declared, you did not hold it lawfull to have more Wives then one, saies she, They [17] that keep their Wives at such a rate as they do, had not need to have more then one apeice, they will find one enough: And where you declared, that you were not for to have all things common, saies she, No, I warrant you they know well enough how to hold their own: are not some of them Usurers? And you know it to be true: but if you deny it, we will find you for this also a *probatum*; and thus was your mighty Sisera struck through the temples by the hand of a silly Woman: The truth is, ye overween your selves exceedingly, because ye are a little skilfull in talking and writing: But why went ye not on boasting? ye were no hypocrites, no slanderers, no backbiters, no envious, malicious persons, no spies or intelligencers, no covetous or ambitious persons, no hard-hearted or cruell persons: truly you took the better way to vindicate your selves of those things only, that no men accused you of.

Another way ye have to get men into prison, by suggesting fears and jealousies of them into the minds of such as are in power and authority; playing the pick-thanks by such unworthy and uncharitable courses; buzzing continually in their ears, that we drive on dangerous designs; that we are Atheists, Jesuits, and the like, which hath been your common practice: insomuch, as being with Collonel Martin, and another Gentleman, about a month before I was made a Prisoner, at Lieutenant Generall

Cromwells; and amongst other discourse, wondering why he should suffer me continually at his table to be reproacht, as if I were a Jesuit, and a man of dangerous principles; whereas none in the world could have more testimony of any man to the contrary, then he had of me; and why he did not vindicate me, when he heard me so abused: he told me, that he could not believe those scandals, that he had profest often and again he could not, but they were brought continually to them by Citizens, that were esteemed honest godly men: And truly I do believe in my Conscience, we never had been thus dealt withall as we are, but by your reports; and that we are prisoners more by your occasion then any other.

And what a way did Mr Kiffin, & his Associates, find out as soon as we were in, to rivet us in, with a Petition somewhat like your forementioned Declaration? the scope thereof being truly Pharisaiicall: Another, Lord, we thank thee, we are not as other men, &c. Nor as these Publicans. No Anabaptists of Munster defiling their own nest (as supposing that lying story of that injured people true) and praying the Parliament to be careful to suppress all prophanesne and licentiousnesse: as if we had been such a people: But so justly did this mischief (intended on us) turn on their own heads, that most of their own people abhorred the practice, as Un-Christian; and Mr Thomas Lamb of the Spittle, offered to prove the promoters of it guilty of injustice, arrogance, flattery and cruelty, and to give them a meeting to that purpose; but sure they were asham'd, and durst not, for none of them would undertake him.

Besides these waies of holding Prisoners fast, my back-friend, Mr Arnald, hath a way of going from house to house, to discover matter (there being none at all in these very mens opinions of me), for they all conclude *England's New Chains* to be none of my indicting: I wonder why then they did not petition, or move for my enlargement. No, besides that I am not of their Church; 'twas good holding a man so hardly to be catcht, that needed horse and foot to catch and fetch him out of his bed: And therefore this Mr Arnald also sends Spies to ensnare and entrap us in our discourse: and for encouragement to those he sends, that they may not scruple, but think they do God good service therein; he professes continually, I am a Jesuit: And now, I believe, finding his error (for it's very easily found) he dreads [18] my releasment, as believing I may have remedy at Law for so destructive a slander: and therefore hath thought even to overwhelm me with this floud of aspersions, that I should not possibly escape drowning. But the man's mistaken, and so are his Abettors and Associates; 'tis but a Vision, a false fantastick apparition;

they are all Nothings, meer falsnesses, Serpents of Magicians making, the meer works of a malicious imagination, that by crosse working, forcing and wresting of words and sentences, and by fames and opinions, hath made a kind of crawling thing, that might possibly serve to fright Children, or to please a Church that would go a wool-gathering for a miracle, to confirm its reallity: But truth, which is Moses his Serpent, you shall see will eat them up, and devour them all: Many of them, if you well consider what you have here and elsewhere read, being consumed already.

That which remains in generall, is, that I aim at the destroying of Religion, and at the subversion of all Government: But why should I do either? Where's the advantage? I have alwaies profess'd the contrary, and ever practised the contrary; as those that reade my *Whisper to Mr Edwards*, and my *still and soft voyce*, fore-mentioned, will easily believe. And I begge and intreat both young and old to reade them, before they give sentence in their own hearts of me, that I should be so irreligious, as to utter such profane language concerning the Book of Psalms, or Proverbs, or that horrid expression of the Book of Canticles, as that it was nothing else but one of Salomons Epiphonemaes: a word that I never spake, nor yet know well how to pronounce, nor ever did apply the meaning of it to so vile an end (speak the rest, whoso will for me) and if the Author had had any modesty or Religion in him, however it had come into his thought, he would have silenc'd it, rather then such blasphemy should be seen in print; I abhor the words should be in any of my papers; having never entred my thought, or past my lips.

As true, likewise, are all the other unworthy passages in the 9 and 10 pages of that shamelesse book; they have been all malicious snatchings and gatherings from some officious tongues, at third, fourth or tenth hand; there being nothing but mistakes and mis-applications in all of them, contrary to my judgment, or any thing ever intended by me, in my discourse of any of those subjects: And to shew some palpable token, that they are meer malicious smatterings, I appeal to all that know me, whether ever I were heard to commend Plutarch's *Morals* to any mans reading; it being a Book, that although I have had above these twenty years, yet I am certain, I never read forty hours therein; though I somewhat blame my self for my neglect, it being so generally commended by wise and judicious men: yet I could never perswade my self to take the pains in reading of it, it being somewhat too tedious for my expectation. And as for Cicero's Orations, I never had it, have only seen it; and (though very unadvisedly, as I was lately told by one whose judgment I

love) am somewhat prejudic'd against his writings, as esteeming him a verball and vain-glorious Writer.

I have, indeed, bemoaned the breeding of the Youth of this Nation, as being bred so, as to be artificiall and crafty, rather then truly wise and honest; to be Sophisters, and Pedantick Disputers, and Wranglers about words, then of solid judgment: but as for feats of activity, it's a light expression, to be applyed rather to tumblers, and the like, then to be a part of Childrens breeding; and for Geometry, there may be much in it, and of use: but I have not so much skill in it, as that I could make it matter for my commendation. So that these Intelligencers being engaged in evil [19] designs, and knowing themselves guilty, are confused in their thoughts, their consciences ever flying in their faces; and so they hear otherwise then is uttered, and report different from what they hear, and so prove by a just providence destructive to those that employ them; and it were pity an ill end should be better served.

In the 11 page, because he would not want matter to disparage, he puls in I know not who, that, forsooth, must be of my acquaintance, and speaking absurd profane language, concerning things heavenly, and of God; that I professe I do not think any man in the world would utter, nor think them fit to be repeated, much lesse printed, to save a life: whereas this unhappy Author puts them in a particular character, lest they should passe un-observed; and that not to save, but to destroy me and mine: Who this should be, I cannot ghesse; but it seems, it is a man of parts, possibly, for to have made him an Intelligencer: if so you have given him your reward, slander him, and let him go; and 'tis well he scapes so, as the world goes.

For there are uses for Spies and Intelligencers, that few men dream of; and Mr John Price, and Mr Goodwin, and Mr Lavander, knows of the making of them, their instructions and oaths of employment and secrecy; an office and institution we never read of in all the New Testament: but what wonder if their practice be point-Blanck against the Scriptures, whose structure is not built upon (but borrowed, or rather forc'd upon) that golden foundation?

As for the next passage in the 11 page, that I should affirm the Scriptures to be, and not to be the Word of God; it is such a double way of expression, as I dislike in all men, and avoyd it in all my writings or discourse: but for this, or any thing relating to the Scriptures, I refer the honest-hearted Reader to my *still and soft voyce*.

And that I should perswade that Gentlewoman next mentioned, to

ruine her self, is as false as ever was spoken, as her Husband, her Sisters, her Friend that was continually with her, her Servants and Children, I am confident are all ready to testifie, and some of them I am certain will witnesse, that I used my utmost skill to disswade her, and did manifest as much grief for her, as I never did more for any, except a Child I had, to whom she was Godmother, for she was my true Friend, and her Husband hath for these twelve years (as I have cause to believe) held me as dear to him as any Friend, and so hath continued to the time I came into prison; and her sister that hath been in the most extreme affliction for her, hath yet shewed so much respect to me (with the Gentlewoman that was alwaies with my distressed Friend) as to give me a visit in this my imprisonment, and so also hath two of her Sons: these are truths, and will be believed by all that truly knew both her and me; though Mr Goodwins whole Church should swear the contrary; and from whom she deserved a better regard. I am sorry their hate to me should awake the remembrance of that sad disaster from sleep, where it ought to have rested; she being very religious after the way of Mr Simpson of All-hallowe's Thames-street, and no admirer of Mr John Goodwin: Inso-much as it was said to her, in her greatest extremity of pain in her head (the greatest, in my apprehension, and most continued, that ever was felt) you have a wise Religion, that cannot bear with a pain in your head: his profession that said it, required another remedy; but as he exceeded in his tongue, he was as short in his brain and hand: Not only she, but her Husband to this hour, being much distrest through such comforters: and it were well some skilfull man would administer [20] some matter to cure the man of his vain-glory, and flashing self conceitednesse, with which he abounds to the destruction of some native goodnesse, & acquired parts; which would otherwise commend him: I could not be more particular in this story, lest I should grieve my friends, who I know cannot but desire this were buried in oblivion.

As false also is that other passage, concerning King James, and King David: it having never been my manner, to use such opprobrious language towards any men; much lesse towards persons of such Eminency; but Generally reprove it.

I have from a serious consideration of Davids offences, and Gods passing them by, and not rejecting of him for them; observed a different way from God, in those of our times, that call themselves Saints, and would be esteemed his nearest servants; for if any man be overtaken in a fault; they are so far from restoring such a one by the spirit of meeknesse: or,

reproving him privatly, or by love, as Gods way is; passing by multitudes of sins, and failings; that they make it their meat and drink, yea, they hunger, and thirst after evil reports; yea, send out into the high-ways, and hedges, and as it were compell men to come in to witnesse, and article, against men too, that have hazarded their lives for their good: and with whom they have frequently, familiarly, and intimately conversed; never reproveing them in their lives to their faces: and keep things in boxes, three, four, six, yeers together, watching a season to divulge them to their ruin: as now in mine, & my friends cases.

They that are now advocates for David, if David lived in our dayes, and had not favoured Mr. Goodwins Church-way, and had been guilty of the matter with Bathsheba, and Uriah, where should David have found a place to have hid himself, who amongst them; (according to their present rule with us) would have pleaded for him? nay, had not Davids wiles (pardon the expression) been published in words at length, and not in figures: yet possibly (nay probably) Davids being King had altered the case with these men; especially, if he were supream in power: for they are ever carefull to row with, or not long against the tide: but what (think you) would they not give that they had such matter against me, that make so much to gather up false reports against me; what society should I keep; who would own me? no marvail, now I see, that David being put to his choice; chose rather to fall into the hands of God, then into the hands of men: for with him there is mercy, his mercies are over all his works; he delighteth in shewing mercy, he considers that we are but dust: and putteth away our sins out of his remembrance; as far as the East is from the West: whereas the mercies of men are cruelties: although I cannot so experimentally say it, of any other sort of men, as of these; for I have found the contrary from so many other sorts of people, upon divers of my particular occasions, that I have wondered to consider the difference.

For the next slander: that I should speak so slightly, of the sin against the holy Ghost; this I heard they have asperst me withall above these three yeers: and I have considered it seriously, and can professe, with a sincere conscience, that I do not know that I ever uttered a syllable towards it: sure I am it never entred into my heart: nor could I, till now I see it in their book, learn, to what woman they charged me to have spoken it: but yet, because I ghesed they might mean the gentle-woman forementioned, she being well known to them, I have told her of the aspersion: and desired seriously if she could to call to minde, whither

ever any such unadvised speech had past from me to her; as I might meete her, and in a friendly manner chide her for not visiting my wife: and she hath very often solemnly protested, she [21] could not for her life remember, that I did ever speake any thing towards it: and truly, if I had known any such thing by my self, though it had been never so unserious, I should have taken the shame of it to my self; and have manifested my sorrow for it, as not in the least justifying a carelesnes in things of so high a nature: and do fear, they come neer to scoffing, that dare thus liberally publish in print, expressions so unsutable to so divine a subject, for they may remain upon a readers mind, to prejudice, longer then he would have them.

And concerning the next slander; I might blame her for her sadnesse, and fear, which sometimes she would expresse, as being contrary to the principle, of that love of God, she would constantly professe, to have assurance of: urging frequently that place, which saith, we have not received the spirit of bondage to fear any more; but the spirit of adoption whereby we cry, Abba, Father; and have boldnesse to the throne of Grace, and the like; but that I ever discouraged her in the hearing of Mr. Simpson; or in the wayes of religion, I utterly deny.

And being thus, as thus in truth it is, and no otherwise in all the particulars forementioned, let all impartiall, and judicious people judge, whether it had not been more for the honour of God, the Scriptures and Religion; that this authour; his assotiats subscribers, his abettors, and confederates; to have received in good part our clear *manifestation*; wherein we justly vindicated our selves in generall, from those aspersions that causlesly were cast upon us; without naming any person, or persons, as authors thereof; or reflecting, with the least rancour upon any condition of men; as being willing, if possible, to have buried for ever, all former unkindneses, and evill offices done to any of us in this kinde: and as far as in us was to have renewed our former friendship with those, in whom we had formerly delighted, or at least to have expelled that enmity, which we knew was exceedingly prejudiciall to the Commonwealth: I say, had it not been much more Christian-like then to have set their brains and credits thus upon the tenters (stretching them past the staple that they will never in again) and to put upon record, so many unseemly expressions, as if they gladly took occasion through my sides, & friends, to give Religion, the scriptures, yea, God himself were it possible, a deadly wound: for such I fear will be the effect; whither throw their malice, or indiscretion, or both, I leave to judgment: and for what

cause, at best; but only to render me and my friends odious, to discredit us in the things we undertook for the publick.

And then to cry out of violence in some mens writings, and yet to abound, as here they do, with such new invented invectives, and provoking language, as is hardly to be parallel'd: Cheef secretaries of the Prince of slander: this English man-hunter, this wretch: this wretched man Walwyn: this worthy Champion: the venison, which his soul doth so sorely long for: as the serpent, that deceived our first Parents: this factor for the Region of Darknesse, these Jesuiticall-whiffers: this artificiall impostor, in his Satan-like work: Good God, where is the cause, what hath moved them to this high flown mallice, these bumbaste poetick raptures, fit rather for stagers, then Preachers, for swaggerers, then Saints, (oh, but it must not be so taken; it must be esteemed their zeal, their Jehu-like affection to God, and his truth; yea, come see our zeal (say they in effect) which we have for God): why, be it so, ô Jehu, yet what's the cause?

The cause; why, heres Walwyn with his *Wiles* will overturn, destroy, and overthrow all Religion; and the Scriptures themselves? sure its not possible? no, have you ever heard such things uttered by man, as is recited in *Walwyns Wiles*? no, but he denies them to be true; gives reasons here; and refers to his *Whisper*: and [22] other writings: and particularly to his still, and soft voice: and those are extant, and to be seen; and surely if he intend to destroy Religion, to publish such things as these is not the way; besides, uttered by one, that you your selves say is wary, and sober, and discreet. But I pray, friends what a religion is yours, that fears the breath of one man should overthrow it? what? is it built upon the sand? if so, you may doubt indeed; but if upon a rock? let the winds blow, and the waves too-beat; what need you fear? sure your faith is built but upon Reason; look to it; some say it is your tenent; if so, you had need indeed to bestir your selves, for you finde he is a rationall man, and thats a shew'd thing; against Diana of the Ephesians, though all Asia, & the world worship her: if your Churches have but an imaginary foundation then indeed you had need betake your selves to Demetrius his Arguments; and to tell all men these Walwynites every where, turn the world upside down; breathing strange, and unwelcome doctrines, such as your Churches and people cannot bear.

And so it seems, indeed they do, as these authors Complain in the latter part of their 13 pag. where they say, I am ever harping upon the hard-heartednes and uncharitableness of professors; and those that are

religious men, how grinding they are in bargines: how penurious, base, and back-ward in works of charity, and mercy; how undermining, and over-reaching they are in buying, in selling; how having and craving in the things of this life; how hardly any work of mercy, and charity comes from them; how they let their brethren starve, and dy, and perish, rather then help them; and how bountifull, free, and liberall the very heathens have been and how beneficiall even Papists, and many that do not so much as pretend to religion are to the poor; and herein (he confesseth) I speake too true: yet immediately calls me devil for my labour (they pay their Pastors better, I beleeve, for worse doctrine).

But why devil? Why, say they, for speaking truth to wound, and destroy it; but say I, who art thou, ô man, that judgest another mans Conscience, forbear the chair a while, & it may be the chair of the scornful: for God and my own conscience knows, I never yet in my life spake, or uttered one of these truthes but to the end the Scriptures warrant.

But they go further, and say, by doing thus, I cunningly insinuate into the discreet, and beget a disparagement of that that is called Religion amongst them. page the 14.

This is very observable: for by this expression, all men shall easily understand the ground of their quarrell against me: if they can but finde out, what it is that is called Religion amongst them: do not these men call such a thing Religion; as the Pharises did; Ile deal so kindly with them, yet, as to leave the comparing the one with the other to themselves: only, 'twas much in words, and to be seen of men: both which our Saviour reproves: and both by example, and precept invites to practice; possibly concluding, that not he that saith Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom, but he that doth the will of my father which is in heaven: requireth, That our light so shine forth before men, that they, seeing our good works, may glorifie our heavenly father and at the last day, he will say unto those on his right hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you; for when I was an hungry, ye fed me, naked, ye clothed me; sick and in prison, and ye visited me; in as much as ye have done it unto these, ye had done it unto me: when to others, (that yet have to say, Lord we have prophesied, and done many great things in thy name) he will say; Away from me ye workers of iniquity, I know ye not, for when I was hungry, ye fed me not: naked, ye clothed me not; sick and in prison, and [23] ye visited me not; inasmuch as ye did it not unto these, ye did it not unto me.

And if now to invite to these, and to reprove the want thereof, be, to

be a Devil, truly I'll bear it, and rejoyce that I am accounted worthy to suffer reproach for this cause of Christ: I am sure the Apostle Paul (that abounded with reall, not pretended gifts, or acquisitions rather) boasted not of them; but proclaims to all the world, that though he spake with the tongues of men and Angels, and have no Charity, that he was but as sounding brasse, or a tinkling Cymball; and Saint James, his pure and undefiled Religion, is, to visit the fatherlesse, and the widowes in their distresse, and to keep our selves unspotted of the world; and saith plainly, that he who hath this worlds goods, and seeth his brother lack, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion, how dwelleth the love of God in him? And truly, if I must be a Devil for insisting upon these most needfull doctrines, I had rather be these mens Devil then their Saint: And if the use and application of these, and the like, will overthrow that which they call Religion amongst them; certainly it is not pure and undefiled, and hardly of Gods making: I might enlarge my self upon this theme, but the little Book, called, *The vanity of the present Churches*, hath prevented me, unto which I refer the ingenious Reader, for satisfaction of what they call Religion among them.

And thus I think to all unbiassed men, I have acquitted my self from going about to destroy Religion; I mean, true, not false Religion, or superstition, too commonly dignified with the title of Religion.

And as for my designing, as the desire of my soul, the trouble, misery and ruine of this Commonwealth, it is so absurd a suggestion, that it seems not worth my answer; the utmost of my desire concerning this Commonwealth, being held forth and contained in the *Agreement of the People*, dated the first of May, 1649. And as a testimony of our acquiescence therein, is subscribed by Lieut: Col: John Lilburn, Mr Richard Overton, Mr Thomas Prince, and my self: so that all my designs are therein center'd; and if that imports the trouble, misery and ruine of this Commonwealth, I am extremely mistaken, and shall not refuse to acknowledge my errour when I see it: but till then, and whil'st I conceive it to tend to the good of all men, I cannot but wish it might be establish'd with contentment and security of all sorts of people: I know not the man in the world, whose finger I desire should ake longer then he pinches another; nor that any man should be reduced to any extremity, by any alteration it might bring with it: but that authority would provide rather a change of interests, and remove men from that which is not, to that which is consistent with the peace, freedom and prosperity of the Nation; it having been all along a sad thing to me, to see men of parts, and

breeding, and eminency, upon reformation of interests, or their reductions, to be left to the wide world, without any care or regard of a livelyhood for themselves, their Wives and Children, in some measure answerable to their former condition: such extremities commonly begetting greater, and more mischievous to the Commonwealth; and it should, in my poor opinion, be the care of the supreme Authority; no desire being more forcible in man, then to live answerable to his breeding, or to what he hath been long accustomed; every one finding it an easie thing to learn how to abound, but to abate, most difficult: and, I fear, our late and present times suffer much under these two extremes. [24]

He upbraids me, that I find fault, that riches, and estates, and the things of this world, should prefer men to offices, and places of trust: but say that virtue, though in poor men, should be more regarded, as in Butchers, or Coblers: And truly I know some Butchers, though not many, as fit as some in your Congregations; and I think you do not exclude for that trade: And as for Coblers, there are trades more in credit, hardly so usefull, and Mr Price knows it well; and were he as busy in self examination, as he is in reproaching others, he would have little time to trouble himself about others motes: he who thought it no robbery to be equall with God, and yet despised not to be esteemed the Son of a Carpenter, and chose simple herdsmen for his Prophets, and poor fishermen for his Apostles, did certainly judge otherwise then these Churchmen judge. Besides, there was a time, when Samuel How, a Cobler by trade, and a contented man in that calling, was not ashamed to preach before your most learned Pastor, and printed his Sermon afterwards; and your Pastor hath chang'd his mind since, and is come somewhat nearer to his judgment; and had done then, as is said, and can be proved, could any have shewed him a livelyhood with credit, upon the exchange.

But by the way, I am not so strong as to talk usually after this rule, I know the generality of our times cannot bear it; I indulge exceedingly towards the weakness of men for peace sake: who ever heard me speak either in behalf of Butchers or Coblers, as to places of government? I professe, I know not where, nor when; though for their callings, I make no difference between them and my self; for the callings are honest, and mine can but be so.

And as for Riches, Saint James, whom I am exceeding in love with, had no great good opinion thereof: he demands positively, Do not rich men oppresse you, and leade you before the Magistrates? (the Magistrates, possibly, were no rich men) Nay, is there not such an expression

again in Scripture, as, Go too, weep and howl, ye rich men, &c? But I shall be told anon, I have too much straw for this brick; truly, I wish I had none at all, and that you and your Associates had been more advised, then to have necessitated me thus to discover your weaknesse; but I comfort my self, that I shall turn it to your good. I hope you will say no more, that by these truths I shall destroy that which is called Religion amongst you, for this is a part of pure and undefiled Religion: And if you make one more change, and sell all that ever you have, all your uncertainties, vanities, and superfluities, for these realities, it will prove the best bargain that ever you made; and, I believe, we should be Friends upon it; this difference being the only quarrell: And that Riches may no longer be a stumbling block in your way, reade, at your leisure, Montaign's 52 Chapter, of the Parcimony of our Fore-Fathers.

And where you charge me, that I find fault that some abound, whil'st others want bread; truly, I think it a sad thing, in so fruitfull a land, as, through Gods blessing, this is; and I do think it one main end of Government, to provide, that those who refuse not labour, should eat comfortably: and if you think otherwise, I think it your error, and your unhappinesse: But for my turning the world upside down, I leave it to you, it's not a work I ever intended, as all my actions, and the Agreement of the People, do sufficiently evince, and doth indeed so fully answer all your remaining rambling scandals, that I shall pray the courteous Reader hereof to reade it, and apply it, and then shall not doubt my full and clear vindication: so far as that is, am I for plucking up of all the pales and hedges in the Nation; so far, for all things common. [25]

So far from wishing printing had never been known, that I have alwaies said, that printing (if any thing in this age) would preserve us from slavery; and you that know how much I have been against the stopping of the presse, methinks should blush to talk thus.

