

Text and Documents

James Hart of Northampton and the Calvinist Critique of Priest-Physicians: An unpublished Polemic of the early 1620s

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The practice of medicine by clergymen aroused considerable anger in early seventeenth-century England. This has frequently been noted by historians but the nature of the critique has been obscured by inattention to the religious character of the attack. Clerical practitioners are often depicted as being so widespread in early modern England that they constituted a “dominant group in the medical profession.” They are presented as coming equally from all parts of the Church of England, with no significant ideological bias.¹ Moreover, it is sometimes suggested that only physicians complained about priest-physicians, in a campaign that was quite ineffectual. The medical and religious arguments are dismissed as an insincere cover for economic self-interest.² The presentation of the criticism of priest-physicians as fundamentally professional in nature exemplifies the impatience of many historians with nice theological distinctions and their frequent preference for explanations based on material rather than ideological interests.³

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¹ Margaret Pelling and Charles Webster, ‘Medical practitioners’, in Charles Webster (ed.), *Health, medicine and mortality in the sixteenth century*, Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 199; Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: madness, anxiety and healing in seventeenth-century England*, Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 8; Patricia A. Watson, *The angelical conjunction: the preacher-physicians of colonial New England*, Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1991. The secondary literature on England conceals from Watson the special character of New England.

² Lucinda McCray Beier, *Sufferers and healers: the experience of illness in seventeenth-century England*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987, p. 47; Doreen Evenden Nagy, *Popular medicine in seventeenth-century England*, Bowling Green, Ohio,

The Popular Press, 1988, p. 39; Andrew Wear, ‘Religious beliefs and medicine in early modern England’, in Hilary Marland and Margaret Pelling (eds), *The task of healing: medicine, religion and gender in England and the Netherlands, 1450–1800*, Rotterdam, Erasmus Publishing, 1996, pp. 159–61. Andrew Wear’s account is markedly less cursory, but all these authors appear to assume that defending monopoly was the prime concern of physicians who attacked clerical practitioners. If this were so, one would expect High Church physicians to be just as vociferous as puritans.

³ For a criticism of this tendency, see Mark Jenner, ‘Quackery and enthusiasm, or why drinking water cured the plague’, in Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (eds), *Religio medici: medicine and religion in seventeenth-century England*, Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1996, pp. 313–39. In the present context, a notable exception is the discussion by Peter Elmer, ‘Medicine, religion and the puritan revolution’, in Roger French and Andrew Wear (eds), *The medical revolution of the seventeenth century*, Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp. 10–45, esp. pp. 13–19. Ideally, economic and ideological interests should be treated symmetrically.

The criticism was occasionally heard during the reign of Elizabeth, although it was to be many years before it reached print. Edmund Grindal, later Archbishop of Canterbury, was outraged when Thomas Penny turned to medicine while still drawing his prebendal stipend.⁴ Some twenty years later, Tobie Matthew, a future Archbishop of York, was appalled at the possibility that a physician rather than a recognized preacher might be chosen as Dean of Durham. He also hinted that his rival, Robert Bellamy MD, was a purveyor of *aurum potabile* and a searcher for the philosopher's stone.⁵ Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, those clergymen who wrote on medical topics felt increasingly obliged to defend their dual vocation in their prefaces. A few were radical Lutherans, but most were reactionary anti-Calvinists who were attracted to neo-Platonism and Paracelsianism.⁶ It seems evident that such men were already under attack from their more orthodox colleagues.

That the attack on such men was mainly religious has been obscured partly by the fact that they were not, for the most part, orthodox Galenists in their practice. They employed Paracelsianism, judicial astrology, and an excessive reliance upon uroscopy. As Richard Napier's admirer, George Atwel, recalled in the early 1650s, Napier "continually used both the Urine and erected a figure also".⁷ However, these were practices detested by learned Calvinists in England, brought up on Aristotelian natural philosophy and the medicine of the ancients.⁸ The problem was that even pious patients were not quite so convinced of the necessity to link medical and religious orthodoxy. Courtiers who supported the godly clergy also consulted astrologers and alchemists, and it is not difficult to find puritan aristocrats and gentry families among the casebooks of heterodox practitioners such as Richard Napier, for example.⁹

⁴ *The remains of Edmund Grindal DD*, ed. William Nicholson, Parker Society, 1843, p. 348. Penny's Protestantism was more radical than the orthodox Calvinism of Grindal, but he had no parochial responsibilities.

⁵ British Library: Add. MS 15,891, f.91r; Tobie Matthew to Sir Thomas Heneage, 7 Sept. 1581. Matthew wrote a flood of letters against Bellamy's candidature, which was backed by the Bishop. They had known one another at Oxford. Matthew, a sound credal Calvinist, obtained the post.

⁶ Nicholas Gyer, *The English phlebotomy*, London, A Mansell, 1592, sig. A7r; Simon Harward, *Harwards phlebotomy*, London, S Waterson, 1601, sigs. A7v–A8v; Joseph Du Chesne, *The practise of chymicall and hermeticall physicke*, trans. Thomas Tymme, London, T Creede, 1605, sigs. A5v–A6r. Gyer was the chaplain of Reginald Scot. Harward was a curiously itinerant neo-Platonist. Tymme had started his career as a Calvinist, but by this date he was a Hermeticist disciple of John Dee. The separatist James Forrester provides a good example of anti-Calvinist radicalism: J[ohn] H[ester], *The pearle of practise*, ed. J Forrester, London, R Field, 1594, sigs. *3r–4r. "Radical" here refers to those seeking fundamental change beyond the Genevan model, "reactionary" to those who yearned for a pre-Calvinist or even pre-Reformation past. No value judgement is implied.

⁷ George Atwel, *An apology, or, defence of the divine art of natural astrology*, London, Samuel Speed, 1660, p. 26. For instances of Napier's religious and medical heterodoxy, see Ronald C Sawyer, "'Strangely handled in all her lym's': witchcraft and healing in Jacobean England", *J. Soc. Hist.*, 1989, 22: 461–85.

⁸ Influenced by Thomas Erastus, English Calvinists detested Paracelsus: Francis Herring, *A modest defence of the caveat given to the wearers of impoison amulets*, London W Jones, 1604, pp. 32–3; William Foster, *Hoplocrisma-spongus: or, a sponge to wipe away the weapon-salve*, London, J Grove, 1631, pp. 13–24; Thomas Fuller, *The holy state*, Cambridge, J Williams, 1642, pp. 56–9; Elmer, op. cit., note 3 above, pp. 30–4. French Calvinists, Dutch Mennonites and Lutheran pietists were less hostile to Paracelsus. For a sympathetic survey of the astrologers, see Michael MacDonald, 'The career of astrological medicine in England', in Grell and Cunningham (eds), op. cit., note 3 above, pp. 62–90.

⁹ The Anglican-puritan dichotomy of traditional historiography is especially misleading as an explanation of attitudes towards medicine and natural philosophy. The word "puritan" is here used to describe the zealous Calvinists of the Church of England, as opposed to more moderate Calvinists such as Archbishops Grindal, Whitgift, Hutton, Abbot, and Matthew. Hutton noted the absence of a doctrinal difference.

Thus, the medical practitioners who published against the priest-physicians had several pressing motives. These men did provide unwelcome competition, but they also dispensed highly dubious advice and dangerous medications, based on theories that were incompatible with natural philosophy and true religion, and they neglected their sacred calling, to the detriment of their parishioners. The attack on priest-physicians did not merely extend the customary attacks of Galenists upon uneducated empirics, made by such authors as John Caius, Francis Herring, and Eleazar Duncan.¹⁰ It resulted from, and appealed to, the concerns of the Calvinist majority in the Jacobean Church of England, who watched with alarm the spread of a learned clergy whose notions of the clerical function were quite different from the Calvinist ministerial ideal.¹¹ Whereas Calvinists saw ministers as labouring constantly for the souls of their parishioners, by preaching and counselling, non-Calvinists tended to believe that their main task was to perform the sacraments regularly and with due reverence, while filling the rest of their time with good works. In the eyes of the godly, such clergymen were guilty of gross negligence.¹² That some of them were addicted to the diabolical arts of magic, alchemy and judicial astrology was an additional horror, because they cloaked these abominations with religion. Like cunning folk, such clergymen only appeared to be pious healers. They were actually agents of the Devil himself.¹³

John Cotta of Northampton attacked two men who had been educated at Exeter College, Oxford, a hotbed of anti-Calvinism in the late sixteenth century. Cotta was disgusted by their dangerously heterodox medicine and by their deviation from the Calvinist ideal of the godly minister. One appears to be the famous clerical astrologer, Richard Napier, who lived about twelve miles from Northampton. He not only failed to preach, the most central duty of a minister in the eyes of Calvinists, but he also provided dangerous advice, based on horoscopes, he employed amulets, and he conjured spirits. The other is named; John Markes of Gayton, who dispensed the *aurum potable* of Francis Anthony. Napier and Markes both made substantial fortunes from their medical practice. Cotta demolished Markes and concluded,

¹⁰ John Caius, *A boke, or counsell against the disease commonly called the sweate, or sweatynge sicknesse*, London, R Grafton, 1552, ff. 27v–28v; Francis Herring, 'A discovery of certaine Strategems, whereby our English Emperickes haue bene obserued strongly to oppugne, and oft times to expugne their poore Patients Purses', in Johann Oberdoerffer, *The anatomies of the true physition and counterfeit mounte-banke*, trans. F H. London, A Johnson, 1602; [Eleazar Duncan], *The copy of a letter*, London, M Bradwood, 1606.

¹¹ T Webster, *Godly clergy in early Stuart England: the Caroline puritan movement, c. 1620–1643*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 95–121. For discussions of the clerical vocation from around Northampton, see John Fosbroke, 'Englands warning by Israel and Judah', in *Six sermons delivered in the lecture at Kettering*, Cambridge, R Daniel, 1633, pp. 37–8, 40; Nicolas Estwick, *A learned and godly sermon preached at the funerall of Mr. Robert Bolton*, London, G Miller, 1633, pp. 54–5. Puritan laymen such as John Winthrop were often as concerned about priest-

physicians as were Calvinist clerics and physicians: *Winthrop papers*, Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929, vol. 1, pp. 306–7.

¹² There were, of course, many clergymen who fell between the two camps. Thus, the tension between the broadly Calvinist theology and the non-Calvinist ecclesiology of George Herbert can be detected in his qualified advocacy of the priest-physician role, written in the early 1630s: George Herbert, 'A priest to the temple', in *Herbert's remains*, London, Timothy Garthwait, 1652, pp. 61, 96–101. The formalist aspects of Herbert's view of the clergy are not always recognized: e.g. Neal Ensle, 'Patterns of godly life: the ideal parish minister in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English thought', *Sixt. Century J.*, 1997, 28: 3–28, esp. p. 27.

¹³ John Cotta, *The infallible true and assured witch*, London, R Higgenbotham, 1624, p. 75; British Library: Sloane MS 1954, Edward Poeton, 'The winnowing of white witchcraft', pp. 36–47, 51–3. I am grateful to Michael MacDonald for drawing Poeton's remarks to my attention.