As for Mr Pym, and Mr Hampden, it's well known, I honoured them much, for what I saw was good in them, and never reproach'd them in my life; but was not satisfied, when they would make a war, that they would make it in the name of the King and Parliament; I could not understand it to be plain dealing, nor thousands more besides me.

As for any invectives against the Lieutenant Generall Cromwel, Commissary Generall Ireton, or Collonel Harrison, I shall refer this to be satisfied by one Mr David Brown, the Scotch Writing-Master, a man of integrity, and of a sincere Congregation, what I have done to the contrary: but I allow him not to be over-particular, in naming what par-

ticularly, that being inconvenient: And if Collonel Harrison would but remember my attendance on him at Collonel Fleetwoods, and but reflect upon a paper I then deliver'd him, methinks my integrity to my Country, and affection to all such as desire the liberty thereof, could not be question'd; and, I confesse, I have wondered, he of any man in power, hath not appeared more to my vindication: indeed, I have no fawning flattering waies to work upon men, nor have used any towards them, I have been reall and plain-hearted towards them; and though you may have courted them more plausibly into an opinion of your way in the affairs of the Commonwealth; yet is it conscience and time that proves all things, and I refer my self to both; and if you prove not to them (and the rest in power, that give ear to you) like Rhehoboam's young Counsellours, I shall be glad of it; I am sure you came in late to the work, and (to my apprehension) labour to build hay and stubble, if not worse, upon a golden foundation, laid by others for the Freedom of the Commonwealth.

But I must beware, for, as I hear, you much rejoyce in a new Act concerning Treason; so copious, that I may be in the verge of it, before I am aware; it makes me almost not sorry that I am kept close Prisoner, but that it's no good sign of Englands liberty which I have earnestly labour'd for: but truly I may rejoyce that I am kept from you, and you from me; for certainly, should we passe but one hours discourse together (in the mind you are in) and as the case and law now is, I should not escape an information.

And truly, that ye are so well pleas'd with this act proceeds, for that it serves your present turn, rather than any reason or consideration in you; for how soon the edge of it may be turned against your selves, you know not; and some who consider not how much ye have labour'd for it, wonder ye do not petition against it: for whil'st a Parliament sits, it is lawfull to petition against things, though establish'd by Law; and it's somewhat rare in the practice of Parliaments, for a law to take place, and be of force so soon as it is made, having commonly had a good distance of time, that men might digest, and consider and understand it, before the commencement or beginning of the power thereof; and that, at soonest, not before the end of the Parliament that made it: And there seems to be this reason for it, that the Parliament men that made it should be as soon, and as clearly subject thereunto, as any other persons whatsoever; otherwise they might make such, as might ensnare the people, and yet keep themselves out of danger. [26]

And certainly, if this caution be necessary in any case, it must be where mens lives are concerned, as in Treason and Felony; wherein our forefathers were ever very carefull; as Sir Edward Cooke doth sufficiently witness, some particulars whereof concerning Treason, are worth yours, and every mans knowledge.

“Briefly thus: he saies, The Parliament holden the 25th of Ed. 3. was called *benedictum Parliamentum*; because of its particular expressing what was Treason: and that except Magna Charta, no other Act of Parliament hath had more Honour given to it, as appeareth by the Statute of the 1 of Hen. 4. chap. 10 reciting, That whereas [in] a Parliament, holden the 21 of Rich. 2. Divers paines of Treason were ordained by Statute, insomuch as there was no man did know how to behave himselfe; to do, speake, or say, for doubt of such paines: It is enacted, &c. That in no time to come, any Treason be judged otherwise, then it was ordained by the Statute of 25 Ed. 3. the like honour is given to it, by the Statute 1 Ed. 6. chap. 12. and by the Statute of the first of Mary, chap. 1. Sess. 1. —different times, but all agreeing in the magnifying, and extolling that blessed Act of 25 Ed. 3.”

And speaking of the care of our Ancestors, in avoiding nice and extreame Laws concerning Treason: he saith, And all this was done in severall Ages, that the faire Lillies and Roses of the Crowne (which now may be interpreted) the Government of England, might flourish, and not be stained with severe and sanguinary (bloody) Statutes.

He saith further, That the Statute for Treason, is to be taken strictly; and the proofs to be direct and manifest; not upon conjecturall presumptions, or inferences, or straines of Wit: but upon good and sufficient proof, That none are to be proceeded against, but according to due course, and proceeding of Law, to be judged by men of our own condition; and not by absolute power, or other meanes, as in former times had been used; and affirms it to be a received maxim, that bare words without an overt Act, could not make a Traytor.

But if you can rejoyce that these strong holds, and safegards of our lives, shall now in the first year of Englands Liberty, with the Petition of Right, be accounted of no value; but that we must be so exposed to danger, that no man shall know how to behave himselfe, to doe, speake, or say, for fear of the paines of Treason: I believe your rejoycing is but matter of grief to us, and the rest of the plain-hearted people in England: it being not who doth it, but what is done, that most concernes all men: you use to talke of something still, in the bottome of what I, and my

friends proposed; but when shall we see what lies at the bottome of your hearts, if such as those rejoycings are aflate already?

You think it strange, that we should object against Martiall Law, in times of Peace, for Souldiers or others; and yet if you read the Petition of Right, you cannot but confesse it to be expresly therein provided against; you deny us all Legall proceedings, and yet thinke the proceedings of the Swisse a horrible thing; a story kept in Lavander about seven years, and next to one that now is not, is due to him that kept it in sweetning so long, for so unsavoury a season, and whose profession is nearer cutting of throats, then mine is; and as I remember, was very merry at the thought of it.

I am of opinion, there is much, if not more need of another kind of Law; and I could wish some good people would consider of it, but I have no hope of your Congregation: It is a Law against Lying; you know what a sad condition the Scripture holds forth to him that loveth, or maketh a lye: what thinke you of it? will our [27] trades bear it? there needs no sanguinary punishment be annexed, but some easie punishment: besides, if you hear one that is not of your own Congregation asperst, and runne presently and tell it to others, before you are certaine of the truth your self, this need not passe for a lye, if you can but remember your author; though he had it only from the father of lies: being sure also, that you may confidently avouch, that you had it from a very pretious Godly man; so are all your Churchmen: or if you do but thinke ye remember a thing right, and witness it; this also had not need to be taken for a lie neither: and some such other indulgences, as the time, and your occasions require; there are some say, *pia mendacia*, those that are Learned amongst you, will expound the meaning; there may be a remission also for those, but certainly, yet a Law (though with allowance of a large latitude) were absolutely necessary for these times, and it would honour you exceedingly to seeke for it; you may have also allowance, for all false slanderous invectives, if once you have gotten them Licenc'd, and Printed, such as are in *Walwyns Wiles*; all such shall not be doubted for lies: but a Law would be wonderous necessary, though it were never kept, you can bear with that, though we, as you say, cannot, but are clamouring alwayes about the Selfe-denying Ordinance: well, pray get a Law, and draw it up as large as will serve your seared Consciences, that durst subscribe such abominable ones, as that booke containeth; it being a thousand pities, that you, who have ever been so forward for the good of the Commonwealth, should stay till some that are not of Churches, or some

obscure inferiour Churches should move for it; nay, and may occasion a greater strictnesse, then will serve your turne.

Many considerations will be necessary in the making of it; for as you know in wrastling, three foiles, are valued a fall: so it must be exprest, how many mentall reservations shall make a lie; how many feignings, how many times appearing as a spie; whether a spie under an oath can lie, so long as he intends the service of his principals: how many times a man may walke and discourse familiarly in dissimulation, before it amount to a lie; how many lies a years hypocrisie amount to: that so, such as Mr Richard Price, Mr Brandriff and the like, may be reckoned withall: and then to proportion punishments to offences; you have time and leisure, and I perceive, meet together for worse purposes, so I leave it to you.

Only thus much for encouragement; Almanzar the first (or third) of the Sarazens Emperors, made use of such a Law, by which (above any other meanes) a mighty people were kept in great quietnesse and prosperity, as you may read in a little Book, called the *Life of Mahomet*; and are we not in a low forme for Christians, when we are not so wise as such Schoole-masters? O miserable Reformation!

But I must take heed what I say, for it seemes the Petition of the 11 of September, is afresh come into their minds, and all the circumstances therein reckoned up, as matter of provocation to all interests, and of devision to the honest party; for of all Petitions, after that which was burnt, this contained most particulars; and then, and long after, was that wherein the wel-affected from all parts, and Countries, did agree and center; so that it proved a Petition of the greatest power of uniting, as ever was: and was by the heads, and chosen men of these mens friends agreed unto, to be the substance of an Agreement of the People; as Lieut: Collonel John Lilburne, Mr Doctor Parker, and others can testifie: and yet now by this author, must be raised against me, as if but for me, that Petition, had never been seen; & as if his judgement were to be valued to the blasting of that [28] which received the approbation of many thousands of the most cordiall friends the Parliament, and Army had throughout England: I wonder of what honest party, this author reckons himself to be; if this Petition were so unworthy; an exasperating Petition, who did it exasperate? if this Petition did demonstrate my designe of mischief to the honest party; I say (as he saies) let any mans reason judge impartially and determine; certainly these people have resolved themselves to be, and have contracted some corrupt interest, that the matters of that

Petition now so much troubles them: but why this must fall upon my account, more then upon any others, that I do not see; only he hath undertaken to try what work his wit can make of any thing; and out of the strength of his braine, presumes he can turne my promotion of the best things to my disadvantage, although (but that I will not favour his expectation with a blab) I could tell him how little I had to do in that Petition; but why should I take care to set that man right, that cares not which way he goes, to do mischief, and will not be dissuaded? and whose ends are so unworthy, as to affright all men from Petitioning, without his, and his associates allowance?

I know not whether any body sets him to this unhappy work, or whether he officiously undertakes it of himselfe, but truly to me he seemes to be but an impertinent workman to his pretended ends; for as in the former part, no man (to my apprehension) ever more wounded Religion, and the honour of God and his Word, then he hath done, upon pretence of wounding me: so in this other part, which he pretends for the honour of the present Parliament; what man in the world would have made such a repetition of things? trumpeting out himselfe really such things, as I am confident, he never heard from me, nor any body else: it hath not been my use to stir much in what is past; but my way hath been to propose a passing by of what is gone, and laying a good foundation for the time to come; that there might be no need of such complaints, as he there more Rhetorically, then truly, reckons up as uttered against me.

“As how basely things go; what Oppressions, Taxations, and vexations, the poor people indure, how this poor betrayed Nation is bought and sold; how the cutting off some Tyrants, do alwaies make way for more, and worse to succeed them; how nothing is done for the Commonwealth; how basely the treasure of the Common-wealth is embezell'd; how Parliament-men Vote money out of the purses of the poor ridden people, into their owne; how they share the riches of the Nation among themselves; how to day, they Vote this Parliament-man into a great Office, and to morrow, another; and how they doe nothing for the Common-wealth, but Vote one another into places of power and profit; how that, though to abuse, and cast a mist before the eyes of the people, they made a Selfe-denying Ordinance, yet suffer no man to put it in execution; how they promote their Kindred and Allies, into great places every where; if any use be for men in the Custome house, in Excise office, or in any other places of profit, this, and that Parliament-man's

friends, or brothers, or sons, or nephews must be the men; nay, Parliament-men and their allies, have place upon place, and office upon office; as if they had severall bodies, to be employed at one and the same time: What's become of the infinite summes, the unconceivable Treasure of the Nation; the late King's Customes, Ship-money, Coat and Conduct money, Monopolies, &c. were nothing to the Customes, Excise, Taxations, Free quarter, Sequestrations, Papists monies, Bishops Lands, Revenues of the Crowne; besides all the Plate and monies, lent freely by the [29] people, and yet nothing done: nay, how many for their zeal and good will to the State, have lent freely and bountifully, thereby begging and undoing themselves, and now cannot receive one peny to buy them bread, but may lie begging, petitioning, and starving at their dores, and cannot be heard; nay, it may be, have nothing but course, hard and cruel language from them; how one Faction tears the Commonwealth, & share it among them one while, & another another while, neither of them regarding the ease or grievances of the poor people all this while: And what have they done since this purge, and that purge? they have voted the continuance of tythes, the laying of more taxes and rates, they imprison honest men, &c."

These he implies, are my ordinary discourses, to the disparagement of the Parliament, and that too since the King's Death; for my part, I must deny it; and that if I should have in any place, or at any time, spoken, or directed others to speak all what he there recites, I had spoken what I do not know to be true; for I have never made it my work to take a Catalogue of the failings of Authority, but have frequently proposed a generall remission and security to all men, for what hath been past (as I said before) without which I never expected peace, or an end of wars and miseries: And this my back friend, Mr Arnald, may averr on my behalf; to whom I once gave a paper (upon his sight and desire) to that end: so far have I been from blowing such coles as these, that if any ever cast water or milk upon this wild-fire, I have done my endeavour therein.

But I must not be what indeed I am, but what this and these men are pleased to give me out; unto whose secret suggestions, and false aspersions continually whisper'd by them at Parliament, and Derby-house, I impute all the hard measure I have found (and which, I fear, will be the undoing of me, my Wife, and Children) there being none of the Gentlemen of either place, I am certain, have any thing against me, but what these men bring; and some of them, I am confident, have that experience of my integrity and ingenuity in all I have done in relation to

the publique, that they would do as much for my deliverance out of this affliction, as for any mans in the world.

And truly, whether he wounds me or the Parliament more, in making such a Rhetoricall recitall of so many particulars, as, whether true or false, will be apt enough to be believed in these sad, complaining and distracted times; let any man that hath reason, judge.

So that if he meant not to wrong the Parliament, but me, he hath overdone his work, which generally befalls such as take not their Consciences along with them in what they undertake; they over-do, do, and undo, ordinarily; as you may observe by his so many firsts, seconds, thirds, his doubling and trebling of them, and his running over one and the same thing again and again, as if he labour'd with the disease of multiplication.

But truly, when I consider with what a continued, but secret malice, they have pursued me; and that all their pretended reconcilements and friendships, have been but counterfeit, I can impute the same to nothing more then emulation: for before this Parliament, I was accustomed to discourse much with Mr Goodwins hearers, upon what they and I had heard him preach; and my character of him usually was, that he spent much time (in my apprehension) to make plain things difficult to be understood, and then labour'd again to make them plain and easie to be understood; but he had so perplex'd them, as that he could not: this I know did sorely trouble them, though when they fell to congregate in a Church-way, they gave me good re-[30] spect, as needing the help of every one, whose conscience (as mine did) led them out to stand and plead for liberty of Conscience.

I believe they were also not a little troubled, that I closed not with them, or some others, in their Church-way; for so I once perceived by one Mr Lamb, a Linnen Draper in Cornhill; to whom I having sold a good parcel of linnens, and taking it very kindly that he would deal with me, I would needs give him, and some Friends with him, a cup of beer and sugar one morning, and we were all free and chearfull: but Mr Lamb and I out-staid the rest, falling very largely into discourse, he putting all the questions and doubts he had concerning my opinions; which I answered one by one, upon condition that he would give himself and me time, then, and hear me out all I had to say, because (as I then told him) I never had received prejudice from any discourse that ever pass'd from me with ingenious men, but where they carried away things peece-meal, and by halves: So in a most friendly manner he heard me, and, in conclusion, approved exceedingly of all I had said, even with abun-

dance of content and rejoycing: but when we had done, he fetches a deep sigh, saying, O, Mr Walwyn, that you had a good opinion of Churches.

To which I answered, that I had no evil opinion of them; that rather I did rejoyce to see with what amity and friendship they enjoyed each others society in a comfortable way, assisting and supporting one another; that I was glad they so contentedly enjoyed the exercise of their consciences in a way that was agreeable to their judgments; that I had made it my work, as far as I was able, to preserve unto them, and all others, the enjoyment of that just liberty; it being a principle in me, that every man ought to be protected in the use of that wherein he doth not actually hurt another; and that were I satisfied in some particulars, I could not but joyn my self to some such society; that I thought, as I was, I wanted much of that intimacy with good people which they had, but yet must not purchase it upon a doubtfull conscience, or against my judgment; that I wish'd them all happinesse in their way, and was not willing to disturb any, and hop'd they would not disturb me; hoping, that they would have as good an opinion of me, as I had of them, though I did not joyn in a Church-way: and with this he then seemed to be very well satisfied.

And so we held very fair and serious respects a good while, I giving him some visits at his house, where he would reade to me with much admiration, some of Mr Goodwin's Books; the weaknesse whereof I made somewhat bold withall (as being never used to flattery, or to balk my judgment) which proved a *noli me tangere*: for Mr Goodwin is the apple of their eie, and in a short time, not only his familiarity ceased, but I was even slandered to death from this man's mouth; no place wherever he came, but his aspersions flew abroad; as if to blast my reputation, had been given him in commission from the whole Congregation: this was the fruit of my intimacy with him.

Nor can I imagine any other reason why Mr Brandriff should deal so unworthily with himself and me; for when we have been together, he hath discours'd to me much concerning his Wife, his Father, his Children, what he had done for his Kindred, how ingratefull they were, the manner of his trade; how, and by what means he got good store of monies, in the midst of the wars, by rising early in mornings, and searching in Inns, what goods were brought to Town (indeed, most commendably and industriously) how he many times ventered to buy goods he had little skill in, nor knew not when he had bought them, where he was like to vent them; yet how well he sped, with abundance of things, I will not repeat, these being sufficient [31] to shew the man, was not certainly

feigned towards me so long a time as afterwards he pretended; only when we have been hearing Mr Goodwin together, and come from him discoursing, I have shewed suddenly some mistakes, and weaknesses, and drinesses in things which Mr Goodwin had much laboured to make good, but would not endure my touchstone; and Mr Brandriff hath been forc'd to confesse as much; sadly smiling and saying, Well, what shall we say? where can we hear better? To which I would answer, that's not the thing, you see what this is.

Indeed, but for this, which can be nothing but emulation, I know not any cause I have given them thus to persecute me; they have thank'd me for Books I have written, as my *Whisper*, and others fore-named; and for a Book, entituled, *A help to the understanding of Mr Pryn*, which they would no nay, but it should be mine, though my name was not to it; so good an opinion they had of my integrity: Nay, their Church disbursed fifty shillings towards the printing of ten thousand of that little Book, called, *The word in season* (they then judg'd the dispersing of Books no sin) which Mr Batcheler can tell who was Author of, and they know well enough; so far were they from believing what now they subscribe to; that in all times I ever opposed the present Government; but it will be found only, that I never flattered them by such undue expressions, as, by the womb that bare you, and the paps that gave you suck, and the like, more sutable to the liberty of Sycophants, then Christians: Nor did I ever oppose any just authority otherwise then as I have opposed men: not to destroy them, but their destructive errours and misapplications of their power.

Well, ye are the most strange conditioned people that ever I met withall, the most inconsistent; walking, not by any principles, but meerly by occasion, and as the wind turns; and I am heartily glad I have so nigh done with you, for I never shall be induced to bestow the like pains about you again: only I have this farther to acquaint the ingenious withall concerning you, viz: that you bear your selves very high and confidently upon your ability of proving whatsoever you alleadge by way of aspersion against any man: And indeed herein, I can resemble you to none so properly, as to a people are called, Gypsies (I must intreat pardon, if there seem any lightnesse or despising in this simile) for if I could have found one more handsome so proper, I would not have stained my paper with this: but just so have I found them confederated together; if one but averr a thing, presently there are a cloud of witnesses; and not in a slighting way, but such as will take their oaths of it: Upon which ac-

compt, upon the Exchange, all their affirmatives concerning others, and there negatives concerning themselves, are carried on; beating down, by this one trick, all their opposers.

And so they dealt in a most filthy scandall concerning an honest man I know abhorred such basenesse; and which was carried all over the Town by this kind of Congregationall men: I reprovng of it, and saying, the party would not so put it up, but would seek for remedy at Law; one of them rounds me in the ear, If you are his Friend, advise him to be quiet; for I am told by as godly men as any in England, the thing will be witnessed upon sufficient mens oaths: whereas, I professe, the thing was of so abominable a nature, as I do not believe ever was, or ever could be proved by witnesses, all circumstances of day, and light, and open-street considered: And truly they are as cunning at dispersing, as they are confident in avouching, that the resemblance may well hold; for generally all their aspersions, though they are so vile, as, if believed, shall undo a man and his family, in respect of the loathings they will beget in all that know him: yet you shall ever have them such as [32] by law you shall hardly ever take hold of them: so that they exceedingly presume, never giving over railing and writing, that there is no possibility of silencing them: shame they care not for, and no prejudice can come unto them; for touch one, and touch all; all have one purse for a common end, offensive and defensive; and if they should by these courses grow so odious, as that no body else would trust them; their Confederacy is so large, that by buying, and selling, and purchasing, and lending, they are able to enrich one another, so as they grow to a mighty interest, as distinct almost as the Jews in Amsterdam; and much to the same ends of gain, but have greater aims of power and dominion.

And I beseech God to deliver me out of their unmercifull hands, before they yet grow greater; for I look upon my self as their Prisoner, aspersed and imprisoned, and even ruin'd by their ingratefull, Un-Christian suggestions and machinations.

Mr Kiffin, I hear, since he hath subscribed *Walwyns Wyles*, desires I would give him a meeting, with others he will bring with him; and if proof be not then made of the truth of those things therein alleadged against me, effectually and sufficiently, he will then himself write against the Book: what an offer is here? he hath set his name already to the Book, as a witnesse, and published the Book (before ever he, or any man else ever spake to me of it) to my disparagement, and undoing (were men as

ready in believing, as they are in scandalizing) and now he offers a meeting to have those falshoods proved.

Is this like the Pastor of a Congregation of Christians? Good God! what are befalln to Congregations, that they can bear with such Pastors! Truly, Mr Kiffin, although your people will not deal with you as you deserve, I shall be bold to perswade you to leave them; and take such with you as are of your own mind, and colour your faces of a tauny colour, and pursue the profession, you have begun the practice already; and cease to (can't, shall I say, I even tremble to think it is no better) to deceive, I will say, any longer, in the name of the Lord; for God is a jealous God, and will one day recompence it.

A man that looks upon these seeming Saints, no mervail if they take them for such indeed, they are so solemn in their countenances, so frequent and so formall in their devotions, so sad at others chearfulness, so watchfull over others tripping, so censorious over others failings, having a kind of disdainfulness at others, bespeaking them in effect to stand farther off, I am holier then thou; it being a great scruple amongst many of them, the lawfulness of playing at Cards, or the like recreation, as being a vain expence of time.

Whereas all this is meer out-side, and but the washing of the out-side of the pot, a but appearing holy before men, to gain the repute of Godliness; shut but the dores, and let them but be sure of their company, and they are as other men for sports, and jigs, and jeers, and idle jests and tales, and laugh and love it, and even lie down again; for if they would do thus before me, and some other of my Friends, what will they do when they are alone one amongst another? Collonel Tichburn himself, at Mr Hunts house at Whitehall, telling so nasty a tale of a Scotchman that would teach a Lord to give himself a vomit, crooking his fingers, and thrusting them as into one place, and then into his mouth, and down again, and up again, acting of it with so much art, and delight, and laughter, as that other solemn man, Mr Daniel Taylor, and Mr Richard Price, were ready to burst themselves with laughter; Mr Taylor calling out for more jests and sports, being, as he said, extremely troubled with melancholly; I would he were troubled with no worse. [33]

For it was but a slippery trick of him, to allow of all I said against Excise, as an extreame burthen to Trades; and saying he felt it himselfe, and was at that time in question at the Office, and wishing it downe with all his heart; when at the very same time, or just upon it, he writes a

Letter to the Commissioners of the Excise, advising them not to be so severe in dealing with him, for the times were like to be such, as they might need the least of their friends; whereas in an eminent place, he had appeared in no mean manner, in defence of the Excise, or to this effect; yet these, forsooth, must passe for the only holy, unspotted men of the times; so as a man that hath but a chearfull countenance is scarce fit for their company, and he that should be said in their company to carry two faces under one hood; O what a wretch were he! but these it seemes may do any thing; and as the proverb hath it, better steale a horse, then others looke over the hedge; but you must note, Captaine Lacy, and Mr Lamb, fellow members with Mr Taylor of Mr John Goodwins Congregation, have some hundreds of pounds in the Excise, which yeilds them good interest (what ere it doth the Common-wealth) and how many Congregationall mens cases it may be, they knew better then I; and so Mr Daniel Taylor, had more reason for what he did, then he would tell every body of: these relations are the tenter-hooks, upon which all oppressions hang, and cannot get off; if they but concerne one of a Congregationall way, you draw Dunne out of the mire, and none of that way will help, but hinder you.

And for Col: Tychburn's jest as they call'd it, and their other gibbish prattling, how long one had been from his Wife, and how long another; which was to me no better than catterwawling; I was wondred at I was no merrier, being somewhat dumpish by thinking, why those men sepe- rated themselves from other men; and sadly considering, what a stroake this light easie people were like to have, through their seeming Godliness, in the greatest affaires of the Common-wealth, as soone after was, and hath been seen.

But its well knowne, I, and all that were with me, were so far from telling these things any where to their disparagement, or so much as speaking of it, that we agreed it should not be knowne, lest we should break those rules of society, which require honest men, not to talke to any mans discredit, whatever befell in company, where no evill to any man was intended; and truly, but that now these men seeme to stretch themselves and to walke on tiptoe, not only upon my ruines, but without all tendernesse of compassion, towards my dear Wife and Children; yea, and insult over our more dear Cause, and our Countries Liberties, bearing downe all upon an opinion of their godlinesse, and our licentiousnesse, which we more abhor then themselves; these stories had been buried in the grave of silence, but as they have borne themselves, not

regarding our manifestation, but despising and jeering of it; and by their most uncharitable Book, raising up a whole legion of scandals and slanders against me; a necessity was upon me, to shew these men as they are, not as they labour by hypocrisie to appear unto the world.

I have onely one request to this sort of men, and I have done with them; and that is, That they would agree among themselves, to wear some very visible and remarkable thing, either upon their breasts, or in their harts, in that company where they resolve to be sincere; and to make no perfidious use of that meeting, or conversation, whilst they weare it, and to keep it in their pockets, or concealed, when they intend to deceive; and it will be necessary in your next Book, to publish what this note shall be, that all men may expect it, and accordingly keep you company or not, and know how to behave themselves in their conversing with [34] you; in the observation whereof also, you must advise all those that have been used to deceive; especially those that have profest to have kept me company, purposly to turn all I did to my prejudice; that they be very exact and sincere in the observation thereof, for otherwise it will come to nothing; and no body will know where to have you, or how to confer with you.

It hath been others cases, who have used over-much dissimulation, as Lewis the 11th of France, who in his transactions with Charles Duke of Burgundy, concluding Peace, Truce, and Articles upon Oathes; and nothing proving of force to hold him; neither oathes, nor sacraments, nor execrations, nor covenants, nor any such bonds as should hold inviolable all contracts amongst men; in conclusion he discovers the image of St. Claud, which he continually wore in his hart; and after he had offered any other obligation, in a thing he was suspected not to intend, or keep; he urging him to swear by that St. Claud, he refused; as not daring to break faith upon that oath; this was something yet; and truly, when you shall consider to what a pass you have brought your selves, you cannot but conclude upon some such course.

And having thus turned your insides outwards, though with unpleasing paines to himself, and much trouble to the ingenious Reader (for I was hopefull I had done for ever with this kind of work, when our manifestation and Agreement of the People was once abroad) you may without spectacles, read in your own hearts, written in Capitall letters, what you through a great mistake intended to me, and my friends, in the first enterance of your Book: namely, "That the greatest hypocrisie, is often palliated with the most specious pretences of the plainest sincerity; and

the chiefest use that some men make of Religion, and the language thereof, is (after the similitude of Satan with our first parents) to muffle the understandings of over credulous and flexible men, and then to cheat them, under a guilded bait of their seeming good, unto such actions, that are most conducive to their certaine misery": If this be not true of you, and due to you, it hath no true owners in the world.

And so I have done with you all, and all your Wiles; and henceforth, he that is filthy, let him be filthy still; and he that is ignorant, let him be ignorant still; he that is so foully partiall in his Conscience, as after this my Just Defence, to believe your slanders of me, let him remaine so still; and he that through a perverse ignorance, shall henceforth doubt my integrity, let him remaine ignorant still: I would gladly be free from this Restraint, because I fear it will prove prejudiciall to many more besides my selfe, if not already; and I trust, God will open some just way; however, I have peace within, because in all that hath befallen me; my will is not to harme any man, nor to dishonour God; affliction being still to me, a better choice then sin.

WILLIAM WALWYN.

FINIS.

THE LEGALL FUNDAMENTALL LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND (*excerpts*)

THE SELECTIONS below from *The Legall Fundamentall Liberties* are reprinted from a copy of the first edition in the possession of Godfrey Davies. Two copies of this issue are in the Huntington Library. Copies of both the first and second editions are in the British Museum, the Union Theological Seminary, and Columbia University. Brooke, in defending Walwyn against the attacks in *Walwins Wiles*, asserted that Lilburne and Prince "intend to write something in Vindication of themselves" (*Charity of Church-men*, p. 13). Prince defended himself in *The Silken Independents Snare Broken*, signed and dated June 20, 1649. Lilburne made reply in *Legall Fundamentall Liberties*, signed and dated June 8, 1649, and entered by Thomason in his collection on June 18. A second edition was issued in response to the notice taken of the first by William Prynne in *Legall Vindication Of the Liberties of England*, published shortly before July 16, 1649, when Thomason entered a copy in his collection. Lilburne added to the title page of his pamphlet the statement: "The second Edition, Corrected and Amended; occasioned by the late coming out of Mr. William Prynnes Book, against the Illegal Tax of 90000 l. Intituled, A Legal Vindication of the Liberties of England, against Illegal Taxes, and pretended Acts of Parliament, lately enforced on the people." The corrections and amendments here alluded to consisted of references and comments, in the margin, which added nothing of significance to the original argument.

The Legall Fundamentall Liberties in its entirety consists of seventy-five closely printed pages, over half of which are devoted to an account of Lilburne's career from the beginning to his arrest in 1649. This narrative is reprinted in full below. The author prefaced it and at two points interrupted it by protracted legal argument intended to prove that the House of Lords, the army leaders, the Rump, and the Council of State had been acting contrary to law and to the former declarations of Parliament itself. These passages of Lilburne's characteristic legal dialectics are

not here reprinted, but the substance of them has been briefly summed up at the appropriate points in the text.

*The Legall Fundamentall/ LIBERTIES/ OF THE/ PEOPLE of ENGLAND/ Revived, Asserted, and Vindicated./ OR,/ AN EPISTLE written the eighth day of June 1649, by Lieut. Colonel JOHN LILBURN (Arbitrary and Aristocratical prisoner in the Tower of London) to Mr. William Lenthall Speaker to the remainder of those few Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses that Col. Thomas Pride at his late purge thought convenient to leave sitting at Westminster (as most fit for his and his Masters designs, to serve their ambitious and tyrannical ends, to destroy the good old Laws, Liberties and Customs of England, the badges of our freedom, (as the Declaration against the King, of the 17 of March 1648, pag. 23. calls them) and by force of arms to rob the people of their lives, estates and properties, and subject them to perfect vassalage and slavery, as he clearly evinceth in his present Case &c. they have done) who (and in truth no otherwise) pretendedly stile themselves (the Conservators of the peace of England, or) the Parliament of England, intrusted and authorised by the consent of all the people thereof, whose Representatives by election (in their Declaration last mentioned, pag. 27. they say) they are; although they are never able to produce one bit of a Law, or any piece of a Commission to prove, that all the people of England, or one quarter, tenth, hundred, or thousand part of them authorised Thomas Pride, with his Regiment of Souldiers, to chuse them a Parliament, as indeed he hath *de facto* done by this pretended mock Parliament: And therefore it cannot properly be called the Nations or Peoples Parliament, but Col Pride's and his associates, whose really it is; who, although they have beheaded the King for a Tyrant, yet walk in his oppressingest steps, if not worse and higher. John 7. 51. Doth our Law judge any man, before it hear him and know what he doth? Acts 24. 23. And he commanded a Centurion to keep Paul, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister, or come unto him, (although in ver. 5. he was accused for a most pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition*

throughout all the world.) Acts 25. 27. *For it seemeth to me unreasonable (saith the heathen Judge) to send a prisoner, and not withall to signifie the crimes laid against him.* Acts 28. 30. *And Paul (in his imprisonment at Rome under the heathen persecutors) dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him./ LONDON, Printed in the grand yeer of hypocriticall/ and abominable dissimulation. 1649./*

[Addressing himself to the Speaker of the House of Commons, Lilburne accuses the existing Parliament of being an illegal body and of attempting to destroy him and his friends. In the same way, he argues, the House of Lords formerly tried to undo him, and, he alleges, Cromwell and Ireton murdered various freeborn Englishmen, including the King. He cites several pamphlets in which he had recently set forth these accusations, and he then prints (pp. 1-18) what he describes as "my Plea (yet never visible to the People of England) against the late House of Lords, and Wollaston their Gaoler of Newgate, which I prepared for (and carried to) the Committee of Indemnity the 20 of June 1648." He prints it at this point, he says, in order "to save my self a new labour of writing things twice over." The labor he saved himself was that of compiling from the collection he refers to as "the first part of the Book of Declarations"—that is, *An Exact Collection Of all Remonstrances* (1643)—particular instances in which the Long Parliament alleges the same reasons for resisting the King which Lilburne in June, 1648, alleged against the House of Lords and now in July, 1649, sought to spread upon the record of his case against the Rump.]

[19] But now Sir, seeing my life (for nothing but my honesty, and because I will not be a slave to mens lusts) is so strongly sought for to be taken away by those that have made the largest pretences and promises, that can be made in the world to deliver this Nation from thralldom, bondage, vassallage and slavery; and seeing they are such painted Sepulchers that they are like to cozen all the honest men in England with religious cheaters, such as Master Edmond Rozer, with whom as teacher to the Congregation where I was a Member, I walked many yeares in fellowship, and Master William Kiffin who was once my servant, and unto both whom the indearedest of my affections run out unto; to either of which I never gave a provocation to, nor wronged

in all my dayes to my knowledge, neither of which (although the first of them and I have been familiar together for almost twenty years) I am confident of it, in reference to my actings to the sons of men, are able to my face to say black is my eye, yet for these men so high and mighty in their pretence of religion, and in their former familiarity and friendship to me, to persecute me bitterly, and write reproachfull books &c against me and in the day of my calamity (when the great men of the Nation make deep furrows upon my back for nothing) when I am as it were in the Kennell, and my hands and feet tied, then to beat, buffet, wound me, and pursue my very life; O the height not only of unchristianity, but even of unmanhood it selfe! such actions differing nothing in beastlinesse and brutishnesse from the brutest of Beasts themselves; if it had been enemies (as David did in the like case Ps. 55. 12, 13, 14.) that had done it, I could have born it; but for my familiar, bosome, indeared friends, to deal thus with me, and that in the day of my adversity, when my life is hunted for like a Partridge upon the mountains, in this they are more unnaturall then the very Pagans and heathens themselves; for saith Isaiah, cha. 21. 14. The Inhabitants of the land of Tema brought water to him that was thirsty, they prevented with their bread him that fled; and for their making a frothy light, giddy headed fellow of me in their late book called *Walwyns wyles*, easily deluded and drawn aside, being of no depth in my self; I am confident there is no two men in England that know me, whose consciences are more perswaded of the falsity of that their own assertion in every particular then M. Rozer, and Master Kiffin are, if they would speak the truth from their very hearts, the whole stream of my actions extraordinarily well known to both of them for these twelve or thirteen years together, being as a large demonstration that I understand the things I goe about; and am not to be biased with favour, flattery, frowns, nor hard usages; (but act singly and nakedly upon my own principles that I beleve God distills into my soul) I beleve as the actions of any man upon the face of the earth are, having never forsaken nor changed my prin-[20] ciples from better to worse the space of one hour, from the day of Gods sweet and fatherly discovering, and distinct, and assured making known of his eternall, everlasting and unchangable loving kindnesse in the Lord Jesus unto my soul, to this day, although I am confident it is now above 13 years, since I knew God as my loving and reconciled father, that had particularly washed and clensed my soul with the precious bloud of Jesus Christ, and had caused

the grace of God to appear in my soul, to teach me (as a reciprocally duty spread abroad in my heart by the overflowings of the fountaine of love within me) to abstaine from all ungodlinesse and worldly lusts and to live soberly and righteously, in this present evill world, doing good to all, but especially to the household of Faith, Ingraving with his Spirit upon my heart as with a point of a Diamond those Divine Laws, viz. to doe to all men as I would they should do to me, and in all the carriages of my life to be watchfull over my actings, and not to do evill that good may come of it, and thirdly that seeing that I am bought with a price by Redemption, that therefore I should not be the servant of men (to serve their lusts and wills) but entirely and solely the servant of God, to glorifie him with my body, in righteous and just actions amongst the sons of men, as well as in my soul, in speculation, imagination or adoration; and so at present I leave them to the reflections of their own consciences, if the vanity of the world and the fading promotions thereof hath not eat out the life and sensible part of them; into whose secrets now let not my soul (O Lord) enter into. But as for the rest of their subscribing Comrades, being in all six or seven, I know not some of them, only John Price, and Richard Arnold I know to be men fitly to deserve the name of Common Baristors, or known Eves-droppers, so detestable and abominable therefore to all truly & really honest unbiased men that know them, that a man shall but defile himselfe to touch them with a paire of tongs, deserving no other answer from me for their indefatigable and restlesse pains to bespatter and destroy me, but either the highest of scorn, or a good cudgell in due time; and so at present I leave them to the serious perusal of their own ugly forms and shapes, lively pictured out in that most excellent and masculine Anatomy of them, by Doct. Brooks in his late Book entituled the Charity of Churchmen, or a Vindication of (my most choice and honest Comrade and Fellow-sufferer) Master William Walwyn.

But in regard my grand adversaries, and their little Beagles in London, doe continually report me to be a man of contention, and one that is never quiet from broyls, nor never content with any Government, but full of self-conceitedness, malice and revenge; it will be very necessary for me to return an effectuall answer to this, before I come to the main thing I intend.

And therefore in the first place, When I was a childe (as Paul saith) I thought as a childe, I did as a childe; but after I came to have any discretion, well nigh twenty years agoe, my Father brought me to

London, and bound me Apprentice to Mr. Thomas Hewson near London-stone; whom I served as faithfully about six years, as ever Apprentice served a Master: And though he had no more but my self, and had many thousands of Pounds went through my hands, driving a large Whole-sale trade; yet directly, nor indirectly, I cannot remember that ever I wronged him of a Groat, or the value of it; or that ever all the time I was with him, I was ever branded or taxed with one base visible action; or that I either gave or took a box on the eare, or any thing like it, or ever quar-[21] relled with any Flesh alive all the time I was there, (although I had then as much mettle, life and spirit as most young men in London had) only I must confess, my old Master offered me somtimes some abuse, for which I carryed him before the Chamberlain of London, and ever after lived in peace with him: And after that, in all the dayes of my calamity by the Bishops, had the truest and cordiallest friend of him, that ever servant had of a Master in the day of his tryall. And though in his service (keeping only a Warehouse) severall days in the week I had spare time enough, yet I never misspent it, but continually spent it in reading the Bible, the Book of Martyrs, Luthers, Calvins, Bezaes, Cartwrights, Perkins, Molins, Burtons, and Rogers Works, with multitude of other such like Books * that I had bought with my own money; till the foresaid Mr. Edmond Rozer, my familiar friend and neighbour, and fellow-professor of Religion, (conversant at my Masters house from the beginning of my coming to him) brought me in *anno* 1636. acquainted with Dr. Bastwick then prisoner in the Gatehouse, whom after I visited constantly, and for whose service I could have laid down my life; and for my true affection to him, I was forced by the Bishops and their Catchpoles to fly into the Low-Countreys for refuge, just about the time of his Banishment, where I was divers months, and where the Kings Ambassador, Sir William Boswell, laid for me (as I was informed) severall designs to put me a Ship board, and send me over to England to the Bishops here, for my visible activity there against them, which forced me continually to wear my sword about me; yet in all my time there, I never gave nor took a box on the eare, nor had so much as a single quarrell; and at my coming to England I was in danger enough, and therefore went like a swaggerer disguised, and yet was betrayed by my pretended bosome friend, John Chilliburn servant to old Mr. Wharton in Bow-lane, and so fell into the devouring clutches of the High-Commission,

* The second edition (1649) adds "with histories." *Editors' note.*

Councill-board, and the Star-Chamber, all three of which had a fling at me: But in all my troubles and tryals by them for divers years together, I never saw or heard of any other prosecutor, but only two most desperate, forsworn, false Oaths of my then familiar acquaintance, Edmond Chillington then Button seller in Cannonstreet, and now a forsworn Lieutenant in Colonell Whaleys Regiment of Horse: which false Oaths he was hired unto by the Bishops and their Chaplins, Mr. Baker, &c. and by means of which he got his own Liberty, and this he did for my curtesie and kindnesse to him in his then captivity &c. owing me at this day, I am confident of it, upon that account well nigh 30 pounds: by meanes of which Oathes, I had above 500 stripes with knotted cords, given me by the bloody decree of old Sir Henry Vane, &c. and endured a world of other unheard of miseries and barbarous cruelties for three yeers together: and at my deliverance by the Parliament, I could have had his eares for perjury, as easily as to have kissed my hand, if I had been revengefull; but so far was I from that, that I never questioned him for it, but contrarily I requited him good for evill, when he was prisoner in Oxford Castle with me, and ready to starve, being destitute both of money and friends there; and to save him alive, I readily lent him both gold and silver, as he very well knowes, by the same token I was without my money long enough; and in the day of his prosperity here, I was fain to ask often enough for it, before I could get it again. [22]

So here it is true, I was in contestation with the High Commission, Councel-Board, and Star-chamber, but they began with me, and not I with them, (the story of which you may read in my book called the *Christian mans tryall*, Printed for Mr. Will. Larner). It is true also, I had in them sufferings, many contestations with Gaolers, but it was to preserve my life, when they contrary to Law would have murdered me; but with all my fellow-prisoners, &c. I lived as peaceably, as lovingly and friendly as any man in the world did; and all this contestation was but for the maintaining my legall rights due to me by the Petition of Right, which before the beginning of those troubles I had read, and a little understood: In which contest this Parliament in its Primitive purity hath justified me, in not only by abolishing the foresaid unjust Courts by Act of Parliament; but also in and by their Votes of the 4th. May, 1641. which thus followeth; Resolved upon the Question, That the sentence of the Star-chamber given against John Lilburne, is illegall, and against the liberty of the Subject; and also bloody, wicked, cruel,

barbarous & tyrannicall. Resolved also upon the Question, That reparations ought to be given to Mr. Lilburn, for his imprisonment, sufferings and losses sustained by that illegall sentence; Which I confess, I never got to this day, but had been a rich and happy man in reference to the world, if it had been voted I should never have expected any; for then might I have spent my eight years time in my trade beyond sea, that I have in a manner spent in following these Votes; and one way or other 1000 or 1500 pounds to boot; with seven or eight imprisonments besides for nothing.

Well, after this I fought with C. Lunsford, and divers others at Westminster, (who drew first) with my sword in my hand, to save the Parliament mens throats from being cut, conscienciously judging nothing that I had too good to hazard for so just an Authority as I then judged them to be; & they have since well rewarded me for my pains, with 7 or 8 cruell imprisonments, and never told me nor any body else to this hour wherfore, with many strong endeavours to take away my life in the said imprisonments unjustly; but I hope, they especially will justifie me in that contest; however, I from my heart beseech the righteous Lord of Heaven and Earth to judge righteously and impartially betwixt them and me, and to manifest his Righteous judgment betwixt us visibly to the world, that so the sons of men may see it, and behold it, and fear, and tremble before him.

Well, in the next place the Wars begun betwixt them and the King; and truly having seriously read all their primitive most excellent Declarations, and sufficiently my self smarted under the Kings irregular government, in the violating of the Laws of England, the compact betwixt him and his people; which he in my judgment had then notably violated; And not in the least doubting but they would be as good as their words and Declarations, which were to secure the Peoples Lawes and Liberties to them, and not in the least to seek themselves; to provide for their weale, but not for their woe: and reading in the Scripture, Rom. 13. that the end of the institution of all Magistracy in the world, is for a terror to evill doers, and for a praise to those that doe well; the serious consideration of which, wrought out something in reason in my own thoughts, to ballance the letter of those Laws, (which I then knew were absolutely for the King) something like those generall rules or maximes in Law, [23] recorded by that most excellent of English Lawyers, Sir Edw. Cook, in his 4 part. *Institut.* fol. 330. which are, That although the Law (of England) speak in generall terms, yet it is

to be bound up, or accepted, but where reason ceaseth, there the law ceaseth; for seeing reason is the very life and spirit of the Law it self, the Lawgiver is not to be esteemed to respect that which hath no reason, although the generality of the words at the first sight, or after the Letter seem otherwise: And it, in my reason, could not be rationally for any men to appoint a compact to be betwixt two parties, but to bind both equally alike, King as well as People; and not to keep the people bound to the expresse letter of the Kings part, or any others, when the King or that other, shall break his or theirs in twenty particulars, as by Ship-money, Projects, &c. And further, saith Cook, fol. 328. *ibid.* Such an interpretation of ambiguous things (in Law) is always to be made, that absurdities and inconveniences may be avoyded: but absurdities and inconveniences cannot be avoyded, if the expresse and single letter of any Law, in reference to a King or Parliament, shall tie or bind me to cut my own throat, or any other wayes destroy my self, or my companions, brethren, or neighbours, which is irrational or unjust for me to do: 1 *Part. Book Decl.* p. 150. So upon these or the like grounds, I took up arms in judgment and conscience against the King, and contested with his misgovernment in subduing my legall and native Rights, and in my sufferings and arraignment at Oxford therefore, carried my self with a great deal of resolution and undauntednesse of spirit; for which the Parliament by speciall Declaration of the 17 of December 1642, justified me: which Declaration you may see 1 *part Book Decl.* pag. 802, 803. yea, and exchanged me very honourably, high above my quality and condition; and at my coming home, some of them that were no mean ones, proffered my wife a place of honour and profit for me, then reputed worth about 1000 l. *per annum*: which I conscientiously scorned and slighted, professing unto my wife, to her extraordinary grief, that I must rather fight (though it were) for 8 pence a day, till I see the liberties and peace of England settled, then set me down in a rich place for mine own advantage, in the midst of so many grand distractions of my native Country as then possessed it: and so I left old Essex, that had been so generous unto me in giving me almost 300 l. ready money at my deliverance, as Colonel Fleetwood and Colonel Harrison very well know: But him for all that (I say) I left, for his persecuting for non-taking the Covenant, and down to Lincolnshire I posted, to my then two Darlings and familiar Friends, Manchester and Cromwel; where I engaged heartily, [and spent all Essex his money freely] * and

* The brackets appear in the original text. *Editors' note.*

continued in many a desperate service, till Manchester visibly degenerated, and would have hanged me, for being over-honest, and over active in taking in Tikel Castle too soon: which with his visible turning knave, and apparently betraying his trust at Dennington, in designing his Army, or the best part of it, a sacrifice to the Kings fury, made me engage against him and others of his Associates, with Cromwel, who thereunto sollicitated me, and also threw up my Commission; and so his baseness spoiled a Souldier of me, that I could never fight as a Souldier since; although Cromwel by himself face to face, and by his Agents (I am confident of it) hath from time to time much, and as earnestly sollicitated me, as is possible for a man to be sollicitated, to take up command in Fairfax his Army. But no [24] sooner was I by the ears with Manchester, who first began with me, but Mr Prynne wrote his desperate invective Books against us all that would not be conformable to the Covenant (that Cheat,) and the Scots Presbytery (that every thing and nothing;) and would have had us all destroyed, or banished the Land of our Nativity: so in conscience to God, and safety to my self and brethren (Mr Edmund Roser, my present unworthy Antagonist, being then my pastor or teacher) I was inwardly compelled to deal with him, that thus sought to destroy the generation of the righteous; and accordingly I wrote him a sharp Epistle, now in print, dated 7 Jan. 1644. which brought upon my back a whole sea of troubles; and a Vote or Votes in the House of Commons past against me: whereupon, without any more adoe, black Corbet and the Committee of Examinations makes me a Prisoner, and tosseth and tumbleth me to the purpose: So before him, upon the 13 of June 1645, was I forced to give in my reasons (now in print) wherefore I wrote that excellent and seasonable *Epistle* (which was the first avowed publick Cannon I know of in England, discharged against the then insulting Presbyter, for the liberty of the consciences of my present bloody and malicious persecutors, that now stile themselves the Pastours and Leaders of the Churches of God; but do indeed and in truth, by their unnaturall, unchristian, and unjust actions deserve no other stile, but men fit for nothing but to be the Pastors and Leaders of the Synagogue of Satan.) The whole story of which contest with Mr Prynne, you may read at large in the beginning of my Book, called *Innocency and Truth justified*. And I hope my present Adversaries, who pretend themselves to be Leaders in the Churches of God, will justifie and acquit me from guilt or crime in these contests; especially considering that they themselves (that now are so violent in

hunting after my blood, and the blood of my Associates, in the day of our trouble and calamity, now we are under hatches) durst then do nothing manlike for themselves; but sate in silence like a company of sneaks without souls or hearts.