A Calvinist Critique of Priest-Physicians

you shiftingly liue a miscellaneuous life, and being by sacred vovues vnto God and his seruice consecrate, you intrude your busie ignorance into the office and proprietie of other men, and obtrude your mercenarie counsell into euery cure almost of euery Physitian.

Cotta's assault on Markes was supported by another Calvinist physician, Henry Ashworth, in matters of fact and in the attack on clerical negligence and impious forms of physic, and they both produced examples of the ill effects of his meddling, including the case of the Chancellor of the diocese.¹⁴ Although most priest-physicians were non-Calvinists, not all were also medical heretics, but this was a common enough combination to make a good target for polemics.

That the overwhelming majority of those who attempted to pursue both vocations simultaneously were non-Calvinists has not generally been noticed. Thus, Richard Napier is sometimes merely described as a clerical physician, or even as a Calvinist, without the strength of Calvinist opposition to his theology, philosophy, and medical practice being mentioned.¹⁵ Equally, Calvinists such as John Burges who pursued the two vocations at separate points in their lives are sometimes described as pursuing both together.¹⁶ Some ejected Calvinists did turn from divinity to physic during the early seventeenth century, but they took the same position as Richard Capel in Gloucestershire: "his studies had bent that way beforehand (foreseeing what followed) yet he would do nothing in that kinde, (it not being his Calling) so long as that great Work lay upon him".¹⁷ It is hard to find thoroughgoing Calvinist ministers in England who practised more than domestic or charitable medicine while in possession of a benefice.¹⁸

Following the example of John Cotta, James Hart of Northampton also took up the cudgels against priest-physicians. Little is known, as yet, of his early life, although it is clear that he was born and educated abroad. His books make frequent reference to his observations of medical life in France and Germany, and he received his papers of denization in 1626, having settled in Northampton by about 1612.¹⁹ Hart's first entry into the published literature of medicine was a version of the attack on popular uroscopy by Petrus Forestus, "newly

¹⁴ John Cotta, *A short discoverie of the unobserved dangers of seuerall sorts of ignorant and unconsiderate practisers of physicke in England*, London, W Jones and R Boyle, 1612, pp. 86–103; *idem*, *Cotta contra Antonium*, Oxford, H Cripps, 1623, pp. 56, 68, 94–7. For the career of Napier and the "psychological" part of his caseload, see MacDonald, *op. cit.*, note 1 above. For Markes, see George Baker, *The history and antiquities of Northamptonshire*, 2 vols, London, 1822–41, vol. 2, pp. 279, 294, 300; Northamptonshire Record Office: Arch. North'ton wills, 1st Series Book EV 323; 2nd Series Book G 81. For the religious circumstances, see William J Sheils, *The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1558–1610*, Northamptonshire Record Society, 1979, vol. 30.

¹⁵ Beier, *op. cit.*, note 2 above, p. 11; James Sharpe, *Instruments of darkness: witchcraft in England, 1550–1750*, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1996, pp. 40–1. In his casebooks, Napier notes being publicly attacked by Calvinist opponents, such as the anti-Platonist William Twisse.

¹⁶ Evenden Nagy, *op. cit.*, note 2 above, p. 38; John Burges, *An answer rejoyned to that much applauded pamphlet of a nameless author*, London, R Milbourne, 1631, pp. 4, 20–1. Burges was unusual, in that he was ejected under James I, then trained and practised as a physician, and returned to the ministry under Charles I.

¹⁷ *Capel's remains*, ed. Valentine Marshall, London, J Bartlet, 1658, sig. A5r.

¹⁸ For Dutch discussions of this issue, see Hans de Waardt, 'Chasing demons and curing mortals: the medical practice of clerics in the Netherlands', in Marland and Pelling (eds), *op. cit.*, note 2 above, pp. 171–203.

¹⁹ *Letters of denization and acts of naturalization for aliens in England and Ireland, 1603–1700*, ed. W A Shaw, Huguenot Society, 1911, vol. 18, p. 39. The local cases given in Hart's books indicate approximately how long he had been in the region.

epitomized, and translated into our English Tongue". Forestus's work had been published in 1589 and noted with approval in England, by the Cambridge theologian William Perkins, as early as 1595. Hart later extended the attack in a study of his own, published in 1625.²⁰

Hart was scathing in his criticisms of clergymen who tried to practise medicine. In his preface to the translation, he made brief but telling general comments on the dereliction of duty involved.²¹ In the course of his own work, he made specific accusations of incompetence, attacking several clergymen who dabbled in medicine. They were probably readily identifiable, although unnamed: a parson who tried to predict the sex of an unborn gentry child; "a chiefe proctor for aurum potabile in Northamptonshire"; "a Parson-practiser, dwelling about a dozen of miles hence, one of our chiefe Calculators of Nativities in all the countrey"; and a covetous parson who charged double fees to a Leicestershire family even though he arrived after the patient's death.²² Hart deliberately gives the impression that this problem is widespread, but his villains appear to be much the same handful of alchemists and astrologers as those accused by Cotta.

The passages in Hart's published works that attack the dual vocation are fierce enough, but they are easily overlooked or underestimated because they do not appear to be central to his purpose. Hart intended to emphasize the importance of the campaign by issuing a separate essay on the subject, probably as an appendix to his *Anatomie of Urines* in 1625.²³ Two holograph copies of this unpublished work are known to survive, in the Bodleian Library and the British Library, but neither has received much attention from historians.²⁴ The British Library copy is bound together with Hart's two works on uroscopy. At the foot of the printed page facing the first page of manuscript, Hart noted, "This written Discourse was intended to bee printed with the other but could by noe meanes bee licenced".²⁵ His failure to get his controversial work past whoever was asked to advise the Stationers' Company clearly provided a motive for scribal publication.²⁶

Nine years later, Hart managed to smuggle parts of his text past the licensing system by burying them in the introduction and conclusion of a large book on diet.²⁷ Drs Argent,

²⁰ Petrus Forestus, *De incerto, fallaci, urinarum iudicio*, Leiden, F Raphaelengius, 1589; *idem*, *The arraignment of urines*, trans. James Hart, London, Robert Mylbourne, 1623; J Hart, *The anatomie of urines*, London, R Mylbourne, 1625; William Perkins, *A salve for a sicke man*, Cambridge, I Legatt, 1595, p. 73. On this aspect of the work of Forestus, see Vivian Nutton, 'Idle old trots, coblers and costardmongers: Pieter van Foreest on quackery', in H A Bosman-Jegersma (ed.), *Petrus Forestus medicus*, Amsterdam, n.p., 1997, pp. 245–54.

²¹ Forestus, *Arraignment of urines*, op. cit., note 20 above, sigs. A3v–A4r.

²² Hart, op. cit., note 20 above, pp. 47, 55–6, 109–13, 113–17. The first and last examples seem to refer to Richard Langham, for whom see below. The others are obviously John Markes and Richard Napier.

²³ Internal evidence suggests 1623 or 1624 as the likely date of composition. See below, footnote 143 on the three benefices held by Richard Langham during these years.

²⁴ Bodleian Library: MS Rawl. D 146, anonymous pamphlet; British Library, Department of Printed Books: C 54. b. 6, bound into copy of Hart, *Anatomie of urines*, between preface and text. The Bodleian copy has been briefly noticed, without its author being identified, by Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the popular press: English almanacs, 1500–1800*, London, Faber & Faber, 1979, p. 416, n. 75. The British Library copy has been mentioned in the *Dictionary of national biography* article on Hart, and by Elmer, op. cit., note 3 above, p. 15.

²⁵ BL: C 54. b. 6 (2), Hart, *Anatomie of urines*, sig. B4v. He also noted that some pages had been cropped, "by the Bookbinders indiscretion". The lost lines are restored in the margin, although not always accurately.

²⁶ Walter W Greg, *Licensers for the press, &c. to 1640*, Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1962, n.s. 10; Harold Love, *Scribal publication in seventeenth-century England*, Oxford University Press, 1993.

²⁷ James Hart, *KAINIKH, or the diet of the diseased*, London, Robert Allot, 1633, pp. 12–18, 403–7. Although some sections are taken unchanged

Clement and Goulston, approving the book on behalf of the College of Physicians, commented, "Having read some part of this Booke, and in a general view looked over more, wee thinke it learnedly contrived, and worthy the reading". Since the introduction is paginated separately, both the provocative sections may well have been added after the book had been licensed for publication.

Unfortunately, the passages which Hart eventually published have received almost as little attention as the unpublished manuscript. Fitting somewhat awkwardly into the larger work, they look like a petulant outburst of professional jealousy. By restoring the original context, one can see them as part of a religious critique. Conversely, it also becomes clear that Hart's Hippocratic book on diet and the other non-natural causes of health and disease, with its advocacy of moderation and its attacks on the abuse of tobacco and alcohol, especially by the clergy, and on Paracelsianism and the neo-Platonic doctrines of sympathetic cures and lovesickness, was a partisan religious project too. Early seventeenth-century attacks on Paracelsianism or empiricism in England were generally expressions of Calvinism as well as Galenism. Cotta and Hart, like their predecessors Francis Herring of London and Eleazar Duncan of Ipswich, the nephew of John Burges, were puritans. They were as opposed to unlearned religion as they were to unlearned medicine.

At first glance, the style of Hart's manuscript may appear ostentatiously learned, peppered as it is with untranslated quotations from classical authors, until one realizes that several are to be found in the *Adages* of Erasmus, either as main headings or as illustrative material. Although Hart had probably read all the original sources, he used the quotations precisely because of their proverbial character.²⁸ These unattributed tags are the common coin of a humanist education, intended to be familiar to both lay and clerical readers. By contrast with his other original works, Hart is very sparing in his use of marginal allusions to the literature of medicine and natural philosophy, avowedly eschewing them because he is writing for the clergy. Instead, he employs the authority of the Bible and canon law. A similar strategy was to be followed by James Primerose of Hull, who treated this subject after the publication of Hart's *Diet*.²⁹ Primerose was a staunch Calvinist in religion and a conservative Galenist in medicine. Writing in Latin and relying even more heavily on canon law, he probably aimed at a continental readership, whereas Hart was clearly intervening in local quarrels.

It seems unlikely that Hart had a sufficiently close acquaintance with canon law to be able to locate telling references for himself. The vast commentary by the fifteenth-century cardinal abbot of Palermo, Nicolaus de Tudeschis, was surely not on his shelves. These references were probably supplied by a sympathetic clergyman, perhaps Robert Bolton of Broughton, who was both an avowed puritan and a remarkable scholar. Bolton was not a healthy man, and he made an unusually profuse use of medical analogies and citations in his published works, which might indicate close acquaintance with local physicians. It is suggestive that he and Hart both cited Hercules Saxonia, noted mainly as an authority on

from the manuscript, there are also substantial omissions and additions.

²⁸ It may be significant that those of Hart's quotations that have been located in the *Adages* are all in the first half of the collection.