And then before I well got rid of this broyl, you your self got the House of Commons the 19 day of July 1645. to fall upon my bones, and Vote me to prison I know not wherefore, unlesse it were for riding post from Summerset-shire through twenty dangers to bring you the first news of the Lord Gorings Army being routed at Lampert; for you never told me other to this hour; but yet I was tossed by your own means, from Hunt your Serjeants hands, to the hands of Knight his Deputy; and from thence the 9 of August to Newgate, by that old Patentee Monopolizer Lawrence Whittaker, then Chairman to the Committee of Examination; and when you had got me to Newgate, then you got your Bull-dogs in the House to bait me to the purpose, and also turn'd me over to be arraigned at the sessions in Old-baily and so to be hanged at Tyburn; for you appointed Bradshaw your bloody and unjust Lord President, Master Seale and Walker &c. to prosecute me for my life; But after I had sufficiently baited both you and your unjust house; you sent me to Newgate a hundred pound in mony, I thinke to get me to hold my peace, and the 14 of October 1645. most honorably Voted me out of Prison, and so your self being my accuser, prosecuter and Judge, Justified me in this contest, the relation of which you may at large read in that notable book called *Englands Birth-right*, and in my *Epistle* of two sheets of pa-[25] per in print dated 25. July 1645. but especially in my Large Book forementioned, and called *Innocency and Truth Justified*; and in this contest with you, my old acquaintance Doctor Bastwick, (for whose sake in the Bishops days I underwent more sorrows then is to be found in any ordinary death) fell upon me also, so that likewise I was faine to contest a little with him, but he begunne first.

And after this, viz. upon the 14 day of April 1646. Colonel Edward King arrests me in an Action of 2000 l. at Westminster for calling him Traitor, which was only in truth, for discharging my duty in prosecuting him, for betraying his trust to the Kings Party, while he was my Colonel in Lincoln-shire, and in this contest abundance of your own Ordinances justified me: which while I pleaded them in my Epistle to Judg Reeve of the 6 of June 1646 now in Print, before whom Kings action were dependent; the guilty consconded Judge grew as angry with

me therefore, as the Lawyers in Christs time did at him, for reprovng the hypocrisie of the Scribes and Pharisees, although nominally he medled not with them, yet their own guilty consciences did inwardly accuse them, which made one of them say, Master, in saying thus, thou reproachest us also, Luke 11. 45. unto whom Christ replyes and saith, vers. 46 &c. Wo unto you also ye Lawyers; for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be born and you your selves touch not the burthens with one of your fingers. Wo unto you for you build the Sepulchers of the Prophets, and your Fathers killed them. Truly ye bear witness that ye allow the deeds of your Fathers: for they indeed killed them, and you build their Sepulchers. Therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send them Prophets and Apostles, and some of them they shall slay and persecute; That the blood of all the Prophets which was shed from the foundation of the world may be required of this Generation, from the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, which perished between the Altar and the Temple: Verily I say unto you it shall be required of this Generation. Woe unto you Lawyers for ye have taken away the key of knowledg, ye entred not in your selves, and them that were entring in you hindred.

And accordingly Judge Reeves being wounded within at the downright truth of my forementioned Epistle or Plea, that lasheth the base and abominable corruptions of him and the rest of his Brother-Judges, then and now Administrators of the Law; and finding something in it that brands Manchester for an unjust man in his late Generalship, who then was Speaker of the House of Peers, away to him trudgeth the Judge in all post haste with my Book, to get him by his power to be revenged of me, which he was easily provoked and perswaded too, and accordingly the 10 of June 1646. He gets an Order to passe the Lords House; To summon me up to the Lords Bar to answer to such things as I stood Charged before their Lordships with, concerning the writing the foresaid Letter or plea, and when I came to their Bar they dealt with me like a Spanish Inquisition, in examining me against my selfe, which forced me then to the Bar to deliver in my plea in Law, to prove that by the Laws of England they had no Jurisdiction over Commoners, to try them either for life, limb, liberty, or estate, which you may read in my Printed Book, called *The Freemans freedom vindicated*, which plea and protestation made them mad, and for which they sent me to Newgate, from whence upon the 16 of June I sent my appeal for Justice to the House of Commons against them, which made the Lords [26]

madder, whereupon they upon the 22 of June 1646 issued out an Order to bring me to their Bar again, where in contempt of their Jurisdiction, I refused to kneel, for which they committed me to the foresaid Wollaston Keeper of Newgate, to be kept close Prisoner without pen, inke or paper, the accesse of my wife or any other friend, which was with rigour sufficiently exercised upon me, till the 10 of July 1646. which day they issued out another Order to bring me again to their Bar, at which when I came, in the height of contempt of their Jurisdiction, I marched in amongst them with my hat on, & not only refused to kneel at their Bar, But also with my fingers stopt both my ears when they went about to read my pretended Charge, for all which they fined me 4000 l. to the King, and further sentenced me to be a prisoner seven yeares; or during their pleasure, in the Tower of London, to be forever disfranchised of being capable to bear any office or place, in Military or Civill Government, in Church or Common-wealth; and accordingly I was committed to the Tower, where I was in the nature of a close prisoner, divorced from the society of my Wife, till the 16 of September 1646. Whereupon a strong warre was made upon the Lords and their Jurisdiction, by the Authors of those two notable Books, called *Vox plebis*, and *Regall Tyranny*, and I also paid them prety well my self, in my two large books, Called, *Londons Liberty in chaines discovered*, and *Londons Charters*, and by a large Petition of my Wives, and accompanied at the delivery of it with divers of her feminine friends, I got my business to the examination of a Committee of the House of Commons, before whom I appeared, and pleaded the 9th. November, 1646. and had fair play, but waited month after month, and could get no report of it made by reason of the sway and power that Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, & the rest of their Associates had bore in the House of Commons, who were then strong confederates with the Lords in their unjust usurpations, and my then professed enemies, in keeping me from Justice, the benefit of the Law and my right: whereupon I was compell'd and necessitated by a hard, long, and almost starving imprisonment to engage against them; which I did to the purpose, as you may read in my Books, called, *The oppressed mans oppressions declared*; *The out-cryes of oppressed Commons*; *The resolved mans Resolution*; and *Rash-Oaths*. And then the Army turned up the chief of their heels, by a trick of Hocus Pocus, alias, An Impeachment; And then up got Mr. Oliver Cromwell my pretended friend, with whom, and in whose quarrel (for the Liberties of the Common-wealth (as he pretended) at

his earnest solicitation of my wife in London, to send for me from the Leaguer then at Crowland; (and by his message delivered unto me for that end, by his brother-in-law Major Desborough, near Sir Will. Russels in Cambridg-shire) I engaged against the Earl of Manchester, &c. and was one of the first Evidences that gave in my testimony against him, before Mr. Lisle then chairman to that committee, where Manchesters impeachment did then depend; but alas, Mr. Oliver impeached him only for this end, (as the sequel fully declares) not in the least for Justice-sake, but only to get him, &c. out of his command) that so he might get in a friend of his own into it that he could rule, and it may be in time himself; both of which he hath compleatly done: but I say Mr. Oliver, by the help of the Army at their first Rebellion against the Parliament, their Lords and Masters, was no sooner up, but like a most perfidious base un-[27] worthy man, he turned my enemy and Jaylor, and was as great with Manchester in particular as ever; yea, and the House of Peers were his only white Boyes; Being more then his drudges, and more conformable to his will then the House of Commons it self; and who but Oliver (that before to me had called them in effect both tyrants and usurpers) became their Proctor where ever he came, yea, and set his son Ireton at work for them also, insomuch as at some meetings with some of my Friends at the Lord Whartons lodgings, he clapt his hand upon his breast, and to this purpose, professed as in the sight of God, upon his conscience, That the Lords had as true a right to their Legislative and Jurisdiction power over the Commons, as he had to the coat upon his back; and he would procure a friend, viz. Mr. Nath. Fiennes, should argue and plead their said right with any friend I had in England; and not only so, but did he not get the Generall and councill of War at Windsor (about the time when the Votes of no more Addresses were to pass) to make a Declaration to the whole Kingdom, declaring the legall Rights of the Lords House, and their fixed Resolutions to maintain and uphold it? which, as I remember was sent by the General, &c. to the Lords by Sir Hardresse Waller; and to indear himself the more unto the Lords (in whose House without all doubt he intended to have sate himself:) he requited me evil for good, and became my enemy to keep me in prison, out of which I must not stir, unless I would stoop and acknowledge the Lords jurisdiction over commoners, (and for that end he set his Agents and Instruments at work to get me to doe it;) And it became the above-board work of him and his son-in-law, after a little under-hand working, to make all means gone about in the Army for my

liberty, ineffectuall, or a snare to me; so that I was pinched and forced for my own preservation, to fall about Olivers eares, and his Sons both, to discover their depth of knavery acted by themselves and agents in their base dealing with me, (who was then almost destroyed in prison by their villany) as you may partly read in my Books, called, *The Juglers discovered; Jonah's cryes out of the Whales belly; The Peoples Prerogative; My additional Plea before Mr. John Maynard of the House; and my Whip for the present House of Lords.*

But to fill up the measure of his malice against me, after by my own industry and importunity, I had got a little Liberty, in spite of him and his faction, from your House, he and his Faction got your House again to commit me and Mr Wildman prisoners as Traytors, upon 19. Jan. 1647. for but manning an honest Petition, that did but a little touch upon the Lords power: And yet this very Mr. Oliver hath since been the principall Instrument to pluck up the House of Lords by the roots, as usurpers and encroachers, because they would not joyn with him to cut off the King's head (for that which he is as guilty of himself) and so take him out of his way, that he might be absolute King himself, as now he is, and more than ever the King was in his life: for he can, and hath taken severall free men of England by the shoulders at the House door, and in Westminster-hall, and by his will, without any due processe of Law, committed them prisoners to his mercenary Janisaries, (as lately he hath done to honest Cornet Chesman, (not of the Army) for but delivering a Letter of his unjustly imprisoned Captains, Cap. Bray, to the Speaker, and soliciting him for an Answer to it:) The like of which Tyranny the King never did in his Reign; and yet by Saint [28] Oliver's means, lost his head for a Tyrant. But the thing that I principally drive at here, is, to declare, that Oliver and his Parliament now at Westminster (for the Nations it is not) having pluck'd up the House of Lords by the roots, as usurped, tyrannicall, and unjust, hath thereby himself justified me in all my contests with them, in denying their Jurisdiction over Commoners by Law.

And although Oliver had his hands full with Poyer, Goring, Holland, Hamilton and Langdale the last yeer; but especially with the generall odium that was then in both Houses against him, upon the notable Impeachment of his Major Huntington, and I then by my absolute freedom was a little up, and could have at my pleasure been revenged of him, if I had so pleased, either by divisions in his Army, which was easily then in my power; or by joyning in impeaching him with Major Huntington;

which I had matter enough to do, and was earnestly solicited to it again and again, and might have had money enough to boot in my then low and exhausted condition: yet I scorned it, and rather applyed my hand to help him up again, as not loving a Scotch Interest, as is very well and fully known to his present darling Mr Cornelius Holland, and also to Colonel Ludlow, and Mr Thomas Challoner, with other Members that I could name; and which was demonstrated to himself by a Letter I sent him by Mr Edw. Sexby, whom on purpose I procured to go down to him: the true Copy whereof thus followeth:

Sir.

What my Comrade hath written by our trusty Bearer, might be sufficient for us both; but to demonstrate unto you that I am no staggerer from my first principles that I engaged my life upon, nor from you, if you are what you ought to be, and what you are strongly reported to be; although, if I prosecuted or desired revenge for an hard and almost sterving imprisonment, I could have had of late the choice of twenty opportunities to have payd you to the purpose; but I scorn it, especially when you are low: and this assure your self, that if ever my hand be upon you, it shall be when you are in your full glory, if then you shall decline from the righteous wayes of Truth and Justice: Which, if you will fixedly and impartially prosecute, I am

Yours, to the last drop of my heart bloud,
(for all your late severe hand towards me)

JOHN LILBURN.

From Westminster the 3 of August
1648, being the second
day of my Freedom.

Which Letter &c. as I have been told by the Bearer, was not a little welcome.

But his dealings with me now manifest that Proverb to be very true, viz. Save a Thief from the Gallows, and for your requitall, he will be the first shall hang you. But to this I shall say no more but what the Spirit of truth saith in Prov. 17. 13. That he that rewards evill for good, evill shall not depart from his house. And being at liberty, not liking in the least the several juggling I observed in [29] divers great ones in reference to the personall Treaty, and that there was nothing worth praising or liking thought of or presented by the Parliament in reference

to the Peoples Liberties or Freedoms, (especially considering their late large expences and hazards for the procurement of the settlement of them) I was compelled in conscience to have a hand in that most excellent of Petitions of the 11 of Septemb. 1648. which (I am sure) was no small piece of service to Cromwel and his great Associates: though his Churchmen, now my chiefest Adversaries, durst not joyn in it, nor own it for very fear. And having been in the North about my own business, where I saw Cromwell, and made as diligent scrutinies into things about him, as I could; which I then to my self judged, savoured more of intended self-exalting, then any thing really and heartily (of what before I had strongly heard of him) to the through advancement of those things that were worthy to be accounted indeed the Liberties and Freedoms of the Nation.

And being come to London, my self and some other of my friends, by two Messengers, viz. Mr. Hunt one of Cromwel's creatures, and another, sent a Message down to him to Pomfret, to be delivered to himself, and to debate it with him, and bring his expresse Answer back again speedily: the effect of which Message was,

That to our knowledge, God had caused him to understand the principles of a just Government, under which the glory of God may shine forth by an equall distribution unto all men.

That the obtaining of this was the sole intended end of the Warre: and that the Warre cannot be justified upon any other account, then the defence of the peoples right, unto that just Government, and their Freedom Under it.

His Answer to which Message by Mr Hunt was principally directed to the Independents; some of whom appointed a meeting at the Nags-head Tavern by Blackwell-Hall, and invited M. Wildman and my self, &c. thither, whither we went accordingly, and where wee met with Colonel Tichburn, Col. John White, Dr. Parker, Mr Taylor, John Price, and divers others; where we had a large debate of things, and where the just ends of the War were as exactly laid open by Mr Wildman, as ever I heard in my life. But towards the conclusion, they plainly told us, The chief things first to be done by the Army, was first To cut off the Kings Head, &c. and force and throughly purge, if not dissolve the Parliament: All of which we were all against, and press'd to know the bottom of their center, and in what they would absolutely rest for a future Settlement: and I plainly told them in these words, or to this effect.

Its true, I look upon the King as an evill man in his actions, and divers

of his party as bad: but the Army had couzened us the last yeer, and fallen from all their Promises and Declarations, and therefore could not rationally any more be trusted by us without good cautions and security: In which regard, although we should judge the King as arrant a Tyrant as they supposed him, or could imagine him to be; and the Parliament as bad as they could make them; yet there being no other balancing power in the Kingdome against the Army, but the King and Parliament, it was our interest to keep up one Tyrant to balance another, till we certainly knew what that Tyrant that pretended fairest would give us as our Freedoms; that so we might have something to rest upon, and not suffer the Army (so [30] much as in us lay) to devolve all the Government of the Kingdom into their wills and swords (which were two things we nor no rationally man could like) and leave no persons nor power to be a counter-balance against them: And if we should do this, our slavery for future (I told them) might probably be greater then ever it was in the Kings time, and so our last errour would be greater then our first: and therefore I pressed very hard for an Agreement amongst the People first, utterly disclaiming the thoughts of the other, till this was done. And this (I told them) was not onely my opinion, but I beleve it to be the unanimous opinion of all my friends with whom I most constantly conversed.

At which the Gentlemen Independents were some of them most desperately cholerick: But my opinion being back'd with the Speeches of some others of my Friends, we came calmly to chuse out four and four of a side to debate and conclude of some Heads towards the accomplishment of an Agreement of the People: and (as I remember) their four were Colonel Titchburn, Col. White, Dr Parker, and Jo Price; and our four were M. William Walwyn, Lieutenant Col. Wetton, M. John Wildman, and my Self. But John Price sent some of the company to tell us (after we were parted, and some of us drinking a cup of wine below) he would not make one, if Mr Walwyn was one, for he had a prejudice against him. Unto which I replied, M. Walwyn had more honesty and integrity in his little finger, then John Price had in all his body; and therefore No meeting for me, seeing John Price was so base, unlesse Mr Walwyn was one, though we had but two of a side: but the businesse being much debated and expostulated, Mr. Walwin and John Price both (for peace sake) were at present laid aside: and according to appointment (as I remember) all the other six met the fifteenth of Novemb. 1648, being Wednesday, at the fore-mentioned Nags head;

and there, after some debate, unanimously agreed in these words, viz. That in our conceptions, the onely way of Settlement is,

1. That some persons be chosen by the Army to represent the whole Body: And that the well affected in every County (if it may be) chuse some persons to represent them: And those to meet at the Head-Quarters.
2. That those persons ought not to exercise any Legislative power, but only to draw up the foundations of a just Government, and to propound them to the well-affected people in every County to be agreed to: Which Agreement ought to be above Law; and therefore the bounds, limits and extent of the people's Legislative Deputies in Parliament, contained in the Agreement to be drawn up into a formall contract, to be mutually signed by the well-affected people and their said Deputies upon the days of their Election respectively.
3. To prevent present confusion, the Parliament (if it be possible) may not be by force immediately dissolved; but that the day of its dissolution be inserted in that Agreement, by vertue whereof it shall be dissolved.
4. That this way of Settlement, (if it may be) should be mentioned in the Armie's first Remonstrance.
5. That the matter of the Petition of Septemb. 11. be the matter to be settled.

Which Agreement of ours (as I remember) was immediately sent away to the Head Quarters at St. Alban's by Mr Hiland of Southwark, where (as it was afterwards told us) it was very well accepted and approved by the [31] great ones there; whose high and mighty Declaration (drawn by Ireton at Windsor, when he pretended to lay down his Commission) against the King coming to our view, we made divers objections against many passages in it, but especially at divers lashes that tacitely at the beginning of it hinted at us: which we told some of their friends, could not be put in with a spirit of peace towards us, or intention of good to the Nation, in those good things we desired and propounded for it: But it was with many fair expressions salved up by them; upon which we judged it requisite for some of us to go to Windsor, to speak with Mr Ireton the Stear-man himself; and accordingly (as I remember) Lieut. Colonel Wetton, Mr Petty, Mr Wildman, and my Self met there; and having drawn up our thoughts in writing, we communicated them to Col. Tychburn, Col. White, M. Moyer, and divers others of the Independent Party, who went with us to the Governours house, where we met with Mr Peters, the grand Journey- or Hackney-man of the Army; and

after we had acquainted him with our mindes, we delivered him a copy of our Paper, containing distinctly the Heads of what we desired, and intreated him to deliver them to Commissary Ireton, with whom we desired to discourse about them; who sent us word, at such an hour he would come to our Inn at the Garter, to speak with us about them; and accordingly he did, accompanied with a whole Train of Officers; and a large and sharp discourse we had; our principall difference lying at his desire in the too strict restraining Liberty of conscience, and in keeping a power in the Parliament to punish where no visible Law is transgressed; the unreasonableness of which was much spoken against by divers of the principall Officers with him, but especially by Col. Harrison, who was then extreme fair and gilded: And so little satisfaction had we at that meeting, from Ireton (the Army's Alpha and Omega) that we despaired of any good from them, and were in a manner resolved to come away in haste to London, and acquaint our friends with our conceptions, and so improve our Interests forcibly, as much as we could, to oppose their intended designes. But Colonel Harrison coming to us again at ten a clock, according to our desire, we had a private and large discourse with him, and fully and effectually acquainted him with the most desperate mischievousness of their attempting to do these things, without giving some good security to the Nation for the future settlement of their Liberties and Freedoms, especially in frequent, free, and successive Representatives, according to their many Promises, Oathes, Covenants and Declarations; or else as soon as they had performed their intentions to destroy the King, (which we fully understood they were absolutely resolved to do, (yea, as they told us, though they did it by Martiall Law) and also totally to root up the Parliament, and invite so many Members to come to them as would joyn with them, to manage businesses, till a new and equall Representative could by an Agreement be settled; which the chiefest of them protested before God, was the ultimate and chiefest of their designes and desires.) I say, we press'd hard for security, before they attempted these things in the least, lest when they were done, we should be solely left to their wills and swords; by which, we told them, they might rule over us arbitrarily, without declared Laws, as a conquered people, and so deal with us as the poor slavish peasants in [32] France are dealt with, who enjoy nothing that they can call their own. And besides, we plainly told him, we would not trust their bare words in generall onely, for they had broke their promise once already, both with us and the Kingdom; and he that would break once, would

make no conscience of breaking twice, if it served for his ends, and therefore they must come to some absolute particular compact with us, or else, some of us told him, we would post away to London, and stir up our Interest against them, yea and spend our blouds to oppose them. To which he replied to this effect, It was true in what we said; for he must ingenuously confesse, they had once broken with us and the Kingdom, and therefore acknowledged it was dangerous trusting them upon Generals again: But, saith he, we cannot stay so long from going to London with the Army as to perfect an Agreement; and without our speedy going, we are all unavoydably destroyed: For (saith he) we fully understand, that the Treaty betwixt the King and Parliament is almost concluded upon; at the conclusion of which, we shall be commanded by King and Parliament to disband, the which if we do, we are unavoydably destroyed for what we have done already: and if we do not disband, they will by Act of Parliament proclaim us Traytors, and declare us to be the onely hinderers of settling peace in the Nation; and then (saith he) we shall never be able to fight with both the Interest of King and Parliament: so that you will be destroyed as well as we: for we certainly understand that Major Generall Brown &c. are underhand preparing an Army against us. And therefore I professe, I confesse, I know not well what to say to your Reasons, they are so strong; but our Necessities are so great, that we must speedily go, or perish; and to go without giving you some content, is hazardable too.