²⁹ James Primerose, *De vulgi in medicina erroribus libri quatuor*, London, H Robinson, 1638, pp. 10–18; *idem*, *Popular errors*, trans. Robert Wittie, London, N Bourne, 1651, pp. 10–18.

the *plica Polonica*, and both provided exceptionally prolix marginalia, as did Cotta. Neighbouring ministers clearly regarded Hart's writings as part of the same project of reformation as their lectures and sermons.³⁰

In the manuscript, Hart cites only one contemporary cleric who had written against the dual vocation, although he mentions that several had preached against it, presumably at the puritan lectures that were a regular feature of godly life in the East Midlands. However, it should not be supposed that opposition to priest-physicians was confined to puritans, although they were the most vociferous. Hart was later able to cite, in support of his position on the need to pursue a single calling, a sermon preached at Northampton by the Bishop of Peterborough:

They are not then (saith hee) to meddle with *Galen* and *Hippocrates*; which he there proved both learnedly and religiously, by the weightinesse of the calling, and paines therein to be imploied. And as there was a great deale of good counsell for the clergie, so I hope he will have a care to see all faults and abuses reformed.

The bishop was William Piers, a doctrinal Calvinist later noted for his fierce opposition to puritan nonconformity.³¹ His choice of this subject for a visitation sermon suggests that it was a matter of considerable dispute in the area, which he was determined to settle by an authoritative pronouncement.

Although Hart is highly critical of some contemporary clergymen, it would be anachronistic to see him as attacking the very notion of a learned clergy, maintained by tithes. Indeed, an important argument in favour of tithes was precisely that godly ministers were not "intruding upon the trades, sciences & professions of other men".³² Hart is at some pains to insist that he would wish all the clergy to be supported adequately. By meddling in other professions, the negligent non-Calvinists are undermining the position of the conscientious clergy. The linking of the priest-physician issue to opposition to a paid ministry was the work of a later generation, opposed to specialists in either divinity or medicine.³³ Hart's religious position is that of a Calvinist reformer, not an anti-Calvinist radical. Whereas the puritan Hart sought to promote the godly learned ministry, later radicals such as the Seekers and Quakers wished to abolish it. The deprivation of many Calvinist clergymen after 1660 fundamentally changed the terms of debate.

By resurrecting Hart's lost pamphlet, it becomes possible to understand the comments of Cotta, Hart and Primerose as simply the most conspicuous expressions of a general distaste among Calvinists for the tendency to confuse the two separate vocations of clergyman and physician. This was not because either was condemned by Calvinists, rather the contrary. Both vocations were seen as so important and difficult that they should

³⁰ Joseph Bentham, *The Christian conflict*, London, P Stephens and C Meredith, 1635, sig. A5r. On Bentham and his colleagues in the Diocese of Peterborough during the 1630s, see Webster, op. cit., note 11 above, pp. 215–34.

³¹ Hart, op. cit., note 27 above, p. 404n. The printed date is defective: "this same yeere 16 1 a little before midsommer". This presumably refers to 1631, elsewhere described as "this last yeere" (p. 383). On Piers, see Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: the rise of English Arminianism, c. 1590–1640*,

Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 75; Julian Davies, *The Caroline captivity of the Church*, Oxford University Press, 1992, *passim*, esp. p. 99.

³² Richard Eburne, *The maintenance of the ministerie*, London, Eleazar Edgar, 1609, pp. 20–21; William Sclater, *The ministers portion*, Oxford, Joseph Barnes, 1612, p. 25. Robert Bolton cited both these works in a Northampton assize sermon.

³³ John Milton, *Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the Church*, London, L Chapman, 1659, pp. 97–8.

not be undertaken as by-employments. Although there were elements of intellectual and economic protectionism to physicians' criticism of clerical interlopers, it was the conflict of medical activities with parochial responsibilities that particularly enraged the opponents of the priest-physicians.

In Elizabethan and early Stuart England, godly Galenists and Calvinist theologians agreed that God had ordained the two most dignified vocations to be separate and distinct. It was neo-Platonists and anti-Calvinists who took the contrary position. In Counter-Reformation Italy, conflict between Aristotelianism and neo-Platonism created the possibility of a comparable division. Codronchi, thoroughly orthodox in medicine, religion and demonology, wrote against the dual practice in a book highly approved by Antonio Possevino SJ. The iatrochemist Bardi, an admirer of Ficino and Campanella, defended the dual practice in a book endorsed by Athanasius Kircher SJ and Robert Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.³⁴ In other circumstances, such as Enlightenment Germany, the majority of clergymen might well oppose medical monopoly, both for their own strategic purposes and for the sake of their parishioners.³⁵ Transhistorical generalizations obscure both the differences and the similarities between English priest-physicians, Italian neo-Platonists and Lutheran pastors.

Particular instances of the practice of medicine by priests, ministers or pastors, and the criticism of such practice by physicians, have usually been set into the context of the long march of professionalization or the sempiternal association between the healing of the body and the healing of the soul. Although there is some truth to both generalizations, their explanatory power is limited and stressing them often leads to anachronism. The orthodoxy of the religious motives of priest-physicians is assumed and their critics are presumed to be motivated principally by economic self-interest rather than theological objections. A clearer view will emerge if the theological, philosophical and medical ideas of both sides are treated symmetrically, along with their respective economic interests. As in the case of all other practices that seem at first sight to be perennial, historians need to examine the specific situation, locating opponents and advocates of the clerical practice of medicine within local political, economic or ideological circumstances.

Note on the Text

Both copies appear to be holographs, and the differences between them are not substantive.³⁶ Both manuscripts contain occasional errors of transcription, such as omitted words. The text here follows the British Library copy, which appears to have been written

³⁴ Giovan Battista Codronchi, *De Christiana, ac tuta medendi ratione*, Ferrara, B Mammarellus, 1591, pp. 151–3; Girolamo Bardi, *Medicus politico catholicus*, Genoa, J M Farroni, 1644, pp. 197–206; Mary Rose O'Neil, 'Sacerdote ovvero strione: ecclesiastical and superstitious remedies in sixteenth-century Italy', in Steven L Kaplan (ed.), *Understanding popular culture*, Berlin, Mouton, 1984, pp. 53–83.

³⁵ Mary Lindemann, "'Aufklärung" and the health of the people: "Volksschriften" and medical advice in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, 1756–1803', in Rudolph Vierhaus (ed.), *Das Volk als Objekt*

obrigkeitlichen Handelns, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer, 1992, pp. 101–20; Robert Heller, "'Priest-doctors" as a rural health service in the age of enlightenment', *Med. Hist.*, 1976, 20: 361–83; John Michael Stroup, *The struggle for identity in the clerical estate: Northwest German Protestant opposition to absolutist policy in the eighteenth century*, Leiden, Brill, 1984.

³⁶ This assertion of their both being holographs is made upon the assumption that Hart was responsible for the writing and binding of the British Library copy.

later, to judge by slight emendations of the phrasing and a marked decrease in orthographic idiosyncrasy.³⁷ Where the British Library copy requires clarification from the Bodleian Library copy, this has been marked with square brackets in the text or a footnote.

The main text of the manuscripts is in English secretary hand. Passages written in italic hand have been placed in italics here. The pagination of the British Library copy is approximately equivalent to the foliation of the Bodleian copy. Thus, p. 13 is about the same as f. 7r. Abbreviated words have been silently expanded, wherever they are marked in the text by conventional signs. The main concession to modern spelling that has been introduced is in the differentiation of the letters v and u. Hart's hand lacks many of the usual habits of English writers of the period, so few other changes have been necessary. On the few occasions where such usages occur, i and j have been changed to modern usage, y has been replaced by th and the appropriate vowel, in such words as "yt" and "ym", and c has been replaced by ti, in such words as "menconed" and "acon".

Most of Hart's marginalia have been included as footnotes. However, lengthy Latin quotations have been omitted, as their content is translated in the text, and the biblical references have been checked and modernized. Square brackets distinguish editorial notes, which are intended to be helpful rather than comprehensive. Translations of Latin quotations have been provided and most of the sources identified. It is not clear what translation of the Bible Hart was using, as some of the quotations do not match exactly with any of the versions used by English Protestants.³⁸

³⁷ Hart's foreign education may be responsible for the decidedly odd spelling of some words in the Bodleian copy.

³⁸ Tyndale and Coverdale; the Great Bible; the Geneva Bible; the Bishops' Bible; the Authorized Version.

1/ A DISCOURSE of the lawlesse intrusion of PARSONS & VICARS upon the profession of Phisicke with the Absurditie of the same &c.

That learned Physitian *Laurentius Joubertus* maketh mention of a prettie passage betwixt *Alphonsus Duke of Ferraria* & his Jester *Gonellus*, wher the said Jester made it plainly appeare to the Duke, that ther ware moe *Physitians* then of any other profession.³⁹ Might not this bee as well applyed to our selves here in England? And that (I may use the worde of the same author a litle after) what a misery and mischiefe is this? in other Arts and professions which are nothing so hard nor of that difficulty but all things obvious to the eye, it is referred to the discretion of the tradesman to do what seemeth him best in his owne profession.⁴⁰ And yet in the most intricate of all others, and in the which the vulgar sort is as blind as a Betle, every on taketh upon him to controule at his pleasure, allowing or disallowing of the counsell and perscription of the most learned and skilfull *Phisitian*, and that according to the muddy conception of his or her shallow capacityes.⁴¹ Is not the land pestered with Ignorant Emperickes, *Weomen-Physitians*, *Apothecaryes*, and *Surgeons* which scarce can cure a greene wound, and never learned so much as two mouthfulls of true latine in all their lifetime? And which is yet worst, some of our clergie who should preach in season and out of season, against this and all other abuses, doe not only conive and winke at the same, but proove alsoe them selves the ringleaders and cheife maintainers of such disorder: who having happily now and then at vacant houres read (it may bee by way of recreation) some Physyck booke thinke them selves suddenly fitted for the practise of so weighty a profession.⁴² And thus are they not without /2/ Injury offered, not only to the church and common wealth, but to the true Artist also. and that not without the alienation & neglecting of their owne callings & lawless intrusion upon other mens right suddenly Metamorphosed into Physitians. And how beit in the preface to the booke of the arraignment of *Urines*, I said something against these buisy Intruders, yet bec[ause] they still persist in their former offence, being the cheife upholders & maintainers of this base *Uromancie* so much now a dayes admired, kind & curteous reader, with thy leave & patience, I will lay open the absurdity of this their practicall employment, And I will make it plainly appeare, both by reason, Authorityes taken out of the old & new testament, fathers, counsellors, yea and of the very Canon-Law it selfe, and by the Common received Custome of all the reformed churches how gross & absurd are these their actions: Wher shalbee answered such objections as either they have made or might have made in defence of them selves. But because I have to deale with *Divines* the most of my arguments shalbe taken out of the sacred oracles of the old & new Testament. And in the first place question being here of two callings, it may perhaps bee demanded whether one may not lawfully enjoy two callings. To this I cannot answer better then that

³⁹ Lib. de vulgi error. cap. 9. [This became Chapter 11 in Book 1 of the 1579 edition: Laurent Joubert, *Popular errors*, trans. Gregory David de Rocher, Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 1989, pp. 68–9.]

⁴⁰ [Quotation from Joubert in the margin. Hart's passage is an adaptation of Joubert rather than a translation.]

⁴¹ Moe physitians then of any other profession whatsoever [Not in Bodleian copy.]

⁴² Agunt experimenta per mortes &c. lib. 29. cap. 1. [Doctors teach themselves at our risk, they pursue experiences through deaths, and only among them is the murderer guaranteed immunity: Pliny, *Natural history* 29.1.8.18.]

worthy *Divine Mr Perkins*.⁴³ Let him tell his owne tale. *Men may not enter into two callings atonce, and that in three respects. First if God have disjoined these callings by his word and commandements. Secondly if the practise of the one hinder the practise of the other. Thirdly if the combining of them together hinder the common good. On these grounds our Saviour Christ being the doctor of the Church, refuseth to bee judge of inherytance betwixt the two bretheren. And hereupon the Aposteles being to doe the office of their owne callings refused to performe the office of Deacons.* That their practise doth faile against these three rules hath in part else where been proved, and yet shall more plainly in that which followeth appeare. Now if ther were noe written word to controule them, yet mee thinkes Common equity, and that decent order, which can never allow of such a disordered /3/ confusion might make these men ashamed. And besydes this, the eminencie of their place & calling as being set not under a bushell but upon a candlesticke, doth not alittle aggravate their offence.⁴⁴ Pastors we read in the scriptures are compared to the salt of the earth & light of the world.⁴⁵ And againe in another place to stars.⁴⁶ Why then do they so much derogate from the dignyty of so high a calling to busy themselves about baser employments? And yet besides this the injury not being done to one onely, but to many maketh the offence yet the greater. In the old Testament wee read that the Preists and *Levites* were commanded diligently to attend on the Tabernacle and Temple, but concerning the practise of *Phisick* not one word. The prophet *Esay* not without just cause complayneth of such negligent and covetous watchmen. *His watchmen are blind: they are all ignorant. They are all dumbe doges, they cannot barke, sleeping, lying downe, loving to slumber. yee they are greedy doggs which can never have enough. And they are all shepards that cannot understand. They all looke to their owne way, every one for his gaine from his quarter.*⁴⁷ The same prophet in another place setteth downe the duty of a true & faithfull watchman. *I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace day nor night, Ye that make mention of the Lord keepe not silence.*⁴⁸ And againe *Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgression and the house of Jacob their sinnes.*⁴⁹ And *Cursed bee hee that doth the worke of God negligently* saith the prophet *Jeremia*.⁵⁰ And the prophet *Zecharie* pronounceth a woe to Idle and negligent Ministers.⁵¹ *Woe to the idole shephard that leaveth the flocke; the sword shalbe upon his arme, and upon his right eye, his arme shalbe dried up; and his right eye shalbe utterly darkened.* As for the new testament many pages what are they else almost but precepts and commandements addressed for the /4/ diligent and carefull *Divine*? What charge gave the Apostele Paul to Archippus. *Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received of the Lord, that thou fulfill it.*⁵² And againe *Who is sufficient for these things.*⁵³ But heare the same Aposteles charge to Timothy. *Give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctraine. Neglect not the gift that is in thee by*

⁴³ Mr Perkins his treatise of callings. [William Perkins, 'A treatise of the vocations', in *Works*, Cambridge, W Legat, 1603, p. 919. It is surprising that here Hart does not discuss the standard text, 2 Corinthians 7. 20: "Let every man abide in the calling wherein he was called." cf. the equivalent printed passage, where he does: Hart, op. cit., note 27 above, p. 14.]

⁴⁴ Matthew 5. 15.

⁴⁵ Matthew 5. 13, 14.

⁴⁶ Revelation 1. 20. [Hart gives this as Revel. 2. 20.]

⁴⁷ Isaiah 56. 10.

⁴⁸ Isaiah 62. 6.

⁴⁹ Isaiah 58. 1.

⁵⁰ Jeremiah 48. 10.

⁵¹ Zechariah 11. 17. [Hart gives this as Zach. 7. 11.]

⁵² Colossians 4. 17.

⁵³ [2] Corinthians 2. 16.

prophecy; with the laying on of the hands of the presbiterie. Meditate upon these things, give thy selfe wholly to them that thy profitting may appeare to all. Take heed unto thy selfe and unto thy doctrine, continue in them: for in doing this thou shalt both save thy selfe & them that heare thee.⁵⁴ Again the same Apostle I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, & the elect angels; that thou observe these things.⁵⁵ And in another place. No man that warreth intangleth himselfe with the affaires of this life, that hee may please him who hath chosen him to be a souldier. Behold Timothy must not bee intangled with the affaires of this life, But wholly attend upon his ministry. But it may bee our Parsons, have a priveledge beyond Timothee. And what was Timothee? That he was a Byshop cannot bee denied. And some of our late writers in defence of the hierarchie maintaine him to have bene a Bishop with authority over other ministers: which question I have not here undertaken to discusse.⁵⁶ *Tractent fabrilia fabri.*⁵⁷ But let the cause stand as it will of this I am sure, The best *Divines* do not doubt but that these afore mentioned places, do concerne every minister of the word. But admit it should concerne *Prelates*, principally, our argument is yet the stronger; if Bishops themselves be thus charged, how should our Parsons and Vicars bee freed from this Commandement? But heare yet once the same apostle in the afore mentioned epistle. *I charge thee before God & the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quicke and the dead at his appearing and his kingdome preach the word, be instant in season, & out of season, reprove, exhort withall long suffering and doctrine.*⁵⁸ Their time is wholly to bee taken up, as I understand the text, in the workes of the ministeriall function and if diligence out of season then much more /5/ is diligence in season required. And if this bee true (which they cannot deny) what time is allotted them for their practising *Phisick*? I cannot tell, what they can reply to so many pregnant proofes. Unless they be of the mind of a certaine Popish Bishop: who being at acertaine time hard pressed with some places out of *St. Paul* for the marriage of *Preists*, thus with a Popelike spirit cut this *Gordian* knot. *St Paul* spake many things whereof he might well have holden his peace. But let us now see whether the Canon-Law will not allow of and countenance their encroaching upon other mens callings. So far is it from giving any way thereto, that it will not so much as give leave to the clergie to goe and hear the Lectures either of *Law* or *Physicke*. This is yet made more manifest, by the punishment inflicted upon such persons to witt that if they should stay out of their Cloisters, but for the space of two monethes upon the foresaid occasion they should bee then shunned of everyone as excommunicate persons, neither was their patronage nor intercession in the behalfe of any to bee heard. And at their returne into their Cloister they shall sit in the lowest & last place, whether in the quire, in the Chapter, at table or else where. And except by speciall favor from the Sea Apostolicall shall bee deprived of all hope of any future preferment.⁵⁹ It is

⁵⁴ [1] Timothy 4. 13–16.

⁵⁵ 1 Timothy 5. 21. [Hart gives this as 2 Tim. 4. 2, cited below.]

⁵⁶ [George Downame, Bishop of Derry, described by Robert Bolton as “one of the greatest schollers of either Kingdome”, was later cited on this point: Hart, op. cit., note 27 above, p. 14.]

⁵⁷ [Carpenters handle tools: Horace, *Epistles* 2.1.116. Horace also remarks that the ignorant do not dispense drugs, that physicians do the work of

physicians; quoted by Erasmus, *Adages* 1.6.15.]

⁵⁸ [2] Timothy 4. 1 [–2].

⁵⁹ [This and the following passage are accompanied by the Latin text in the margin; printed in Hart, op. cit., note 27 above, pp. 15–16. cf. Henricus Canisius, *Summa iuris canonici in quatuor institutionum libros contracta*, Ingolstadt, A Angermanius, 1599, p. 84; Petrus Alagona, *Totius iuris canonici compendium*, Paris, J Cardon and P Cavellat, 1623, p. 448.]

yet worthy the observing, that the author addeth in the same place, that the divell the old enemy of our salvation, oftentimes transforming himselfe into an Angell of light, under the Coulor & pretence of helping the infermytyes of their distressed brethren, and of better performing their spirituall functions, doth draw forth of their Cloisters some religious persons to read Lectures of the law, and to administer *Physicall* prescriptions to the diseased. But lest such as are set apart for spirituall affaires, under the Coulor of attaining to knowledge should be entangled with worldly buisness wee appoint and ordaine that it be not permitted to any after their entrance into religion, and the profession of the same in /6/ any religious place to goe abroad againe to heare either *Physick or Lawe Lecturs*. And further *Panormitan* in his gloss addeth, that this prohibition is extended to all the Clergie what soever; and not to regulare monkes onely.⁶⁰ May not our parsons then bee ashamed to pretend any more this more then thredbare excuse of doing good to their neighbors?⁶¹ The Canons Commonly called of the Apostles Command Churchmen to wait on their *Ecclesiastical function*, and that only under no less paine, then deprivation, and not to meddle with any seculare affaires.⁶² The reason is ther: added, because no man can serve two maisters.⁶³ And Gratian, in his decrees alledgeth the same Canon, & bringeth in a number of other places, both out of the Fathers and councells; wher it may evidently appeare how farr these holy fathers differed from the Judgment & practise of these lawlesse covetuous intruders of our times.⁶⁴ There it may plainly appeare, That Clergie men are to abstaine from all manner of Covetuousnesse. In so much that hee would not have them in their owne persones ever to meddle (saith hee) with their owne domesticall affaires, but give themselves wholly to holy & religious dutyes.⁶⁵ The *Pope Gelasius, Gregorie, Jerome and Augustine* are ther produced to testyfie the same truth. The same Author againe produceth the testimonie of *St. Ambrose* to make good his former assertion.⁶⁶ *Hee that hath God for his portion (saith hee) ought to regard nothing but God, least he bee hindered by taking upon him the charge & care of another mans necessyty, for that which is bestowed on another employments is pluckt away from the worshipp of God, and from this office and calling: for this is the true flight of a Preist or minister, the casting off & setting aside of all domesticall affaires, & a certaine estranging of himselfe from his dearest freinds; to the end that hee may deny himselfe to his owne; who hath made choice of the /7/ service of God.* And *Jerome* sayth the same author maketh two sorts of Christians: one which being dedicat to the service of God, & wholly addicted to religious duties ought to obtaine from all turmoile or meddling with temporall affaires: As Clerkes who have given themselves to God &c. *Ciprian* is Like wise by him alledged to prove the same position. I will for brevities sake set downe but one of his sentences and omit the rest. *Such as are buisied about spirituall Employments, and heavenly matters ought not to bee addicted to effeminate daintines, or delights, as also ought to obtaine*

⁶⁰ [Nicolaus de Tudeschis, *Abbas Panormitani commentaria in tertium decretalium librum*, Lyons, 1586, fol. 237.]