Well Sir, (said we) we have as much cause to distrust the Parliament men, as we have to distrust you; for we know what and how many large promises they have made to the Kingdom, and how little they have performed; and we also know what a temptation Honour, Power, and profit are even to those spirits that were pretty ingenuous and honest before; and when you have done your work, and got, as you pretend, forty or fifty of the honestest Members of the House to you; alas, (said we) it will be a mock Power; yet they may finde such sweetness and delight in their pretended power, that they may fly to your swords for their protection, and bid us go shake our ears for our Agreement, and go look it where we can catch it. And therefore we will trust generals no more to your forty or fifty Members of Parliament, then to you: for it's possible, if we leave the Agreement to their framing, they may frame us such a one as will do us no good, but rather make us slaves by our own consents, if signed by us: and therefore we press'd him that we might agree upon a finall and absolute Judge of the matter and method of the

Agreement, that so we might not spend months and yeers in dispute about it. And therefore we would propound this unto him, That if their honest friends in the Parliament, as they called them, would chuse four from amongst themselves, and the Army four from amongst themselves, and the Independents four from amongst themselves; we that were nick-named Levellers, would chuse four from among our selves; and these sixteen should draw up the Agreement finally, without any more appeal to any other; and we for our parts, so far as all our Interest in England extended, would be [33] willing to acquiesce in, and submit to the determinations of them 16, or the major part of them: And we would be willing the Presbyterian party should be invited and desired to chuse four more to be of equall authority with the other sixteen. Provided, they did it by the first day we should appoint to meet upon.

Which Proposition he approved of extraordinary well, and said, It was as just, as rationall, and as equitable as possibly could be; and said, He doubted not but all Interests would center in it, and ingaged to acquaint them with it: and so we parted, very glad that we were likely to come to some fixed agreement for the future enjoyment of our dear bought, and hard purchased Freedoms.

And the next morning we went to the Gentlemen Independents, that lay the next door to us, who were almost ready to horse for London, and we acquainted them with it, who like it very well, and with whom we fixed a night for severall distinct meetings in London, to chuse our respective trustees for this work, and also appointed a day to meet at Winsor again about it, and from them we went to Master Holland, who then was the chief stickler, for those they called honest men in the House of Commons, and as I remember we met Colonel Harison, Master Holland, and Captaine Smith a Member, and his Son in Law in the Street, and Master Holland seemed exceedingly to rejoyce at the Proposition. Colonel Harison having told him of it before, which we repeated over distinctly to him, that so in conclusion we might not be gulled through pretence of mistakes or misunderstandings; which we were continually afraid we should meet with; so we went all together to Commissary General Iretons chamber to have his concurrence, which of all sides was taken for the concurrence of the whole Army, or at least for the powerfull and governing part of it; he being in a manner both their eyes and ears: so when we came to his Chamber in the Castle, he was in Bed with his Wife, but sent us out word by Colonel Harison as he averred to us, that he did absolutely and heartily agree to the foresaid Proposition,

which to avoid mistakes, was again repeated, so we seemed joyfull men of all sides, and apointed a day speedily to meet at Winsor, about it, Master Holland againe and againe engaging for four Parliament men, and Colonel Harison, with Commissary Ireton for four of the Army, as we Londoners had done for each of our tribe; and so to horse we went, and I overtook upon the road the whole gang of Independants, with whom I discoursed again, and acquainted them all fully with the absolutenes of our agreement, which they acquainted their friends with in London, who chose Colonel Tichburn, Colonel John White, Master Daniel Taylor, and Master Price the Scrivener; And for our party, there was by unanimous consent of the Agents from our friends in and about London, at a very large meeting chosen Master William Walwyn, Master Maximilian Petty, Master John Wildman and my Self, and for the honest men of the Parliament as they were called, they had severall meetings at the Bell in Kings-street, and at Summerset-house, where as I was informed, they chose Colonel Henry Martyn, Colonel Alexander Rigby, Master Thomas Challiner and Master Scot, with one or two more to supply the places of those of them that should be absent at any time about their occasions; so when we came to Winsor the Army men had chosen Commissary Generall Ireton, Sir William Constable, and as I remember Colonel Tomlinson, [34] Colonel Baxter, Lieutenant Colonel Kelsey, and Captain Parker, some two of the which last 4 should alwayes make up the number; so we had a meeting in their Councel-Chamber at the Castle, where we were all of all sides present, but only the Parliament men, for whom only Colonel Martyn appeared, and after a large discourse about the foundations of our agreement, we departed to our Lodging, where Colonel Martyn and we four nick-named Levellers, lockt our selves up, and went in good earnest to the consideration of our Agreement, but much was not done in it there, because of their haste to London to force and breake up the Parliament (which Journy at all, was very much opposed by M. Walwyn, and many reasons he gave against their march to London at all) the absolute dissolution of which their friends in the House would no ways admit of, although Ireton, Harison &c. commonly stiled it then a Parliament that had forfeited its trust, a mock Parliament, and that if they did not totally dissolve it, but purge it, it would be but a mock Parliament, and a mock power however; for where have we say they either law, warrant or Commission to purge it, or can any thing justifie us in the doing it, but the height of necessitie to save the Kingdom from a new war, that they with the con-

junction with the King will presently vote and declare for, and to procure a new and free representative and so successive and frequent free Representatives, which this present Parliament will never suffer, and without which the freedoms of the Nation are lost and gone, and the doing of which can only justifie before God and man our present and former extraordinary actings with, and against legall Authority, and so all our fighting fruitlesse; and this was their open and common discourse, with more of the like nature; and to those that objected against their totall dissolving or breaking the House (and the illegallitie of their intended and declared trying of the King, which also was opposed by us, till a new and unquestionable Representative was sitting;) as I am able sufficiently by pluralitie of witnesses to prove and justifie, yea when they were come to London, Ireton, &c. and some Members of the House (in a Chamber near the long Gallery in White-hall,) had a large conference, where and to whom he stily maintained the same to their faces, calling this Purg'd Parliament, a mocke power and mocke Parliament, which Members I beleeve if there were a necessity of it, I could produce to justifie it; for I am sure one of them told me the substance of all the discourse immediatly after it happened; So that if it be treason to call this a Pretended Parliament, a mock power, a mock Parliament, yea and to say in plain English, that it is no Parliament at all, then they themselves are the prime, the chief and originall traytors; and if this be true, as true it is; then there is neither Legall Judges, nor Justices of Peace in England; and if so, then all those that are executed at Tiburne, &c. by their sentences of condemnations given against them, are meerly murdered and the Judges or Justices that condemned them are liable in time to be hanged (and that justly) therefore, for acting without a just and legall commission either from true Regall, or true Parliamentary power; see for this purpose the notable arguments in the 13, 14, but especially 15 page of the second Edition of my late picture of the Councell of State: But to returne to our acting to compleat the Agreement, all parties chosen of all sides constantly mett at White-hall after the Army came to town, saving the Parliament men failed, only Master Martin was most commonly there, and a long and tedious tug we had with Commissary Generall Ireton only, yea sometimes [35] whole nights together, Principally about Liberty of Conscience, and the Parliaments punishing where no law provides, and very angry and Lordly in his debates many times he was; but to some kind of an expedient in the first, for peace sake we condescended in to please him, and so came amongst the major part

of the 16 Commissioners, according to our originall Agreement, to an absolute and finall conclusion; and thinking all had been done as to any more debate upon it, and that it should without any more adoe be promoted for subscriptions, first at the Councell of Warre, and so in the Regiments, and so all over the Nation; but alas poor fools we were meerly cheated and cozened (it being the principall unhappinesse of some of us (as to the flesh) to have our eyes wide open to see things long before most honest men come to have their eyes open; and this is that which turns to our smart and reproach) and that which we Commissioners feared at the first, viz. (that no tye, promises nor ingagements were strong enough to the grand Juglers and Leaders of the Army, was now made cleerly manifest, for when it came to the Council, there came the Generall, Crumwell, and the whole gang of creature Colonels and other Officers, and spent many dayes in taking it all in pieces) and there Ireton himself shewed himself an absolute King, if not an Emperour, against whose will no man must dispute, and then shittlecock Roe their Scout, Okey, and Major Barton (where Sir Hardresse Waller sate President) begun in their open Councell to quarrell with us by giving some of us base and unworthy language, which procured them from me a sharpe retortment of their own basenesse and unworthinesse into their teeth, and a challeng from my selfe into the field besides seeing they were like to fight with us in the room, in their own Garison, which when Sir Hardresse in my eare reproved me for it, I justified it and gave it him again for suffering us to be so affronted: And within a little time after I took my leave of them for a pack of dissembling juggling Knaves, amongst whom in consultation ever thereafter I should scorn to come (as I told some of them;) for there was neither faith, truth, nor common honesty amongst them: and so away I went to those that chose and trusted me, and gave publikely and effectually (at a set meeting appointed on purpose) to divers of them an exact account how they had dealt with us, and couzened and deceived us; and so absolutely discharged my self for meddling or making any more with so perfidious a generation of men as the great ones of the Army were, but especially the cunningest of Machiavilians Commissary Henry Ireton: and having an exact copy of what the greatest part of the foresaid sixteen had agreed upon, I onely mended a clause in the first Reserve about Religion, to the sense of us all but Ireton, and put an Epistle to it, of the 15 of December 1648, and printed it of my own accord, and the next day it came abroad; about which Mr Price the Scrivener and my self had a good sharp bout

at Colonel Tichburn's house within two or three dayes after, where I avowed the publishing of it, and also putting my Epistle to it of my own head and accord. And after that I came no more amongst them, but with other of my friends, prepared a complaint against their dealing with us, and a kinde of Protest against their proceedings; which with my own hand I presented to the Generals own hands at the Mews, the 28 of December 1648, being accompanied with Major Robert Cobbet, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. George Middlemore, [36] Mr. Robert Davies, Mr. Richard Overton, Mr. Edward Tench, Mr. Daniel Linton, Mr. William Bottom, Mr. John Harris, Mr. Thomas Dafferne, Mr. Thomas Goddard, Mr. Samuel Blaiklock, Mr. Andrew Dednam, Mr. John Walters, and Mr. Richard Pechel; and which was immediately printed by Ja. and Jo. Moxon, for William Larner, at the signe of the Black Moor neer Bishops-gate: within two or three dayes of the delivery of which, I went towards my Journey to Newcastle; and about five weeks after my arrivall in those parts, I heard that the General and his Council had presented their Agreement to your House: which, when I read the title page of it, I found it to be upon the 20 of January 1648, which is compleat 35 dayes after my publishing of that which is called ours.

And yet in the third and fourth pages of a Declaration of the proceedings of the General in reducing the late revolted Troops, appointed by his Excellency and his Council of War to be printed and published May 22 1649, and signed by their Order, Richard Hatter Secretary, and first printed at Oxford, and then re-printed at London May 23 1649. I finde these very words, viz.

The grounds and manner of the proceedings of these men that have so much pretended for the Liberty of the people, have been as followeth:

There was a paper stiled the Agreement of the people, framed by certain select persons, and debated at a generall Council of Officers of the Army, to be tendered to the Parliament, and to be by them commended over to the people of the Nation: It being hoped, that such an Expedient, if assented unto, at least by the honest part of the people that had appeared for this common Cause, to which God hath so witnessed, it would have tended much to settlement, and the composing of our differences; at least have fixed honest men to such grounds of certainty as might have kept them firm and entire in opposing the common enemy, and stand united to publick Interest.

The generall Councell of the Army, and the other sorts of men, going then under the name of Levellers (so baptized by your selves at Putney)

who (by their late actings have made good the same which we then judged but an imputation) had (as now it appears) different ends and aims, both in the matter and manner of their proceedings: That which was intended by those men, was to have somewhat tendred as a test and coercion upon the people, and all sorts of men and Authorities in the Land: That which these, to wit, the Councell of the Army aimed at, was to make an humble Representation of such things as were then likely to give satisfaction, and unite, and might be remitted to mens judgments, to be owned or disowned as men were satisfied in their consciences, and as it should please God to let men see reason for their so doing; that so it might not be onely called an Agreement, but through the freedom of it, be one indeed, and receive it's stamp of approbation from the Parliament to whom it was humbly submitted.

Hereupon those other men took so much dissatisfaction that they forthwith printed and spread abroad their paper, which was different from that of the Army; using all possible means to make the same to passe: but with how little effect, is very well known. And finding by the Armie's application to the Parliament, that they were likely, according to their duty, to stand by and own them as the supreme authority of the nation, they have by all means assayed to vili-[37] pend that Authority, presenting them to the people (in printed Libels, and otherwise) as worse Tyrants then any who were before them.

In which passage of the Generals and his Council, I shall desire to observe these things, which plainly to me are in the words: and if they can make it appear that I mistake their words as they are laid down, I shall cry them mercy.

First, That they give a false and untrue Narrative of the original occasion of that Agreement, to which by our importunate importunity they were necessitated, and drawn unto that little they did in it as a Bear to the stake, as is truly by me before declared; and which, as the sequell shews, they undertook meerly to quiet and please us (like children with rattles) till they had done their main work; (viz. either in annihilating or purging the House to make it fit for their purpose, and in destroying the King; unto both which they never had our consents in the least) that so they might have no opposition from us, but that we might be lull'd asleep in a fools paradise with thoughts of their honest intentions, till all was over; and then totally lay it aside, as they have done, as being then able to do what they pleased whether we would or no: for if they ever had intended an Agreement, why do they let their own lie dormant in the

pretended Parliament ever since they presented it? seeing it is obvious to every knowing English eye, that from the day they presented it to this hour, they have had as much power over their own Parliament now sitting, as any School-master in England ever had over his Boys. But to them it was presented (who scarce ought to meddle with it) on purpose, that there, without any more stir about it, it might be lodged for ever: For alas, an Agreement of the People is not proper to come from the Parliament, because it comes from thence rather with a command than any thing else; so that its we, and not they that really and in good earnest say, it ought not to do, but to be voluntary. Besides, that which is done by one Parliament, as a Parliament, may be undone by the next Parliament: but an Agreement of the People begun and ended amongst the People can never come justly within the Parliaments cognizance to destroy: which the Generall and the chief of his Council knew well enough; and I dare safely say it upon my conscience, that an Agreement of the People upon foundations of just freedom gone through with, is a thing the Generall and the chiefest of his Council as much hates, as they do honesty, justice and righteousness, (which they long since abandoned) against which in their own spirits they are absolutely resolved (I do verily believe) to spend their heart blouds, and not to leave a man breathing in English air, if possibly they can, that throughly and resolutely prosecutes it; a new and just Parliament being more dreadful to them, then the great day of Judgement spoken so much of in the Scripture. And although they have beheaded the King, yet I am confidently persuaded their enmity is such at the Peoples Liberties, that they would sooner run the hazard of letting the Prince in to reign in his Fathers stead, then further really a just Agreement, or endure the sight of a new Parliament rightly constituted.

Secondly, Its plain to me out of their words, That they positively aver, that their Agreement was presented to the Parliament before ours was published in print; which I must and do here tell both the General and his Council, is the arrantest lie and falshood under the cope of heaven: for I have truly before declared, and will justify it with my life, that ours was printed above thirty dayes before theirs was presented; yea, it was printed before theirs was half perfected. But it is no wonder, when men turn their backs of God, of a good conscience, of righteousness and common honesty amongst men, and make lies and falshoods, oppression and bloody cruelty their sole confidence and refuge, that then they say or swear any thing; all which, if the Generall and his Council had

not done, they would have scorned and abhorred, in the face of the Sun, to have affirmed and printed so many lies, as in their foregoing words is literally (without wresting) contained.

Thirdly, They positively hint, our dissatisfaction was taken at them for presenting theirs to the Parliament; which is also as false as the former: for 1. Our dissatisfaction was above a month before declared in their open Council by my self, &c. as Sir Hardresse Waller and divers others of them cannot but justify. 2. Our dissatisfaction was long before taken, upon the grounds by me before specified: the manifestations of which dissatisfaction I presented to the Generals own hands the 28 of December 1648, accompanied and subscribed with my own name, and fifteen more of my Comrades, in behalf of our selves, and all our friends that sent us, which we also immediately caused to be printed. And their Agreement, as the Title of it declares, was not presented till the 20 of Jan. after.

Fourthly, They say, We used all possible means to make ours passe; but with how little successe, they say, is very well known. If they mean, we used all possible means to make ours passe with them, it's true; but the reason it had no better effect, was because they had no minde to it, it was too honest for them: and I am sure, in the very Epistle to it, it is declared, That the principall reason of the printing of it, is, that the people might have an opportunity to consider the equitie of it, and offer their reasons against any thing therein contained. And this was all the means, after the printing of it, we used to make it passe. Alasse, we knew the Armies swords were longer then ours, and would by force cut in pieces all our endeavours that we should use against their minds and wils, by reason of the peoples cowardlinesse; and therefore we let ours rest, and were willing to sit still to see them perfect theirs, and never did any thing in it since amongst the people to make it passe, that I know of.

Fifthly, They say, We were troubled at their doing their duty, in submitting to authority, and owning the Parliament as the Supreme Authority of the Nation: Whenas alas, it is as visible as the Sun when it shines in its glory and splendour, That Corah, Dathan and Abiram of old were never such Rebels against Authority as the General and his Council are, nor the Anabaptists at Munster with John of Leydon and Neperdullion were never more contemners of Authority; nor Jack Straw, nor Wat Tiler, nor all those famous men mentioned with a black pen in our Histories, and called Rebels and Traytors, can never be put in any scale of equall balance, for all manner of rebellions and treasons against all

sorts and kindes of Magistracy, with the Generall and his Councill: And I will undertake the task upon my life, to make good every particular of this I now say, to [39] the General's face. For did any, or all of them fore-mentioned, ever rebell against their Advancers, Promotors and Creators, as these have done two severall times? Did ever any, or all of them chop off (without all shadow of Law) a king's and nobles heads? ravish and force a Parliament twice? nay, raze the foundation of a Parliament to the ground? and under the notion of performing a trust, break all Oathes, Covenants, Protestations and Declarations, (and make evidently void all the declared ends of the War) which was one of Strafford's principal Treasons, and which is notably aggravated against him by M. Pym in his fore-mentioned Speech against him? pag. 9. 11. and under pretence of preserving their Laws, Liberties, and Freedoms, destroy, annihilate, and tread under their feet all their Laws, Liberties, Freedoms and Properties (although they could cite against Strafford the precedent of Trisilian chief Justice, who lost his life for delivering of opinions for the subversion of the Law, as S. John's *Argument of Law* against him, pag. last but one declares; yea, and against the Ship-money Judges, and also the Precedent of Judg Belknap in King Richard the Second's time, who was by the Parliament banished for but subscribing an opinion against Law, though forc'd by a dagger held to his brest, thereto; yea, and cite also the precedent against him, which was against Justice Thorp in Edward the Third's time, who was by the Parliament condemned to death for bribery; the reason of which Judgment, they say, was because he had broken the Kings Oath, that solemn and great obligation (as Mr. Pym *ibid.* calls it) which is the security of the whole Kingdom.) All which forementioned, either with pen or tongue by dispute, I wil particularly maintain and make good upon my life, publicly, before the face of the Kingdom, against the stoutest and ablest of their Champions in all their pretended Churches of God, either Independent or Anabaptistical; and that they are altogether unsavoury salt, good for nothing but to be abominated, and thrown out to the dunghil, as fit for nothing but the indignation of God, and the peoples wrath.

And as for their stiling this their own Junto the supreme Authoritie; I know the time not long since, when that stile to be given to the House of Commons single, was accounted an abominable wickednesse in the eye of the chiefest of them: Yea, I also know the time, and am able sufficiently to justifie and prove it, that they were absolutely resolved and determined to pull up this their own Parliament by the roots, and

not so much as to leave a shadow of it (frequently then calling it a mock-power, and mock-Parliament:) yea, and had done it, if we, and some in the House of our then friends, had not been the principall instruments to hinder them; we judging it then, of two evils the least, to chuse rather to be governed by the shadow of a Parliament, till we could get a reall and true one (which with the greatest protestations in the world they then promised and engaged with all their might speedily to effect) then simply, solely and onely by the wils of Sword men, whom we had already found to be men of no very tender consciences: But to me it is no wonder, that they own this for the supreme Power, seeing they have totally in Law, Reason and Justice broke the Parliament, and absolutely, by the hands of Tho. Pride, set up indeed a mock-power, and a mock-Parliament, by purging out all those that they were any [40] way jealous of, would not vote as they would have them, and suffering and permitting none to sit but (for the major part of them) a company of absolute School boys, that will, like good boyes, say their lessons after them their Lords and Masters, and Vote as they would have them; and so be a screen (as yong H. Vane used to call the King) betwixt them and the people, with the name of Parliament, and the shadow and imperfect image of legal and just Authority, to pick their pockets for them by Assessments and Taxations; and by their arbitrary and tyrannicall Courts and Committees, (the best of which is now become a perfect Star chamber, High-Commission and Council board) make them their perfect slaves and vassals by their constant and continuall breaking and abasing of their spirits; a thing so much complained of against the Earl of Strafford, by the late Parliament at his tryal, especially in M. Pym's notable Speech against him, pag. 7. as it is printed 1641, at the later end of a book called *Speeches and Passages*: where speaking against Oppression, and the exercise of a tyrannicall and arbitrary Power, (the Earl of Strafford's sins, which now are become more the great mens of the Army) he saith,

It is inconsistent with the peace, the wealth, the prosperity of a Nation; it is destructive to Justice, the mother of peace; to Industry, the spring of wealth; to Valour, which is the active vertue whereby the prosperity of a Nation can onely be procured, confirmed, and enlarged.

It is not only apt to take away Peace, and so intangle the Nation with Wars; but doth corrupt Peace, and puts such a malignitie into it, as produceth the effects of War, as he there instanceth in the Earl of Straffords Government. And as for Industry and Valour, Who will take pains for that (saith he) which when he hath gotten, is not his own? or

who will fight for that wherein he hath no other interest, but such as is subject to the will of another? The ancient incouragement to men that were to defend their Countries was this, That they were to hazard their persons, *pro aris & socis*, for their Religion, and for their houses; But by this arbitrary way, which was practised (by the Earl) in Ireland and counsell'd here; no man had any certainty, either of Religion, or of his House, or any thing else to be his own: But besides this, such arbitrary courses have an ill operation upon the courage of a Nation, by imbasing the hearts of the people; A servile condition doth for the most part beget in men a slavish temper and disposition. Those that live so much under the Whip and the Pillory, and such servile engines, as were frequently used by the Earl of Strafford, they may have the dregs of valour, sullenness, and stubbornness, which may make them prone to mutinies and discontents; But those noble and gallant affections which put men on brave designes and attempts for the preservation or enlargement of a Kingdom, they are hardly capable of: Shall it be treason to embase the Kings coin, though but a piece of Twelve-pence or Six-pence; and must it not needs be the effect of a greater Treason, to embase the spirits of his Subjects, and to set a stamp and character of servitude upon them, when by it they shall be disabled to doe any thing for the service of the King or Common wealth? O most excellent and transcendent saying! worthy to be writ in a Table of gold in every Englishmans house. [41]

But Sir, I say, No wonder, all the things foregoing rightly considered, they do own you (now as Thomas Pride hath made you) for the supreme Authority of the Nation, although before they would neither submit to the King, nor the Parliament, when it was a thousand times more unquestionably both in Law and Reason, then now you are; but fought against both King and Parliament, their setters up, conquered them, repelled them, subdued them, and broke them both; and so pull'd up by the roots all the legall and visible Magistracy and Authority in the Nation, and thereby left none but themselves, who stand in parallell to none (as they have managed their businesse) but to a company of murderers, theeves and robbers, who may justly be dispossessed by the first force that are able to do it (as Mr. Pym undenyably and fully proves in the foresaid Speech pag. 3. 9. 11.) no pretended Authority that they of themselves and by their swords can set up, having in the sight of God or man, either in Law or Reason, any more just Authority in them, then so many Alger Pirats and Robbers upon the Sea have. And so much in answer at present to the forementioned part of the Generals Declaration.