⁶¹ [In some instances, “doing good” was explicitly linked by priest-physicians to the doctrine of salvation by works, regarded as heretical by every Calvinist.]

⁶² Canon 80, *Quod non oportet episcopos &c.* [Canon 81, in *Octoginta quinque regulae, seu*

canones Apostolorum, Paris, Andreas Wechelus, 1558, pp. 79–80.]

⁶³ Matthew 6. 24.

⁶⁴ Gratian. decret. distinct. 88 [Gratianus, *Decretum aureum*, Paris, J Parvus, 1526, f. 86r.]

⁶⁵ Idem ex concil. Carthag. 4. can. 20

⁶⁶ Idem caus. 12. quaest. 1. ex Ambros. de fuga saeculi [Latin extract; Gratianus, *Decretum*, f. 188v.]

from all *seculare and earthly affaires, and such things as prove nothing else but snares*.⁶⁷ And so farr was this holy Father from Countenancing the distractions of the Clergie, that hee will not allow a Clergie man so much liberty, as to be an executor [or administrator for the dead], which he confirms out of the Councell of Carthage where hee affermes that whosoever in his latter will & testament, had nominated a Clergie man for his executor ther were noe prayers to bee made for him after his decease. And the reason is there added, to wit, that such as are any cause or meanes of distracting and withdrawing the preists and ministers from the Altar ought not so much as once to be named before the Altar in the preists prayers.⁶⁸ It were no hard matter for me to produce a many moe of the like testimonies but to a void tediousnes, these shall suffice. But what say the lawes of the land. Surely the good intention of the lawmakers may be from hence collected, in that it is not allowed for any to practise this profession, unless they have at least the approbation of the Bishop of the diocess; together with the allowance of the learned in that faculty: which if it were duly observed then without all doubt the land shall not bee so pestered with so many insufficient persons & buisybodyes, who as it were play fast and loose, and cast lotts for mens lives.⁶⁹ And againe the good desire these *sage senators had of preventing this disordered /8/ Chaos* of Callings in a Common wealth may from hence appeare that in another statute they ordaine that no Surgeon take upon him to play the barber, nor againe any Barber to play the surgeon, noe nor so much as to let blood.⁷⁰ And yet let the unpartiall reader Judge, whether it bee not an easier matter for a surgeon to shave a beard, or a barber to let blood, cure a greene wound &c. Then for a minister set apart for Gods service, erring out of his owne orbe of *Divinity*, to wait upon the necessities of the sicke, and to compass sea and land, *not to make a Proselite*, but to get a patient. *You take too much upon you yee sonnes of Levy*.⁷¹ It is to bee wished that both our lawes may bee accordingly but [i.e. put] into execution, And since *ex malis moribus bonae leges oriuntur*, that now both time and place so fitly being offered this disorder be not forgotten.⁷² Now it is more then time to heare what these men can say for themselves let us therfore heare some of their cheifest objections.⁷³ The first is taken out of the old Testament, and the next out of the new. And in the old Testament that which maketh mention of the cleansing of the Leapers maketh the goodliest shew of any other.⁷⁴ It is true that mention is there made of a charge addressed to the Preist to judge of the disease of *Leprosie* but this maketh nothing for their purpose. In the first place therfore, we are to observe the scope and intention of this place of scripture, the which is alsoe in all others to be observed.⁷⁵

⁶⁷ [Marginal quotation.]

⁶⁸ Idem caus. 21. quaest. 3 et consil. Carthag. 4. can. 18 [Marginal quotation. Gratianus, *Decretum*, f. 210v.]

⁶⁹ 3 H 8. 11 [This Act established ecclesiastical licensing of physicians, outside London, and surgeons. Its administration varied widely, as do the surviving records. John R Guy, 'The episcopal licensing of physicians, surgeons and midwives', *Bull. Hist. Med.*, 1982, 56: 528–42. Hart later added, "But I wish this had bene betruasted to a set number of Physitions, either of the Universities or colleges of London, without troubling of another profession". Hart, op. cit., note 27 above, p. 16.]

⁷⁰ 32 H 8. 48 [32 H VIII c. 12 merged the

London companies of barbers and surgeons, who largely observed this distinction until the two crafts separated again. Provincial practice appears more mixed.]

⁷¹ Numbers 16. 7

⁷² [Evil manners breed good laws. This "vetus verbum" is used in a comparison between law and medicine by Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.17.10; Erasmus, *Adages*, 1. 10.61. Macrobius is cited by Hart, op. cit., note 27 above, pp. 78, 107, 109, 110, 218.]

⁷³ Objections by which the offenders labour to maintaine the lawfulnessse of this lawlesse intrusion

⁷⁴ 1 obiection. Leviticus 13 & 14

⁷⁵ Answer

Divines do hold that here *Moses* by Gods appointment recommendeth to his holy and select people cleanness from all manner of pollution as may appeare as well by the purification of woemen proceeding, as also of some other fluxes common to both sexes, following Immediately after the Cleansing of the Leapers.⁷⁶ *To the outward ceremonie hereof (saith Calvin) howbeit wee bee not tyed, yet are we Christians taught by the same not to suffer any corruptions to dwell amongst us whereby /9/ Gods pure worship & service may be defiled.*⁷⁷ It may then plainly appeare that the intent and purpose of *Moses* was not here to give the preists any authority to meddle with Phisick. The which may yet further appeare by other words of the same author. *In that God appointed Preists & that those of the highest ranke it is an argument that here Gods spirituall worshipp is more aymed at then the health of the body.*⁷⁸ And this he setteth downe yet more playnly in these words following. *The Lord here putteth not in trust every Levite but only the sonns of Aaron. who were of prime note & credit to the end that the authority of the action might bee the greater, wherfore the Popish Preists not without great error, or rather impudencye have drawn this Jurisdiction unto them selves. That which followeth is a yet more gross mockage. The Officiall being the Bishops deputy, as lawfull Judge calleth afore him Physitians & surgeons, by whose answeres being instructed, he pronounceth sentence, of that wherof hee acknowledgeth him selfe altogether ignorant.* If wee should yet grant that here are set downe some Phisicall precept addressed unto Preists. Yet would not this warrant every parson & vicar to practise Physicke for here the Command is addressed to the Cheife Preists, sonnes of Aaron only, and not to the rest: whence all they would gaine perhapps would bee this that the Bishop of the diocess may practise Phisicke. Besides the text sayes the preist was only to tell whether it were that loathsome disease of Leprosie or noe. The markes and signes whereof the Lord himselfe setteth downe: but that the *Preists cured it*, or was warranted or enabled soe to doe remaineth yet to prove. Againe, if this place gave any way to this practise, yet were it but in this loathsome disease of Leprosie, from the which, I meane this particular kinde here mentioned, Our God of his singular goodnes hath freed this our cold climate.⁷⁹ In the /10/ third place where mention is made of once or twice seven dayes for the tryall of the cleanness of the partye it cannot be denied but that here there was an immediate providence governing this whole action, not to bee by any man drawn into imitation, no more then was that of the adulteresse woman.⁸⁰ This is yet made more manifest unto us by the mention of the first & second seven dayes. Now in the ordinary and common course and motion of diseases we find so great varyety & difference, according to the severall causes, constitutions of the bodyes; together with diverse other Circumstances, that very few doe wee find among many, how soever surprised, with the same sickness agree in all points; hence also cometh it to passe, that wee cannot alwayes precisely determine of the good or bad issue of the disease within one, two, or three weekes as in this place the undoubted Oracle of the almighty

⁷⁶ Or by the same to suffer noe corruptions in Gods pure &c. [Not in Bodleian copy.]

⁷⁷ Calvin in harmon in q. lib. Moys. in explicat. primi praecepti. [*Mosis libri V, cum Iohannis Calvini commentariis*, Geneva, Henricus Stephanus, 1563, vol. 2, p. 172. Part of this quotation, cropped by the bookbinder, was mangled when it was restored by

Hart. The Bodleian version is given here.]

⁷⁸ idem ibidem

⁷⁹ [Leprosy, in the strict sense, had long been unknown in most parts of England. It was a commonplace of learned medicine that some diseases were engendered by particular environments.]

⁸⁰ Numbers 5. 11, 12, 13, &c.

pronounceth of this disease.⁸¹ The severall *Crises of acute diseases* occasioning many times a doubtfull prediction, do plainly prove the truth of this assertion.⁸² If they will yet stand stiffly upon the point, pleading their priveledge, wee will rather yeild to them the Cure of the Leapers then contend; provided they therewith rest contented; Howbeit they can never from hence gather that the Preists did cure this disease, and yet farr less that any authoritye here is conferred upon them, to cure this or any other disease. *Ergo ministers* ought not to meddle with any such matters. *But now to the new testament.* The holy Evangelist *St. Luke* (say they) was both an Evangelist & a *Physitian*.⁸³ *Ergo Parsons & Vicars* may bee both *Physitians* for body & soule. in the first place the Antecedent is not of an undoubted truth, And if ther were no controversie concerning the same yet the Consequence may be denied.⁸⁴ In the first place it is controverted, whether *Luke* the Evangelist were a *Physitian* or noe. Some indeed are of opinion that they were both one, and others againe deny it, some of our ancient writers do affirme it, & hence /11/ it cometh to pass, that as in *Poperie* other professions have gotten their severall saints so have the *Phisyitians* likewise laid hold on Saint *Luke* whose day is by them devoutly kept holy. *Calvin* thinketh this Epithete to bee added for distinctions sake, which I confess is not unlike.⁸⁵ Others Jumpe with him in the like Judgment. *Elton* on this place alledgeth that if it had beene *Like* [i.e. *Luke*] *the Evangelist the apostele would rather have given him that title, then the title of a Phisyitian, that title being a more excellent tittle, & of greater honor and dignity.* And againe, the same Apostle mentioning him, 2 Tim. 4. 11. he only names him without addition of *Evangelist*. *That which some alledge out of Philemons Epistle verse. 24. that hee was Paules fellow-helper is not of sufficient weight to prove it, for some were his fellow-helpers, that were noe Evangelist nor Ministers as appeareth Romans 16. 3. Aquila and Priscilla tent makers were his fellow-helpers.*⁸⁶ But for avoiding tediousnes, I will omit the enumeration of moe Authorityes. whosoever therefore will build the warrantableness of ther actions, upon so controverted a point, will not the Ingenuous and Juditious say, they build on a sandy foundation. Againe, suppose it were yet true? What if it as God gave in the Infancye of the Church, the miraculous gift of healing without any meanes, were so pleased to bestow upon his holy Evangelist, the gift of healing by ordinary meanes; neither of which never the less he would afterwards Imitated by others.⁸⁷ And finally to finish this point If I should maintaine that in former times he had beene a *Phesitian*, but latly for a weightier had forsaken the same (which is

⁸¹ [This is a standard point in defence of learned physic. Whereas the physician, educated in natural philosophy, saw the disease as a disordering of the individual's temperament and therefore prescribed for the patient, the empiric tended to treat the same disease alike in all cases. Prognostication, like diagnosis, required a grounding in natural philosophy if it was not to rely on such diabolical methods as judicial astrology.]

⁸² *Acutorum morborum non omnino sunt certae praedictiones vitae et mortis.* [In acute diseases, forecasts of life and death are not entirely certain: Hippocrates, *Aphorisms*, 2.19. Elsewhere, Hart often quotes Hippocrates in Greek.]

⁸³ 2 obiection. Colossians. 4. 14.

⁸⁴ Answer

⁸⁵ Calvin in comm. [*A commentarie of M. Iohn Calvine, upon the Epistle to the Colossians*, trans. R V, London, Thomas Purfoote, 1581?, pp. 84–5.]

⁸⁶ Elton in his comment on this place. [Edward Elton, *An exposition of St. Paule to the Colossians*, London, Ralph Mab, 1615, p. 1408. This passage is followed by four pages on the proper use of physic.]

⁸⁷ [On medicine as God's ordinary means, see Hart, op. cit., note 27 above, pp. 357–9; David Harley, 'Spiritual physic, providence and English medicine, 1560–1640', in Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (eds), *Medicine and the Reformation*, Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 101–17.]

very probable) what place of scripture could they produce to the Contrary.⁸⁸ Sure I am, hee was never such a intruding, urin-mong[er]ing buisy body, as are many of these men. But finding no warrant in the word they are forced to seeke for other shifts, wher without /12/ long enquiry they find out a pretended Charity and love to the nei[gh]bor, the which as it maketh a glorious shew at first, so if wee shall well veiw this pretended reason we shall find it like the painted sepulcher mentioned by our Saviour being within full of rotten bones, or like those faire Apples of Sodome which being touched turned to ashes.⁸⁹ It is no new practise to cover vice with the mantle of vertue, the which as it is most common so it is most cursed. *Simulata sanctitas, duplex iniquitas*.⁹⁰ And the Canon-Law itselfe hath taught us already that Satan *can transforme himselfe into an Angell of light*. The divell himselfe wee know began with the beginning of the world to sett his witts aworke. Who seeking the utter ruine and destruction of our first parents, and by consequent of us all, yet cunningly covered the same with a faire shew of future good, *knowledge of good & evill*.⁹¹ The same spirit of error did he not use the like perswasion to the second Adam *shewing him all the kindomes of the world, & saying all these will I give thee, if thou wilt fall downe & worship mee*.⁹² The like Artifice used *Joab* when he killed Amasa captaine of the hoast of Israell, And treacherous Absolon did hee not encroach upon his fathers kingdome by his counterfiet courtesy?⁹³ And may wee not as well justify *Judas* as these men, if not better? *Why was not this oyntment sold (saith the traitor) for three hundreth pence and given to the poore?* But what answereth the holy oracle? *This hee said, not that hee cared for the poore, but because hee was a theife and had the bagg, & bare what was put therein*.⁹⁴ Sure I am, Judas might pretend a farr more plausible excuse then any of them, to witt the words of our *Savior Christ*, let nothing bee lost.⁹⁵ And certaine it is ther is noe charge given them to exercise this charyty, it belonging to another mans profession. But they reply upon us [that oftentimes] the scarcity or /13/ absence of other Physitians maketh them in pittie & compassion to helpe their poore distressed neighbors.⁹⁶ Surely I might well here alledge the saying of a grave *Divine* of this kingdome: *O quam argutatrix est humana ratio presertim cum aliquid de suis commodis [et argumentis] deciditur, how hard do men plead for their owne profitt*.⁹⁷ But I much merveile they are not ashamed to maintaine such an untruth.⁹⁸ It is well knowne that these men not only practise in their owne parishes, among their nei[gh]bors and freinds (the which were yet more tollerable) but they often buisy themselves most where sufficient *Physitians* are to bee found, all being fish that cometh into their netts. Neither seemeth any disease to them hard to bee cured, but as *Æolus* gave [U]lisses the winds tyed upp in a bag, so would these men make the world beeleeve they carry about with them all (*Physicks-sufficiencie*) tyed upp in their

⁸⁸ [For the opinion that Luke followed two vocations consecutively, see Robert Rollock, *Lectures upon the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians*, ed. Henry Holland, London, Felix Kyngston, 1603, pp. 421, 426.]

⁸⁹ 3 Obiection. Answer. Matthew 23. 27. Joseph de bello Iud. 5. cap. 5. [*The famous and memorable workes of Josephus*, trans. Thomas Lodge, London, G Bishop, 1609, p. 689. Charity was advanced as an excuse by Thomas Tymme, among others.]

⁹⁰ [Pretended virtue is doubly wicked; perhaps a précis of Seneca, *Epistles* 56.10. Seneca's *Epistles*

are cited by Hart, op. cit., note 27 above, p. 294.]

⁹¹ Genesis 3. 5.

⁹² Matthew 4. 8, 9.

⁹³ 2 Samuel 20. 9, 10; 2 Samuel 15. 1, 2, 3, &c.

⁹⁴ John 12. 5, 6.

⁹⁵ [John 6. 12.]

⁹⁶ 4 Obiection

⁹⁷ [In 1633, this was attributed to "a worthy Divine of this shire, now resting in peace": Hart, op. cit., note 27 above, p. 403; cf. pp. 222, 395. Robert Bolton of Broughton died in December 1631.]

⁹⁸ Answered

Budgetts, & like some new Apostles promise helpe to all that will come unto them.⁹⁹ Some of them are so sham[e]les and void of honesty that not with this contented, they traffique too & fro to engross all employment into their owne hands. And some (as it were, seeming to surpass others in impudency,) use yet a more base and dishonest custome of intruding themselves & offering their services to the gentry and people of best note, debasing and vilypending the actions of other *Physytians*.¹⁰⁰ And against all civill society, & common honesty, often undertaking the recovery of their deplored patients howbeit often to their great discredit & shame if any thing could move them. And if perhapps at any time a good successe doth secound their bold Attempts, (as some times indeed *Audentes fortuna iuvat, fortune helps the harty*, thou shalt here them then like that proud *Menecrates* brag and boast of their noble exploits.¹⁰¹ It is noe doubt a hard case that no *Physytians* are to bee found, nor can serve the turne but *Levies tribe*; And if *Lucullus* were not *Pompey* could not live *scilicet*, If parsons and vicars neglect not their calling, and Injuriously encroach upon another mans profession, people cannot bee cured.¹⁰² But I could never yet learne what *Aesculapius* hath infused this sufficiency /14/ into them. The noble Universityes of this Kingdome do quite disclaim them, as informe Monsters. And birthes borne out of season which never received the right shape of a *Phisitian*. The famous *Physytians of the Colledge of London* acknowledg them to have no part in the *Hippocraticall* common welth.¹⁰³ Their grave and learned bretheren of the best note deny them, some preaching out of their pulpits against their practise, and some have in print published their dislike of the same, To the end it might bee communicated to posterity.¹⁰⁴ But it may bee they will Claime kindred to the *Methodian Thessalus*, who taught that the profession of *Phisicke* might bee attained unto in sixe monethes space.¹⁰⁵ *similes habent labra lactucas. Like lettice like lipps.*¹⁰⁶ *Never a*

⁹⁹ Odysse 8 [Homer, *Odyssey* 10. 1–79. The name of the hero is omitted, leaving a blank space, in the British Library copy.]

¹⁰⁰ [Latin marginal on the practices of Thessalus the Methodist, printed in Hart, op. cit., note 27 above, p. 404; from Galen, *Methodus medendi* 1.2.1: *Galen on the therapeutic method, Books I and II*, trans. R J Hankinson, Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 6.]

¹⁰¹ Athen. lib. 7 dipnos indeq lang. epist. med. lib. epist. 25. [This version of the proverb comes from Virgil, *Aeneid* 10.284; mentioned by Erasmus, *Adages* 1.2.45. The Latin marginal about Menecrates is from Johann Lange, *Epistolarum medicinalium volumen tripartitum*, Frankfurt, heirs of Andreas Wechelius, 1589, p. 118; printed in Hart, op. cit., note 27 above, p. 404. The first two sections of this humanist classic were published in Basel by Oporinus in 1554 and 1560. Hart cites this work in *Anatomie of urines* (note 20 above), p. 124, and *Diet* (note 27 above), pp. 249, 257, 261, 353–6. Lange’s source is Athanaeus of Naucratis, *Dipnosophistarum sive coenae sapientum libri*, Venice, Andreas Arrivabenus, 1556, p. 118.]

¹⁰² Plutarch in *vita Pompeii magni* [This defective quotation refers to the temperate Pompey refusing to eat thrushes, prescribed by his physicians, because they were only to be had from his self-indulgent

rival: “Why, what then, sayd he: if *Lucullus* ryot were not, should not *Pompey* live?” Plutarch, *The lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes*, trans. Thomas North, London, Thomas Vautrollier, 1579, p. 679.]

¹⁰³ [Clergymen who possessed medical degrees were refused entry to the Colledge, even after ejection from their benefices, especially after the promulgation of the new canon law under James I.]

¹⁰⁴ As it is unlawfull for a physitian to preach or administer the sacremets, so, I thinke it unlawfull for a minister to bee a professed practiser of physicke. Parr on the 12 to the Romanes. [Elnathan Parr, *A plaine exposition upon the whole eight, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth chapters of the Epistle to Saint Paul to the Romanes*, 2nd ed., London, Samuel Mann, 1620, p. 520. Parr does not exclude the charitable practice of physick, in the absence of a physician. He also denounces non-preaching clergymen: “Ministers without mouthes are monsters,” *ibid.*, p. 524. These passages are not in the first edition.]

¹⁰⁵ [Latin marginal from Galen, *Methodus medendi* 1.1.5: Hankinson, op. cit., note 100 above, pp. 4–5.]