But now to return back, after this necessary Digression, to my own Story of going down into the North, where &c. I received of my 3000 l. allotted me, for my hard suffered for, deer purchased, and long expected Reparations, 400 l. of Sir Arthur Haslerig, for sequestred Coles and Iron, of Mr. Bowes's, and got besides betwixt 100 and 200 l. in Rents, Free-quarter and Taxes having eat out the bowels, soul and life of them, being served in the wood allotted me, (the principall thing in my eye, by old Sir Henry Vane my old bloody enemy) as is in part declared before in page 15 and 16. who hath Treason and crimes enough upon him, not onely to throw him out of the House, if it were any, but also to send him to a Scaffold or Gallows, as is very notably declared in print in *England's Birth-right*, pag. 19. 20. 21. in which pages you may read his Charge of High Treason exhibited against him to the Earl of Essex in *anno* 1643. by severall Gentlemen of the County of Durham; for his trayterous betraying their Country (and so consequently all the North) to the Earl of Newcastle; for which &c. he better deserved in Law, equity and reason to lose his head, then either Hambleton, or stout Capel did for theirs, they having betrayed no trust (but had the letter of the Law of England &c, to justifie them in what they did) as he most palpably hath done. And as for his breaking up the little Parliament, his Star-chamber wickedness, and his desperate Gun-powder Monopoly, with his and his sons Sir George Vane's late jugglings in the County of Durham, I have pretty well anatomised in my book called *The resolved mans resolution*, page 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. his very having a hand in the Gunpowder Monopoly alone being sufficient long since to throw him out of your House, as being uncapable to be a Member therein, as cleerly appears by your Votes and Orders of the 19. and 25 of Nov. 1640. one of which, as it is printed in the foresaid Speeches and Passages, pag. 329. thus followeth:

It is ordered upon the Question, that all Projectors and Monopolizers whatsoever, or that have had any share in any Monopolies, or that do receive, or lately have received any benefit by any Monopolies or Patent, or that have procured any Warrant [42] or Command for the restraint or molesting of any that have refused to conform themselves to any Proclamation or project, are disabled by Order of this House, to be a Member thereof, and shall be dealt with as a stranger, that hath no power to sit there.

In the compasse of which Order is both Sir Henry Mildmore and Lawrence Whittaker, and ought in justice, for their notorious Monopolising, to be both long since thrown out of the House.

But again to return: After I had done as much in the North as I could at present do about my own businesse, I came again to London, where I fixed up my resolution wholly to devote my self to provide for the future well-being of my wife and children, and not without the extraordinariest necessity engage in any publick contests again, making it my work to enquire into the true estate of things with the great men that sit at the helm, and whether the bent of their spirits now after they had taken off the King, was to set the Nation free from Tyranny, as well as from some they called principal Tyrants; and whether or no the drift of all their actions were but a meer changing of persons, but not of things or tyranny it self: and truly my observations and inquiries brought me in so little satisfaction in the visible intention of the ruling men, for all their many solemn Engagements to the contrary, that I looked cleerly at the whole tendency of their wayes, to drive at a greater Tyranny then ever, in the worst of the Kings Reign, (before the Parliament) was exercised: at which I bit my lip, but said little, and went to no meeting; which made many of my old faithfull friends be jealous of me, some of whom gave out some private hints, that I had now served my self by my pretended Reparations, and I was thereby quieted, and was become like all the rest of the world, and so there was an end of me. But I confesse, I was in a kinde of deep muse with myself, what to do with my self; being like an old weather-beaten ship, that would fain be in some harbour of ease and rest, and my thoughts were very much bent of going into Holland, where I conjectured I should be out of harms way, and get a little repose. And while I was thus musing, I heard from thence of a most transcendent height and rage that the Kings party there were in, especially about the beheading the late King; so that I judged there was no safety for me there, especially when I called to minde what the Postmaster of Burrow-brigs and others in York-shire told me as I came up from Newcastle, which was, that the Cavaliers in those parts were most desperate mad at me in particular, about the beheading of the late King: although I were as far as Newcastle when it was done, and refused to give my consent to be one of his Judges, although I was solicited so to be before I went out of London; yea, although I avowedly declared my self at Windsor against the manner and time of their intended dealing with him; arguing there very stiffly, that upon their own principles, which led them to look upon all legall Authority in England as now broken, they could be no better then murderers in taking away the Kings life though never so guilty of the crimes they charged upon him: for as

justice ought to be done, especially for bloud, which they then principally charged upon him; so said I, and still say, It ought to be done justly: For in case another man murder me, and a day, a week, or a yeer after my brother or friend that is no legall Magistrate, executes him therefore, yet this is mur-[43] der in the eye of the Law, because it was done by a hand had no Authority to do it. And therefore I pressed again and again, seeing themselves confess'd all legal Authority in England was broke, that they would stay his tryall till a new and equal free Representative upon the Agreement of the well-affected people, that had not fought against their Liberties, Rights and Freedoms, could be chosen and sit, and then either try him thereby, or else by their Judges sitting in the Court called Kings Bench. But they at Windsor ask'd me how by Law I could have him tried: I told them, the Law of England expresly saith, Whosoever murders or kils another shall die; it doth not say, excepting the King, Queen, or Prince, &c. but indefinitely, whosoever murders shall die; and therefore where none is excepted, there all men are included in Law: But the King is a man: *Ergo*, he is included as well as I. Unto which it was objected, that it would hardly be proved, that the King with his own hands kill'd a man: To which I answered, by the Law of England, he that counsels or commissionates others to kill a man or men, is as guilty of the fact, as he or they that do it: And besides, the advantage of trying of the King by the rules of the Law, would be sufficient to declare, that no man is born (or justly can be made) lawlesse, but that even Magistrates as well as people are subject to the penall part of the Law, as well as the directive part: And besides, to try him in an extraordinary way, that hath no reall footsteps nor paths in our Law, would be a thing of extraordinary ill Precedent; for why not twenty upon pretended extraordinary cases, as wel as one? and why not a thousand as well as twenty? and extraordinary cases are easily made and pretended by those that are uppermost, though never so unjust in themselves. And besides, to try him in an extraordinary way, when the Law hath provided all the essentials of justice in an ordinary way, (and meerly wants nothing (if it do want) but twelve Kings as his Peers or Equals) will nourish and increase in men that erroneous conceit, That Magistrates by the Law of God, Nature, and Reason, are not, no nor ought not to be subject to the penal part of the Laws of men, as well as the directive part of it, which is the bane, ruine and destruction of all the Common-wealths in the world.

I say, the consideration of the things fore-mentioned put me off the

thoughts of going to Holland my self: and then I put the query to my self, What course I should (being now a free man) take for my livelihood: for if I and my family lived upon the main stock, which was not very much, (now that I had paid almost all my debts) that would soon waste and be gone; and to take a place for my future livelihood, as I have been offered often, and that a considerable one; that I could not do, for these reasons: First, because I was not satisfied in the present power or Authority to act under them; and so if I should, I should be a supporter of so unjust and illegal a fabrick as I judged an everlasting Parliament (purged twice by force of Arms by the hands of their meer mercenary servants) to be; who were principally raised, hired and paid to kill those they esteemed and judged Bears, Wolves, Foxes and Poulcats: that took up Arms against the true, chaste and legally constituted Representative of the Nation, being not in the least hired or raised to be the Masters of their Masters, or the Lawgivers to the legal Law-makers of the Nation in case of necessity. And that an everlasting Parliament is de-[44] structive to the very life and soul of the Liberties of this Nation, I thus prove; first by Law, and secondly by Reason.

. . . .

[Lilburne's first reason for refusing a government office is that the Rump Parliament is in his opinion an unjust and illegal body, exercising a tyranny precisely similar to that formerly charged against the King and his ministers. In support of this contention, he offers (pp. 44-59) detailed legal and historical proof based upon Coke's *Institutes* (especially the fourth part), the two parts of the so-called "Parliamentary Book of Declarations" (*An Exact Collection Of All Remonstrances*, 1643; *A Collection of all the Publicke Orders, Ordinances and Declarations*, 1646), and the so-called "Book of Army Declarations" (*A Declaration of the Engagements*, 1647). At the conclusion of his rather protracted argument, he resumes the main thread of his story by setting forth a second reason for declining a post under the new regime.]

[59] But secondly, In case the Justices either in Law, or by reason of the power that now rules England, had to my understanding been a thousand times lesse unquestionable then it is, and had neither against the rules of reason ejected two parts of three to set up themselves, nor outstrip'd its Commission in sitting longer then they should, nor never had been forced once by the Apprentices, which the Army called and

declared Treason, and those that remained a mock and pretended Parliament; and if so, then it was dissolved, being sine die, and could legally meet no more at all: nor once forced by the Army; and then the second time not onely forced, but pick'd and culled, and one of four left behinde, by means of which it was totally destroyed and annihilated, and none left in a manner but such as would do what those that left them would have them: I say, if none of all this had been, I could not with freeness of my own spirit live upon the sweat of poor peoples brows, by a large Salary for my place, who are faine (now their Trades are gone, their estates spent for the intended recovering of their freedoms (of which notwithstanding they are cheated, and that by their pretended friends) and a famine come upon some parts of the Land, and thousands ready to starve) to pay taxations and Excise for the small beer they drink, and the poor clothes they wear, thousands of Families having never a penny in the world to buy bread for them, their wives and children, but what they earn with the sweat of their brows, and notwithstanding are almost as much without work, as with it: and yet out of the bowels, and pining bellies of these poor people, in this sad and deplorable condition must my salary have come, in case I had taken a publick place upon me: Therefore when I seriously consider how many men in the Parliament, and else-where of their associates (that judge themselves the onely Saints and godly men upon earth) that have considerable (and some of them vast) estates of their own inheritance, and yet take five hundred, one, two, three, four, five, six thousand pounds *per annum* salaries, and other comings in by their places, and that out of the too much exhausted publick Treasury of the Nation, when thousands, not onely of the people of the world, as they call them, but also of the precious and redeemed Lambs of Christ, are ready to sterve for want of bread, I cannot but wonder with my self, whether they have any conscience at all within them or no, and what they think of that saying of the Spirit of God: That whoso hath this worlds good, and seeth his brother hath need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, (which he absolutely doth, that any way takes a little of his little from him) how dwelleth the love of God in him? 1 John 3. 17. These actions and practices are so far from being like the true and reall children of the most high, that they are the highest oppression, theft and murder in the world, thus to rob the poor people in the day of their great distresse, by Excise, Taxations, &c. to maintain their pomp, superfluities, and debauchery; and many of those from whom they take it, do perish and sterve with want and hunger in the mean time; and be

deaf and adamant hearted to all their tears, cries, lamentations and mournful howling groans; without all doubt these pretended godly, religious men have got a degree beyond those Atheists or fools, that say in their hearts, There is no God, Psal. 14. 1. and 53. 1. And these are my reasons (with my resolvednesse of walking by a known rule amongst men, the declared Law of England) for not taking a publik place upon me, though I have often been proffered considerable ones, yea, that very fore-noon the Votes of Treason passed in the House against that honest Book or Adresse for which I am imprisoned, [60] called, *The Second Part of England's New Chains Discovered*.

In the third place, I considered with my self, that seeing I could do neither of these, then I must do one of these two; first, Either follow a Trade; or else, Go and buy, or farme some Land in the Country: and when I considered the grand oppressions there, as by Tythes, which is not onely annually the tenth part of the Husbandmans profit to the lazy, antichristian, time observing Priests; but annually the fourth part of his increase, labour, hazards, yea, and stock too; which Tythes I should sooner be hanged then pay: and not onely so, but also the Taxations and Excise, with that unfathomable gulf of free-quarter, by means of which a great Officer that bore me a spleen (amongst whom I have enemies enough) with a Regiment, or more, or fewer, in two or three nights (with free-quarter) might eat me (by force of arms) out of house and home; and so not only waste the increase, but also destroy the principall. And so for these reasons I was blockt off from going to live in the Country.

Then secondly, for a Trade, I must either follow it in London, or in some other Corporation: and in another Corporation (although the King the root and fountain of them be destroyed, and although I am not onely a Native and free Denizen of England, and served many yeers to learn a Trade in London, yet in any considerable Corporation in England) can I not with industry be suffered to follow a Trade or Merchandizing to get me bread, unlesse I be a Free man thereof; yea, Newcastle, the chiefest place in my eye, being nigh the aboad of my Father and kindred, is so grand inhausing a Monopolizer, that it monopoliseth the River of Tine, yea, and the land for seven miles distance; although it can produce neither Law nor Reason therefore, but onely a large bribing purse of the whole Corporation; which they in that Town say, is so heavie, it will break any private particular mans back: which yet I should not have feared, had there been any equall Law to have been had from the Administrators thereof in any of the Courts of Justice in England, being as well able (at least in my own thoughts) to plead my own case in Law at

any Bar against an inhausing Corporation, or a Patentee Monopolizer (both of which are against the fundamentall Laws and Liberties of England, as is notably proved by Cook in his exposition of the Statute of Monopolies, 3 part Instit. fol. 181. 182. &c.) as any Lawyer in England, it being my undoubted right both by Law (See 28. Ed. 1. chap. 11. and the Statute that abolished the Star-chamber) and Reason, to plead mine own cause, or any of my friends that will chuse and trust me; as any Barristers in the Nation, which I will publickly dispute with any Lawyer any day in the week; and for the unjustnesse of Corporations and Monopolies, which are both sons of one father, read my forementioned Book, called, *Innocency and Truth justified*, from the 46 page to the 63. and my book called, *Londons Liberties in chains discovered*, but especially pag. 21. 22. 36. 38. 41. 43. 44. 45. to 58. And my second part of it, called *Londons Charters*, pag. 36. 37. to 64. So being for the foregoing reasons block'd off from following a Trade any where else but in or about London, where I had the choice of three things.

First, Either to set up a Shop in the City; which I was staved off from, for these Reasons:

First, Because the Court of Aldermen are so oppressive in their Government of the City, setting up their own wills, humours, and irrational ridiculous Customs above both the Law, Reason and their own Charters; which I knowing so well as I do, (and which is pretty well anatomized in my foresaid Books) I should never bear, and so be continually in broils, which was my earnest desire to avoid.

Secondly, A man cannot well keep any considerable Trade in a Shop, but he must [61] trust much; which a man many times hazard the losse of; especially in these impoverishing times, or else to Law for it, which I never loved (never having had two Suits in my life, that I can remember) not onely for the jangling part of it, but also for the tedious, chargeable, intricate, hazardous uncertainty of the proceedings therein, as the Judges on purpose have made it to get money: for being often in company with an able, and a very honest man for a Lawyer, with other understanding friends, where we had notable discourses of the abuses of the Law, which were particularly instanced to be many, I took special notice of two things he often averred (to his praise I speak it) besides the proceeding for the most part in an unknown tongue, and an unlegible hand as writes, &c. which two things were these, that he would make good;

First, According to the practice in Westminster Hall, 'If a man lent another man 100 l. 500 l. or 1000 l. &c. and had as good security as any in England can give; yet when the day of payment comes, if the party be a

crafty baffling man, and have a good purse, he shall keep a man in the Courts in Westminster Hall three or four yeers in suit, let him do the worst he could, before he could get his money; nay, nor never shall get it neither, unlesse he have a purse also able in some reasonable measure to hold pace with him: but in case in any of that time (by sicknesse, losse or other casualties) he happen to fall poor, and so not able in money to pay fees, &c. its lost for ever: besides all this, the hazards he runs (are sufficient) by being betrayed, bought, and sold by his Solicitor or Attorney, &c. Besides the danger of common Knights of the post, to swear the money's paid, &c.?

Secondly, He did averre, that he would make it good before the Speaker at the Bar of the House of Commons upon his life; that for the Chancery, which tradesmen upon book accounts &c. are subject often to use, and there is not a decree of 100 l. from one yeares end to the other made in that Court, but jumbling all the decrees together one with another, some suits holding 10, 15, 20, 30 yeares, nay some above, but first and last it costs the Plaintiff 500 l. for every hundred pound decreed one with another; O brave, honest and reforming Parliament who in three dayes might mend all this easily and plainly, by a County record, by which a Suit never need to be of a months continuance, and for which they have often been Petitioned, but yet will not, but suffer it to continue worse then they found it, for all their great promises in their first Remonstrances, &c. to the contrary; yea and give their Judges their places freely, and 1000 l. per annum out of the Common-wealths mony, besides all their illegall and unfadomable fees; whereas in the Kings time they had but 200 l. per annum sallery and their fees; and most commonly paid 5, 6, 7, 8, 9000 l for their places, and yet were every whit as just as these are, for any thing that ever I could hear of to the contrary, and I think I have enquired as diligently into both as any one private man in England hath done; so for these reasons I durst not meddle with a shop in London.

And then in the next place, having multitudes of acquaintance both in City and Country, I had thoughts out of the Cities Freedom to turn Soap-boyle, being a good trade and most vendible for ready mony, and in it I met with these discouragements; viz. First, That there are new Monopolies upon some of the principall materials that makes them double prised to what they used to be, which most commonly are all imported from beyond seas, as oyl, tallow and pot-ashes, for which is paid both custome and Excise, yea and for the very coles that boyles them 4 or 5s. in a Chal-

dron; and scarce any thing free from Excise that belongs to it, or to the backs or bellies of the men that work it, but the very water; and yet notwithstanding when it is boyled and all hazard run, as spoyling or breaking of vessels, falling of the price of sope, or none vending of it, besides many other accidentall casualties, yet out of the very swet of his brows [62] and the industry and labour of the very fingers ends, there must Excise be paid of so much a Barrell; and that which is worst of all is this, my House which used to be my Castle, and so it is by Law, night or day must be at the Knave Excise mans pleasure, to search and break open for unsealed soape when he pleaseth; nay, notwithstanding all this I must be had to take my oath (after they will not trust me, but have searched what they can) at the Excise Office, that I have made no more but so and so, and it may be I judge such an Oath altogether unlawfull, and therefore cannot take it, and therefore to prison without any more adoe I goe, and must be fined at the will of the chief Excisers, and pay a noble a day to the Serjeant at Armes, besides his mans fees; and if I do take my oath, [and] * forswear my self, I hazard the Pillory for perjury besides the wounding of my conscience; but if I be consciencious that I cannot set my conscience upon the tenter-hooks by forswearing of my self; then I am destroyed in my trade by others that will undersell me by this stealing Excise, and swearing soundly to the contrary too, judging it (with Cromwell, as Major Huntington in his impeachment of him declares) no sinne it may be to deceive the deceiver or oppressor; and all this lyes upon us, in the first year of Englands Freedom by the Conservators of the Liberties thereof, who yet zealously and for the peoples welfare chopt of the Kings head for tyranny & oppression, although his loynes were never so heavy as their little finger is, O brave, unerring, unsinning, and everlasting, none-such Parliament.

And therefore last of all I had thoughts towards Winter to buy of my Unkle at Sunderland to lay up some coals at my habitation in Winchester-house, to sell in January and February, and in the mean time to lay out my mony in some adventure for Holland, and there I met with these difficulties: First, although I was as wary as any man in England could be, to see that Master Devenish title to the house was good in Law, and so I might justly and quietly expect the injoyment of my bargain from him; And thereby I see First his deeds, and the Parliaments Ordinances thereupon, and Secondly I went and spoke with Master John Cook the Lawyer, who drew up the conveyances betwixt Master Devenish and

* The original text reads "can." *Editors' note.*

Master Young, of whom Master Devenish for his life bought all Winchester House in Southwark; by all which, but especially from Master Cooks owne mouth, I cleerly and evidently found Master Devenish had as good a right in all Winchester house, for Master Youngs life both by Law and Ordinance, as its possible for any man in England to have to the cloaths he wears, or any thing else that he possesseth, although he takes the advice of twenty Lawyers in the buying and purchasing of them; which encouraged me to strike a bargaine with him for three years, for as much of the House as I am to pay annually almost 20 l. and yet since a Committee of Members with the Trustees of Bishops Lands will needs turne me and the honest man (by force of Armes) out of his Legall possession without any valuable consideration, or rendring at the least any reason wherefore, but only their Sovereigne wills and pleasures. O brave Parliament justice! without all doubt this is the liberty of the people, and the Law of the Land, that we have been contesting and fighting for these seven yeers together, or at least as much as they intend (now they have conquered us with our own mony and our own hands) we shall possesse and enjoy this unrighteous molestation, which with their illegall imprisoning of me hath spoyled a coal-Merchant of me for the present.

And in the second place, as my adventuring to Holland, when I came to inquire after the nature of that, I found these difficulties therin, First, A strict Monopoly, that none whatsoever shall ship any white cloth for that place but the Monopolisers themselves, and Secondly a general monopoly upon woollen commodities whatsoever, that unlesse you do as good as tell a lye; I found merchants still continued to be the chief customers, who [63] it seems have a trick to steal whole ship loads of custome for their own use, by means of which they undersell any other merchant, yea and thereby break the backs of new beginners; for being at my first inquiring thereinto with Master William Kiffin my quondam servant, though now my profest and blood-thirsty enemy, he told me a little before, he was one day at the Custome-house, and the chief men there had catcht a poor man that had stolne some custome, for which they were about fining and punishing him, why Master saith he to one of them in Kiffins hearing (as he averred to me) will you be so angry with me, and so harsh to punish me for a small toy, when I am but your own scholler, for I am sure its but the other day since by your own directions I helpt you to steal in a manner a whole ship-load of uncustomed goods: and you being so well pleased with that, my thinks you should not be so angry with me for stealing a little custome for my self.

But then Fourthly, The Prince was Master of the Sea then, so that I durst not venture it in a English bottom, some of which had laid in the Thames divers weeks loaded and durst not stirre out for want of convoy, which they had sought much for then to the Parliament, but could get none; and to ship it in a Dutch bottom, it did not only give the traid of shipping to the Dutch, and so destroy our English Mariners, but also by law to ship it in Dutch bottom, it is confiscated or at least must pay the custome of Aliens or strangers as appears by the statutes of 5 R 2. Ch. 3 & 6 R 2 cha. 8. & 4. H. 7. ch. 10. & 5. & 6. E. 6 cha. 18. & 1 H. 13. But having bought some cloth and stuffs I was necessitated to run the hazard of shipping them in Dutch bottom; but English woollen commoditie; being so great a drug in Holland as they are by reason of the merchant monopolisers, alias merchant adventurers, that ingrosse the trade to themselves, and buy their cloth here at what rates they please and sell it in Holland as dear a list; and so care not how little they vend so they get mony enough by that they sell and disable all others from trayding, by meanes of which the poor people here that depend upon cloth-making, wanting work are necessitated to leave the land of their nativity and goe to Holland to make cloth for the dutchmen to get bread to keep them alive; whereby they have almost got the English cloth making traid, and our wise, just and long winded Parliament, are willing they should so do, or else almost in nine years time they would have given some satisfactory effectuall answer in those multitudes of Petitions that have year after year been preferred to them, complaining of these unsufferable and destroying grievances, and yet they can assume to themselves a stile of the Conservators of the Liberties of England in the first year of Freedom, but I wonder where it is, for my eyes can see none at all in any kind, but rather more bondage then ever, witsesse now their Treason-trap, &c.