¹⁰⁶ [The original of this proverb, meaning that like has found its like, is attributed to M Crassus, on an ass eating thistles; Erasmus, *Adages* 1.10.71.]

barrell better herring:¹⁰⁷ as for the scarcity of good & learned *Physitians*, I confess it to be too true, the number of ignorants and Empirickes hath alwayes exceeded the number of learned and better sorts of *Physitians*. There is alwayes more straw and chaffe then corne. And if a narrow survey were made, many more parsons and vicars then painfull and learned preachers might be found. But are not they themselves a great cause of the scarcity of such *Physitians*; while as they by their busy meddling discourage many an honest man from the entering into this profession?¹⁰⁸ But the worst is yet behind, an objection of greater moment, & more materiall then the former *Venter non habet aures*.¹⁰⁹ *Need maketh the old wife to trot*.¹¹⁰ A necessity is here pretended, how truly shall shortly appear.¹¹¹ I confess indeed that many of our learned *Levites* are not so well provided for as I could wish, the which is easier for mee to lament then to amend. And I desire God of his goodness to inspire the hearts of the gentry *to put away the execrable thing from among them, & to give unto God that which is Gods & unto Caesar that which is Caesars*, so /15/ should it faire better with many then it doth; And it may be their posterity should take root in their fathers inheryences, if they did not thus conspire *to robb the Lord of his tithes & offerings*.¹¹² But whyther goe I besides my text? I returne againe to the purpose in hand.¹¹³ All the offenders in this kind cannot cover themselves with this cloake: Nay the most grosse and notorious offenders in this kinde are they which enjoy the greatest livings; some of them enjoying one, some two, three and some foure or five hundred pounds a yeare, & some of them againe duple, some triple benificed men, non residents they cannot chuse but be.¹¹⁴ And some of them I have heard besides all this, are buisyed with affaires of the bench.¹¹⁵ Some have by their practise gotten good purchases, and others are knowen to be open usurers, howbeit both scriptures, fathers, councells & Common-law condemne it, whereupon I will not now dwell.¹¹⁶ Let the Ingenuous reader then Judge whether these men can justly plead povertye. Others againe I confesse have smaller allowance to live upon, and therefore seeming to have some shew of reason, it would be Imagined they deserve more favor. In the first place as I grant the Antecedent, Soe I deny the consequent as false and erroneous: many honest men and good schollers, I myself know, whose livings come not neere the others, who have the least, many of their livings not exceeding forty, thirty, or twenty pounds, and some not twenty markes, whereas of the others, none that I have as yet heard of, or knowne have under forty or fifty & some attained to

¹⁰⁷ [This proverb means that the one is as bad as the other: "Neither barrel, better herring."]

¹⁰⁸ [The same complaint had been made against unlearned surgeons by the Elizabethan humanist surgeons, such as William Clowes.]

¹⁰⁹ [The belly has no ears. The original version is attributed to Cato the Elder, but its use was widespread; Erasmus, *Adages* 2.8.84. It was used in a similar context by Sclater, op. cit., note 32 above, p. 43.]

¹¹⁰ [This proverb had been common since Anglo-Saxon times.]

¹¹¹ 5 Objection

¹¹² Joshua 7. 12; Matthew 22. 21; Malachi 3. 8.

¹¹³ Answer.

¹¹⁴ [Strict Calvinists objected to pluralism because

it inevitably entailed non-residence.]

¹¹⁵ [For a Halifax clergyman who dabbled in law as well as medicine, see John Favour, *Antiquitie triumphing over noveltie*, London, R Field, 1619, sig. A5r. For Hart's comment on such conduct, see Forestus, *Arraignment of urines*, op. cit., note 20 above, sig. A4r.

¹¹⁶ [In the Bodleian Library copy, this passage reads, "scriptures, fathers, councells & canon Law", which is probably the correct version. For usury among the clergy, see John Holme, *The burthen of the ministerie*, London, John Winnington, 1592, sig. F1r; see also Robert Bolton, *A short and private discourse between Mr. Bolton and one Mr. S. concerning usury*, London, George Miller, 1637.]

fourscore, and it may bee upards.¹¹⁷ /16/ But put the case this were yet true, what then? Must they needs stricke *Richard for Robert*? Must they of necessity *Robbe Peter to pay Paul*. If they themselves bee wronged must they of necessity offer injury to others, must they of necessity both deprive the people of their paines, and encroach upon another Calling too heavie for their shoulders? If they will needs make an addition to their living, why meddle they not with some calling of lesser consequence, in performing of the which the error of the artist may bring less detriment and danger? But least they thinke I too much debase them, I answere their maister *St Paul*, who (if I bee not deceived) was as good a man as the best of them, wrought to supply his wants, by making tents at some times, and yet was not Idle, but faithfully delivered his maisters message.¹¹⁸ But least they yet object that this hath never beene Commaunded or practised in any Christian church since that time, I answere the Counsell will tell them another tale. The fourth Counsell of Carthage commendeth clergie men, how learned soever, to gett their liveing by labouring in some trade, the which is yet againe confirmed in another Canon.¹¹⁹ And this is diligently observed by the *Abysine preists & preachers* even at this day, their ordinary maintenance being but very meane. Let the unpartiall reader then Judge how unreasonable these men are in buisying themselves more about the body then the soule, imposing upon themselves a needless necessity of two so weighty callings, the duties of the one so manifestly crossing the performance of the other. They might have learned a better lesson of *John Baptist*, who being asked by the soldiers *what shall wee doe*; his answere was, *do no man violence, neither accuse any falsly, & bee content with your wages*.¹²⁰ /17/ Souldiers are here commaunded to be content with their wages, & yet it is well knowne, that ordinary souldiers have but small allowance. If *John Baptist* were now alive would he thinke you allowe of these mens proceedings? I leave it to their owne consciences. But in that I have said I would not any man should mistake my meaning, as envyeing the maintaynance of worthy learned and religious *Divines*. Absit. It never came into my mynde, nay would to God I might be soe happy as to live to see abuses reformed, buyers & sellers whipt out of the Church, & *Levi* to enjoy a full allowance: that then I might with holy olde *Symeon* sing a joyfull *Nunc dimittis &c*.¹²¹ If those who should redresse this disorder were willing, there are meanes for amending both this & other things moe amisse. *Sed ne sutor ultra crepidam*.¹²² But on the other side, Let *Ministers* waite on their ministry &c.¹²³ I neither will plead for *Simoniacke patrones*, Nor yet for lazy *Levites*. But as I thinke them worthie of double honor, so would I have them know who deserves the same: *especially such as labor in the word & doctrine*.¹²⁴ As for idle loytering *Levites* who seeke the Fleece and not the flocke, I thinke them soe unworthy of any honor, that I wish like droanes they may be driven out of the hive.¹²⁵ As honor doth belong unto them, so doth

¹¹⁷ Many honest & painfull preachers have not so great livings as some beneficed practisers who have the least. [On pluralism and inadequate incomes in the Diocese of Peterborough, see *A certificate from Northamptonshire*, London, W Sheares, 1641.]

¹¹⁸ Acts 18. 3 & 20. 34; 1 Corinthians 4. 12; 1 Thessalonians 2. 9; 2 Thessalonians 3. 8.

¹¹⁹ [4] Carthag. can. 51 & 52 [Latin quotations printed in Hart, op. cit., note 27 above, p. 405.]

¹²⁰ Luke 3. 14.

¹²¹ Luke 2. 29. [Hart gives this as Luke 2. 2.]

¹²² [But let the cobbler not go beyond his sandal; i.e. stick to his last. For the original anecdote, concerning the painter Apelles, see Pliny, *Natural history* 15.36.84–5; Erasmus, *Adages*, 1.6.16.]

¹²³ Romans 12. 7.

¹²⁴ 1 Timothy 5. 17. [Hart gives this as 1 Tim. 5. 7.]

¹²⁵ [On clergymen guilty of “regarding the flock only for love of the fleece”, see Fosbroke, op. cit., note 11 above.]

onor [i.e. *Onus*] a burthen and a heavy one if they consider of it aright. In all the reformed Churches either on this or the other side of the sea *Lutherane* or other, the like disorder is not to be found. of the most I can speake of my owne experimentall knowledge, and of the rest by relation from divers of good credit and reputation. and yett cometh their maintainance far short of [our] ministers for the most part. *Non sic ab initio*. It was not soe from the begynnyng.¹²⁶ The primitive Church was ignorant of this manner of trading, there were noe such mynisters among them, but [all] waited dilligently on the word and sacraments. It was far from them to play the buisie bodies and to have an oare in every mans boate: and further yett from professing two soe weightie callings, as might each of them demand their personall presence at one & the same instant. Some of the popish preists & monkes I confess, have bin [now and then] more buisy then /18/ welcome, according to the old proverbiall verse *Fingunt se medicos omnes, idiota sacerdos &c*:¹²⁷ Their idle & lazy life gives them more advantage for this their lawlesse intrusion. The poore preists (for in regard of the number of theis Caterpillers, in many places ther maintainance be greate) having said ther soule masses or *de profundis* for the dead, having little or nothing els to doe besides their sett services, wilbe willing, (if any fooles will trust them) to patch up a poore liveing in practising uppon them, and tryeing such conclusions as either they have learned of others or read in some receipt bookes, helping themselves also with inchantments, charmes & such forbidden trash. The idle Monke, in regard of his retired life, having for the most parte nothing els to employ himselfe about, but mumbling over his mattens, And saying over his sett prayers like a parrott, hath yett a greate gapp opened to bring his purpose to passe. But yett lett the divell have his right, I have not knowne such disorder, even among the papists themselves, in this point as among our owne clergie. But be it soe, though they are faultie in this kynde, *Though Israell play the harlott, yet let not Judah sinne*.¹²⁸ The *Romish* Church, we well knowe, doth allow of all leudnes, & her stewes bring in store of Coine to the Popes coffers. That unnaturall sinne of Sodomie with their greatest *Prelats* is a common practise; whoredomes & uncleanes with them trifles and veniall sinnes; assassinated murdering & massacring of their Christian bretheren with them are causes of trophees and triumphes; killing & murdering of kinges & bloweing upp of whole states with Gunpowder are maximes & positiones taught by the *Ignatian* sect. But we ought not with *Simeon & Levi* joine with them to be bretheren in evill.¹²⁹ And whereas some willing a litle to quallifie the matter say that a minister ought onely soe farr to play the phisitian, as the phisitian to play the parte of a minister and that as some tymes the phisitian in absence of the minister may administer /19/ spirituall phisicke to the sicke, soe may the minister in the absence of the phisitian, administer to his patient corporall phisicke.¹³⁰ This I say maketh the fairest shewe of any of the former objections. But *latet anguis in herba, sub melle dulce*

¹²⁶ Matthew 8. 9. The primitive church brought forth no ministers of this stamp. [Hart gives Matt. 9. 8, but presumably this should refer to Jesus calling Matthew away from the tax office.]

¹²⁷ [On the title page of Forestus, *Arraignment of urines*, Hart provides a second line, "Iudaeus, Monachus, Histrio, Rasor, Anus." They all think

themselves physicians: fool, priest, Jew, monk, actor, barber, old woman. Hart supplies two English verse renditions.]

¹²⁸ Hosea 4. 15.

¹²⁹ Genesis 49. 5.