So English cloath being so great a drugg there, that little profit could I expect by my adventure, unless I laid out in the return most of my mony in such Commodities as are monopolized by new Patents, Ordinances, against the Laws and Liberties of England, and if I so did, when they come here (if the Monopolizers catch them) they are all lost; so here is our Freedom, but yet notwithstanding, I did order my factor to lay out the most of my mony there, in such commodities only, being resolved as soon as I could here of the ships arrival in the river of Thames, to board her with half a dozen lusty resolved blades; and with my own hand to give the chief Monopolizer a brace of pistoll bullets in his guts, or a prick with my Rapier or dager, in case he came to take away my goods from

me; and then to run the hazard of a tryal at common Law, to see whether by the Law of God, and of England; I could not justifie the preservation of my self and my goods, from any that come to rob me of them, and rather kill him or them, that would assault me and them, then suffer him or them to take away by force my livelyhood, and so by consequence the life of me and my family, but the counsell of States robbing me of my liberty, by my close imprisonment in the Tower hath frustrated my marchandizing hopes, yea [64] and it may be thereby break me to the bargain, but if they do, when they have seriously cast up their gains by it, they will not be six pence the richer, though my wife and little babes may be much more the poorer: But to turn back again to my coming out of the North, besides the thoughts of my future substance, in some honest industrious calling or other, I spent some time at Westminster, to see and satisfie my own understanding how the true sail of things stood at the helm, I mean with the three great men of the Army, viz. Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton; and whether I could finde out they had any real thoughts to prosecute their own agreement, that so we might have a new, equal, and just representative, which I upon my principles (now they had laid Kingly Government aside) look'd upon as the only and alone earthly salve, to heal and cure the wounds of this distracted and dying Nation, and to make it flourish once again in peace, Trade and all kinde of outward prosperity, and without which our wounds could never be healed or cured by any other means that could be invented or continued, looking in my own thoughts upon the then smal sitting remnant of the last Parliament, as a quite contrary interest to the peoples good or welfare; distributive Justice and universall righteousness, being their bane, and that which would be the unavoydable ruine by reason of that horrible guilt they have contracted by their self-seeking unjust wayes upon themselves; the great bug-bear the King being now gone, they would be necessarily led, for the supportation of themselves in the evill of their wayes, and continuance of their intended perpetual Greatnesse, to court, support, and make much of the chief Supporters of all the remaining corrupt Interest in England, as the Priests, and their robbing Tythes, the bane of industry; the Lawyers, and their monopolizing pleadings, and all their old and base enslaving corruptions in the execution of the Laws, as bad in a manner as the old bondage of Egypt; and of old and illegall Charter-mongers, the inhausers, engrossers, and Monopolizers of Trade, and all the base bondages thereunto belonging; the peoples freedoms and liberties being the onely thing now dreaded by them as the only engine to

pull down all the steps they have long laid for their elective Kingship, and the single enjoymnt amongst themselves alone (and their vassals, slaves and creatures) of all the great places thereunto belonging, and thereupon depending, which yet they must not immediately do, but go about it gradually, and first get the power of seeming legall authority, into a narrower compasse then it was, in their purged House of Commons; that so that might rule, counsel and direct their mock Parliament; and the Council of the Army might rule that; by means of which (what with the service of Ireland, &c.) they might so modulize their Army, that it in due time might totally become slavish by obeying without dispute what-ever their great Officers command them, and so unanimously elect, and impose upon the people their present generall for their King, as the onely fit, able, and best deserving man in England for that sovereign Place; provided, under hand he would ingage too high and mighty Oliver, and his Son in law Henry Ireton, to be sure to do as they would have him, and in his Kingship to promote those that they would have advanced, that so one of them might not fail after his decease to succeed him; and so in time, with their long continued power and wils, keep it in their Line, as the onely deserving Family in this Nation, who saved it from its enemies (for their own ends) in the day of its distresse; whose battels it fought pretendedly for the Liberties of England, crying out Jehu-like, 2 Kings 10. 16. Come, See my zeal therefore in cutting off the Kings head, &c. and razing out his Family: And undoubtedly it is of the Lord, for he hath prospered me in it (and so he did Judas in betraying Christ) and none hath been able to stand before me, Whenas, alas, all this successe may be no more but the rod of God to chastise a then more wicked Family, designed by God to that destruction; for the transgressions, sin, or blood thereof; Yet for all this, the heart may be no more upright then Jehu's was, which [65] vantingly lifted up by his great success, & took no heed at all to walk in the Law of (Justice, Truth, and Obedience) the Lord God of Israel with all his heart, but followed after (Mans Inventions and Devices) Jeroboam's wickedness, to wit the golden calfs in Dan and Bethel; for which wickedness and pride of his spirit, (after all his success in fulfilling the express will and command of God in cutting off from the earth Ahabs family, for the transcendent wickedness thereof) yet God begun to plague him, and in those daies cut Israel short, ye and afterward for the pride and wickedness of his posterity (unto whom to the fourth generation God gave the Crown of Israel) for Jehu doing well in executing that which was right in his eyes, in utterly cutting

of the house of Ahab for their bloodthirsty wickedness, according to the heart and mind of God, vers. 11. brought such plagues upon him and his people, that they became a spoil to all their neighbours, which made their affliction very bitter; insomuch that there was not any shut up, nor any left, nor any helper for Israel, chap. 14. 26. And as Jehu to the eyes of men conspired against his Master and killed him, being but a Captain in Israel; so "Shalum the son of Jabesh conspired against the last of his race and smote him before the people and slew him, and raigned in his stead," Chap. 15. 10. but because those that followed after took no warning by the righteous and grievous punishment of their predecessors for their wickednesse, to walk righteously and justly before the Lord; Therefore he made their Raignes very short, and full of blood and bitter affliction; and brought their heads to their graves most commonly by Conspiracy, and that many times of their Servants & Captains; as the sequel of the Story shews.

And in my Observations and private discourses at Westminster, I apparently found it to be as I feared, their main endeavours being closely carried on to perpetuate this Parliament for ever, and by it, a new (and then) endeavoured to be erected Councill of State, and the Councill of Warr, for the future (by the rules of their wills) to govern this declared Free Nation arbitrarily; and to make some Grand examples of terror, as that none for time to come should dare to stir, Which I there clearly saw, to my vexation and trouble, but was inwardly forced to bite my lip and be silent: but that which perplexed me most was that I found promotion and promised hopes of honour and gain had very much changed the principles, and cool'd the zeal of three or four of my familiar acquaintance and bosome friends, that not long before had been visibly and frequently the valiantest, stoutest, ablest Champions for Englands Liberties and Freedomes that I know in the Nation; some of whom very fairly and smoothly dealt often with my self, to be as prudent and wise in acceptation of the favours, and familiar respects of great men, as they had done; and at my coming to town Duke Hamilton, and the stout Lord Capel &c. had newly entred upon the stage for the tryal of their lives, and I confess, I was exceeding curious, in satisfying my self about the manner of dealing with them, and so up into the court I got and heard the begining of their defence, and afterwards went and spoke with them, looking upon them as part of the people of England unto whom if any injustice was done, it became a president to destroy me, or the most

righteous man in England, if the swaying faction pleased, and seeing these men acknowledg themselves subject to the penal part of the Law, as well as the directive part (which the King never did but to his dying hour maintained, those two most abominable and all humane society-destroying maximes viz. that he was accountable to no power on earth, (but God alone) as to punishment for any of his actions, though never so wicked: And secondly that the people have no share in Government, I thought my self and the liberties of my native Country concerned in the manner of their trial, though I neither then nor now liked the cause in which they engaged) as knowing and seeing very well when the hedges and freedoms of our liberties and freedoms have but a gape broken [66] downe in them, it is likely in time not only to become a path, but a high road way, to let in such an inundation of illegalities and arbitraries as shall overflow all and tread downe all underfoot, which is plainly to be read in Sir Walter Rawleys remarkable History of the Thirty grand Tyrants of Athens, in his *History of the World*, lib. chap. 9. sect. 2. fol. And which in time might become a meanes to pervert all the whole Fabricke of the whole English Government, of which my mind being full, I argued thus with my selfe.

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[Lilburne impugns (pp. 66-73) the action taken by the new government against the five royalist peers who had been captured during the second Civil War. For the purpose of dealing with these men, Parliament on February 3, 1649, appointed a High Court of Justice, similar to that which had been set up to try the King, and on March 6 they were sentenced to death. On March 8 Parliament confirmed the sentences against Hamilton, Holland, and Capel, and the next day these three were executed. Lilburne, by his own account, closely watched the proceedings and was consulted, during the trial, by friends of the accused. He assailed the measures taken against the prisoners, though at the same time he made clear his disagreement with their royalist principles. No man, he argued, could legally be accused, tried, and convicted, except by a legally constituted court, for an offense against a known law enacted by a legally constituted legislative body. The present Parliament, he held, was not such a body; the tribunal which it appointed to try the five peers was not a court of law; the sentences imposed were an arbitrary act of power, which contravened the legal rights of every Englishman. As he proceeds with his pleading on these points, Lilburne shows signs of increasing haste

and excitement, and finally breaks off somewhat abruptly in order to bring to a conclusion the lengthy pamphlet which he had, as he says, begun as "an ordinary epistle" to the Speaker of the House of Commons.]

[73] But having in length outstriped an ordinary epistle, and having much matter remaining, judging it more then time this that I have here writen to you, should come to publick view, (although I perish for so doing) I am forced and necessitated abruptly here to break of; and leave the remaining part for a second part to the same tune, if God spare me life and health, and give opportunity, although I be cut in ten thousand peeces therefore; for if every hair of Cromwel, Fairfax, Ireton, Haslerig, Bradshaw, and Harisons head, were a Regiment or Legion of armed men, I would by Gods assistance in the present righteous cause in which they have deeply imbarqued me, (by their lawless Cruelty and Tyranny) fear them no more then so many butterflyes or motes in the sun; for behold, God is my salvation, I will trust and not be afraid, for the Lord Jehovah is my strength, and my song, he also is (long since) become my Salvation, Isa. 12. 2. Therefore will I sing rejoyce and be merry, for he hath fitted me for all manner of deaths; in inabling me through his strength power and presence, any time this twelve years together to carry my life in my hand, and to be always ever since in readiness at a quarter of an hours warning to lay it down; which I shall as freely doe (as eat) in this just and righteous quarrel; viz. the liberties of the land of my nativities against the apostacies and tyrannies of her most perfidious and treacherous professed friends, and the holding out of Gods Sovereignty amongst the sons of men, as being that one, single, individual alone (either in heaven or earth) that is to raign, rule, govern, and give a law by his will and pleasure to the sons of men; the absolute workmanship of his hands or power; And therefore to thee O Cromwel, O Fairfax, O Ireton, O Haslerig, &c. in the power, might and strength of the Lord God Omnipotent and Almighty, [74] that Reigns and shall Rule for ever and ever; before whom the stoutest Devils in Hell doe quake and tremble; and before whom You are all of you as inconsiderable as motes in the Sun, as the dust of the ballance, or the smallest drop of the bucket: To you, I say, in my present condition, as Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego in their great distresse, as to the outward man, (Dan. 3.) said once to your brother Tyrant Nebuchadnezzar; Be it known unto you, that for all your power and worldly greatnesse (with all your armed Jannisaries) that I fear you not, nor am carefull to answer you in the

matter in Controversie betwixt us; for the God whom (with my soul and body) I serve (with uprightness of heart) is able to deliver me, from the burning fiery fornace, (your cruell close Imprisonment, Banishment, Dungeons, or Death it self) yea, and he will deliver me out of your cruell hands, O (perfidious cruel) Tyrants.

But if he will not, Be it known unto you, O (apostatized) Tyrants, that I will not serve you (stoop or submit unto you) nor worship your Idoll or golden Image that you have set up (your Arbitrary power and unlimited greatnesse.)

But least God should give or permit you a larger power over me then he did the Devil over Job to murder me before I can write the second part hereof; therefore I shal now give you the heads of my intentions, and so conclude.

First, From the perplexitie of my spirit with the unjust dealings with Capel, &c. I left Westminster and retired home, resolved in solitarinesse there to abide, where I was grievously tormented with the cryes of poor people who came to me in multitudes for advice in their tedious suits of Law, whose complaints without any hopes of remedy that I could give them, made my house a place of torment to me, which forced me to visit Westminster againe, where

2ly, I heard the certainty of Husons, Whaleys and Major Bartons desperat height at their Councel of War at Whitehall, at or neer upon the 22 of Feb. 1648. to ingage that Councel (*vi & armis*) to procure by Cromwels means a Law at their pleasure to dispatch me and my honest friends the Whalboneers; which when I examined from friend to friend, and found it to be very true by the attestation of plurality of their own Officers, my spirit was all on fire, (and no Lyon of the Army to me then so full of dread, but I durst incounter with) to consider with my self that all our Liberties and large expectations must Center in this, "That now our lives must be at the absolute wil and pleasure of a company of bloody and inhumane Butcherers of men, that had served seven yeers apprenticeship to that bloody and wicked trade of cutting of mens throats for money, and nothing else; who never had kept faith or troth with any sorts of men they dealt with, and yet must now become our Accusers, Prosecuters, Witnesses, Parties, Jury, Judges, and Executioners": At the very thoughts of which I was even confounded in my spirit, and which justly and throughly ingaged me in the chief manning of the first and second part of *Englands new Chains discovered*: The first of which I presented at the Commons Barre, with a speech to it, the 26 Febr. 1648.

the second part of which I, &c. had got divers thousands of hands to: the truth of every line of which, (for all its declared treasonable) I will seal with my heart blood; and undertake before a new Representative (to whom I hereby again appeal) to prove every charge in it upon my Life. I shall also give the Reasons wherefore I have flown so high, as I have done, which is, because they have thought it just in them to accuse the King, the supreme Magistrate, of Treason; and yet have thought and declared it Treason in me, &c. to goe about the doing of any such thing to Mr. Oliver, that I will maintain it upon my life, more (*comperatis comperandis*) legally deserves it then ever the King did; And yet though I, &c. trode in the very path [75] that they themselves (I mean both Parliament and Army) chalked out unto us: viz. by Petition, 1 *part Book Declar.* pag. 123, 201, 202, 548, 720. and Armies Book Declar. page 17, 33, 35, 44, 60, 61. yea, see page 83. and you shall there finde in the fifth Article, they impeached Mr. Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Mr. Glynn for Traytors, For obstructing and prejudging of publique Petitions to the Parliament; and yet they adjudged and condemned me, &c. for a Traytor therefore, without so much as ever hearing me to speak for my self; and then after they had condemned me, went about at the Kings-Bench-Bar to try me for my life; unto whom, if I stooped, I was sure to be gone, being already prejudged: Again, I shall also acquaint you with the severall Discourses Mr. Holland, Mr. Hunt, &c. had with me about these Businesses, and the large proffers I had from them, yea, and from Mr. Alexander Rigby as the mouth of Sir Henry Mildmay the Grandees Agent, who had Commission (as he said) to proffer Me and my Comrades large places and preferments; so we would sit still, and let the Grandees goe on with their work: Which I with detestation refused at the house doore, the very forenoon, I was adjudged a Traytor, and there-upon the same day in the Afternoon, the Votes of Treason past against me, &c. and my *Second part of Englands New-chains discovered.*

And seeing the Businesse of Scroop's men is wrongfully father'd upon me, who never will incite Souldiers nor others to declare upon any thing else but our printed Agreement of the 1. May 1649. and that when they do draw their Swords against their General, &c. they shall throw away their Scabbards, and rather fight with him, then treat with him, without either resolving to give or take Quarter; yet I say, seeing this is put upon my score, I hope I shall evidently make it appear (*comparatis comparandis*) That I am able to give 99 in the hundred to any Champion the Generall hath in England, and from Scripture, Law, Reason, and their

own Declarations, to make their action appear more just then the Generals severall Rebellions against the Parliament, his Creators, and extraordinary good Benefactors; or his Rebellion and the Parliaments against the King in the late Warrs.

And lastly, I shall shew the falseness and malignity of the late Discoverers designe, of fathering upon me, &c. all the erronious tenents of the poor Diggers at George hill in Surrey, laid down in their late two avowed Books, called, *The true Levellers Standard*, and *The new law of Righteousnesse*, to which they have annexed their names: The Readers taking notice of which alone, may be an answer to all that abominable lying late Book, called, *The Discoverer*. And so, Mr. Speaker, thanking you for some late kindnesses in your House, I received from you, I take leave to subscribe my self

An honest and true-bred, free Englishman; that never
in his life feared a Tyrant, nor loved an Appressor.

JOHN LILBURN.

From my close, unjust, and causelesse Captivity, without allowance, (the legall right of all men in my case) in the Tower of London, this 8. of June 1649. The first yeer of England's declared Freedom, by the lying and false pretended Conservators thereof, that never intended it.

FINIS

The Printer to the Reader.

Reader, As thou the faults herein dost spy,
I pray thee to correct them with thy Pen:
The Author is Close-Prisoner, knows not why;
And shall have Liberty, but knows not when.

But if he Falls; as he hath Liv'd, he Dies
A faithfull Martyr for Our Liberties.

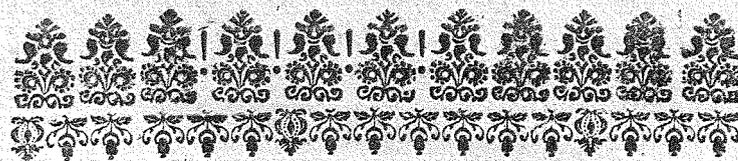
THE JUST DEFENCE OF JOHN LILBURN

The Just Defence is reprinted from a photostat of a copy in the British Museum. Lilburne was banished for life by an ordinance of the House of Commons on January 30, 1652. He returned to England, without leave, after the dissolution of Parliament by Cromwell in April, 1653. Back in London, he laid claim to Cromwell's protection by publishing a printed sheet called, *The Banished mans suit for Protection*. This was dated June 14 and entered by Thomason the following day. Lilburne was at once arrested and sent to Newgate. He was put on trial for his life on July 13 and acquitted on August 20. Between June 14 and the end of August, 1653, the prisoner and his sympathizers issued at least thirty pamphlets, printed sheets, and petitions, which found their way into Thomason's collection. *The Just Defence* was one of the series. Notwithstanding the fact that Thomason dated his copy August 23, internal evidence makes clear that the pamphlet was written and probably published during the author's trial and before his acquittal.

THE/ JUST DEFENCE/ OF/ JOHN LILBURN,/ Against/
Such as charge him with Turbulency/ of Spirit./ Job. 5. 15. *But he saveth the poor from the sword, from the mouth and from the hand of the mighty./*

ALTHOUGH it be a small thing with me now, after many yeers of sufferings, to be judged of any, or of mans judgement, knowing how apt men are to judge things hastily before the time, before the Lord come, who will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts, yet considering how vehemently at present my life is sought after (as for a long time it hath been) and that those who so earnestly desire my blood, wanting matter in true law to compass it, have by their politick Agents, filled almost every mans mouth with clamours against me, that I have ever been, and continue a man of a turbulent spirit, always opposing, striving, and flying in the

(1) Lilburne 10



THE JUST DEFENCE

OF
JOHN LILBURN,

Against
Such as charge him with Turbulency
of Spirit.

Aug: 25 1653



Job 5. 15. *But he saveth the poor from the sword, from the mouth and from the hand of the mighty.*



Although it be a small thing with me now, after many yeers of sufferings, to be judged of any, or of mans judgement, knowing how apt men are to judge things hastily before the time, before the Lord come, who will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts, yet considering how vehemently at present my life is sought after (as for a long time it hath been) and that those who so earnestly desire my blood, wanting matter in true law to compass it, have by their politick Agents, filled almost every mans mouth with clamours against me, that I have ever been, and continue a man of a turbulent spirit, always opposing, striving, and flying in the faces of all authorities, rebels, and never satisfied whoever is uppermost; yea, though those whom

faces of all authorities, restless, and never satisfied whoever is uppermost; yea, though those [2] whom I my self have labored by might and maine to advance and bring into power: and that therefore it is very requisite I be taken off, and that otherwise England must never look to rest long in peace; yea, so turbulent, that if there were none in the world but John Lilburne, rather then want one to strive withall, forsooth, John would certainly quarrel with Lilburne. Finding that this, how slight and unjust soever, hath prevailed more then true Christianity would admit, and threatens my life more then any matter that is against me, most men of judgement evidently seeing that nothing is laid to my charge, worthy either of death or bonds; I take my self obliged to vindicate my conversation from all such wicked & causless aspersions lest by my silence I should seem guilty, and to have nothing to plead in my defence.

All therefore who have any of the true fear of God in them, may please to take notice, that as they ought to judge nothing before the time, so are they to be careful not to judge according to appearance, but to judge righteous judgement: the reason is, because the appearance of things, the gloss and outside is usually made by politicians, the Arts-men and Craftsmen of the world, for maintenance of their corrupt interests; these will be the sole interpreters of men and things, raising, by art and sophistry, such mists before mens eyes, as what therewith, and by changing themselves into the shape of Angels of light, deceive (were it possible) the very elect: but whosoever judgeth according to their Vote, is certaine to judge amiss, may soon be a slanderer, and soon after a murtherer; and if he stop not quickly, go to hell with them, which is the end of all such as love and make a lye, especially such lyes as whereby mens lives are put in danger.

For thus dealt the false prophets with the true, and by their craft and policy led many people to destroy them; and so likewise dealt the Scribes and Pharisees with the Lord Jesus himself, giving out he was a winebibber, a friend of Publicans and sinners, that he cast out devils by Beelzebub the prince of devils: and that for no other cause, but that he published doctrines destructive to their interest of glory and domination.

And just so dealt they with the Apostles and Disciples of our Lord, as may be seen Acts 4. and throughout the whole body of the Scriptures: and as Heb. 11. 37. were stoned, were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slaine with the sword, wandered about in sheep-skins and goats-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented, of whom the world was not worthy; they wandered in desarts, and in mountaines, and in dens, and caves of

the earth. And all these in their several times were reviled and reproached as turbulent persons, as Paul and Silas were in Acts 17. 6. And when they found them not, they drew out Jason and divers brethren unto the rulers of the City, crying, These that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also, whom Jason hath received, and these do all contrary to the decrees of Caesar, saying, There is another King, one Jesus.

And thus in every age ever since hath it been, as witness all the volumes of the books of Martyrs, and the Chronicles of almost every nation; and thus sometimes upon a religious, and sometimes upon a civil account, and very often upon both in one and the same persons: the most faithful servants of Christ in every country where they lived, being ever the greatest enemies to tyranny and oppression, and the most zealous maintainers of the known laws and liberties of their Country, as was John Hus in Bohemia, Jerom of Prague, John Wickliff in England, the Martyrs in Queen Maryes dayes, the Hugonots or Protestants in France, the Gues in the Low-Countrys; all not only esteemed [3] Hereticks by the Church, but rebels and traytors to their several States and Princes.

And to come home to our selves, and to our own knowledge, none have in the least opposed the illegal practices of those that for the time being have been uppermost, but as they have been given out to be Hereticks and Schismaticks; so also to be factious and seditious, men of contentious and turbulent spirits: and this for no other cause, but for standing for the truth, and contending for the known laws of the land; the prosecutors and cryers out of turbulency, proving ever unjust persons and oppressors; and the oppressed and sufferers, though through the policies of wicked men they have been supposed to suffer as evil doers, yet a short time hath proved they have suffered for truth and right, and were both faithful to God, to their consciences, and truest friends to their native countries, and to the laws and liberties thereof, which rightly understood, give check to all such unjust and evil practices: So that if men would but consider whence the cry ariseth, and that it cometh ever from those that do the injury, and is done purposely to fit and prepare such for destruction as oppose their unjust designs, that whom by law they cannot destroy, first to kill their reputation, and to render them odious; that so what violence or bloody injustice is done unto them, may be digested, if not fully approved. I say, were these truths considered, well-meaning people would not be so easily deluded and drawn in to cry, as these politicians cry; nor so easily under the notion of turbulent spirits give up in

sacrifice the lives and bloods of their dearest and best friends, to the lawless lusts and wills of ambitious men, untill none are left that dare utter one word in defence of known rights, or once open their mouths in opposition of arbitrary and illegal proceedings.

For wherein can it be made appear that I ever have been, or am of a turbulent spirit? true it is, since I have had any understanding, I have been under affliction, and spent most of my time in one prison or other; but if those that afflicted me did it unjustly, and that every of my imprisonments were unlawful, and that in all my sufferings I have not suffered as an evil doer, but for righteousness sake; then were they turbulent that afflicted and imprisoned me, and not I that have cried out against their oppressions; nor should my many imprisonments be more a blemish unto me, then unto the Apostle Paul, who thought it no dishonour to remember those that somewhat despised him, that he had been in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft.

And truly, though I have not wherewith to compare with those glorious witnesses of God, that in the Apostles times sealed the testimony of Jesus with their bloods, nor with those that in the ages since, down to these times, who have with the loss of their own lives brought us out of the gross darkness of Popery, into a possibility of discerning the clear truths of the Gospel; yet as I have the assurance of God in my own conscience, that in the day of the Lord I shall be found to have been faithful, so though the policies of the adversaries of those truths I have suffered for, do blinde many mens understandings for a season concerning me, yet a time will come when those that now are apt to censure me of rashness and turbulency of spirit, will dearly repent that ever they admitted such a thought, confess they have done me wrong, and wish with all their hearts they had been all of my judgement and resolution.

There being not one particular I have contended for, or for which I have suffered, but the right, freedome, safety, and well-being of every particular man, woman, and child in England hath been so highly concerned therein, that their freedome or [4] bondage hath depended thereupon, insomuch that had they not been misled in their judgements, and corrupted in their understandings by such as sought their bondage, they would have seen themselves as much bound to have assisted me, as they judge themselves obliged to deliver their neighbour out of the hands of theeves & robbers, it being impossible for any man, woman, or child in England, to be free from the arbitrary and tyrannical wills of men, ex-

cept those ancient laws and ancient rights of England, for which I have contended even unto blood, be preserved and maintained; the justness and goodness whereof I no sooner understood, and how great a check they were to tyranny and oppression, but my conscience enforced me to stand firme in their defence against all innovation and contrary practices in whomsoever.

For I bless God I have been never partial unto men, neither malicing any, nor having any mans person in admiration, nor bearing with that in one sort of men, which I condemned in others.

As for instance, the first fundamental right I contended for in the late Kings and Bishops times, was for the freedom of mens persons, against arbitrary and illegal imprisonments, it being a thing expresly contrary to the law of the land, which requireth, That no man be attached, imprisoned, &c. (as in Magna Charta, cap. 29) but by lawful judgement of a Jury, a law so just and preservative, as without which intirely observed, every mans person is continually liable to be imprisoned at pleasure, and either to be kept there for moneths or yeers, or to be starved there, at the wills of those that in any time are in power, as hath since been seen and felt abundantly, and had been more, had not some men strove against it; but it being my lot so to be imprisoned in those times, I conceive I did but my duty to manifest the injustice thereof, and claime and cry out for my right, and in so doing was serviceable to the liberties of my country, and no wayes deserved to be accounted turbulent in so doing.

Another fundamental right I then contended for, was, that no mans conscience ought to be racked by oaths imposed, to answer to questions concerning himself in matters criminal, or pretended to be so.

The ancient known right and law of England being, that no man be put to his defence at law, upon any mans bare saying, or upon his own oath, but by presentment of lawful men, and by faithful witnesses brought for the same face to face; a law and known right, without which any that are in power may at pleasure rake into the brests of every man for matter to destroy life, liberty, or estate, when according to true law and due proceedings, there is nought against them; now it being my lot to be drawn out and required to take an oath, and to be required to answer to questions against my self and others whom I honoured, and whom I knew no evil by, though I might know such things by them as the opposors and persecutors would have punished them for, in that I stood firm to our true English liberty, as resolvedly persisted therein, enduring a most cruel whipping, pilloring, gagging, and barbarous imprisonment, rather then

betray the rights and liberties of every man; did I deserve for so doing to be accounted turbulent? certainly none will so judge, but such as are very weak, or very wicked; the first of which are inexcusable at this day, this ancient right having now for many yeers been known to all men; and the latter ought rather to be punished then be countenanced, being still ready to do the like to me or any man. I then contended also against close imprisonment, as most illegal, being contrary to the known laws of the land; and by which tyrants and oppossors in all ages have broken the spirits of the English, and sometimes broken their very hearts, [5] a cruelty few are sensible of, but such as have been sensible by suffering; but yet it concerns all men to oppose in whomsoever; for what is done to any one, may be done to every one: besides, being all members of one body, that is, of the English Commonwealth, one man should not suffer wrongfully, but all should be sensible, and endeavour his preservation; otherwise they give way to an inlet of the sea of will and power, upon all their laws and liberties, which are the boundaries to keep out tyranny and oppression; and who assists not in such cases, betrayes his own rights, and is over-run, and of a free man made a slave when he thinks not of it, or regards it not, and so shunning the censure of turbulency, incurs the guilt of treachery to the present and future generations. Nor did I thrust my self upon these contests for my native rights, and the rights of every Englishman, but was forced thereupon in my own defence, which I urge not, but that I judge it lawful, praise-worthy, and expedient for every man, continually to watch over the rights and liberties of his country, and to see that they are violated upon none, though the most vile and dissolute of men; or if they be, speedily to indeavour redresse; otherwise such violations breaches, and incroachments will eat like a Gangrene upon the common Liberty, and become past remedy: but I urge it, that it may appear I was so far from what would in me have been interpreted turbulency, that I contended not till in my own particular I was assaulted and violated.

Neither did I appear to the Parliament in their prime estate as a turbulent person, though under as great suffering as ever since, but as one grievously injured, contrary to the Laws and Rights of England; and as one deserving their protection and deliverance out of that thraldom wherein I was, and of large and ample reparation, as they did of Mr. Burton, Mr. Pryn, and Dr. Bastwick; and which their favourable and tender regard to persons in our condition, gained them multitudes of faithful friends, who from so just and charitable a disposition appearing

in them, concluded they were fully resolved to restore the Nation to its long lost liberty without delay.

Being delivered by them, and understanding their cause to be just, the differences between them and the late King daily increasing, I frequently adventured my self in their defence; and at length, the controversie advancing to a war, I left my Trade and all I had, and engaged with them, and did what service I was able, at Edge-hill, and afterwards at Branford, where after a sharp resistance, I was taken prisoner; and refusing large offers if I would renounce them, and serve the King, I was carried a pinioned prisoner to Oxford, where I endured sorrows and afflictions inexpressible: yet neither by enemy nor friend, was ever to that time accounted turbulent, though I there insisted for my Rights as earnestly and importunately as ever, and as highly disdained all their threats or allurements; and again found so much respect from the Parliament, as when my life was most in danger, to be once more preserved by them; though then not so freely as at first, but upon the earnest and almost distracted solicitation of my dear wife, violently rushing into the House, and casting her self down before them at their Bar: for now their hearts were not so soft and tender as at first: but so far was I then from this new imputation of turbulency, either in City, Country, Parliament, or Army, that I had every ones welcom at my return; and my Lord General Essex to express his joy and affection to me, though he knew me a noted Sectary (a people he was so unhappy to disaffect) that he gave me no less then betwixt 200 and 300 l. in mony, and offers of any kindness; which I shall ever thankfully remember to his just honour.

But Col. Homsteed, and all non-conformists, Puritans, and Sectaries being daily [6] discouraged and wearied out of that Army; and the Earl of Manchester Major General of the associate Counties, giving countenance unto them, I put my self under his Command, my then most dear friend, as much honored by me, as any man in the world, the now Lord General Cromwel, being then his Lieut. General: what services I performed whilst I continued under their command, will not become me to report; I shall onely say this, that I was not then accounted either a coward, or unfaithful; nor yet of a turbulent or contentious spirit, though I received so much cause of dislike at some carriages of the said Earl, as made me leave the service, and soon after coming for London, discovered so great a defection in the Parliament from their first Principles, as made me resolve never to engage further with them, until they repented and returned, and did their first works: from which they were so far, as

that there had not been any corrupt practice formerly complained of, either in the High-Commission, Star-Chamber, or Council-Table, or any exorbitancies elsewhere, but began afresh to be practised both by the House of Lords, and House of Commons, without any regard to those Antient fundamental Laws and Rights, for the violation of which, they had denounced a war against the King.

Nor did they thus themselves, but countenanced and encouraged the same throughout the Land, illegal imprisonments, & close-imprisonments, & examinations of men against themselves, everywhere common; and upon Petitions to Parliament, in stead of relief, new Ordinances made further to intangle them, and all still pointed against the most Conscientious peaceable people, such as could not conform to Parliament-Religion, but desired to worship God according to their own Judgements and Consciences; a just freedom to my understanding, and the most just and reasonable, and most conducing to publick peace that could be; and in the use whereof, I had in some yeers before, enjoyed the comfortable fruition of a gracious God and loving Saviour; and which occasioned me, so soon as the Controversie about liberty of Conscience began, to appear with my pen in its just defence, against my *quondam* fellow-sufferer Mr. Pryn, as a liberty due not onely according to the word of God, which I effectually proved, but due also by the fundamental Laws of the Land, which provide that no man be questioned, or molested, or put to answer for any thing, but wherein he materially violates the person, goods, or good name of another: and however strange the defence thereof then appeared, time hath proved that it is a liberty which no conscientious man or woman can spare, being such, as without which every one is lyable to molestation and persecution, though he live never so honestly, peaceably, and agreeable to the Laws of the Land; and which every man must allow, that will keep to that golden rule, to do as he would be done unto.

And though my ready appearing also for this my native Right, and the Right of every man in England, gained me many adversaries (for men will be adverse to the best and justest things that ever were, till through time and sound consideration, the understanding be informed) yet neither for this was I accounted turbulent, or of a contentious spirit.

My next engagement was as a witness against the Earl of Manchester, upon Articles exhibited by his Lieutenant-General Cromwel; wherein I being serious, as knowing matters to be foul, opened my self at large, as thinking the same was intended to have been thorowly prosecuted: but the great men drew stakes, and I was left to wrestle with my Lord, who,

what by craft, as setting his mischievous Agent Col. King upon my back, and the Judges of the Common Pleas, and upon that the power of the House of Lords, as got me first an imprisonment in New-gate, and after that in [7] the Tower. Against which oppression, for urging the fundamental Laws of England against their usurped and innovated powers, I then began to be termed a factious, seditious, and turbulent fellow, not fit to live upon earth. For now by this time, both House of Lords and House of Commons were engaged in all kindes of arbitrary and tyrannical practices, even to extremity. So that I must pray the judicious Reader well to mark the cause for which I was first accounted turbulent, viz. for urging the fundamental Law of the land against those that thought themselves uppermost in power, and above the power of Law, as their practices manifested; and he shall finde, that for no other cause have I been reputed so ever since to this very day; and that it shall be any mans portion that doth so.

About this time, the Army began to dispute the command of Parliament; and that as they largely declared, because the Parliament had forsaken their rule, the fundamental Laws of England, and exercised an arbitrary and tyrannical power over the consciences, lives, liberties, and estates; and instanced in me and others, who had been long illegally imprisoned. These now espousing the publike Cause, and that their onely end was, that the ancient Rights and Liberties of the people of England might be cleared and secured, not onely prevailed with me, but thousands others in London, Southwark, and most places thorowout the Land, so to adhere unto them, as notwithstanding great preparations against them both by Parliament and City of London, yet they prevailed without bloodshed. A friendship they should not have forgotten.

Obstacles being thus removed, I who with many others, had adhered to them, daily solicited the performance of the end of this great undertaking and engagement, viz. the re-establishment of the fundamental laws: but as it appeared then in part, and more plainly since, there being no such real intention, whatever had been pretended upon this our solicitation, the countanances of the great ones of the Army began to change towards us, and we found we were but troublesome to them, and accounted men of turbulent and restless spirits; but at that time the Agitators being in some power, these aspersiones were but secretly dispersed.

We seeing the dangerous consequence of so suddain a defection, from all those zealous promises and protestations made as in the presence of

God: and having been instrumental in their opposition of the Parliamentary authority, and knowing that in our consciences, nor in the sight of God, we could not be justified, except we persevered to the fulfilling of the end, The restauration of the Fundamental Laws and Rights of the Nation; and I especially, who had spilt both my own and other mens bloods in open fight, for the attainment thereof, look'd upon my self as no other or better then a murtherer of my brethren and Country-men, if I should onely by my so doing make way for raising another sort of men into power, and so enable them to trample our Laws and Liberties more under foot then ever. Upon these grounds, I ceased not day nor night to reduce those in chiefest power into a better temper of spirit, and to perswade them to place their happiness not in Absoluteness of domination, but in performance of their many zealous Promises and Declarations made with such vehemencie of expression, as in the presence of God, and published in print to all the world; urging what a dishonour it would be to the whole Army, to have their faith so broken and violated, that though they might succeed in making out power and domination to some few of them, yet God could not be satisfied, nor their consciences be at peace. This was my way to most of them for a long time: but I may truely say, with David, They plentifully payd me hatred for my good will; and for my good counsel, (for so I believe time will prove it, though now they seem to ride on the wings of prosperity with their ill-[8] gotten wealth and power) they layd snares to take away my life.

And in order thereunto, I with others being at the prosecuting of a Petition, one of their officious Spyes lays an accusation against me at the House of Commons bar; where clayming a Tryal at Law for any thing could be alleadged against me, and denying their Authority as to be my Judges, and for maintaining that I ought not to be tryed in any case but by a Jury of my Neighbourhood; For this doing, I was sent again prisoner to the Tower, where I continued for many months; and then again accounted a factious, seditious, and turbulent fellow, that owned no Authority, and that would have no Government; the cause being still the same, for that I would not renounce the Law my birthright, and submit to the wills of men in power, which as an English man I am bound to oppose.

But new Troubles appearing, and the great ones being in supposition they might once more need their dissatisfied friends, after a sore imprisonment, I obtained my liberty, and so much shew of respects, as to have the damages (alotted for my sufferings under the Star-chamber sentence) ascertained: but not the least motion towards the performance

of publike engagements, but only as troubles came, as about that time they did appear, upon the general rising & coming in of Hamilton, Goring, and the like, then indeed promises were renewed, and tears shed in token of repentance, and then all again embraced as Friends, all names of reproach cease, turbulent, and leveller, and all; and welcome every one that will now but help; and this trouble being but over, all that ever was promised should be faithfully and amply performed: but no sooner over, then all again forgotten; and every one afresh reproached, that durst but put them in minde of what they so lately had promised: yea, all such of the Army, under one pretence or other, excluded the Army, and so nothing appearing but a making way for Absoluteness, and to render the Army a meer mercenary servile thing, sutable to that end, that might make no conscience of promises, or have any sense of the Cause for which they were raised.

Perceiving this, I with others having proved all their pretences of joyning in an Agreement of the People to be but delusion, and that they neither broke the Parliament in pieces, nor put the King to death, in order to the restauration of the Fundamental Laws of the Nation whatever was pretended, but to advance themselves; I having been in the North about my own business while those things were done, and coming to London soon after, and finding (as to the Common Freedom) all things in a worse condition, and more endangered then ever, made an application to the Councel of the Army by a Paper, wherein were good grounds of prevention: but some there making a worse use thereof, interpreted the same a disturbance of the Army, earnestly moving they might get a Law to hang such as so disturbed them; affirming they could hang twenty for one the old Law could do.

Whereupon, we applyed our selves to the new purged Parliament, with a Paper called *The Serious Apprehensions*: unto which obtaining no answer, I endeavoured to have gotten hands to another Paper to be presented to the House, which was printed under the title of *The second Part of Englands new Chains discovered*; wherein was laid open much of what since hath been brought upon the Nation of will and power; which at this day deserveth to be read by all that conceive me to be of a turbulent spirit, wherein they will finde the cause still the same, viz. my constant adherence to the known rights of the nation, and no other.

Upon this, I was fetched out of bed and house by a party of horse and foot, in such a dreadful manner, as if I had been the greatest traitor to the laws and liberties of England, that ever was; the souldiers being

raised onely against such traitors, and [9] not to seize upon men that strove for their restoration; but now the case was altered, and I must be no less then a traitor, and so taken, and so declared all over England, with my other fellow-sufferers, and all clapt up prisoners in the Tower, and after a while close prisoners, and then not only aspersed to be factious and turbulent, but Atheists, and Infidels, of purpose to fit us for destruction.

And though after a long and tedious imprisonment, they could never finde whereof legally to accuse us for any thing they put us in prison, yet scrap'd they up new matter against me, from the time they gave me liberty to visit my sick and distressed family; a thing heathens would have been ashamed of (but who so wicked as dissembling Christians?) and upon this new matter, small as it was, what a Tryal for my life was I put upon? what an absolute resolution did there appeare to take away my life? but God and the good Consciences of twelve honest men preserved me, and delivered me of that their snare; which smote them to the heart, but not with true repentance; for then had they ceased to pursue me: but just before that my Tryal, it is not to be forgotten, how a Declaration was set forth by the then Councel of State, signifying my compliance with young Charles Stuart, just as now was published in print upon the very morning I was brought to the Sessions-house: yea, and the same papers brought into the now Parliament, of purpose to bespeak and prevent the effect of those Petitions then presented in my behalf, and to turn the spirits of the House against me: so that nothing is more evident, then that the same hand still stones me, and for the same cause; and that I may be murdered with some credit, first they kill me with slanders: but as they in wickedness, so God in righteousness, and the Consciences of good men in matter of Justice, is still the same; and I cannot doubt my deliverance.

God and the Consciences of men fearing him more then men, freeing me from this danger, I endeavoured to settle my self in some comfortable way of living, trying one thing and another; but being troubled with Excise, wherein I could not sherk like other men, I was soon tired; and being dayly applyed unto for Counsel by friends, I resolved to undertake mens honest causes, and to manage them either as Sollicitor or Pleader, as I saw cause; wherein I gave satisfaction. And amongst others, I was retained by one Master Jos. Primate in a cause concerning a Colliery, which I found, though just, to have many great opposers, and chiefly my ingaged adversarie, Sir Arthur Haselrige, one that did what

he could to have starved me in prison, seizing on my moneys in the North, when I had nothing to maintaine my self, my wife and children; this cause had many traverses between the Committee in the North, and the Committee for sequestration at Haberdashers Hall.

And so much injustice appeared unto me to have been manifestly done, that I set forth their unworthiness as fully as I was able, and at length the cause being to receive a final determination before that Committee, I with my Client and other his counsel appeared daily for many dayes, proving by undeniable arguments, from point to point, the right to be in Master Primate: but Sir Arthur Haselrige a Member of Parliament and Council of State, and a mighty man in the North and in the Army, so bestirred himself, That when Judgement came to be given, it was given by the major Vote against my Clyent, quite contrary to the opinions of most that heard it, and to my Clients and my understanding, against all equity and conscience.

Whereupon, my Client by his petition appealed to the Parliament, wherein he supposeth that Sir Arthur had over-awed the Committee to give a corrupt Judgement. And being questioned, avowed the petition to be his own, and cleared me from ha-[10] ving any hand therein. The house were in a great heat, and quarrelled my giving out the petitions before they were received by them, though nothing was more common; but order a rehearing of the whole matter by a large Committee of Members of the house in the Exchequer-Chamber, where notwithstanding the right appeared as clear as the Sun when it shines at noon-day, to be in my Client, to all by-standers not preingaged, yet whilst it was in hearing, long before the report was made, I had divers assured me I should be banished; and when I demanded for what cause, I could get none, but that I was of a turbulent spirit. It was strange to me, nor could I believe a thing so grosly unjust could be done, and provided nothing against it.

But upon the report of Master Hill the lawyer, most false as it was, the House was said to have passed Votes upon me of seven thousand pound fine, and perpetual banishment.

And upon the Tuesday after called me to their Bar, and commanded me to kneel once, twice, and again; which I refusing, and desiring to speak, they would not suffer me, but commanded me to withdraw; and the next news I heard, was, that upon paine of death, I must within twenty [days] depart the land: which though altogether groundless, yet finding all rumors concurring in their desperate resolutions, thought it safest to withdraw for a season, into some parts beyond the seas; and so

I did, where I had been but a very short time, but I saw a paper intituled *An Act in execution of a Judgement given in Parliament, for the banishment of Lieut. Col. John Lilburne, and to be taken as a felon upon his return, &c.* at which I wondered, for I was certaine I had received no Charge, nor any form of trial, nor had any thing there laid to my Charge, nor was never heard in my defence to any thing.

Nevertheless, there I counted in much danger and misery for above sixteen moneths, my estate being seized by Sir Arthur: at length understanding the dissolution of the Parliament, I concluded my danger not much if I should return; and having some incouragement by my wife, from what my Lord General Cromwell should say of the injustice of the Parliaments proceedings, and of their (pretended) Act, I cast my self upon my native country, with resolutions of all peaceable demeanor towards all men; but how I have been used thereupon, and since, the Lord of heaven be judge between those in power and me; It being a cruelty beyond example, that I should be so violently hurried to Newgate, and most unjustly put upon my trial for my life as a Felon, upon so groundless a meer supposed Act, notwithstanding so many petitions to the contrary.

And now, that all men see the grosness of their cruelty and bloody intentions towards me, and having not consciences to go back, they now fill all mens mouthes, whom they have power to deceive, that I am of so turbulent a spirit, that there will be no quietness in England except I be taken off.

But dear Country-men, friends, and Christians, aske them what evil I have done, and they can shew you none; no, my great and onely fault is, that (as they conceive) I will never brook whilst I live to see (and be silent) the laws and rights of the Nation trod under foot by themselves, who have all the obligations of men and Christians to revive and restore them. They imagine, whilst I have breath, the old law of the land will be pleaded and upheld against the new, against all innovated law or practice whatsoever. And because I am, and continue constant to my principles upon which I first engaged for the common liberty, and will no more bear in these the violation of them, then I did in the King, Bishops, Lords, or Commons, but cry aloud many times of their abominable unworthiness in their so doing; therefore [11] to stop my mouth, and take away my life, they cry out I never will be quiet, I never will be content with any power; but the just God heareth in heaven, and those who are his true servants will hear and consider upon earth, and I trust will not

judge according to the voice of self-seeking ambitious men, their creatures and relations, but will judge righteous judgement, and then I doubt not all their aspersions of me will appear most false and causless, when the worst I have said or written of them and their wayes, will prove less then they have deserved.

Another stratagem they have upon me, is, to possess all men, that all the souldiers in the Army are against me; but they know the contrary, otherwise why do they so carefully suppress all petitions which the souldiers have been handing in my behalf? indeed those of the souldiers that hear nothing but what they please of me, either by their scandalous tongues or books, may through misinformation be against me; but would they permit them to hear or read what is extant to my vindication, I would wish no better friends then the souldiers of the Army; for I am certaine I never wronged one of them, nor are they apt to wrong any man, except upon a misinformation.

But I hope this discourse will be satisfactory both to them and all other men, that I am no such Wolfe, Bear, or Lyon, that right or wrong deserves to be destroyed; and through the truth herein appearing, will strongly perswade for a more gentle construction of my intentions and conversation, and be an effectual Antidote against such poisonous asp who endeavour to kill me with the bitterness of their envenomed tongues, that they shall not be able to prevaile against me, to sway the consciences of any to my prejudice in the day of my trial.

Frailties and infirmities I have, and thick and threefold have been my provocations; he that hath not failed in his tongue, is perfect, so am not I. I dare not say, Lord I am not as other men; but, Lord be merciful to me a sinner; But I have been hunted like a Partridge upon the mountains: My words and actions in the times of my trials and deepest distress and danger have been scanned with the spirit of Jobs comforters; but yet I know I have to do with a gracious God, I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he will bring light out of this darkness, and cleer my innocency to all the world.

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