¹³⁰ 6 Obiection

venena.¹³¹ Neither yett shall there be freedome from danger these two cases not being alike. The physitian may in tyme of need give his patient good & wholesome instructions for his soules health, and this another neighbor may performe as well, yea it may be better sometimes then either the minister or phisitian. The phisitian therefore performeth this as the duetie of a Common Christian, there being no danger of applyeing this remedy in any ordinary discretion. The case is not alike with the minister, who may easily be mistaken, either in the disease or the remedy due to the same, or yett in the due and convenient tyme of applying it, with diverse other circumstances, unles he be skilled as well in a theoreticall knowledge, as in a practicall employment, unto the which he shall never attaine without the neglect of the worthiest of these two callings. And put the case, hee may perhapps, sometimes helpe some distressed neighbor in his need, it will both drawe him on to doe the like for others, who may plead the like interest in him, and his example may like wise incourage some ignorant droans to doe the like. *Principiis obsta*, oppose the occasions of evill at the first.¹³² All the errors of the *Romish Church* came first in uppon faire & plausible pretences which nowe are become soe many, & soe strongly maintained by their clergie, that it is hard at this tyme to root them out. The Pope himselfe made he any smale account of them thinke you, when as hee sent his holy Ghost soe often post in a cloke-bagg betwixt Rome & Trent, to inspire the fathers of that Counsell to stand stoutly for the maintaynance of his and their freeholde?¹³³ As for that objection which I have heard some of them have made concerning the affinitie of the soule & the body, I thinke it very frivolous and idle.¹³⁴ For if the affinity which the soule hath with the /20/ body be a sufficient argument to prove that whosoever undertaketh the charge of the soule may also take uppon him the charge of curing the body I see noe reason why the argument may not be reciprocally, that the phisitian who taketh upon him the cure of the body may also take uppon him the cure of soules. And that many phisitians are as able, if not more, to performe the function of a divine then some of themselves can not bee denied. Of a great number noe man I think will denye, to wit, of such as from mechanicke trades are suddenly promoted unto Moses chaire. That I say nothing of such as think it sufficient preachinge to read their ordinary & sett service.¹³⁵ *Sed manum de tabula*.¹³⁶ Further if this argument of affinitie may take place then by reason of the affinitie of the members of the body one with another (far greater then that of the soule & body) the taylor shall become a shoemaker, and againe the shoemaker a taylor. And the haberdasher (because he dealeth with the head the most eminent place & seate of the senses & reason it selfe) will perhapps plead a priviledge in all three, & more also. And thus shall wee have the world returne

¹³¹ [The snake hides in the grass: Virgil, *Eclogues* 3.93. Under sweet honey, poisons: Ovid, *Amores* 1.8.104.]

¹³² [Oppose the beginnings. Proverbial, but Hart may have been thinking of Ovid's remarks on the prevention of lovesickness, *Remedia amoris*, 91–2; following words quoted by Erasmus, *Adages* 1.2.40. Ovid's poem is cited in Hart, op. cit., note 27 above, p. 345.]

¹³³ *Historie of the Councill of Trent* [Paolo Sarpi, *The historie of the Councel of Trent*, trans. Sir Nathaniel Brent, London, R Barker and I Bill, 1620. This work, promoted by Archbishop Abbot, was

widely cited by English Calvinists, including Robert Bolton: see David Wootton, *Paolo Sarpi: between Renaissance and Enlightenment*, Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 104–117.]

¹³⁴ 7 Obiection

¹³⁵ [A lack of education and a failure to preach were among the principal complaints made in puritan surveys of the late Elizabethan clergy.]

¹³⁶ [But hand from the tablet. A proverbial injunction to change the subject, e.g. Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares* 7.25.1; Erasmus, *Adages* 1.3.19.]

unto the [first] confused chaos againe. It is then apparant that the quintescens of this argument vanisheth away like smoke. But they will not yett perhaps yeild the bucklers but plead a sufficiencie in themselves for the discharge of this calling.¹³⁷ If there be such a sufficiencie to be found in them, And the *Hippocraticall skill* bee now derived into their families, I confess it were unreasonable they should be debarred from doing good; lett them not bee their owne carvers, but lett the learned judge and then lett this proviso bee putt in, that they first resigne their liveings and charges to those that will afford them better attendance.¹³⁸ The two fruitfull mothers (I meane the universities) send forth yerely swarmes of sufficient and able schollers, capable for their witt & learning of good employment either in church or common wealth, and yett many of them, yett /21/ capable of higher employment, are forced to instruct youth in some private famylies, or els to serve for a curate under some beneficed man, where all that some [of them] can gett will scarce fynde them food for their bellies, and clothes for their backes, & would be glad of one of the smallest livings which these men enjoy. This is to frustrate the founders intents, whose meanings were never that these livings should be bestowed on them, who neglecting their owne charge, and employed about other businesses, should make the best of them. But if the dole be a dealling I see noe reason but the phisitian may clayme a share in it as they doe in theirs. The *Talion lawe* will allowe it, and I make noe question but they may finde some of them as fitt to preach as they to practise.¹³⁹ And if the phisitian be employed abroad hee may sterve, or if you will, serve the cure by a substitute as well as they, and I thinke they might make a shift to provide, *horis succissivis*, when they could tend it, some odd sermons to satisfie the lawe, neither need they doubt but they could gather up their dues at Easter: and give good attendance at their tithe when time requires.¹⁴⁰ *Sed durus est hic sermo*, this is a hard speech, who can heare it.¹⁴¹ Then *quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*. As you would that men should doe unto you, soe doe you unto them.¹⁴² But from whence or where learned they their sufficiencie? It shall suffice to tell you that one of their cheife champyons, and admired as some more then earthlie creature in *Northamptonshire* and now a triple beneficed man, was quite disclaymed of his supposed mother the universitie, and proved never to have taken any degree in the same; notwithstanding all his braggs to the contrary.¹⁴³ And yett this is the man forsooth that works wonders, the undertaker of any desperate disease; some newe apostle he must needs bee at least.¹⁴⁴ And yett if I should insist to relate his more then Empiricall proceedings together with some particular instances of his errors, yea /22/ even against the rules of art, I doubt it would be odious to the offvnder, and somewhat tedious perhaps to

¹³⁷ 8 Obiection

¹³⁸ Answer

¹³⁹ [The talion law is the principle of retaliation or compensation, in Mosaic or Roman law: "an eye for an eye, or a tooth for a tooth".]

¹⁴⁰ [In leisure hours; more properly, *horis subsicivis*; cf. Pliny, *Natural history*, preface, 18; Parr, op. cit., note 104 above, p. 520. Hart's heavy irony reverses the defence of priest-physicians, such as Harward and Tymme.]

¹⁴¹ John 6. 60 [John 6. 61 in the Vulgate.]

¹⁴² Luke 6. 31 [This is not the Vulgate version.]

¹⁴³ [Richard Langham was Rector of Thornby,

Northamptonshire, from 1603 to 1624.

He was styled BA but there is no evidence of his having taken a degree while at Oxford. He was Rector of Deane from 1614, and Rector of Bottesford in Leicestershire from 1623. He obtained a Peterborough surgical licence in October 1619 and a Lambeth medical licence in February 1619/20. Henry I Longden, *Northamptonshire and Rutland clergy from 1500*, Northampton, Archer and Goodman, 1940, vol. 8, p. 175; Lambeth Palace: Abbot II, f. 184v; A G Matthews, *Walker revised*, Oxford University Press, 1948, p. 281.]

¹⁴⁴ [cf. Hart, op. cit., note 20 above, pp. 113–17.]

the reader. Nowe as concerning the argument taken from issue or event, that it is noe good & sound prooffe of sufficiencie, in the end of our *Anatomie* of urines at length is related.¹⁴⁵ As concerning such as sett them a worke, I gave a touch in another tractate and can not be denyed but that they too much incourage the foresaid offenders.¹⁴⁶ And if the ancient Councells did soe censure the departed that had but left a clergie man executor of his last will and testament (as hath bene proved already) that they thought him unworthie to be remembered in the preists prayers, who hath bene a meanes to distract or hinder a preist or spirituall person from the dilligent discharge of his calling, what would they say nowe a dayes thinke you if they were alive to see the people with their pispotts repaire soe fast to those urinary oracles. And how doe you thinke would such offenders have bene censured in soe worthie a Counsell? But there remayneth yet an objection of greater weight than the former, and to the which I could never as yett fynde an answer.¹⁴⁷ The objection is that the publication of bookes wilbe to smale purpose unles some strict course bee taken for the reforming of this and other abuses. A superior power must bring this to passe, it not being the taske of any private man. And you reverend fathers of the Church, give me leave to be so bolde as to intreat you, to take this matter into your worthie considerations, and to confirme those wandering planetts, everyone to his owne orbe. In this doeing as you shall performe a service acceptable to Almightye God, so likewise profitable both to Church and common wealth. Nowe he who is the searcher of the secretts of all harts knoweth that it is not any private spleen or grudg against any of the foresaid offenders which hath incited me to this more then just complaint, but that both Church & Common wealth may have their due, and that /23/ neither the physitian nor his patient may bee wronged. And I beesech you take particular notice to what height of impudencie these men now a dayes come. They are not nowe contented to practise phisicke but some have beene soe saucie as to sett this their lawlesse intrusion upon the forefront of their Almanackes as though it were not enoug to beate a man but they must bragg of it also.¹⁴⁸ And as we comonly see that one error draweth on another so have those men to their former fault added yet another, to witt, judiciaall astrologie in erecting figures, calculating nativities, which notwithstanding have bene written against by the most authenticke, both ancient & late writers.¹⁴⁹ Wee hope that you will nowe not onely take notice of these abuses, but banish them quite out of your diocesses. And take it not ill that I being neither a prophet, nor *the sonne of a prophet* put you in mynde of these things, remembering that *saepe etiam est olitor verba opportuna loquutus*.¹⁵⁰ But if wee should yett faile of our

¹⁴⁵ [Hart, op. cit., note 20 above, pp. 122–7.]

¹⁴⁶ In the preface to the reader of the arraignment of urines.

¹⁴⁷ A stronger obiection then the former

¹⁴⁸ [For example, the curate of St Helen's, Auckland: John Vaux, *A new almanack and prognostication*, London, Company of Stationers, 1621, t. p. He was later suspended for placing copies on the altar: *The acts of the High Commission court within the diocese of Durham*, Surtees Society, 1858, 34, pp. 34–42. For clergymen writing almanacs, see Capp, op. cit., note 24 above, p. 143.]

¹⁴⁹ [Hart especially detested Richard Napier, as an astrologer-physician (Hart, op. cit., note 20 above,

pp. 109–13) and as a provider of superstitious amulets (Hart, op. cit., note 27 above, pp. 357–9). For other clerical astrologers in this region before 1630, see John Gadbury, *Coelestis legatus*, London, John Allen, 1656, sig. Cc2r. The leading Protestant authority was John Calvin, *An admonicion against astrology iudiciall*, trans. G[oddred] G[y]lby], London, R Hall, 1561. Hart later cites canon law: Hart, op. cit., note 20 above, p. 407.]

¹⁵⁰ Amos 7. 14 [Often indeed the gardener has spoken timely words. This Greek proverb was “antiquissimus”, according to Aulus Gellius, *Attic nights* 2.6.9; Erasmus, *Adages* 1.6.1. Aulus Gellius is cited by Hart, op. cit., note 27 above, p. 218.]

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expectation, and be frustrate of our hopes (which wee cannot be induced to beleewe) yett shall it bee some satisfaction to our selves that wee have given warning for the removing of this disorder. Some howsoever I hope wilbe warned not to encourage the foresaid offenders, by having recourse to their counsells, and then shall not all our labor be lost. *Est quoddam prodire tenus si non datur ultra.*¹⁵¹ Howsoever it doth plainly appeare, *That you take too much uppon you, yee sonnes of Levi.*

¹⁵¹ [It is possible to advance only so far, if further progress is not permitted: Horace, *Epistles* 1.1.32.]